

THE MILITANT

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Report from Havana: Cuba's plans for 1970

—see page 14—

Free the Ft. Jackson 9!



STOP THE BARBARISM—BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!

South Vietnamese children near Danang huddle in terror as U.S. "pacification" troops sweep by. Nixon double-talks in Paris while GIs are forced to continue killing and being killed. More than ever it is necessary to organize and fight to stop Washington's barbarism. Stop the war! Bring the GIs home now!

Help fight frame-up of antiwar GIs

Nine GIs at Ft. Jackson, S. C., all active opponents of the war in Vietnam, are threatened with prison terms for speaking out against the war and against racism in the Army.

They have been associated with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, a group of courageous GIs, most of them black and Puerto Rican, who have been insisting on, and exercising, their constitutional right to oppose the war. That is why they now face the wrath of the Army brass.

The group has been circulating petitions at Ft. Jackson demanding base facilities to hold a meeting to discuss the Vietnam war.

The fact that the Army feels compelled to move against them so viciously, on blatant frame-up charges, is testimony in itself to the growing antiwar sentiment in the Army. The brass obviously feels threatened by GIs who demand their constitutional rights to freedom of assembly and petition.

These GIs deserve the support of the anti-Vietnam-war movement everywhere—first of all, for the principled and courageous stand they have taken in refusing to surrender their rights in the face of intimidation and harassment and, secondly, for what they represent in and of themselves—antiwar forces in the front lines of the struggle against U. S. aggression.

It is the obligation of the antiwar movement everywhere to come to their defense, to bring pressure to bear on the brass.

Rallies, petitions, telegrams, articles, money—all are essential for the defense of these heroic GIs. The attempt of the brass to victimize them must be stopped. A nationwide movement in their behalf must be the response of the antiwar movement.

For full details on the Ft. Jackson nine, see pages 8 and 9.

Indian cultural heritage preserved

Contributions help after racist attacks

Cornwall, N. Y.

I would like to take this time to thank each and everyone of those **Militant** readers who sent donations to help us with our struggle. Some did not send their names, so we were unable to send them a personal reply.

Perhaps you would be interested to know how things are progressing. We are presently living in what is part of the Mill factory, a one room area. We are hoping to get water into the building, but right now it must be carried in from the local Cornwall spring. We do have electricity in the one room. It is a bit difficult, as my husband missed work for four weeks with no pay, and I was ill and had to have medical care during our trying time.

The donations truly helped. In the past two-and-a-half years, since our first longhouse was set up, our entire savings were wasted because we were pressured to move from place to place as a result of the arson and other racist harassment.

We are still trying to carry on the work of organizing Indians, despite the problems. Plans are already in progress for one of the largest Indian gathering yet held to take place next August near Syracuse, New York. The meeting will discuss plans for uniting all of our people for action. If anyone wants further information on this, we will be glad to give it to them.

I only pray that the Great Spirit gives us the power to continue our much needed Indian work. We are a registered nonprofit group dedicated to helping where we can and to preserving our heritage.

Louise Madison, Director
Jules One Arrow Longhouse
P. O. Box 179
Cornwall, New York 12520

Disagrees with us on racism and language

Bronx, New York

Your answer to D. H.'s letter [**The Militant**, March 21] on the origin of words connoting darkness seems to be paternalistic. **Militant** readers will recall that D. H. challenged **The Militant's** position vis-a-vis the origin of dark and light contrasts and ra-

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.

cism. In your reply to D. H. you do not deny that he is correct; rather, you do not even consider truth or falsity but instead talk about "sensitivity" toward the feelings of minorities.

Isn't it rather paternalistic to refuse to take issue with someone because you consider him to be oppressed?

The rationale behind your reply is not unrelated to a basic error in the SWP line such as that taken in the article by Camejo entitled "PL and ISC balk on Third World self-determination" [**The Militant**, March 21]. That article calls for complete subservience to and uncritical support of the line of blacks at Berkeley on the part of white radicals. Not to do so, according to Camejo, is to be "a fake radical."

To follow Camejo's advice implies one of three things: 1) We must assume that the white radicals have no independent critical faculties and therefore must follow the black leadership which at all times is correct; 2) that correctness and incorrectness are not issues. Rather the issue is one of "sensitivity" to "oppressed minorities." Whether said feelings are right or wrong is irrelevant; or 3) that although certain white radicals think that their line will advance the revolution and that some opposing line may retard the revolution, they should follow the opposing line if the latter is promulgated by blacks.

Marxism is a tool which enables us to seek truth scientifically. Is it to be replaced by "sensitivity" to the feelings of "oppressed minorities"?

Hal Levin

[Regarding the language issue, we would reindicate our view by associating ourselves with the very cogent point made in the letter by P. H. which follows below.

Regarding Antonio Camejo's article, there is no basis for as-

serting that Camejo favors "complete subservience" or "uncritical support" of anything and all things proposed by blacks. His article stated the legitimacy of white radicals presenting their own point of view on these matters. But it also stressed that if support to the right of self-determination is to be meaningful, it must be based on the premise that the blacks and other minorities have the final say in determining their tactics and strategy in achieving their aims. He was arguing against the proposal that whites be given places on the Third World Liberation Front steering committee. — Editor]

A black parent's view

Winooski, Vt.

D. H. is probably right about the origin of the pejorative connotation of words meaning black (although I understand this connotation does not occur in Arabic, for instance), but I wonder if he has ever tried to read any of the traditional children's stories (Grimm, **Wizard of Oz** or Tolkien) to a black child who has been told black is beautiful?

More often than not I've had to put what appeared a good juvenile back on the shelf because of the evil black witches, and, while D. H. and I may be aware that this is only a literary convention (query: Would a writer display more imagination by using some other device to portray evil?), my children do not know this, and they're disturbed by it. I find it easier to order books from Africa, whose writers seem to be able to write without the crutch of emotionally loaded words.

P. H.

Presidio 27

"mutiny" background

Brunswick, Ohio

Please send me information on the trial of Pvt. Nesrey Sood and on the others involved in the Presidio incident. I want to help these young men, as I feel their treatment by the Army is outrageous but need an educated background on the case.

I enjoy reading your paper and will probably write later with other opinions.

J. R. P.

[Such information is available from the GI Defense Organization, 431 Dearborn St., Suite 813, Chicago, Ill, or National Committee for the 27, 330 Ellis St., Rm 413, San Francisco, Calif. 94102. — Editor]

Chicago incident — 'the worst of all'

Philadelphia, Pa.

I am sure that many incidents concerning the Chicago cops during the Democratic Party convention have been called to your attention. But I'm sure you have not heard this incident which is, I think, the worst of all.

A member of the SDS told a group of high-school students about himself, a college student from West Virginia, and two other friends. The group of students was walking down the street, when a squad car pulled up and searched the four.

The student from West Virginia had a cowboy hat and a southern accent. The students were all very polite despite cursing and threats from the police. Then one policeman stuck a gun in the mouth of the West Virginian and said,

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Friday, April 4, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was March 28.

"When I count three, the gun goes off." When he got to three, the gun clicked, the cops laughed real hard, and continued with more threats despite there being witnesses around.

I feel this action was the worst of all.

E. C. F.

Women's rights movement

Los Angeles, Calif.

I have read with sympathy and interest Mary-Alice Waters' article on women's emancipation. Certainly here is a minority, more likely a majority, who have long been oppressed.

But no oppressed group has won any victories until it has organized its forces, formulated its demands and waged a militant struggle for them. Witness our black brothers, whose emancipation is now on the agenda precisely because they are organizing and struggling.

Where are the militant organizations of our sisters of all races? What are their precise demands?

Women have proved their ability to organize, present demands and win them through the most militant forms of struggle. I refer particularly to the magnificent fight of the suffragettes here and in England before World War I.

I think it would be fruitful to re-examine this brilliant chapter in the struggle for women's rights. Then the discussion might revolve around certain questions. Did the victory in that fight exhaust the political demands of women in America? What organizations and means of struggle are available today to combat the more subtle forms of discrimination? Can a similar women's movement be built today, and how will it mesh with the struggle for socialism? These are the aspects of the problem that women and their allies should be discussing, I believe.

H. P.

Alliance for Progress??

Minneapolis, Minn.

In the March 16 issue of the **New York Times** there appeared an article entitled, "Aid Agency Reports Birth Rate Offsets Latin Alliance Gains," by Felix Belair, Jr.

The article, quite long, was significant for what it almost didn't say — or, rather, for what it tried not to say.

The apologists for the American ruling circles were of course referring to the Agency for International Development, which administers much of the funds for the so-called Alliance for Progress.

About three fourths of the article explained that although the United States had more than tripled its aid efforts in the years since 1961, the birth rate has wiped out many of the gains projected at the beginning of the period.

Belair takes great pains to explain that in addition to the birth rate, many of the goals set forth at the original conference were far too ambitious to have been realized in the 10-year course of the alliance and the period should be extended to 18 years in order to provide a more realistic "time

frame."

Then, buried on page 18, in the last one fourth of the article, he makes the following revealing statements:

Regarding income distribution, "The only indicators available show little change from 1960. A study showed remarkably similar income structures, with the top 10 percent of the population receiving 40 percent of the income in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. The bottom percent received 10 to 14 percent of the total income . . ."

Regarding agrarian reform, Belair states that the member nations, with a few exceptions, have not "tackled this major problem issue. The reason is that the breaking up of large land holdings immediately brings a confrontation with an element of the power structure well represented in national government."

I might say that that "element" Mr. Belair refers to is well represented internationally as well.

Belair might, though, refer to the not inconsiderable success the Cuban people have had with these same problems in these same 10 years.

Time, Mr. Belair, frames and all, is running out.

Fred Ferguson

Freedom from pregnancy

Philadelphia, Pa.

Congratulations! Glad to finally see a series of articles about the woman question in the March 21 issue, and fine articles they were.

It might be interesting to comment on the possible implications of an experiment reported in the papers four weeks ago, indicating that a human egg had been fertilized in a test tube outside the human body.

If this were perfected and the egg could be properly nourished for nine months all babies could be born assured of no birth defects arising from use of forceps, from mother contracting German measles, etc. The danger of Rh-negative babies would be a thing of the past. Not to mention that women who chose not to go through all those months of pregnancy would be freed from the necessity of doing so. Of course under capitalism, this test-tube service would be available only to millionaires — if the capitalists deigned to let such a development come onto the market at all.

But under socialism this would be one more means of freeing women and assuring good health to all humankind.

Amy Lowenstein

Author seeks data on IWW

Lawrence strike

New York, N. Y.

I am making a documentary on labor history for use in the high schools and would like to talk to anyone with a personal knowledge of the IWW or the Lawrence strike of 1912. If out of town, please call collect.

Myles Jackson

45 W. 81 St.

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An unvarnished history (I)

The origins of Progressive Labor

By Mary-Alice Waters

The Progressive Labor Movement/Progressive Labor Party does not have a long history. It is still less than a decade old. Yet in its few years of existence its actions have provided several nearly classic examples of theoretical bankruptcy, political adventurism, and even downright dishonesty. Their numerous irresponsible attempts to manipulate and use genuine and serious struggles across the country for their narrow sectarian purposes have resulted in local movement activists running them out of places like Hazard Ky., and Monroe, N. C., and won the organization the condemnation of militants like those in DRUM.

The story of Progressive Labor really begins with the disintegration of the Communist Party during the decade of the 1950s. Under the pressure of the post-World-War II prosperity, the cold war, and the witchhunt atmosphere of the McCarthy period, the American Communist Party lost tens of thousands of members in the first half of the decade. Then, in 1956 came the revelations by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, enumerating a fraction of the horrors of the Stalin regime. Close on the heels of that shock, came the crushing of the Hungarian revolution, in October-November 1956.

Under the impact of those two events, thousands more left the CP, most to disappear from politics altogether.

It was during this period of the late 1950s that most of the founders of the Progressive Labor Movement broke with the CP, feeling it was either too undemocratic or too politically bankrupt to ever recover. Many of them had devoted their lives to building the Communist Party. For instance, Joe Dougher, one of the contributors to the early issues of *Progressive Labor*, who left the CP in 1956, had been an organizer for the United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania, for the textile workers and for the United Steel Workers. He fought in Spain with the International Brigades.

Lee Coe, the west coast editor of *PL*, was a former editor of both the Oregon state CIO paper and the northern California CIO paper. For a period he was the labor editor of the west coast CP paper, the *Peoples World*.

Even from a personal point of view, to say nothing of a Marxist approach to politics, one would expect men and women who had devoted their lives to the Communist Party and then come to the conclusion that it was totally bankrupt, to try to analyze what went wrong, and why. One would expect them to begin by examining their origins and evolutions, explaining the reasons for the crisis of the Communist Party, and defining themselves in relationship to the various political tendencies in the working class movement.

And for an organization this is even more true.

No serious political organization in the mid-twentieth century can simply state it is "for socialism" and not state where it stands on the major issues that have divided the socialist movement for over a century. If it does not define itself theoretically and ideologically, it will define itself in action over time.

Members and supporters of PL never tire of repeating Lenin's statement "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." But what has been their record in this respect?

The first issue of *Progressive Labor* appeared in January 1962. It was devoted almost entirely to an analysis of the American labor movement, a critique of the Meany-Reuther policies and where they had led the trade unions. "In practice," said the editors, Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer, "the 'unity' of the labor movement was built around support of the cold war abroad and collaboration with big business at home."

So far so good.

At the conclusion of their editorial entitled "For an Alternative Labor Policy: A Statement of Policy," the editors state: "This new magazine has one main purpose: to assist, in whatever way it can, the forward progress of the American labor movement. To this end it will ex-

pose the policies of the American monopolies, and lay bare their consequences. It will try to present pertinent information that can help trade unionists in their struggles with the companies.

"The editors feel that one of the basic weaknesses in the labor movement today is the virtual absence of a Socialist outlook. Without such an outlook, it becomes much harder to successfully challenge the policies of the monopolies.

"We believe that a Socialist economy is the fundamental answer to the problems of the American workers . . ."

Still, okay for a beginning. But that is as far as they go! It was not until one year and four months later, in the first issue of *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, that the leaders of Progressive Labor even attempted to deal with their political origins and inheritance—a rather poor theoretical beginning for a group that wants to build a new Marxist-Leninist party in the United States.

Not to be stopped by the absence of historical analysis, no less a thought-out program, steps were taken toward the formation of a new organization. The July-August, 1962 issue of *PL* reports that a conference was held in New York on July 1 of that year which adopted a report by Milt Rosen, outlining two central tasks. "1) to develop as far as possible a significant Marxist-Leninist program for the new party; and 2) to organize a collective organization of leaders and members."

If there was any basic political discussion at that PL conference, the editors certainly did not see fit to reflect it in the pages of the magazine. Instead they projected the publication of an additional magazine, the *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, as a theoretical discussion journal. Originally scheduled for publication in September, 1962, the first issue did not appear until late Spring, 1963.

The lead article in that issue, "Where We Stand," is a statement of principles by the editors. It begins by stating that there are three related crises facing American radicals—the general crisis of imperialism, the specific crises facing American capitalism (e.g. capitalist competition with Western Europe), and the crisis within the American left which "is exemplified by its failure to take advantage of the other two crises."

Exactly what this crisis within the American left is, what its origins are, and why—these are questions never answered by the editors. As a solution, they pose the "organization of a vanguard party guided by Marxism-Leninism that can coordinate and direct a many-sided struggle for a socialist democracy." But again, even a partial program for such a party is not enumerated. It's still one of the things that needs to be worked out, say the editors. The editorial instead concentrates most of its fire on various liberal illusions about the classless nature of the state and the myth of an enlightened imperialism.

The main new element in this article, however, is a short paragraph attempting to deal with the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. The attempt is so pitiful, though, and leaves so many questions unanswered, that it does little more than point up—to use the most charitable terms—their lack of political seriousness and their dishonest attempts to cheat history.

For example, the editors of *MLQ* state that they believe "the CPUSA has long been shackled by the liberal illusions of which we have spoken; that it has abandoned the fight for socialism, which is ostensibly 'not on the agenda'; . . . that it is no longer willing to undertake uncompromising, principled struggle against class collaborationists in the labor movement and against liberal imperialists in the Democratic Party . . ."

But how long has the CPUSA been shackled with these illusions, and why? What is their origin? When did it abandon the fight for socialism? Was it revolutionary in the 1930s when it supported Stalin's frame-up purge trial of the Old Bolsheviks? When it backed Roosevelt's capitalist "New Deal" and derailed work-



THE PL SCHOOL OF POLITICS. The top photo taken on a DRUM picket line in Detroit was originally printed in the January 23, 1969 issue of *The South End*, the Wayne State University student newspaper. The bottom photo appeared in the March issue of *Challenge*, Progressive Labor Party's monthly newspaper. The picture had no caption, and was run with an article on black caucuses at the Hotpoint plant in Cicero, Ill., giving the impression it was taken at that plant. As the March 22 issue of the *Guardian* commented, the picture was "doctored by *Challenge* so that [the] sign reading 'Black workers power' was changed to read 'Black Workers organize,' in what appears to be an effort to push PL's anti-nationalism line." To add insult to injury, the same issue of *Challenge* includes a smear attack on DRUM. William Epton, PL vice chairman, stated that "the U. S. ruling class singled out . . . DRUM . . . and gave it and its program extensive publicity. If black trade union caucuses are against the interests of the ruling class then we have to ask why did the ruling class decide to give this one such wide coverage?"

ers and black people into the Democratic Party? When it supported U.S. imperialism in World War II, going so far as to enforce a no-strike pledge in the unions?

Not only did PL skip over any serious analysis of the reformist degeneration of the American Communist Party, but it ducked completely the relationship of that degeneration to the rise of the "peaceful coexistence" bureaucratic gang in the Kremlin for whom the U.S. CP leaders had become blind apologists.

To attempt to analyze the degeneration of the American Communist Party in isolation from the forces in the Kremlin that shaped it is like trying to understand the mechanisms and workings of a puppet without taking a look at the puppeteer. Yet that was precisely the issue that the founders of PL did not want to come to grips with. They were ready to speak out against the reformist hacks who headed the American CP, but they were not ready to take on their masters in the Kremlin. (This insistence on an uncritical attitude toward Moscow paved the way for the later unthinking obedience to the Peking line.)

Similar problems are raised by the "critique" of the SWP. *MLQ's* editors say that "the Trotskyist SWP is dangerously wrong in its hostility to the Soviet Union

and the socialist bloc and . . . its position is harmful to the struggle for a socialist world. We recognize that the SWP has generally defended the socialist bloc against the attacks of imperialism, but the extent and nature of its criticism has often done far more damage to our cause than its support could offset."

But which of the Trotskyist criticisms of the Soviet Union do the editors of *MLQ* consider harmful? The criticisms of the frame-up trials and the forced labor camps? Criticism of the illusory attempt to build "socialism in one country"? Criticism of "coexistence" with imperialism? Criticism of the crushing of the Hungarian revolution? Not unimportant details.

Such were the political origins of Progressive Labor. On some questions their position evolved, or became clarified later on. Yet the lack of political clarity exhibited during the first year and a half, the unwillingness of the PL founders to honestly come to grips with their own past and political roots, to analyze the origins and history of Stalinism, the degeneration of the Third International and other phenomena of critical importance to a revolutionary party—all these failures left their indelible imprint on the later course and politics of PL.

(First of a series)

Boutelle rips Lindsay on school issue



Paul Boutelle

NEW YORK, March 29— Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, condemned today what he called the whole trend of the Lindsay administration "to turn our schools into concentration camps by sending in more and more police."

"Lindsay's policy of sending police into the schools places him with such notables as S. I. Hayakawa, Mayor Daley, Lester Maddox and the government of South Africa, all of whom depend on police repression to solve social problems," the candidate said.

Boutelle cited the following facts as examples of this "police state" approach: On March 10, Lindsay ordered Police Commissioner Howard P. Leary to prepare a plan for speedier police response to "violence" in the schools. He called upon school principals and supervisors to ask for help from police at the first sign of "trouble," to have "no hesitation in calling in the cops."

Insulting the students by implying that they did not have the intelligence to rebel against school conditions without the help of adults, Lindsay attempted to use the well-worn "outside agitator" explanation to launch his police control program. He said, "Some itinerants are traveling from school to school."

Lindsay's school superintendent Dr. Bernard Donovan took the same "outside agitator" line in a statement March 9: "A number of adults with revolutionary tendencies" are fomenting the trouble, he said. "There's too much printed material and general similarity for me to believe it is not being led by adults."

A week later Donovan announced a plan to train between 60 and 100 security guards for placement in 20 of the most "troubled" junior and senior high schools. In addition each school principal was ordered to name a security official whose primary duty would be to coordinate with the police.

Boutelle pointed to the situation at Canarsie High School as "a perfect example of the Lindsay-Shanker approach. This is a school which is crowded to over 63.6

percent over capacity," he said. "When disturbances broke out at this school, what did they do? They sent in more cops, they established more teacher corridor patrols and suspended all the 17-year-olds who they said were truants . . ."

"Now we hear that if the projected cuts in state aid are adopted, the new education budget will have to be slashed by \$157,000," Boutelle added.

"Students are not like they used to be. They are not putting up with this. They will not put up with a racist system that spends billions of dollars on the war in Vietnam, while funds for things like education are cut."

Special May Day weekend set for New York area

"World Revolution 1969" is the theme of the May Day Socialist Educational Weekend to be held May 2-4 at 873 Broadway in New York City. Young socialists throughout the East Coast region are invited to participate in the conference, which is being sponsored by the New York Young Socialist Alliance and the New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Among the topics discussed will be: reform and revolution in American history; the black liberation struggle; the meaning of the 1968 worker-student uprising in France; and the need for a revolutionary party and youth organization.

Speakers will include: George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and author; Peter Camejo, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from a three month stay in Cuba; Tony Thomas, National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Mary-Alice Waters, staff writer for *The Militant*.

Opening the conference on Friday, May 2 at 8:30 p.m. will be a film on the 1968 May-June events in France, along with an eyewitness account by Mary-Alice Waters who was there as a reporter for *The Militant*.

A high point of the weekend will be a campaign rally featuring Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers New York mayoral candidate and other candidates on the Socialist Workers ticket.

For more information, contact the Young Socialist Alliance, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

A correction

A report in our last issue gave the incorrect impression that the Detroit paper, the *Black Student Voice*, had endorsed the slated April 3 citywide high school strike here. The *Black Student Voice* has not endorsed the strike.

High schoolers for Boutelle mapping active campaign

By Nancy Perkus and Simon Carr (The authors are members of High School Students for Boutelle, a group supporting Socialist Workers Party candidate Paul Boutelle for Mayor of New York.)

NEW YORK— High school students are becoming more and more aware of the need for a definite alternative to the "one party system" in this country. The negligible differences between the Democrats and Republicans make it, in reality, a one party system, owned and operated by business interests. It is impossible for a candidate representing big business to, at the same time, answer the needs of the majority.

High school students are looking for a radical alternative. What is needed is a candidate who will represent the interests of the people, including the thousands of high school students. We think Paul Boutelle is such a candidate.

High School Students for Boutelle are

campaigning in support of a 17 point program which we feel is needed to eliminate many of the problems foisted upon the New York high schools. The 17 points are listed below. Two slogans, Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. Troops and Black and Puerto Rican Control of Black and Puerto Rican Education, are the focal point of Boutelle's campaign.

In our founding conference on March 22, the following aims were established for building the Boutelle for Mayor campaign: support to the April 5 action against the Vietnam war; arrangement for debates on the war and other issues involved in the campaign; distribution of educational information to high school students on the campaign.

Anyone who wants to help in any way or to have Boutelle or one of the other SWP candidates speak or debate at your school should contact the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) or call 533-4450.

Paul Boutelle supports this high school program

1. Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education from kindergarten on up.
2. Full Third World Studies programs, an education relevant to the needs of the students and community.
3. The banning of all police and security guards from the schools.
4. More Spanish-speaking teachers and classes in Spanish.
5. Right of free speech for all high school students and teachers. The right to organize, assemble, pass out leaflets and petition in the schools. Bulletin boards, meeting rooms, and student-controlled newspapers to be made available to students without censorship.
6. For a high school in Harlem.
7. An end to disciplinary expulsions and expulsions for truancy.
8. Establishment of elected student policy-making boards to run student activities in schools and to handle discipline cases.
9. Preferential hiring of black and Puerto Rican teachers and administrators.
10. Crash school construction program to end overcrowding and to replace all dilapidated buildings.
11. Jobs for all high school graduates.
12. Free higher education for all who desire it, with scholarships for those who need them.
13. An end to the tracking system. Special tutoring for all students who fall behind.
14. Free school meals.
15. Hiring of people from the community as school aids.
16. Full program of adult education and job training.
17. The right of 18-year-olds to vote.

PAUL BOUTELLE FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK

if you support

- Bringing Our GIs Home from Vietnam Now
- Black and Puerto Rican Control of Black and Puerto Rican Education
- Scrap the War Budget— Spend \$\$ to End Poverty and Racial Oppression
- The Socialist Reconstruction of America

JOIN THE NEW YORK SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

- I would like more information.
- I would like to arrange a meeting for one of the candidates.
- I want to help the SWP campaign.
- Enclosed is a donation of \$.....
- Although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform, endorse the SWP's 1969 mayoral ticket as a positive alternative to the capitalist parties.

Name
 Address
 Zip Phone
 School

Organization

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 Phone (212) 533-4450, 477-9506

CALENDAR

DETROIT

No Forum April 4.

DO HOURS LAWS AID WOMEN WORKERS? A panel on recent attempts to repeal a Michigan law which limits working hours for women. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m., 3737 Woodward. Contrib. Employed 75c, Unemployed and students 35c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

NEW YORK

BLACK CONTROL OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY Strategy for Revolution. Speaker: Tony Thomas, SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President. Fri. April 4, 8:30 p.m.

GIS UNITED AGAINST THE WAR—THEIR PERSPECTIVES. Speaker: Joe Miles, a black leader of GIs United at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg. Fri., April 11, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, H.S. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

PREREQUISITES FOR RADICAL CHANGE IN AMERICA. Speaker: William Domhoff, Author of "Who Rules America." Fri., April 4, 8 p.m., 2338 Market St. Donation \$1 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

A memorial tribute

The forging of a revolutionary

(Beatrice Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died suddenly March 9. She was 43. The following are excerpts from a speech about her delivered by Joseph Hansen at a memorial meeting held in New York, March 19. Editor of Intercontinental Press, Joseph Hansen is a long time leader of the SWP.)



Beatrice Hansen

To understand what made Bea the way she was, it is necessary to recall those days in Flint, Michigan, where she was born and grew up.

The Socialist Party at that time was much larger and much more militant than might be imagined, looking at the remnants of that party still to be found on the scene. It had a leftward moving wing of young radicals; and the Trotskyists were there, advancing the program of revolutionary socialism.

In Flint, members of the left wing of the Socialist Party were playing a strategic role in organizing the auto workers. In the process, sitdown strikes flared that were of major importance in the rise of the CIO.

Bea's older sister Genora and Genora's husband, Kermit Johnson, both of them in the Socialist Party, were leaders in those strikes, as was Bea's older brother Jarvis; and Bea saw from the inside how the strikes were organized and led and fought in the face of enormous difficulties, including a union-hating corporation, labor fakers, stool pigeons, and cops who

were free with their clubs, their guns, and their tear gas.

It was this living experience that led some of these rebels to draw revolutionary socialist conclusions. When the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party, with the blessing of Norman Thomas, expelled the Trotskyists, Genora and Bea were among those in Flint who said, "We're all Trotskyists."

Bea applied for membership in the Socialist Workers Party when it was founded in 1938 by those who had been expelled from the Socialist Party. This was only common sense in view of the rare opportunity to become a charter member of the new organization.

But the SWP organizer in Flint, some-

was the revolt of the working class. As an intelligent, plastic child, she was caught up in one of the most militant thrusts of the great working-class upsurge of the late thirties.

She saw the power of an aroused working class with her own eyes. She lived in it. She became a product of it.

These were the forces that gave us the woman we knew, hating capitalism and all its lies and pretenses, inspired by the vision of socialism, supremely confident of the capacity of her people—the people in the plants and mills—to change this America into a better world.

Three more things must be added in describing what shaped her.

First, Bea also knew the primitive and politically backward aspects of the workers. She knew this from her own working-class background. She knew it from long years in the plants as a worker herself. She understood to perfection what persistence and patience is required to raise the political level of the American workers, to bring them to understand what their position is as a class in the world and what their perspectives are.

Secondly, Bea knew the ins and outs of union activity—not only in the period of stormy upsurge, but in a period of retrogression when the militants cowered under the assault of the witchhunters.

Her usual role was that of a steward. She was thus always in intimate contact with the rank and file, here fellow workers, and was acutely aware of their thinking, their problems, and what they were prepared to do and able to do in facing the company, the union bureaucracy, the witchhunters and the cops at a given time and place.

Thirdly, she was a very active party builder, and that meant, among other things, developing her own theoretical understanding, keeping up with events, putting the problems faced in the plant and in the union in a very broad context—the context of the class struggle on a global scale. Thus she was a student in the best sense of the term—a person always interested in learning.

All these things, combined with her native talents, gave Bea extraordinary skill as an organizer, and it was primarily as an organizer that she advanced and became widely known in the party until the membership as a whole recognized her merits and made her a member of the National Committee.

Bea was especially good in two kinds of situations. The first was where there was trouble—where a branch was lagging, or in a crisis, or in a seemingly hopeless tangle.

Bea knew how to take hold of such situations and put things back in running order.

The other kind of situation where she was especially good was in openings where it was possible to make rapid gains by energetically mobilizing all the forces available and leading them into action in a correct way—an inspired way—as a team, pulling together, compensating for each other's weaknesses, multiplying each other's strengths.

The most important part of Bea's experience and education as a revolutionary socialist was her long years in the party as an activist.

Among other assignments, she served as business manager of Pioneer Publishers, and of *The Militant*, and as manager of Mountain Spring Camp.



Joseph Hansen

what conservative in such matters, however radical he was in other respects, thought that at 14 the applicant was under age. He did permit her to have the status of an active sympathizer, and she had to be content with that until she finally overcame the formal barrier in 1940 or 1941.

So, if you go by the books, Bea was a member of the SWP for 28 or 29 years. If you go by the reality, she was a socialist from the age of 11—roughly 32 years.

This early achievement of political consciousness enabled Bea to gain a background of experience that was extraordinary for her generation.

Giant social forces that came to her in the form of personal experiences molded her into what she became—a revolutionary socialist to the marrow of her bones.

The first of these forces was the great depression, a scourge that directly affected her parents and her home life.

Of all the absurdities, all the contradictions, all the crying contrasts between the reality and the pretenses of capitalism, nothing is quite like a major depression. Crops rotting in the fields while millions go hungry. Factories standing idle and silent while millions hunt for jobs. Capitalism appears to have reached the ultimate in irrationality. And this irrationality, like some of the wars of capitalism, enters into the daily lives of the workers in the most palpable, elementary way. For Bea, the meaning of a major economic depression was burned forever into her emotional outlook and her consciousness.

The second giant force that shaped Bea

Her party experience was broad as well as intensive. Besides Flint and Detroit, she spent years in New York and in Chicago and finally Los Angeles.

Bea's life was so intimately bound up with party activities that it is not possible to separate what she did from the history of the party itself. The victories of the party were victories for her. The same held for the setbacks. Both victories and setbacks were translated into personal vicissitudes.

An example was the effect of the prolonged prosperity and the witchhunting of the McCarthy period. The workers became politically quiescent, and this in turn weighed on the revolutionary socialists working in the plants and unions. Some of them became influenced to such an extent as to grow soft and lost their revolutionary zeal. One of the consequences for the SWP was a factional struggle in the fifties to preserve the integrity of the party from this infection.

Detroit turned out to be a stronghold for the backsliders. In the subsequent split, they took almost the entire branch out of the party. Only eight comrades were left there. Bea, of course, was one of the eight. But it was a cruel experience to see comrades with whom she had worked for years in the plants and in the union fall by the wayside.

With the aid of a few reinforcements, these eight comrades rebuilt the Detroit branch from the ground up once again, restoring it to its proper place among the branches of the SWP. Thus, in some of the most difficult years faced by the American Trotskyist movement, Bea was among those who set an example of firmness and devotion to principles.

This firmness made it possible for the party to move ahead when new openings finally came. These began in 1959 and 1960 with the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban revolution, coupled with the upsurge of the black liberation movement, led to the radicalization of a new generation of youth that then deepened and broadened with the involvement of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the Vietnam war.

A fresh revolutionary breeze began to blow; and the party was able to turn its attention to a new type of problem not seen since the end of World War II—how to take maximum advantage of widening opportunities.

In this situation, Bea played a notable role. She accepted an assignment in one of the most productive areas at the moment—Chicago—and what she and the comrades working with her did in the time they were there opened a new chapter in the history of the party.

During the past two years, Bea played a similar role in the Los Angeles branch. Here, it should be added, she took the additional assignment of helping Jim Cannon and Rose Karsner during the last year of Rose's life, when she was fatally ill with cancer.

One of the products of Bea's collaboration with Jim was the publication of his book, *Letters from Prison*.

From its very foundation, the American Trotskyist movement has laid exceptional stress on party building; that is, the recruiting, educating, assembling, and mobilizing of cadres—the human link between theory and the masses required to carry a revolution through to success.

The founders of our movement did not reach this concept or carry on this practice out of the inspiration of genius. They learned it out of hard, practical experience, out of lessons drawn by the American revolutionary movement itself from errors and defeats. They added to this what they learned from the Leninist theory and practice of party building. Thus the forming of cadres is one of the main preoccupations of our party.

To show what the SWP means by cadres, Bea could be offered as an almost perfect example.

To her, the party was not like other parties. It was a way of life. The party made it possible for a person like her, rebelling against everything associated with a rotten dying social system, to find a place in the revolutionary process where she could use all her talents and energy and know-how to speed the birth of a new economic and social system.

She gave everything to the task of constructing a revolutionary party. And for a thinking person, who wants to dedicate his life to serve mankind in the most effective way, there is no greater satisfaction in times like these.

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Charge Bolivia CP sabotaged guerrillas

The March 31 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries the text of a letter of resignation from the Bolivian Communist Party written by Jesus Lara, a party regional leader in Cochabamba.

According to *Punto Final*, a Chilean left-wing weekly which published the letter, Lara's resignation had a sharp impact on the Bolivian CP. His letter sheds new light on the role of the Bolivian CP leaders in the sabotage of Che Guevara's guerrilla forces. Most serious, Lara charges that they withheld aid from survivors of the guerrilla forces who were attempting to make their way to Chile after the murder of Che.

"... Under a feeble pretext, he [Bolivian CP secretary Jorge Kolle] refused to give the essential credentials to an emissary that Cochabamba sent to Chile to secure the cooperation of the Chilean comrades in helping to get the survivors into that

country. At the same time, he refused the proposals the Chileans made for assuring the final steps in the rescue. Later, he failed to follow consistently the plan developed for the guerrillas' exit from the country. For that reason the three Cubans continued their trip under the care of the ELN [National Liberation Army].

"Finally, as he confessed to me personally, Kolle took no security measures to guarantee the success of the operation, which resulted in the humiliating scenes in Sabaya, where the Cubans were on the verge of falling into the hands of the Bolivian army."

A statement released by the Bolivian CP on its 20th anniversary, asserts that "The foquista [nuclei] conception of guerrilla warfare had its Waterloo in Bolivia. It served only to reinforce the shaky props of military rule and international reaction."

Lara takes on this charge of the Bolivian CP leadership, specifically secretaries Jorge Kolle and Mario Monje, pointing to their earlier show of bravado in favor of guerrilla warfare and later denunciation of it. He describes the process by which the CP leaders came to declaim the guerrilla fighters.

His own opinion, Lara states, is that "guerrilla warfare cannot be and is not the only road that can lead to annihilating the enemies of the people. Nor can the formation and development of a Marxist-Leninist Communist party depend solely on the progress of guerrilla warfare, as Debray incorrectly maintains. But guerrilla warfare is one of the forms of armed struggle and in certain circumstances it can facilitate the seizure of power."

Four days after the publication of Lara's letter of resignation, the Cochabamba paper *Los Tiempos* printed a "communiqué" reportedly signed by the Bolivian CP's Regional Committee, stating that Lara had been expelled "for his antiparty activity, his ideological degeneration, his acts of informing, and his betrayal of the party and the Bolivian working class and people."



FALLEN GUERRILLA. Roberto (Coco) Peredo, one of the original group with Che. Inti Peredo, his brother, is now the leader of the ELN, National Liberation Army.



Che

Lara replied, stating his disbelief that the Regional Committee's statement was genuine since the majority on it had always backed his position. He said that the "'communique' . . . has all the characteristics of a forgery," and "that the forgery was the exclusive work of three members of the Regional Committee, of whom I will say only that they are distinguished by their blind obedience to Monje-Kolle."

Lara also noted that the party statutes had previously been changed to remove the old Stalinist norm of expelling anyone who had resigned.

In addition, by way of background to the methods of the Bolivian CP leaders, Lara told of an attempted bribe—an expensive trip offered him to the Soviet Union, after he had insisted on finding the responsibility for the betrayal of the guerrilla forces.

The full text of Lara's letter of resignation and excerpts from his reply to the "expulsion" are available from *Intercontinental Press*; P.O. Box 635, Madison Square Station; New York, N.Y. 10010. Single copies, 50 cents; 26 weeks, \$7.50.

United Fruit man sets off ruckus at U of Washington

By Bill Martin

SEATTLE—When the University of Washington administration allowed a recruiter for the United Fruit Company onto campus last month, without regard to the wishes or desires of the student body, they started a cycle they are still trying by various means to stop.

The United Fruit Company salesman, Ralph Powers, was met by a group of 350 to 400 students who responded to a call by SDS to protest his presence. Some of the students wished to question Mr. Powers as to the effects of his company on the lives of Latin Americans, the people of Guatemala in particular. However, Mr. Powers left rudely before this could be done.

The university administration responded to the student action by suspending five leaders of the University of Washington SDS. A disciplinary hearing for the five was held on March 13. An SDS rally was held prior to the hearing; among the speakers was former Maryknoll priest Art Melville, recently expelled from Guatemala for his support of the guerrilla movement there. Melville came to Seattle to testify on behalf of the five students and to present first-hand evidence of the role of United Fruit in Latin America.

Following the rally, about 800 of those attending marched across the campus to the hearing. Cops blocked the entrances to the building and the hearing room. As a few of us tried to enter the room, a couple of the guards started throwing punches and shoving us to the ground, but there were 800 of us, and they soon gave up.

The room was filled when we entered it. It had been purposely selected by the administration because it was small.

As we moved forward, the chairman of the committee, Prof. Cornelius Peck, beat upon the table with a gavel and ordered us out. We stated we had come to observe what was supposed to be an open hearing. He replied that the room was too small and that we should leave. SDS had reserved the large ballroom and called that fact to Prof. Peck's attention. He then told us to go there and he would have the hearing piped in. "We all go or no one goes," the students chanted back. Peck, now in a real sweat, called the hearing to a close.

The administration's response to the day's events was an announcement by the president that an undetermined number of students would be suspended. Further, he stated that the names of noncampus participants would be turned over to the Washington State attorney general for legal action. Some individuals have been notified of either suspension or possible legal action. These include mainly SDSers, but also at least one person from UMAS (United Mexican American Students) and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SDS and YSA issued a call for an open forum the next day to build support for those under attack and to explain the conflict. The forum was well attended throughout its four to five hours.

The campus is now closed for finals and spring vacation but the struggle will go on when it reopens.

SEATTLE—Seven of the individuals involved in the protest action at the University of Washington have been arrested on charges of "trespassing."

In passing . . . views and reviews

Under the impetus of the dispute between the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies many socialist theorists have begun to rethink the whole problem of the transition period between capitalism and socialism.

The March *Monthly Review* features an exchange on this question between Charles Bettelheim, the French economist, and MR editor, Paul Sweezy. Bettelheim presents the Maoist view that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are capitalist countries. He evidently also thinks there is an imminent danger of capitalist restoration in Cuba. However, he thinks China is doing fine.

Sweezy argues against the idea that these countries are already capitalist. He says that there is the danger of capitalist restoration in the USSR and Eastern Europe and that this is imminent because a "new bourgeoisie" is risen up to challenge the "old bureaucrats." The so-called "cultural revolution" in China took care of this new bourgeoisie there, he argues.

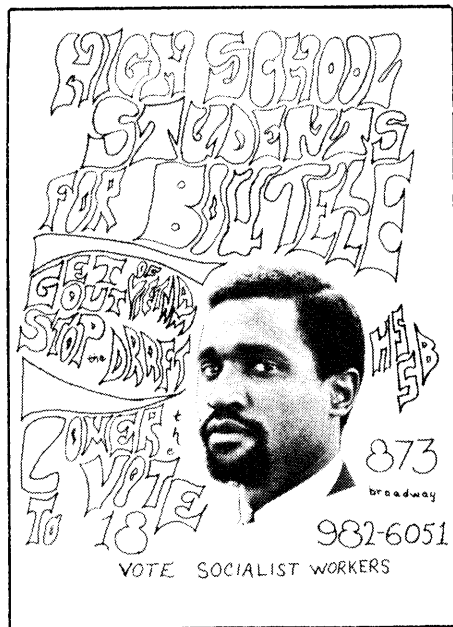
Assessing the exchange, Sweezy says that he and Bettelheim are striving "toward a viable theory of what is surely, along with imperialism, one of the two decisive phenomena of the world scene in the second half of the twentieth century, the society in transition between capitalism and socialism."

This whole question was analyzed in great depth by Leon Trotsky who arrived at the theoretical conclusion that the process of bureaucratization had made the Soviet Union into what he characterized as a degenerated workers state. He analyzed the bureaucracy not as a "new class" but as a privileged social stratum that had usurped political power through the destruction of the Soviets. This view is elaborated in his classic study of the USSR, *The Revolution Betrayed* (Merit Publishers, New York.)

Kurt Vonnegut Jr. is one of the most popular novelists on the contemporary American scene — and deservedly so, in my opinion. *Cat's Cradle* and *The Sirens of Titan* — two really fine novels — have sold 150,000 and 200,000 copies respectively. Also to be recommended is his *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater*. All of Vonnegut's work is highly satirical and very funny.

His new novel, *Slaughterhouse-Five*, or *The Children's Crusade*, is scheduled for publication shortly. Apropos of this event the *New York Times* carried an article March 21 in which Vonnegut is quoted extensively.

"You can't write novels without a touch of paranoia," says Vonnegut. "I'm paranoid as an act of good citizenship, concerned about what the powerful people are up to. I suspect them of making money any way they can."



On the war he says, "The suggestion of declaring a victory in Vietnam and withdrawing is charming. I'd simply get out. I've lost my honor enough to know that it doesn't come to much to lose one's honor."

"Unfortunately, military successes are seen as proof of moral or racial superiority. The other people — by virtue of not being bulletproof — will not be permitted to reproduce."

On villains: "But everyone has my sympathy, even those I'm most indignant about. I've never written a story with a villain. I think even the rich and the powerful are capable of great moods of tenderness, brought on by dogs and children."

A group of high school and junior high school students who support the Socialist Workers Party's mayoralty campaign in New York City have put out the first issue of their publication, *High School Students for Boutelle*. It has an offbeat layout and it makes interesting reading. The issue contains five articles, including an interview with the candidate. To get your copy write to: High School Students for Boutelle, c/o Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

Is Phillip Bonosky a dirty old man? His shocked review of the movie *I am Curious (Yellow)* in the March 18 *Daily World* in which he talks about how "the sluice gates of pornography" have been opened upon the American people "at a high level of power" certainly might suggest to some an affirmative answer.

He piously advises us that, "Marxism has never preached asceticism. But on the other hand, it is just as opposed to extracting sex from its social commitments, as a thing to 'enjoy' . . ."

—Malachi Constant

The Murder of Nigeria —An Indictment

By Obi Egbuna

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Black students renew fight on issues at Chicago State

By L. P. Johnson

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

HARVEY, Ill., March 17 — After two weeks of negotiations with school administrators, black students at Chicago State College have resumed actions to support our demands for an autonomous black studies department, a black cultural center, the immediate dismissal of racist faculty members and other needed reforms.

On Friday, March 14, the Afro-American Organization closed all classes and held a teach-in for black students. Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket presided as "teacher" for that day. Jackson and other members of Breadbasket had difficulty entering the school because of the presence of Chicago police who have again been ordered onto the campus. They were threatened with the possibilities of prosecution by the state for trespassing on state property or being immediately taken to jail. They did gain entrance, and at the present no actions have been taken against them.

As a response to the students' actions, President Milton Byrd and the executive

council of the Senate have proposed to establish a black cultural center and a black studies program if a qualified person can be found to act as coordinator. Byrd also made it clear that the funds needed to implement the demand would have to be approved by the board of governors and then could only be fitted into the curriculum according to the proportions of the student body. Blacks at Chicago State compose 25 percent of the student body.

The students, however, are not accepting these proposals. Past "black programs" as now proposed by the council have meant token classes conducted by teachers chosen from the faculty who have not specialized in black studies. Also, classes were scheduled at inconvenient times with many prerequisites. Students are now planning further actions and holding out for the full acceptance of their demands by the administration. They are also contending for as much control of the black studies department and cultural center as possible.

The students' slogan is "black studies or no studies!"

Kentucky acts to bar a fighting attorney

By Robert Langston

The state of Kentucky is attempting to disbar "forever" from legal practice the colorful and courageous Louisville attorney, Daniel T. Taylor III. The 41-year-old lawyer has been a constant source of annoyance to the reactionary authorities of that Southern border state during his 14 years of practice. He has taken cases no other local lawyer would touch; his clients have been radicals, victims of police brutality, poor Afro-Americans accused of a variety of crimes.

Taylor has been on trial before a three-judge-panel of the Kentucky State Bar Association, an agency of the state government, since last July. He is charged with nine counts of misconduct, the most serious of which is that he "did falsely and disrespectfully accuse the presiding judge [Judge J. Miles Pound] of making a vile, low, mean, base, contemptible, derogatory, contumelious, injudicious statement, to wit: 'you dirty son of a bitch.'"

Another of the nine charges lodged against Taylor is that he accused Judge Pound "within full view and hearing of the jury" of "being under disability from either medicine or alcohol."

According to a dispatch by Ben A. Franklin in the March 18 *New York Times*, "The Bar Association's top officers have acknowledged that the most serious of the nine counts against Mr. Taylor may not be supported 'by a shred of evidence,' but the association has rejected Mr. Taylor's motion for acquittal on all accusations."

Judge Pound, towards whose judicial dignity Taylor is alleged to have behaved contemptuously, is in many ways as colorful a representative of the forces of "law



Daniel T. Taylor III

and order" as Taylor is of those who defend its victims. At the Jan. 29 trial of James Cortez, one of the "Louisville Six" (see *The Militant*, Feb. 21) who was falsely charged with cashing bad checks, Judge Pound was heard, according to the Jan. 30 *Louisville Courier-Journal*, to remark after having "filed away" the charges against Cortez, "Jeez, I couldn't let this go on. The Court of Appeals would laugh me off the bench." He immediately added, "I didn't make that statement for publication."

Before the beginning of the trial, according to the *Courier-Journal*, Judge Pound "surveyed the spectators who had gathered and said, 'I've never seen so many Commies come to see a guy get tried for writing cold checks.'" The *Courier-Journal* added, "The statement was made to a lawyer not participating in the case. The judge was on the bench, about 10 to 15 feet away from the 45 veniremen gathered for jury selection."

The Louisville paper's reporter also stated: "When Pound returned to the bench after the lunch recess, he slipped a snub-nose revolver into the drawer of his bench. Later, after the court had adjourned and most of the room had cleared, he slipped the pistol back out but fumbled it into the air, catching it finally against his chest and then leaving the courtroom."

Taylor has been one of the defense attorneys for the Louisville Six since the outset of the case. In one of the many civil-liberties battles of his career, Taylor, along with Leonard Boudin of New York, represented the three Young Socialists at the University of Indiana who were indicted in 1963 under a McCarthy-era state "antisubversion" law. That case finally ended in 1967 with complete victory for the three defendants.

Chicago indictments threat to liberties

In a move aimed at stifling dissent and intimidating the antiwar movement, a federal grand jury in Chicago indicted eight people March 21 in connection with the demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention in that city last August.

The eight are being framed on charges of conspiracy to incite a riot and "traveling in interstate commerce to incite a riot," under a clause of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. They reportedly face up to 10 years in prison and fines of \$20,000. More indictments are expected, according to the *Chicago Daily News*.

Those charged so far are: Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman of the "Yippies"; Bobby Seale, of the Oakland Black Panther Party; Lee Weiner, a research assistant at Northwestern University; and John R. Froines, assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon. Weiner and Froines were also charged with "teaching the use of an incendiary device to foment disorder."

The indictments, expected since August, had been held in abeyance for some time, indicating that the decision to go ahead was reached on a high governmental level, and only after careful consideration.

An additional 12 people were named as "coconspirators." Although they have not been indicted, the threat is ever present. They are Wolfe Lowenthal, Prof. Sidney Peck, Kathy Boudin, Connie Brown, Benjamin Radford, Brad Fox, Tom Neuman, Craig Shukiram, Dave Baker, Stu Alpert, Corina Fales, and Bea Taylor.

The demonstrations in Chicago last August drew international publicity. Millions of television viewers watched aghast as the police beat, clubbed, maced and tear-gassed the demonstrators. Mayor Daley, Hubert Humphrey and the officials of the Democratic Party bore responsibility for the actions of the police, but none of them were indicted.

Instead, the government decided to indict eight cops on the "lesser" charges of beating demonstrators or perjury. The indictments against this tiny handful of police are being presented as examples of the even-handed impartiality of the law and are meant to lend credence to the attack on the real target, the antiwar movement.

Also indicted was Enid Roth, a news director for NBC, who was charged with supposedly planting a microphone in a meeting room at the convention.

Jay Miller, executive director of the Chicago branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, in reference to the pat "balance" in the grand jury indictment, called it "a political rather than a judicial decision."

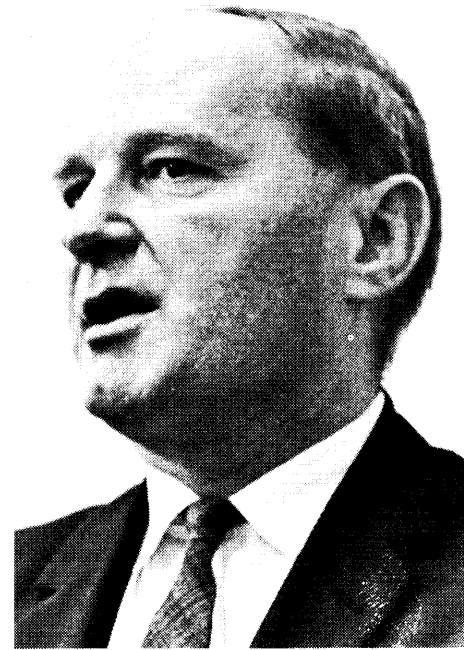
He noted that William J. Campbell, the federal district judge who instructed the grand jury, was "very close" to Mayor Daley of Chicago.

"These policemen," he added, "could not have done what they are charged with doing unless the city had shown such utter contempt for the rights of dissenters."

Another indication of the frameup nature of the indictments against the eight demonstrators was the inclusion of Bobby

Seale. Seale, who had been in Chicago less than a day, came to speak at a public rally.

Responding to the indictments, Dave Dellinger said: "We are people whose work against the war, poverty, racism, corporate and military power is being called a conspiracy. We are proud of this work. We will continue it. We invite all Americans to join 'The Conspiracy', helping us to build a society in which people have control over their lives."



Dave Dellinger

Cops in gang-up on black students at Northern Ill.

By John Votava

DEKALB, Ill., March 22 — It seems that not only is the social structure of America racist and oppressive for the black man but even the programs that are supposedly organized for his benefit only open the way for more brutality. Every university that brings in its token quota of black students receives money from the government. For a growing university like Northern Illinois in DeKalb this is very important. At Northern the token program is called CHANCE.

Last night three black students were arrested and one of them mauled with hammers in Rick's Pizza Shop in town. After it was over the cops arrested the black student for grand larceny and held him on \$10,000 bond while no arrests were made on the hammer-swinging goons. Later the police arrested two other black students in their dorms and the three are now hit with trumped-up charges of attempting to steal a record player from the pizza shop.

In response to these actions the one-percent black population at a university of 20,000 held a march on the following night. While in front of the campus Security Police Office, a few windows were broken. Later, 100 or so of the original 300 black students sat in a cafeteria all night to discuss the situation and the cops panicked. They sent in 12 police cars and a school bus full of riot police. All were carrying three-foot rubber truncheons and crash helmets. At least 12 were stationed in every wing in every dorm at the west end of campus and for about an hour seven-man patrols walked the area. At one time two waves of 10 and 12 cops respectively marched into the lounge adjoining the cafeteria where the black students were talking. Only when it was explained to the police that the students were perfectly within their rights to sit in a cafeteria and talk did they leave. Just to make sure, however, the sergeant in charge left a car out front 'for communication' and sent 'normal' patrols by the building once every five minutes.

It seems that no matter what the situation or which police force, the pigs have a consistent tendency to look the other way when black people are attacked and then "overreact" when black people organize themselves for self-defense.



Bobby Seale

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.

Antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson face frame-up court-martial

COLUMBIA, S. C. — On March 25 the Army brought formal charges against nine antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson, S. C. All nine have been associated with an antiwar group on base, GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

The patent frame-up of the nine GIs, on various charges — including "disrespect to a superior commissioned officer," "failure to obey a lawful order," "breach of peace," and "willful disobedience to a superior officer" — came immediately after the largest and most successful meeting that GIs United has held to date.

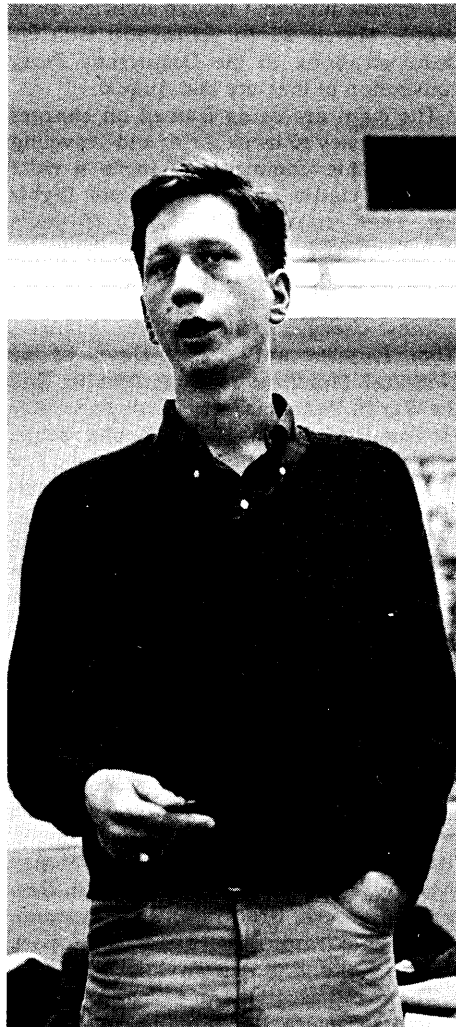
On March 20, over 100 GIs held a discussion outside the barracks of B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade. Although officers and NCOs were in the area at the time of the meeting, the men were not at any time told to stop their meeting, a lively discussion on the war in Vietnam.

But later the same night, several GIs were restricted to their rooms in the barracks by the battalion commander. The following day, four of the GIs were taken to the stockade under armed guard to await court-martial charges. On March 25 formal charges were brought against those four and five others.

The frame-up charges represent an attempt by the brass to clamp down on the tremendous increase in antiwar activity at Ft. Jackson. The men of GIs United have been making their antiwar views known all over the base. They have circulated petitions requesting facilities for meetings on post to discuss the war, and a legal suit has been filed to that end. Numerous GIs at Ft. Jackson have been planning to participate in the April 6 antiwar demonstration in Atlanta, Ga.

The antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson have gained nationwide publicity and support. Last week, noted constitutional attorney

Leonard Boudin announced plans to sue the Secretary of the Army and the commanding general at Ft. Jackson to prevent infringement on the GIs' rights, and



Pvt. Joe Cole

specifically their right to hold meetings and petition.

On March 19, Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, one of the nine, was acquitted at an earlier summary court-martial on charges of circulating the GIs United petition.

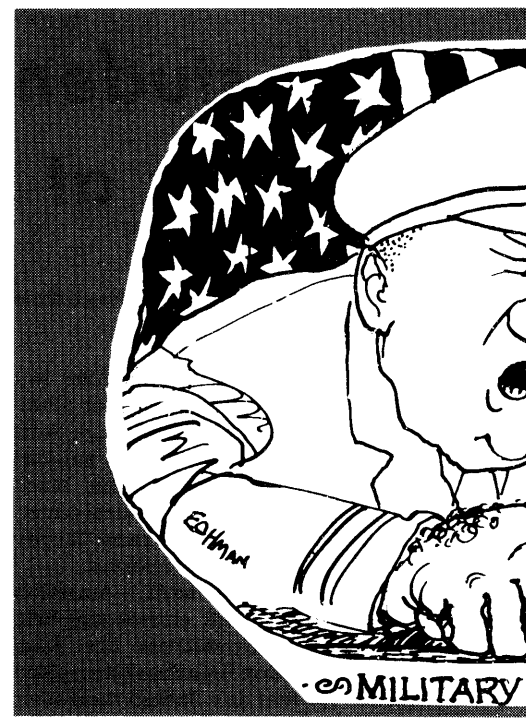
The present charges are much more serious, however, and are an attempt by the brass to victimize many of the leaders of GIs United. Eight of the men are being charged under Articles 89, 92 and 116 (disrespect to a superior commissioned officer, failure to obey a lawful order, and breach of peace). They are Pvt. Eugene Jose Rudder, Washington, D. C.; Pvt. Andrew Pulley, Cleveland, Ohio; Pvt. Joe Cole, Decatur, Ga.; Pvt. Adilberto Chaparro, New York City; Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, New York City; Pvt. Dominick Duddie, New York City; Pfc. Thomas Delmar, Cleveland, Ohio; Pvt. John Huffman, Oak Park, Ill.

The ninth GI, Pvt. Curtis Mays of Kansas City, Mo., is being charged under Articles 92, 116 and 134 (breaking restriction). Huffman is also charged under Article 134, and Rudder, under Article 90 (willful disobedience to a superior officer).

Altogether, four attorneys are involved in aiding the GIs. They are Howard Moore of Atlanta, David Rein of Washington, D. C., Leonard Boudin of New York, and Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, S. C.

Rudder, Pulley, Cole and Chaparro are still in the stockade under maximum security. The others are confined to their rooms under barracks arrest at this time. A trial date has not yet been set.

Contributions to aid in the defense efforts may be sent to: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 255, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011. Messages of support should be sent to GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, P. O. Box 543, Columbia, S. C.



A view from

For some time the Army has been trying to dissuade Pvt. Glover, a Young Socialist stationed in Vietnam, to express his socialist, antiwar views.

The article below, reproduced from *The Wall Street Journal*, offers an account of a particular bit of editorial slanting which the *Journal* suggests that Glover is likely to have even been beaten by them.

This contradicts the body of the concern about Glover. If he were as isolated and had little cause for concern. The fact that he expressed agreement with Glover's views on physical attacks are concerned, there is no doubt that a weekend pass would be a chore. Glover's views have not been shared by fellow GIs and have, in fact, demonstrated a powerful antiwar movement within the armed

Letter from Ft. Jackson

'A political maturity in our ranks'

The following is a letter received from one of the Ft. Jackson GIs just before court-martial charges were brought against him.

Ft. Jackson, S. C.

Several antiwar soldiers here have been assigned abroad. They were the first of GIs United to leave the country, thereby making our group internationalized. Needless to say, the struggle itself is already internationalized.

Along with their military orders, the brothers took along copies of *The Militant*,

special GI support petitions and our declaration.

One of the most beautiful things that has happened is the political maturity that has developed among our ranks.

Men are beginning to see an enemy and oppressor far beyond the officers and brass. They see that the whole damn system has become distinctively oppressive.

It is your coverage of our struggle here at Ft. Jackson, and all the other articles that appear in *The Militant* that has contributed in this political awakening. Or, as one of the guys put it, "The Militant has

helped my brothers see the light." On behalf of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, thank you. Thank you for covering our struggle and the whole GI struggle that is taking hold not only here, but wherever American troops are stationed.

Venceremos,
Jose Rudder

Dear Jose,

Before I was able to reply to your letter, the news came that you and eight of your brothers had been put in the stockade.

One of the big problems of the revolutionary movement is that many people sympathize with the aims of the movement but are reluctant to get into the fight because they have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of the enemy.

But always in history there are the vanguard fighters who see the need for struggle, are not overwhelmed by the seeming strength of the enemy, and who plunge into the battle.

These are the ones who inspire others to join the fight and eventually bring victory. I think that you and your brothers of GIs United are wonderful examples of that kind of vanguard fighter. You can be absolutely certain that your brave example will inspire many others — GIs and civilians — to get into the fight.

And, I am confident, you will also demonstrate that the brass is not as all-powerful as it seems. By the time your fight is over I think they may regret they ever started up with you.

On April 5 and 6 thousands of civilians will be marching with GIs in opposition to the filthy Vietnam war. They will learn about your fight and you can be sure there will be wide support for you among them.

And the word will not just be spread in this country. Just as your movement is being internationalized, so there is an international revolutionary force among civilians. In all parts of the world, people will be demanding your freedom.

We know you will stand firm. I hope you will be equally confident that we will do all in power in your defense.

Venceremos,
Harry Ring
Editor



Pvt. Eugene Jose Rudder

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Thursday, April 3, 1969

See Here, Pvt. Glover: A Socialist Soldier Gives the Army Fits

He Follows His Orders by Day,
Spreads His Views by Night;
Malcolm X and Che Guevara

By RICHARD R. LINGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
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But the Army would give a Sherman tank-though perhaps not an honorable discharge—to get rid of the clean-cut 21-year-old draftee Pvt. Glover, however, is willing to leave only with an honorable discharge. Otherwise he told a stern-faced Army review board recently, he would prefer to stay in service.

The problem is that Pvt. Glover is a Socialist, a member of the Socialist Workers Party which the Government says is subversive. Pvt. Glover, who was inducted about a year ago, makes no secret of his political beliefs. He freely says he opposes the war and the Army and he eagerly shares his views with an audience of soldiers who care to listen. But he says he opposes the Army only on his own time, after he finishes his daily chores as a Jeep driver and he says that what he does on his own time is his own business.

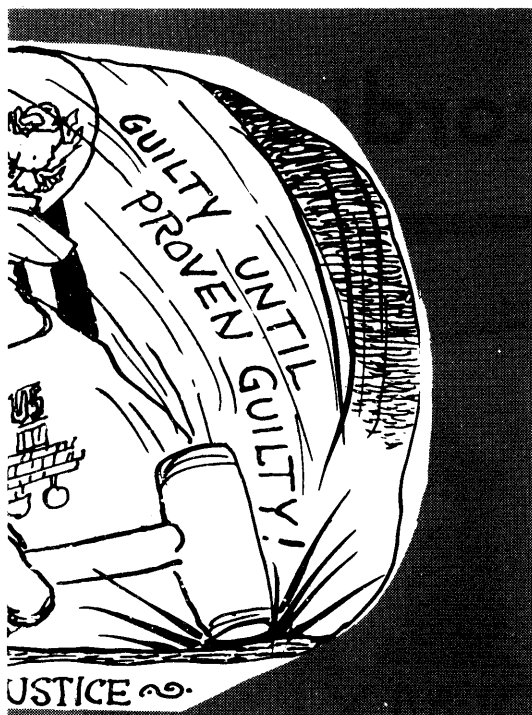
The Army, clearly upset, doesn't agree. It says it is going to toss him out of the service but it hasn't yet decided whether to give the Minneapolis recruit an honorable, general or undesirable discharge. If it is anything but honorable, says the soft-spoken youth, he will appeal to the Federal courts to let him stay in and serve his time or else give him an honorable discharge.

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Army officials are especially concerned because Pvt. Glover represents a brand of dissent that appears to be on the rise in the Army. They fear that if he is given an honorable discharge—by the Army or by the courts—dissenters will be more open in their dissent. They also think that an honorable discharge for Pvt. Glover, coupled with more open dissent in the ranks, could hurt Army morale.

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Wall Street

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ET JOURNAL,
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In effect, they say, such a ruling would mean that the Army wouldn't want to draft a nonsigner until it had thoroughly investigated him to make sure he wouldn't be a trouble-maker. Such investigations could be long and costly and perhaps not worth the trouble. "Millions of guys would take advantage of it as a loophole to beat the draft," says an officer in the infantry school here.

The Department of the Army could give its decision on Pvt. Glover any day now, and some officers here wish it would hurry. "Glover is inciting within the military similar to the ways some people are inciting at universities and high schools," complains a high-ranking officer here. "They never should have let him in the Army, and he should be put out as soon as possible. The only thing is, whatever discharge he gets will be wrong to a great many people."

One Officer's Viewpoint

A jut-jawed battalion officer adds, "How much attention does a guy get who just got back from Vietnam with a Bronze Star? Do you ask to interview that kind of man? No! But we have to send a Jeep to drive Pvt. Glover over for interviews again and again."

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Pvt. Glover figures he has interested 30 to 40 of his fellow soldiers in the Socialist approach to economics. "I wouldn't say I converted these guys, but I think I opened some minds," he says. Some of his buddies haven't opened their minds, however. Some soldiers get up from the table when he sits down to eat, an officer says. And Pvt. Glover says he twice has been beaten up by GIs who don't share his views.

The Army itself hasn't gone out of its way to make Pvt. Glover happy here. He has been given extra work details, and for a while he was restricted to the base. One officer here indicates Army officials thought the penalties might shape the youth up. "This is the only method the Army has of reaching a man who doesn't commit an offense for which he could be court martialed," he says.

Pvt. Andrew Pulley: 'a war of oppression'

By David Thorstad

For Pvt. Andrew Pulley, the inside of the stockade at Ft. Jackson, S. C., is getting familiar. He recently did a stretch there after being court-martialed for allegedly refusing an order to go to bed! The real reason, of course, is that Pulley is an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam war, a fighter for GI rights, and a fighter for the rights of black people.

On March 2, shortly after Pulley was released from the stockade on the going-to-bed frame-up, I had the opportunity to talk to him at the UFO coffeehouse in Columbia, S. C. He told me about his experiences as a black man in the U. S. Army and about the goals of GIs United.

The 18-year-old antiwar GI is from Cleveland, Ohio. "I ran into somewhat of a few problems in high school and junior high school also," he said. He joined the army last April when he was on probation and facing trumped-up charges for "inciting to riot."

"What does the army mean to you?" I asked.

"Over the last 10 months, the time that I have been in the service, it has been the most dreadful, the most inhuman experience of my life. I never dreamt of the army as being so corrupt, so far as racism, so far as illegal action . . . The last 10 months have proven to me that the army is based on lies."

Pulley said he never thought he could end up with the kind of predicament he was in. "I have seen people that are innocent found guilty where the evidence is overwhelmingly positive that the man is innocent."

In his own court-martial, Pulley gave as an example, he had been charged with allegedly disobeying direct orders from an NCO.

"According to regulations an NCO cannot give you a direct order. I had five witnesses, all of them black, and the sergeant had one, and I was found guilty."

Pulley said that the army had attempted to indoctrinate GIs against communism. "Who am I to say that capitalism or communism is the best?" he asked. "I don't know. Who are they to say that capitalism is the best, because actually, I don't think that they know."

"The thing is that we are trapped in the middle. We actually don't know. The majority of GIs, the privates, don't even know what communism is."

"I think the army has failed so far as letting people know why they are in it, and why they are serving their so-called country. Are they really serving the country or are they serving the man who manufactures the arms?"

Pulley continued along this line, "Which are they serving? Are they serving the population of the American people or are they serving six percent of the population?"

He dug into the racism of the war. "It's a war of oppression. We, the oppressed, have been called to oppress others of our own race, of our own color, so far as color is concerned."

"We the oppressed, who actually haven't yet seen freedom, haven't actually lived in



Pvt. Edwin Glover

democracy, are required to fight a war that supposedly stands for democracy.

"Not only the Army, but the United States is guilty of hiding the truth from its people, so far as explaining to them why we are in Vietnam now . . . It's for imperialist reasons," Pulley stated, "to colonize Vietnam. That's all."

I asked him about his attitude toward the National Liberation Front.

"I feel that the Americans have actually intruded on the Vietnamese people's land. They have barged their way into their houses, their homes. They have pushed them, that is, they have tried to push them back against the wall, but they have failed."

"I feel this way. If a man comes to my house with a weapon in his hand and telling me that he's going to force me to live the way he wants me to live, I would do the same thing that the Vietcong are doing now. I would do the exact same thing, or more so!"

Pulley pointed out that "most of the V. C. that the American soldiers kill are not from the North. They're from the South. So what this amounts to is that there is a civil war, at least that's what it was until the United States came in . . ."

"Any country, any race of people, any nationality of people should have the right to control themselves, their right to government, as they see fit."

"If democracy is supposedly so good," he asked, "why is it that we have to force it on another kind of people?" And the GI explained that you have to "really think about it, really evaluate it, really study it . . . You find that 'democracy' backs up dictatorships in other countries—at least the American 'democracy' does."

"So I believe that the V. C., Charlie, has every right as a human being, as a man and as a country to partake in what is his, to fight for his land."

Pulley discussed the accomplishments of the petition that GIs United have circulated in Ft. Jackson requesting the use of base facilities for an open meeting to discuss the issues raised by the war.

"I think the petition is the foundation of our success. If we can organize the GIs to one objective, to end the war, I think we can be very successful. I'm quite sure that over 90 percent of the GIs do not agree with the war and don't actually know what the war is all about."

Pulley stressed "getting GIs together, opening their eyes to the fact that we are being oppressed and abused by the army, by the war, and that the war is just a capitalist war . . . a war of wealth," he called it, "for the man who already has it."

Victimized Ft. Jackson GIs issue an appeal for support

The following is the text of Communique #1, a bulletin issued to all GIs at Ft. Jackson from GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The communique, dated March 22, 1969, was issued after four Ft. Jackson GIs were held in the stockade, and before charges were brought against five additional men.

Thursday night, 20 March 69, GIs United held our biggest, most successful meeting to date. It just happened—guys gathered outside the barracks and began rapping about the Vietnam war to their buddies, most of whom were leaning out the windows of B-14-4 [B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade] to dig the discussion. Upwards of 100 or more guys took part. No violence. No disturbance. Just a big rap session.

The brass came around, and they were scared. But there was nothing they could do except a little harassment of a few individuals. They knew they couldn't break up our meeting, because the guys were just exercising their democratic, constitutional right of free speech. So they just left.

They couldn't stop us, so they decided to pick on a few individuals. Later that night they put seven guys, all from HHD or B Co. 14-4, on restriction to their barracks and some even to their room. The next afternoon they came and picked up four guys: Pvts. Cole, Rudder, Pulley and Chaparro. These men are now in the stockade, waiting trial on charges of "breach of



Pvt. Andrew Pulley

Pulley said the whole thing would be over "once everybody feels half way the way I do." I asked him what he thought about the refusal of the Ft. Jackson authorities to accept the GIs' United petition.

"By their refusing to accept the petition, they have actually made a mistake," Pulley answered. "The public will really know what the Army is all about, and not only will the public know, but the rest of the GIs . . ."

"Sooner or later the GIs and the oppressed people of this country are going to see what's happening. They're going to get tired of what's going on."

He discussed the likely attitude of black war veterans. "I'm quite sure that when they come back from Vietnam they will realize like many others that they are coming back to the same thing that they left behind, the same racist society, the same capitalist organization, the same hypocritical system that the United States is governed by."

"There is no doubt that they will stop and think, 'Why did I go to Vietnam? Did I go to fight for this? Did I go to fight for this man, to maintain his wealth, to maintain his standard of growth, while I'm barely surviving?'"

"This is why I'm so strongly against the war, because if a man has risked his life, has risked actually his whole family, going into the war to fight for something he doesn't know about, for him to have to come back to his home, and live in the same rundown place and the same old racist society is a shame, just a shame."

"I feel that we can definitely change this type of racism."

peace" (!), "inciting to riot" and "disrespect to an officer"! They have committed no crime—all they did was speak out against the dirty war in Vietnam.

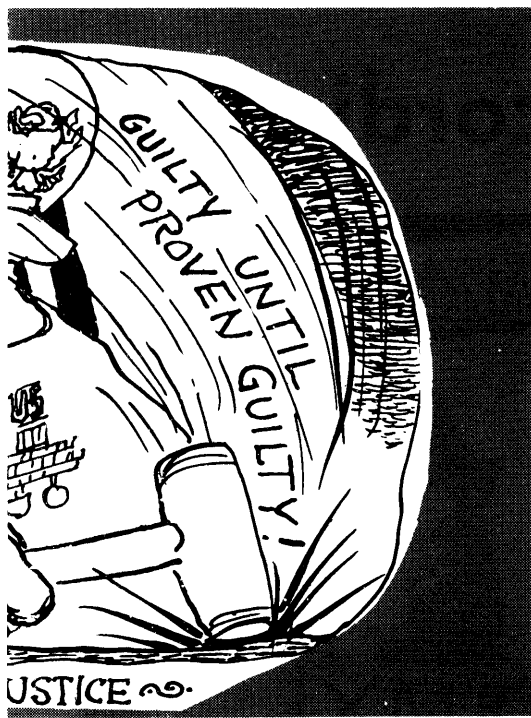
We are going to defend them in every way possible. We aren't going to be intimidated! We're going to continue to speak out against the war. It's the brass who act like traitors and subvert the very principles of democracy our country was founded on. But we're not going to let them get away with it.

The Ft. Jackson Four represents a cross-section of all GIs who are against the war: one is white, one black, and two are Puerto Rican. They are being victimized for exercising the rights that all GIs should have as American citizens. The fight to free the Ft. Jackson Four is your fight. Join us in defending these men and getting them out of the stockade (by legal and legitimate means). Let the Army know that they can no longer step on GIs. Send letters of support for the Ft. Jackson Four today, c/o GIs United, P. O. Box 543, Columbia, S. C.

Which side are you on? Either you support the brass, the lifers, and their dirty war; or you support the fight for GIs' rights and an end to the war in Vietnam.

If you are against the war in Vietnam and for constitutional rights for GIs you belong in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

We are fighting for democracy — Our voice is our weapon — United we will win!



A view from Wall Street

For some time the Army has been waging a private war with Pvt. Edwin Glover, a Young Socialist stationed at Fort Benning, Ga. The aim of this particular war is to dissuade Pvt. Glover from exercising his constitutional right to express his socialist, antiwar views.

The article below, reproduced from the front page of the March 20 Wall Street Journal, offers an account of the Army's war against Pvt. Glover. One particular bit of editorial slanting should be noted. In the closing paragraphs, the Journal suggests that Glover is largely isolated from his fellow GIs and has even been beaten by them.

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See Here, Pvt. Glover: A Socialist Soldier Gives the Army Fits

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He Follows His Orders by Day,
Spreads His Views by Night;
Malcolm X and Che Guevara

By RICHARD R. LEGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FORT BENNING, Ga. — Pvt. Edwin I. Glover is a model recruit. He never breaks regulation. He carries out his duties to the letter. He is willing to fight for America in Vietnam or anywhere else.

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Army officials are especially concerned because Pvt. Glover represents a brand of dissent that appears to be on the rise in the Army. They fear that if he is given an honorable discharge—by the Army or by the courts—dissenters will be more open in their dissent. They also think that an honorable discharge for Pvt. Glover, coupled with more open dissent in the ranks, could hurt Army morale.

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In review -- six Malcolm X recordings

Since the number of Malcolm X records on the market has increased from three to six in the last year, the following facts (and opinions) are offered as a guide for prospective purchasers and listeners:

Message to the Grass Roots. This was the first Malcolm record, issued in 1965, and the only one released before his death. It consists of around one-half of Malcolm's speech to the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference in Detroit on Nov. 10, 1963 — one of the last public speeches he gave before leaving the Black Muslims. Milton Henry made the selections from his own tape, but they were approved by Malcolm before the record was issued.

This is one of the most powerful speeches Malcolm ever gave. The text of the record is printed in *Malcolm X Speaks*, Chapter I, where the background of the speech is presented in a preface.

The Afro-American Broadcasting Co. of Detroit introduced this record, but it is now being handled by the Grass Roots L.P. Co., 14751 Schaefer Rd., Detroit, according to the current jacket. Around 43 minutes.

Malcolm X Speaks Again. This too was released in 1965, in the form of answers by Malcolm to various questions and objections. It is divided into five parts, with the following titles: Violence and Non-Violence; Human Rights and Civil Rights; Birmingham Sunday School Bombings; The Ballot or the Bullet; Black Nationalism. Most of the selections date from the period shortly after Malcolm began to build his own movement — around the last week of March or the first week of April, 1964, just before his first trip to the Middle East and Africa that year.

Twenty Grand Records of New York was the original producer. It was out of print for a while, but now is being circulated under a new title, *Malcolm X Speaking*, with the distributor listed as Ethnic Records. Around 45 minutes.

Ballots or Bullets. Published in 1967, this is the speech Malcolm gave in Detroit on April 12, 1964, one day before he left for Mecca and Africa. The meeting at which he spoke was sponsored by GOAL (Group on Advanced Leadership), which had to go to court to stop efforts to cancel the use of the hall contracted for.

Although this record has been given a similar title, it is not to be confused with the talk, *The Ballot or the Bullet*, which Malcolm gave at a CORE symposium in Cleveland on April 3, 1964 and which was printed in *Malcolm X Speaks*, Chapter III. Although some of the themes of these two talks are the same, the content



is not, and the text of this record has not been printed anywhere.

The distributor is Jamie Guyden Distributing Corp. 919 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19123. Around 53 minutes.

Malcolm X Talks to Young People. A stereo record issued in 1968, these are excerpts from a speech given on Dec. 31, 1964, at the Harlem headquarters of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. A group of 37 teen-agers from McComb, Miss., were visiting New York during the Christmas holiday, and some of them wanted to learn what Malcolm stood for; he welcomed the opportunity and spoke with them for two hours.

The record contains the following notice: "This talk by Malcolm X was recorded on nonprofessional equipment. The listener will detect noises on the record from faulty microphone; however, the content of the message is clear and significant." It is true that this and other Malcolm tapes are not

technically perfect. The reason is that few "professionals" were interested in Malcolm while he was alive; most of the tapes were made by "amateurs," without whom we would have lost these speeches altogether.

Most of the present selections will also be found in the Young Socialist Pamphlet entitled *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* (1965).

The producer is Douglas International Recording Corp. and the distributor is Laurie Records Inc., 165 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y. Around 25 minutes.

The Last Message of Malcolm X. This two-record album, issued in 1968, is another Detroit speech, given at Ford Auditorium under the auspices of the Afro-American Broadcasting Co. on Feb. 14, 1965, on the same day that Malcolm's home was bombed in New York and one week before his assassination.

Although it is not precisely Malcolm's

last speech (he spoke again on Feb. 15 at the OAAU and on Feb. 18 at Columbia University), it does contain many of the ideas he was trying to communicate to the black community in his final days. Anyone listening objectively to the thoughtful and thought-provoking tone and content of this speech will find it hard to understand how Malcolm's enemies were able to pin the slanderous label of "demagogue" on him.

Two-thirds of this speech was printed in *Malcolm X Speaks*, Chapter XIII.

The distributor is Afro-American Record Club, P. O. Box 634-A, Detroit, Mich. 48232. Around 86 minutes.

Malcolm X: His Wit and Wisdom. Stereo, 1969. This consists of nine excerpts from six different speeches, whose humor and insight explode other stereotyped lies about Malcolm ("fanatic," etc.) that were current in his lifetime.

For some reason, the back of the jacket contains some passages from the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and nothing about the source of the nine excerpts. For those who are interested:

One side has five selections, the other four (we can't be sure which is Side One and which Side Two, because on our copy the labels were reversed). Anyhow, the five-selection side is from 1) the Cleveland CORE talk of April 3, 1964 ("the silliness of the white man"); 2) Cleveland CORE again ("sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner"); 3) the New York Militant Labor Forum talk of May 29, 1964 ("the chicken and the duck egg"); 4) Cleveland CORE a third time ("how this country got rich"); 5) the Harlem church rally talk of Dec. 20, 1964 ("the crackers belong to the Democratic Party . . . the same one you belong to").

The four selections on the other side are from 1) Cleveland CORE a fourth time ("it is legal to own a shotgun"); 2) the New York Militant Labor Forum question period of Jan. 7, 1965 (advice to a nonviolent heckler); 3) the Detroit talk of Feb. 14, 1965 ("we have been a people who hated our African characteristics"); the Detroit Grass Roots talk of Nov. 10, 1963 (the famous house-Negro and field-Negro sequence).

All these selections are in *Malcolm X Speaks*.

The producer and distributor are the same as for the record, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Around 25 minutes.

No sales prices are listed on any of the jackets; since we were unable to learn the prices of all six, we are not quoting any. Prices can be learned from the distributors listed above. Some record shops sell them at lower than the official sales price.

— G. B.

— G. B.

Briefly noted

Novel on Mexico, German leftists in 20s

THE DEATH OF ARTEMIO CRUZ, by Carlos Fuentes. Noonday Press, paper, \$1.95.

The recent refusal of U.S. immigration officials to allow the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes to visit their Puerto Rican colony aroused a furor among intellectual circles in the U.S. But there have been no similar protests by the Mexican government about the treatment of Fuentes.

An examination of the novelist's ideas, his anti-imperialist sentiments, his criticism of the Mexican government's treatment of the recent student protests, makes clear why the Mexican government does not protest the U.S. action.

The officials of Mexico today, supporters of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), still talk in terms of the Mexican revolution of 1910, and by that demagoguery justify their rape and plunder of the Mexican people.

In *The Death of Artemio Cruz* Fuentes describes what happened to that revolution. He does so by tracing the life of a member of the "revolutionary family." Artemio Cruz's career, described in flashbacks, explains how a revolution that cost a million lives in a country of 20,000,000 has elevated to power people capable of ordering the massacre of unarmed civilians, as they did on the eve of the 1968 Olympic games. Fuentes shows the cynicism, the corruption and venality of Mexi-

co's present rulers.

The corrupt press, the factional intrigues within the ruling party, the relations with the U.S. embassy and U.S. interests are exposed almost matter-of-factly.

The novel is not a simple portrait of good and evil, but a realistic examination of the forces that shaped Cruz and made him what he became.

Those interested in understanding the Mexican revolution and present-day Mexico will find this novel wonderful. But it is also about more than Mexico and Mexicans; it is a description of a process which has affected many other countries and many people in the third world.

— Richard Garza

WEIMAR GERMANY'S LEFT-WING INTELLECTUALS, A Political History of the *Weltbuehne* and Its Circle, by Istvan Deak. University of California Press, 1969, 384 pp., \$9.75.

This study of a radical German magazine, *Die Weltbuehne* (The World Stage), during the decade and a half between the end of World War I and the Nazi assumption of power, will be of interest and use to people investigating the background of the fascist victory and the bankruptcy of the workers' parties in Germany.

The author examines the political history of the Weimar period by focusing on the positions taken by the editors and repre-

sentative writers of *Die Weltbuehne*, a lively nonparty magazine which moved to the left in the years before the Nazis suppressed it in 1933. It was something like the old *Masses* in this country, although at a later period and perhaps on a higher political level.

Deak says that some of the *Weltbuehne* writers were influenced by the writings of Leon Trotsky, especially his analysis of Nazism and his efforts, opposed by both the Stalinists and Social Democrats, to create a workers' united front to fight fascism. Because of this influence the author devotes several pages to a summary of Trotsky's views on Germany.

But Deak is wrong when he says in a note: "Trotsky's writings on the German situation are all contained in *Ecrits, 1928-1940* (Paris, 1955-1959), III, 23-401. Written between September 1930 and June 1933, they number a total of sixteen articles." The selections in *Ecrits* are very good, but they are much less than "all" of Trotsky's writings on this subject.

Since Deak has done a lot of scholarly work for this book, it may be in order to point out that he could have cited the English as well as the French translations of these writings by Trotsky. Almost all of them were printed in *The Militant* at the time they were written, and in books and pamphlets issued by Pioneer Publishers, a predecessor of Merit Publishers.

— G. B.

Framed L.A. teacher discusses school issue

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — March 5 marked the anniversary of last spring's Chicano high school student explosion, when as many as 15,000 Los Angeles high school students walked out of classes in mass demonstrations.

In a recent interview, Sal Castro, the militant Chicano teacher who became a hero of the movement during a successful struggle to keep him from being fired from his teaching job last fall, described how the situation in the schools has evolved since that time.

Castro said that he and the 12 other "Chicano 13" defendants who were arrested for their support for last year's demonstrations are due to go to trial April 1. Originally they were arrested on 13 counts with a possible total of 75 years in jail, but as a result of defense efforts and popular pressure, the charges are now down to two counts, and a possible ten years.

Castro said that the demands being made for the reform of the school system are still the same as when the students walked out. "There were 32 demands, and we're still asking for them" he explained. "We're asking for teacher-training programs whereby the teachers become bilingual and have a deep appreciation of Mexican history and culture. We're asking for Mexican administrators in Mexican schools. We're asking for new buildings and for student rights."

"Very few of the curriculum proposals have been implemented. None of the bilingual proposals have been implemented."

Castro commented, "What we're asking for is not necessarily that our kids speak

Spanish in school. Using Spanish as a vehicle is great, but the important thing is education. In order to succeed our kids must feel comfortable from the first day they walk into the school.

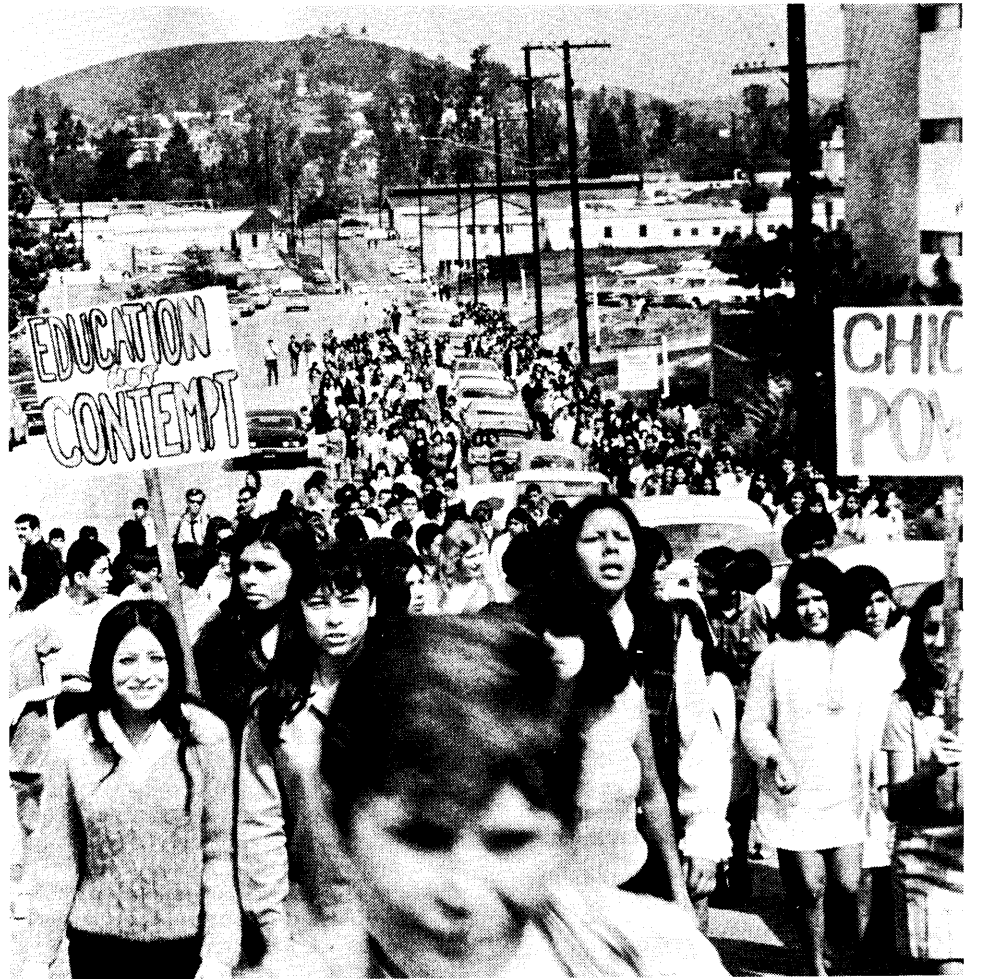
"Most Mexican kids speak some Spanish and some English. They cannot read English and they cannot read Spanish. For the most part, they know only Spanish when they enter the first grade.

"So we say, teach them with the language they enter the school with. Then as they learn to read and write Spanish they can at the same time learn English. What we're really talking about is educational psychology. We want them to feel comfortable in school."

Castro said he thought that if control of the schools were in the hands of the community, bilingual education would be assured. "A governing board of students, parents and teachers would be very good," he said. "But it would have to be selected by the community and the deciding vote could not come from another area, such as the principal. That's how one so-called 'advisory board' at Garfield High was negated," he said.

The "one big hope and victory after the walkouts," Castro feels, was the fact that the high school students became aware of a positive identity and are building the high school student organization, the UMAS (United Mexican American Students).

Some schools, such as Venice High, are still being harassed for having high school UMAS chapters, he said. But, in spite of the harassment, they are still meeting and they are still developing their organizations.



MARCH 6, 1968. Los Angeles Mexican-American high-school students walk out of classes to rally in a nearby park, demanding better education and respect for Mexican culture.

L.A. SWP slate hammers at Vietnam, school issues

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — As the election campaign enters its final week here the Socialist Workers Party candidates, William E. Hathaway for Mayor, and Della Rossa for Board of Education, are hammering at the issues of inadequate schools at home and the brutal war in Vietnam. The two are related, they point out, since the criminal aggression in Vietnam robs our cities and schools of \$30 billion a year.

William Hathaway says he would make Los Angeles a vast base for antiwar protest if he were elected mayor. At a recent meeting where most of the other candidates were present, he challenged his opponents to state their views on the war. Particularly, he wanted to know, would they endorse the GI-civilian antiwar demonstration April 6. They all declined to answer except Thomas Bradley, who said he opposed the war, but as mayor he would have no "foreign policy."

Bradley has opposed the school boycott at Carver Junior High School, and has called for investigation of the "fanatics" alleged to be behind it. This stand may have made him welcome among conservative school principals, but has lost him the support of many blacks, liberals and radi-

icals.

It has become clear to many that the Socialist Workers Party candidates offer the only meaningful alternative in this election. Ed Pearl and Milton Zazlow, leaders of the Peace and Freedom Party, are among those who have endorsed William Hathaway and Della Rossa.

The editor of the Los Angeles *Free Press*, the widely read underground paper, has also given support to the revolutionary socialist candidates. Although the paper does not make formal endorsements, their political commentator referred to Hathaway and Rossa as the most attractive candidates on the ballot. The *Free Press* is read by over 100,000 people. Most of them are looking for some way out of the mess we are in.

As an Air Force veteran, William Hathaway has joined other veterans in building the antiwar march April 6. Together with Della Rossa, he has used the election forums and radio and TV interviews to stress the need for continued militant opposition to the war. The revolutionary socialist candidates' final pre-election plea to the voters is to register a socialist protest vote April 1, and to participate in the antiwar protest march April 6.

Squibb shuts Bklyn plant after sit-in by workers

The E. R. Squibb plant in Brooklyn was closed indefinitely March 12 after a sit-in by 320 workers protested the company's refusal to negotiate seniority, severance pay and pensions. Squibb had made an announcement that it would close the Brooklyn waterfront plant employing 700 workers. It offered to transfer all workers to its New Brunswick, N.J. plant but refused to tell what the job-status of the transferred workers would be in the New Jersey plant. Some of the men and women had worked in the Brooklyn plant for as long as 26 years.

Day-shift workers sat down in the plant. Police were called and 37 were arrested, charged with criminal trespass. The following day Squibb summarily fired 14 union leaders of Local 8-138, Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union for their part in the sit-in.

As of March 24, the situation remains static. The plant is still closed. The union leadership is still fired. Thirty-seven workers remain under indictment. No negotiations meetings are scheduled.

January, 1969 opened with a bang. There were 320 work stoppages, involving 182,000 workers, the highest level of strikes in 23 years, the Labor Department has reported.

Including stoppages which began in December, 1968, there were a total of 480 walkouts.

The number of man-days "lost" was 3.4 million, nearly a million man-days more than January, 1968.

And still they say, the American working class is "quiescent."

Another "first" has occurred in Kansas City, Mo. On March 7 three unionists, members of a Jackson County grand jury, refused to enter the courthouse for the daily session when pickets protesting the ousting of a maintenance engineer marched in their path. One of the men said he had never crossed a picket line in his life and would never do so.

The judge promptly responded. He fired the unionists from the grand jury.

According to the March 17 San Francisco *Chronicle*, George Hardy, a San Francisco-based vice-president of the Service Employees Union (hospital work-

The National Picketline

ers) charged the state AFL-CIO with "total ineptness" and said:

"The leaders are dead and just won't lie down. . . . dead on their cans . . . dead in the head."

Hardy, who is a candidate for the California State AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, issued a bill of particulars against the lily white state executive council. He has charged that the state body is ignoring the needs of its two million members as well as those of the students, minorities, teachers and other professionals. There is not one single black or other minority members on the state ruling body.

"Nothing is more serious, stupid or explosive. How can you sell unionism to a black or brown man when our State Federation ignores his existence?"

He listed also the absence of any women on the State Federation executive council. And then he lashed out against the old-line bureaucrats on their attitude toward the youth, especially the student strikers. He said:

"We must learn from today's youth if we are ever to absorb them into our ranks . . . We are completely out of touch . . . Youth is telling us that we are hypocrites and youth is right. We have moved our members into semi-affluence and now are more worried about fancy cars and paying taxes . . ."

Hardy's opponent in the forthcoming state federation elections is Secretary-Treasurer Thomas L. Pitts. He claims that Hardy is "badly informed."

From the Retail Workers Record comes this bit of humor, anent bureaucrats:

"Shreveport, La., The Local 5 reporter for the Glass and Ceramic Workers here says the union's local president resigned his office and went back to work in the shop as a packer. The first day back on the job he discovered some jokers on his shift were selling tickets to watch him work."

— Marvel Scholl

In the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Area?

Attend the May Day Socialist Educational Weekend

May 2-4 873 Broadway, New York City

- Movie on the May-June 1968 worker-student uprisings in France
- Talks and discussions on revolutionary theory and action
- Campaign rally to launch Socialist Workers 1969 mayoral campaign

sponsored by: New York Young Socialist Alliance
New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee

Clip and send to: Young Socialist Alliance
873 Broadway, New York, New York, N. Y. 10003

- I would like more information on May Day Weekend.
- I would like to attend. I will need housing.

Name

Address City State

School Phone

SWP nominees win Third World backing in Berkeley elections

BERKELEY—The Socialist Workers Party campaign in the Berkeley city elections has gained broad support throughout the Bay Area. Many of its endorsers are leading Third World spokesmen and activists in the TWLF strike at Berkeley.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates are the only candidates who both supported and actively participated in the TWLF strike on the picket lines and in the Strike Support Committee and TWLF. Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council, was arrested when police arrested the entire AFT picket line at Sather Gate. Pat Wolf, also running for City Council, participated in the AFSCME picket lines. Froben Lozada, well-known Chicano educator and Socialist Workers Party candidate for School Director, was chairman of a Community Solidarity rally which helped to build community support for the TWLF strike.

Concerning the participation of the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the TWLF strike, Froben Lozada made this statement: "The Socialist Workers Party helps to build mass movements independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties like the one at the University of California, Berkeley, with the knowledge that once people begin to take their destiny into their own hands they have started down the road that leads to the overthrow of capitalism. The Socialist Workers Party stands 100

Panther leaders victimized by Harrisburg cops

By Ed Jurenas

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Joe Rapp and Window Banks, members of the Black Panther Party, are the most recent targets in a racist campaign by Harrisburg cops to put an end to Panther activities in the black community. Both are up for grand jury action on alleged weapons violation charges. Banks, an ex-green beret who served in Vietnam, is now free on \$10,000 bail but Rapp is still being held in the York County jail in lieu of \$30,000 bond.

The victimization of the Harrisburg Panthers stems directly from attempts by the black community to assert control over their own lives. Several weeks ago, 200 state troopers were brought into the high schools to quash demands by black students for courses in black studies. Needing a justification for the gestapo-like tactics of the state troopers, the city administration selected the Panthers to be the scapegoat.

Rapp and Banks were picked up while returning from target practice. Since the car which they were driving had out-of-state license plates, the cops found an opportunity to come down hard.

The attitude of the Harrisburg city administration is typical of racist local governments throughout the country. It feels that the victimization of several black revolutionaries can stem the tide for self-determination on the part of the black community. However, as one Panther member put it: "Every day Joe Rapp is in jail, antagonisms grow. This whole place is going to burn up."

Plans are now being laid for a regional black conference to decide upon the direction which the Harrisburg-area black movement should take. Those interested in attending should inquire to the Black Panther Party, c/o The Black Academy, 1629 N. 6th St., Harrisburg, Pa.

percent behind the struggle of the Third World peoples for self-determination. Self-determination will be won by oppressed minorities in this country only when they organize independently of the ruling class parties to fight politically and through mass action for their rights. The TWLF strikes at San Francisco State and Berkeley are an important step in this direction. This is the point we are trying to make in our campaign."

The socialist candidates have also campaigned for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, free speech for GI's, the right for public employees to strike, and the formation of a labor party based on the unions. They are also using the campaign to publicize the April 6 antiwar demonstration to be held in San Francisco.

Among the endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party campaign are: Victor Acosta, Chicano Student Union, Merritt; Ramon Alican, CSU, Merritt; Berkeley Brown Berets; Manuel Delgado, Mexican-American Student Confederation (MASC); Miguel Fernandez, MASC; Luis Flores, Northern California Vice President Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA); Bernardo Garcia-Pandavenes, MASC, MAPA; Daniel Garcia, CSU, Merritt; Gene Goldenfeld, Radical Student Union; Debre Hamburger, Strike Support Committee (SCC); Steven H. Jones, West Campus Berkeley High; Belvin Louie, Asian-American Political Association (AAPA); Ysidro Ramon Macias, Chairman MASC; Ronald Margolis, Steering Committee SSC; La Nada Means, United Native Americans; J.A. Mondragon, Alianza; Malaquita Montoya, MASC; Jim Nabors, Afro-American Student Union, TWLF; Eugene Nelson, author of *Huelga*; Lisa and Orlando Ortiz, Resistance; Mr. & Mrs. Roberto Perez Diaz; Bruce Rappaport, Strike correspondent for the *Guardian*; Philip H. P. Reed, TWLF; Mark A. Roberts, executive committee, AFT 1570; Matthew D. Ross, Steering Committee SSC; Abe Tapia, Nat'l Pres., MAPA; Teatro Urbano; Rogelio Reyes, faculty member, San Jose State; Antonio Sedillo, MASC; Jeff Scales, West Campus Berkeley High; Peter L. Silva, United People Arriba. (Organizational affiliation for purposes of identification only.)

Although endorsers do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the Socialist Workers Party platform, they nevertheless view the socialist campaign as a positive alternative to the two capitalist parties.



Ralph Schoenman



SOCIALIST NOMINEES. From left to right, Antonio Camejo, candidate for Berkeley city council; Pat Wolf, council candidate; and Froben Lozada, candidate for Board of Education.

Bay Area oil workers face sharpening battle

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike by Bay Area oil workers appears to be developing into a real test of strength between organized labor and the big oil corporations.

Standard Oil has picked up the argument of the so-called right-to-work forces, asserting that the union shop at the Chevron Chemical plant is a form of "undemocratic compulsion" that must be removed.

In a surprise move this week, Chevron Chemical informed the 300 workers at its Richmond plant who have been striking since Jan. 4 that they will be fired if they do not return to work by Tuesday, March 25. The company said that the temporary employees (scabs) who have been working in the struck plant will be hired permanently at that time.

The immediate aim of this measure is to break the strike by members of local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union. The only unresolved issue in the strike is the union shop clause in the contract. All the economic issues have been settled.

If Standard succeeds in breaking the union shop here, all the reactionary "right-to-work" forces in California will jump on the bandwagon for a general assault on the union shop throughout the state.

'Basic training' antiwar variety, at Columbia U

By Cathy Curran

NEW YORK—Over 200 people, predominantly young men faced with the draft, attended an Antiwar Basic Training Day at Columbia University March 21. The meeting was intended to inform civilians, future draftees and GIs of antiwar activities within the army and the rights of GIs to oppose the war.

The meeting was organized by a broad coalition including the Committee to Aid Antiwar GIs, Students for a Restructured University, the Graduate Student Union, the Graduate Sociology Student Union, the Young Socialist Alliance and the New York Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The program included the Sixth Street Guerrilla Theatre, an army indoctrination film, Ron Wolin from Vets for Peace, Ralph Schoenman from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and a GI and lawyers' panel. Four active-duty GIs spoke, including a participant from the Seattle GI-Civilian Mobilization earlier this spring. The formal program ended with a GI reading a letter he received from a disabled Vietnam veteran who urged support for the April 5 GI-Civilian demonstration in New York City, saying he was going to be there even though he was disabled.

In the face of this new attack by the company, the boycott of all Standard Oil products begun by the striking union takes on increased importance.

The union has called on students, Third World people, and workers all over the world to join in the boycott effort.

Martinez unionists return to picket line

MARTINEZ, Calif.—Workers at the Shell Oil refinery here have voted to return to the picket lines. They had returned to work without a contract, but found that they were subject to intolerable harassment by the company without the protection of a contract. The strike here began originally at the same time as the Standard strike in Richmond.

L.A. Cuba rally is attacked by exile hoodlums

LOS ANGELES, March 26—On Saturday, March 15, a "Happy Anniversary Cuba" party sponsored by Social Workers for Peace was broken up by a gang of Cuban counterrevolutionaries. The gusanos (Spanish, worms) attacked with clubs, chains and blackjacks injuring a number of people and causing \$2,000 damage to the Unitarian church party site.

A Young Socialist was among those who were injured while attempting to defend the party. The police arrived 45 minutes after the attack and red-baited the victims.

William Hathaway and Della Rossa, socialist candidates for Mayor and Board of Education Office Number Six issued a statement denouncing the "gangster actions" of the Cuban exiles.

"We call for a united response of all civil-libertarian-minded persons and left militants to defend pro-Cuban meetings and social events. We call for a united front mass meeting in solidarity with the Cuban revolution to reassert our rights. We denounce the Los Angeles police department for the obvious complicity in the gusano attack.

Defense guards have been mounted for three subsequent meetings on Cuba — one featuring Joel Britton of the Socialist Workers Party, another for Raul Ruiz of the United Mexican American Students, and a third for Fred and Nancy Hollander, UCLA graduate students. All were in Cuba in January for the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. There was no disruption at these meetings.



Confrontation at San Francisco State College.

A consistent man

Hayakawa welches on S.F. accord

By Dianne Gannon

The 134-day student strike at S. F. State College officially ended March 21 with an agreement between the Third World Liberation Front and Acting President Hayakawa's Select Committee. Hayakawa has already begun to welch on the agreement. Refusing to lift the "state of emergency" regulation that denies students and faculty constitutional rights, Hayakawa arbitrarily postponed a decision on implementing half the strike demands until April 11.

The Select Committee, composed of four faculty members, a dean and a lawyer from the State College chancellor's office, issued a statement urging that Hayakawa at least implement his recommendation on disciplinary hearings without further delay. But the hearings continue.

Edwin Duerr, handpicked Hayakawa administrator in charge of the hearings, has expressed his unhappiness with the agreement ending the strike, and under his directives the disciplinary board has continued to grind out suspensions.

The disciplinary board was set up by Hayakawa despite the fact that both the Academic Senate and the Associated Students Government refused to participate under Hayakawa's terms. In a recent faculty meeting, teachers voted for a moratorium on the hearings, declaring all sentences null and void, and authorized the Academic Senate to set up a representative disciplinary board with adequate safeguards.

Meanwhile the criminal courts are jammed with the cases of nearly 700 arrested students, teachers and community people. The first of those arrested last January came to trial March 24.

Students are under enormous pressure to plead guilty. It is common knowledge that the District Attorney's office is asking for three-year probationary periods as part of the sentences for all convicted. Clearly such a plan is designed to stifle the right to fight for social change. The fact that disciplinary and court hearings are being

pressed indicates that the administration has launched a counterattack on the strikers under the cover of the agreement.

As Frank Brann, a TWLF attorney, said, "It is without question a repudiation of the agreement."

The agreement covered all 15 demands, but Hayakawa has announced only that he will implement the first eight. These include setting up a black studies department with autonomy equal to other departments and the right to select its own department chairman; and setting up a community board to participate in the decision-making process of the department, sharing power with the faculty and students in the department. The agreement specifically states that Dr. Hare is eligible to become the chairman.

In the financial aid office, a black administrator has been appointed who has the authority to make final decisions for all black students who so request. A Spanish-speaking administrator with the same power for Spanish students will be appointed.

Hayakawa has refused to indicate whether he will implement the following recommendations of the TWLF-Select Committee:

1) Effect disciplinary amnesty for about 90 percent of the students, with penalties not to exceed one-year suspension for persons found guilty of violent actions against other persons.

2) Affirm the college's commitment to student self-government in opposition to repressive revisions of the administrative code.

3) Refer George Murray's status as a teacher to the board set up to govern the department of black studies.

4) Set up a school of ethnic studies with a planning-advisory board of student and faculty personnel.

5) Allot 10 faculty positions to the school of ethnic studies now, with 30 or more additional faculty assigned as the program demonstrates need.

6) Set up several procedures whereby charges of institutional racism may be investigated, additional funding obtained, and charges that the demands are not being implemented heard.

7) Withdraw the police from the campus and rescind the state of emergency.

The leaders of the TWLF have made it clear, "The struggle isn't over yet."

High school student union spreading in Minneapolis

By Bill Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS — Increased opposition to the school system has sparked the emergence of the most significant high school organization to hit the Twin Cities area. The Minnesota Student Union (MSU) was formed last October and now has chapters in more than 45 different high schools.

About 250 MSU representatives met March 22, for an all-day conference which adopted a constitution and statement of purpose. The union is open to all junior and senior high school students, as well as dropouts in that age bracket. Also adopted at the conference was a Student Bill of Rights which guarantees students the right of free assembly, press, speech, dress, the right to due process for students facing suspension, and the right to have "complete involvement and voice" in all bodies that make decisions concerning student affairs including those that affect curriculum and discipline.

A proposal to ratify the Bill of Rights was passed overwhelmingly by the student council at Roosevelt High School. Roosevelt's principal, however, refused to allow a student body vote, saying the bill was "inconsistent with the rules of the Board of Education and the laws of the state of Minnesota." He tried to discredit the bill as the work of "outside influences."

The administration's reaction to growing high school dissatisfaction and radicalization is becoming increasingly vicious. Suspension and harassment of students because of their appearance and political interests has been common. The intensified campaign is aimed particularly at the black students.

An ordinance which would make "disruptive actions" a misdemeanor with a penalty of a \$300 fine, 90 days in jail, or both, was drawn up and proposed by David Knutson, assistant principal at largely black Central High. The "disruptive actions" which merit such measures include: 1) creating noise which disturbs school classes or any gathering or function in progress 2) using profane, indecent or immoral language within the hearing of any other person on school property 3) returning to the school premises after being advised to leave, without written permission from the principal.

The Minnesota Student Union shows no signs of breaking in the face of these attacks. They recently sponsored a demonstration at the Hennepin County Juvenile Detention Center in support of a 14-year-old girl who has been held there for four weeks.

Actions like this are just an indication of things to come. As one spokesman put it, "We're going to keep talking and they better start listening."

47 blacks penalized at Duke

By Larry L. Sluder

DURHAM, N. C., March 22 — Forty-seven members of the Duke University Afro-American Society went on trial March 19 at a hearing by a committee appointed by Duke President, Douglas Knight. The committee decided that the blacks' occupation of the university administration building Feb. 13 was in violation of the school's Pickets and Protest Regulations, which prohibit "disruptive and disorderly conduct," passed last summer by the Duke Board of Trustees in a unilateral action. Students feel these regulations are antidemocratic and an example of class repression by the corporate-minded trustees.

On March 20, the Hearing Committee handed down a verdict of guilty and recommended a one-year probation for the blacks involved. Further violation of the Pickets and Protest Policy would result in suspension from the university. Chuck Hopkins, speaking for the Afro-American Society, said, "If they think that in 1969 five whites can sit in judgment of 47 blacks, they're crazy. To get our demands, we won't hesitate to take another building or anything else."

The Duke Free Academic Senate and the Student Liberation Front issued statements opposing the trial of Afro-Americans for the alleged disruption. The SLF statement attacked the Pickets and Protest Policy as invalid because "the people whom it affects had no say in its formulation" and because it ignores due process as a fundamental constitutional right. "The black student actions were justified in light of Duke University's insensitivity and lack of response to their needs," SLF leaders stated.

February's occupation by about sixty members of the Afro-American Society, and the support given them by the Student Liberation Front, a coalition of radical students, resulted in a three-hour skirmish between some 1500-2000 Duke students and a large force of Durham city and North Carolina State police using tear gas, fog machines and riot equipment.

Twenty-three of the black students involved in the liberation of the administration building, supported by some members of the Duke faculty, and high school and college students from the Durham area, with local black community leaders, had previously announced their intention of withdrawing from Duke and establishing Malcolm X Liberation School, but as of this date have agreed to remain at Duke. Black students will constitute "a revolutionary body in one of the most conservative and repressive institutions in America," black leaders stated. Malcolm X Liberation University will be permanently established whatever happens, spokesmen for the school said.

The Duke University newspaper, the Chronicle, the SLF, and various Durham community groups have generally backed the Afro-American Society and have recognized their leadership in the struggle. A solidarity march to Durham from Duke University and North Carolina College by about one thousand supporters of the black movement on March 11 turned into a spontaneous demonstration against the Durham white power structure. Store windows in Durham were broken and a state of emergency was declared by the mayor. A two-day curfew was imposed. There was widespread black community and student reaction to the curfew.

The curfew, maintained by Durham police, North Carolina Highway Patrol and four units of National Guard, upheld white law and order by requiring all Durham residents to remain in their homes after dark. Those arrested for curfew violations were unable to obtain bond and were detained at police headquarters until the following morning.

In a typical reaction to the show of student-worker solidarity rapidly surfacing in the community, the Durham city council Monday night debated an ordinance which would prohibit mass demonstrations at Five Points Park, Durham, the site of previous solidarity demonstrations. During the City Council Meeting, the local Klux Klan and the Citizen's Committee for Law and Order held a rally at the Durham Courthouse where a Klan spokesman said, "We will kill somebody if we have to. The Communists have taken over this city and we intend to liberate it."

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Report from Havana

Behind Cuba's drive for 10 million tons

By Peter Camejo

HAVANA — Everywhere you go in Cuba today, from Oriente Province to Pinar del Rio, you will see signs saying, "Los Diez Millones Van" (The Ten Million—A Sure Thing), "Everything for the Ten Million," "What Are You Doing for the Ten Million?" or just simply, "Ten Million." The signs are on huge billboards, at factory gates, on buildings, in schools—literally everywhere.

There's even one mammoth sign on 23rd Street in Havana, a set of multicolored neon lights which flash out, in psychedelic patterns, "Los Diez Millones."

The CIA thinks the Cubans are referring to the 10 million metric tons of sugar they intend to harvest in 1970—and it's true that the signs do refer to that projected sugar harvest. But that is only a small part of the meaning of the Ten Million. In reality, the Ten Million is Cuba's secret weapon against underdevelopment.

Productivity of Labor

Most American's think underdevelopment means being poor, but poverty is but a result of underdevelopment. The key feature of underdevelopment is the very low productivity of labor resulting from lack of machinery and equipment. Between the advanced, industrialized countries and the rest of the world there is an enormous difference in labor productivity. To give a rough comparison, in eight hours of labor, the average worker in the third world might produce about the equivalent of what an average American worker with his high speed equipment produces in 22 minutes. And this incredible productivity gap is growing, not shrinking!

Within the third world, Cuba is perhaps three times above the average. Estimates range as high as eight hours of labor being equivalent to 70 minutes American labor time.

The most reasonable and effective way to close this productivity gap would be for the advanced countries to begin a campaign of mechanizing and industrializing the rest of the world. But that is not what the United States has in mind, either now or at any future date, under the present social system.

Consequently, the underdeveloped countries must attempt to mechanize and industrialize on their own. Throughout Latin America they have found it impossible for three basic reasons. First, production is based not on human needs, but on markets which can guarantee a profit. Thus, plentiful resources such as land and labor are

not fully used, factories rarely run at full production, and new ones are not built.

Secondly, funds available for expansion are frequently consumed in luxurious living by a small ruling minority. And thirdly, any industry that threatens to cut into the American markets faces immediate political and economic repercussions from the United States. American industry can underprice and therefore undermine any developing competitive venture. It can cut off raw materials by economic pressures on their sources, and by other means.

The United States government has tried every one of its methods against Cuba. It refused to buy Cuban sugar; it stopped shipment of any basic materials needed by Cuba; it blockaded Cuba and invaded Cuba; organized sabotage teams to blow up factories; flew planes in from Miami to burn the sugar cane fields. But all these steps have failed, because Cuba's socialist revolution and its trade relations with the Soviet bloc have changed the rules of the game.

Cuban revolution

The conquest of power by the guerrillas in 1959, and the subsequent nationalization of American and Cuban big business did not by itself change the level of productivity significantly. But it opened up vast new possibilities.

When Castro came to power there was literal starvation in the countryside, over a third of the people were illiterate, few hospitals existed, children were dying from intestinal diseases, 25 percent of the population were unemployed, huts of mud and straw were the only homes most of the population had ever known.

What did the revolutionary government do? It stopped the waste on luxuries, turning those funds into hospitals. Army barracks were turned into schools. Unused land was put to use by the landless and unemployed. Jobs were guaranteed for everyone. All foreign export funds were channeled back into Cuba. (Before the revolution, Cuba had actually exported capital to the United States!)

Everything which could be physically done to help the poorest was initiated. But even with everyone working and all production based on human needs, the productivity level did not permit the Cubans to produce enough to satisfy all these needs.

There is no basic solution to Cuba's housing, food and clothing shortages, not to speak of other less necessary items like cars, TVs, etc., without a qualitative increase in



SYMBOL OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT. In many areas of Cuba, oxen must still be used to bring sugar cane to mill because of lack of motor and rail equipment. Such slow, laborious processes add to Cuba's difficulties in obtaining goods it needs on the world market.

labor productivity. This can only mean huge investments which must come out of present production.

The investment spiral

For example, Cuba needs more milk and meat. To get milk you need more cows. Cuba happens to have quite favorable conditions for developing a cattle industry. But to get more cows you have to build facilities for the cows. You have to grow crops to feed the cows. To grow new crops you need tractors and fertilizers, both of which have to be bought outside the country. You need water, which means building dams and irrigation systems. You need processing units for the milk and slaughter houses for the meat. You need additional transportation facilities and even new roads. To build roads you need machinery and asphalt.

To top all these problems, the advanced capitalist countries buy at low prices and sell at prices high enough to guarantee huge profits. It can easily become more costly to maintain a new industry than to buy the finished products on the world market. Therefore, to make the investments worthwhile the most productive methods and the latest technical advances must be used. But these techniques are often unknown in the colonial world, and adequate numbers of technicians are not available. That means you have to expand educational facilities, again requiring investments.

It is clear that even to build a few basic branches of the economy, an entire massive framework must be built at the same time. All this must be done despite the low productivity and standard of living. Which brings us back to what the Ten Million is all about.

How far can you stretch production? The Cubans have reached a high level of investment already—about 30 percent of the gross production is now reinvested in developing the economy. And they are still maintaining and, in some respects, increasing, their standard of living at the same time.

Agriculture plans

Cuba's general strategy is to increase its agricultural labor productivity by mechanization, taking advantage of Cuba's natural resources in terms of soil and weather. The main emphasis is on cattle and sugar. Precisely because of Cuba's past, its productivity level in sugar is high and it can gain a good foreign exchange rate for its sugar.

An interesting way to evaluate Cuba's projected plans is to compare them with Latin America. Overly optimistic plans for Latin America call for a growth rate of three percent in agriculture per year. Cuba plans on a growth rate of 15 percent. The estimated area of land to be irrigated in all of Latin America equals one half of Cuba's plans, although Cuba is only 1/158 the size of Latin America. By 1975 the use of fertilizers will be 90 times greater per square unit in Cuba than in Latin America. And

even if the Cuban plans turn out to be over-optimistic, it is clear that Cuba is in a category all by itself.

Substantial expansion projects are under way in all sugar facilities. A large new fertilizer plant is being built in Cienfuegos.

How can Cuba mechanize and industrialize while maintaining its standard of living? This is what the campaign around the Ten Million is all about.

Before the revolution, hunger itself drove Cuba's unemployed to engage in the most grueling and physically exhausting labor of the cane harvest. But today in Cuba there is a labor shortage everywhere. Every factory is being run on less personnel than is needed.

Yet the revolution has projected a sugar harvest that is almost double the normal harvest before the revolution! The reason is simple. Cuba must have foreign exchange to build its economy. How can Cuba cut that much sugar cane?

Under capitalism, which organizes production on the basis of providing profit for an individual or set of individuals, people are made to work out of fear of starvation, or at least severe deprivation. They can be induced to produce more by offering increased personal benefits as an individual return.

But the Cubans are counting on something entirely different. That is their confidence in man, confidence in their own people as a whole understanding their needs and working to solve their problems, sacrificing together for the good of the entire country. The Cubans have set their goals based on the voluntary contribution of effort by the people.

Cuba has an eight-hour work day, with a half-day on Saturday, like Europe. Yet you find large numbers of workers voluntarily putting in long hours overtime at no pay. The harvest of the Ten Million will be only one aspect of this program, but it is the symbol of a nation breaking out of poverty through a community effort based on the conscious understanding and participation of its people.

The mood throughout the country is rather hard for an American to understand. When, during the present harvest, a shortage was felt in Camaguey province and there was a danger that some of the sugar harvest would be lost, Fidel asked for volunteers from Havana to go to Camaguey to save the crop. In some factories they nearly had to hold elections to decide who could go because everyone was volunteering.

The Ten Million will be an extreme effort. Yet it will help finance the machines for future harvests so that by 1975 no one will have to cut sugar cane. It is tragic that such a heroic physical sacrifice has to be made in a country only 90 miles from our shores. But for Cuba the Ten Million symbolizes the determination to continue as a free and independent people and to break out of their poverty while developing a deep humanism in their social order.



IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS. Members of U. S. Young Socialist delegation visiting Cuba last January at dairy farm where modern, automatic machine has been installed for funneling feed to cattle. The Cuban people are going without many items of consumers goods to achieve such modernization.

The Great Society

A Case History—The reason the demand for student power is so unreasonable is that students obviously do not have the qualifications of a trained college administration to select teaching personnel. For example, could the students at the University of Chicago ever come up with a man like Dr. Bruno Bettelheim to teach psychology? Dr. Bettelheim has been in the news recently with his scientific explanations of the campus rebellions. His latest is that they're temper tantrums resulting from a decline of such outlets as frat houses and football rallies. Also, he said, students feel guilty about not being drafted.

How Honest Can You Get? — "Everywhere I go, wherever there is honest talk, they say, 'Oh, if we only had New York City police in our town.'" — Mayor John Lindsay addressing the annual cops' Holy Name breakfast.

How Riotous Can You Get? — Rep. Fletcher Thompson, a Republican from Georgia (where the nuts come from), asked the Justice Department to monitor speeches by Adam Clayton Powell to see if the Congressman was violating federal anti-riot laws. He warned that Powell plans to speak on campuses "with the stated purpose of promoting the candidacy of Ted Kennedy for President and Julian Bond for vice president."

Fortress on the Potomac—Homes are available at \$200,000 each in a new housing tract in Maryland which offers "maximum security" to potential inmates. Mortgaged by a Teamsters' pension fund, the entire area is surrounded by steel mesh wire, with two guarded entrances. Residents will carry identification cards. Others will be stopped at the gate pending identification. Children will be picked up at their door by minibus and transported to the gatehouse where they will be transferred to school buses. We trust the school buses will travel in armed convoys.

Note to House Hunters — There are still vacancies available, in Watergate, a D. C. co-op close by the White House, even though a number of Nixon aides are snapping them up. A good-sized apartment with several baths is available for a quarter of a million down and \$1,600 a month. If that's a bit

steep maybe you could just rent garage space and use that. Only \$295 a month.

Just Plain Unreasonable — The Pope said modern man is "more biased" toward understanding and accepting religion because he is "distrusting everything that goes beyond the sphere of conscious experience and scientific proof."

Ban the Ban — Sixty-two percent of the Catholics interviewed in Worcester, Mass., favored elimination of the church's ban on contraceptives.

The Pushers — The U.S. Department of Agriculture announced another one-year \$210,000 subsidy for cigarette advertising programs in Japan, Thailand and Austria. The brands advertised use a high percentage of U.S. tobacco. What with the present decline in U.S. consumption, maybe some agency, like the CIA, could organize an international schoolyard program of hooking the kiddies.

Long-Range View — The pushers' program suggested above would become easier with each passing generation. Columbia University researchers report that smoking during pregnancy impairs the heart rate, blood pressure, oxygen supply and acid balance of unborn infants. A kid in that condition would grab at a relaxing puff.

Better Late Than Never — After nine people were killed in three weeks at a highway intersection near El Centro, Calif., state highway officials installed stop signs.

Well, That's Different — Critics of the antiballistic missile system who have been arguing that it really doesn't protect anyone have been barking up the wrong tree. The March 17 *Wall Street Journal* explained: "The New administration is putting less emphasis on preserving life in the cities and more on maintaining the U.S. capability after an enemy attack."

Thought for the Week — "An official of the Alliance for Progress said here yesterday that the organization would be effective if people in the United States and Latin America did not expect too much from it." — The March 23 *New York Times*.

— Harry Ring

Students, friends salute a Puerto Rican patriot

By Richard Garza

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting was held at Taft High School in the Bronx March 21 for Carmen Miranda, a long-time builder of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement. She had died of a stroke Jan. 21 at the age of 48.

Students at the school where she had taught joined with her companions of the MPI and other friends and colleagues in paying tribute to a woman they remembered with great respect and affection.

The stage, decorated by the students of this largely Puerto-Rican-attended school, was decorated with a tropical setting and the flag of Puerto Rico. The program opened with Puerto Rico's national anthem, *La Boriquena*. Carmen's dedication to the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico was a central theme of the evening. It was brought out in readings of her poetry, her expressions of admiration for Fidel Castro who led his country to independence, and her conviction that one day her people, too, would be free.

Carmen had been a founder of the Mission Vito Marcantonio, the New York city branch of MPI. She had obtained a master's degree in sociology at Columbia and became a social worker. She quit after five years of frustrating efforts to help the poor.

In 1961 she became a teacher and devoted her efforts to helping Puerto Rican youth equip themselves for the struggle for survival in the U.S.

She prepared a textbook on Puerto Rican



Carmen Miranda

history which is slated for publication by the State Board of Education.

She also wrote music and poetry, amassed a voluminous library on Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans and gave courses on Puerto Rican culture.

In addition to this work, she threw herself wholeheartedly into the battle for community school control. During the recent Shanker shutdown she played a leading role in reopening Taft High and assumed the responsibility of acting as principal of that school.

One of the most moving talks of the evening was given by Zaphrira Bauman, chairman of the Teachers' Committee for Community Control of the Schools, who described Carmen's role in the struggle waged by that group.

Dr. Diane Ramirez de Areyno, Puerto Rico's poet laureate, read a poem she had dedicated to Carmen. Some of Carmen's poetry was read by J. A. Gonzales Gonzales, one of her long-time friends and collaborators.

But most inspiring of all were the Taft students who sang her songs, danced to them, and read her poetry. They showed they had learned from Carmen a love for their Puerto Rico and for each other.

She was buried in San Juan, not too far from her native Bayamon.

Manuel Montalva, a colleague, announced funds would be sought to build a Puerto Rican library in New York that would keep Carmen's memory alive by serving the people she loved. Contributions for this may be sent to Manuel Montalva, Taft High School, 240 East 172nd St., Bronx, N.Y.

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Black journalist target of attack in Vermont

By Elizabeth Barnes

Kenneth Wibecan, a black writer living in Brattleboro, Vt., was awakened a little after midnight March 14, when a shot was fired into his bedroom window. Fortunately, Wibecan was not injured. The bullet, apparently shot from a car, went through a closet wall and bounced off another wall.

Wibecan writes a weekly column for the *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, and occasionally also writes for other Vermont papers. He said that, as far as he can ascertain, the antiracist views expressed in his column are the sole reason behind the shooting.

"It came as no surprise to me given the attitude of many people in the country today," he said. "But, I think it is significant that even in Vermont, which only has about 550 Blacks in the whole state, you find those who would stifle dissent with a bullet."

In his column the week after the shooting, Wibecan wrote of the gunman: "All you have succeeded in doing is underlining the necessity for this column and the urgency for social change. You did not frighten me and you cannot."

No one as yet has been arrested for the attack. Wibecan is the second Afro-American living in Vermont to have his house shot up in the past nine months.

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

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Nixon faces renewed Viet war opposition

By Dick Roberts

As the Nixon administration continues to press the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and as more and more people begin to realize that the U.S. is not seriously negotiating in Paris to end the war, a sharp renewal of antiwar sentiment has begun to sweep the country.

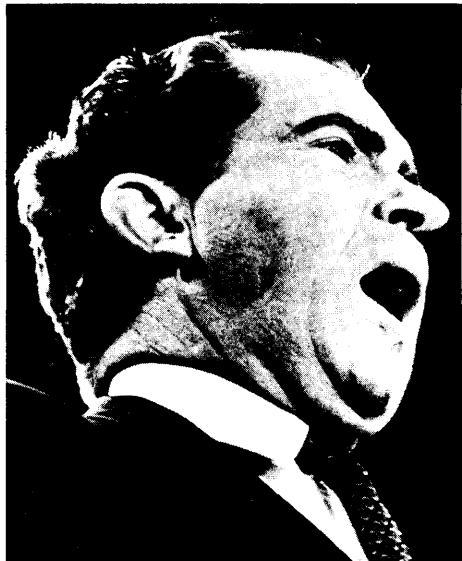
One sign is that a number of prominent political figures and newspapers, including the *New York Times*, are pointing out that the so-called "NLF offensive" is in reality an NLF response to U.S. escalation of the war. Even so "responsible" a critic of the war as Senator George McGovern (D-N.D.) has asserted that the offensive which has brought so many American casualties in recent weeks is "a response to our own offensives over the last five months—a response determined more by our aggressive combat operations than by any design of Hanoi."

President Nixon has now become the full inheritor of the antiwar feeling which came down on Johnson. The post-election honeymoon is over.

In a Louis Harris poll reported March 20, 46 percent of those who were asked said that they would rather "end the military fighting in Vietnam" than seek a "satisfactory political settlement."

A March 23 Gallup poll held that the tone of many comments its interviewers had received was reflected in one woman's remark: "Frankly, I don't care what happens in Vietnam anymore. I just want to get my son back."

People are sick and tired of the double-talk about the war and want the young soldiers in the American Army brought home.



Nixon

Minnesota U students build Liberation Week

By Nancy Strebe

MINNEAPOLIS, March 25 — University of Minnesota students are working hard to build Liberation Week, March 31-April 3. The "Liberation" involved is that of Rosemary Freeman, Horace Huntley, and Warren Tucker in particular, and black people in general. These three students, leaders of the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC) at the U. of Minnesota, have been indicted by the Hennepin County Grand Jury on charges stemming from the January occupation of Morrill Hall.

These indictments have brought students together around the single demand of "Drop the Charges!" The Liberation Coalition includes fraternities, sororities, radicals, faculty members, religious groups, Minnesota Student Association, student unions, community groups and supporters from other campuses and high schools. Support is growing at a phenomenal rate and it is probably the first time in this area that such diverse groups and large numbers of people have gotten together on any civil liberties or defense issue.

Work by volunteers from a broad spectrum of groups goes on 15 hours a day in the Minnesota Student Association office which is being used as Liberation Coalition headquarters.

There is faculty support for Liberation Week, and it is growing. Faculty members

At a rally at Boston's Massachusetts Institute of Technology March 4, 1968 Nobel Prize winner in physiology and medicine, Dr. George Wald, delivered an eloquent attack on the prevailing standards in Washington.

"I think the Vietnam War is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history," Wald declared. But he went on to attack the whole waste of billions of dollars for military purposes.

Wald received a standing ovation from the audience of 1,200 when he asserted: "A few months ago Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia ended a speech in the Senate with the words: 'If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans; and I want them on this continent and not in Europe.'"

"That was a United States senator holding a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel Laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane."

The conservative Boston *Globe* devoted a full page to publishing the complete text of this slashing indictment of the war.

McGovern declared in his Senate speech: "Since March 1968 — since the dramatic speech by President Johnson urging a prompt settlement of the war — 11,600 American lives have been lost on the battlefield. Another 1,800 of our men have been killed in battle-zone accidents and support operations."

"Mr. President, I believe that the American people had every hope and expectation that the Paris talks would bring a military disengagement; that we would minimize clashes with the enemy and seek to hold down the loss of life on both sides while the Paris discussions were pending."

"And yet, in defiance of all the dictates of common sense and respect for human life, we have pursued the opposite course. We invoked the old, disingenuous slogan, claiming the need to 'negotiate from strength,' and launched a so-called accelerated pacification campaign designed to keep constant, intensive military pressure on the enemy."

McGovern voiced the feelings of millions of Americans about the Saigon clique when he declared:

"The Saigon regime was not worth the first 20,000 American lives spent in the desperate pursuit of victory. . . . It is not worth one more American soldier or pilot dying next week or next month or any month in the future."

But the Senatorial dove still refused to draw the obvious conclusion from everything he reported: if the Saigon regime isn't worth one more American life, then the best way to end the war is by withdrawing the soldiers right now.

are being asked to free their students from classes to attend the special sessions of Liberation Week on Black America. Some of the faculty have responded with contributions to the Coalition as well.

During Liberation Week a huge banner will drape the front of the Coffman Memorial Union building (the student union). Posters are already up urging everyone to participate in the scheduled events, information sheets have been distributed and petitions demanding that the charges be dropped are being circulated.

Henry Jack of NARP (Native Alliance for Red Power, a Canadian-based Indian nationalist group), Ron March from DRUM, and a Black Panther from Chicago are among speakers scheduled for Liberation Week. There will be films on Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and the Black Panther Party. The Afro-American Action Committee will hold teach-ins and discussions on the political issues involved in these indictments and in the oppression of black people.

On Thursday, April 3, the indicted students are to be arraigned at the Hennepin County Courthouse. At eight a.m. Thursday morning, there will be a mass rally on the university campus, after which the rally participants will accompany the three students to the courthouse.



ROUGH STUFF. MPs at San Francisco's Presidio force Ted Walker, antiwar activist, against car, grab his leaflets and handcuff him. Walker was there with others from antiwar movement to let GIs on base know about April 6 GI-civilian antiwar march on Presidio.

Military cops at Presidio hassle antiwar leafleters

By Debby Woodroffe

SAN FRANCISCO, March 25 — Military Police at the Presidio army base roughed up antiwar leafleters here March 22 who were taking part in a campaign sponsored by the GI-Civilian Easter Peace March Committee to inform GIs at the base about the April 6 demonstrations.

The campaign, known as "harass the brass day," began with an antiwar car caravan. Fifteen cars, covered with banners, posters and bumper stickers publicizing the April 6th demonstrations, drove around the city for an hour and then headed for the Presidio. Although it had been expected that MPs would be waiting at the gates to turn the caravan away, there was no confrontation and the cars drove straight onto the grounds of the open base.

The caravan was joined immediately by a military escort. After circling through the base and receiving enthusiastic victory signs from astounded GIs, the cars pulled into a base lot and parked in perfect military formation. Doors flew open and some 50 antiwar activists, armed with leaflets and stickers leapt out of the cars and ran in the direction of the PX, snack bar and barracks.

After several minutes of successful leafleting, the group was approached by one Lt. Emperor. He told them it was illegal to leaflet the base without a permit. The demonstrators explained that they felt it was their constitutional right to leaflet on the base and pointed out that the real issue was the right of GIs to receive antiwar literature. Wanting to avoid physical confrontation, however, several leafleters headed toward the provost marshal's office to see about getting a permit.

Minutes later an MP who apparently had not received word from the higher echelons that the leafleters had agreed to get a permit, approached Ted Walker, who was standing by his car waiting for the others to return. The MP demanded that Walker, the only black in the group,

place his leaflets on top of the car. Walker replied, "If I do that, the leaflets will blow away and you'll probably arrest me for littering." At that, he was surrounded by MPs, shoved against his car, and handcuffed.

Another demonstrator, Ken Shilman, editor of the GI paper *Task Force*, saw Walker being harassed. He approached the MPs and demanded that they stop beating Walker. Shilman was struck with a stick and charged with assaulting an officer. Ed Arno, a KPIX newsman who had accompanied the caravan, was filming the scuffle. The MPs were a little late in noticing him, but when they did, they threw a cap over his camera lens, told him he had no right to film and continued to push Walker and Shilman around.

Walker and Shilman were held at MP headquarters for two hours. They demanded their right to call a lawyer and to be shown the law they had been charged with violating. Obviously panicked about further bad publicity, Presidio officials finally released the two, telling them they would be notified by mail if any action was to be taken against them. So far they have received no notification.

The incident had tremendous significance in publicizing the April 6 action, a march to the Presidio. It received front-page coverage along with a graphic photograph of the assault on Walker, which appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner*, a paper with a previous history of systematically burying antiwar news. March spokesmen were interviewed on radio and television all weekend. In addition to the press breakthrough a campaign for GIs' rights was launched around the incident. The concept of the GI as a citizen temporarily in uniform, and his consequent right to free speech and his own opinions was raised in the press interviews.

An even larger car caravan, culminating once again in leafleting the Presidio, is being planned for this Saturday. The April 6 committee has not yet heard whether its petition to leaflet has been granted.