

THE MILITANT

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Pentagon makes significant concession to GI legal rights

— See page 4 —

Poll shows sharp rise in campus radicalism

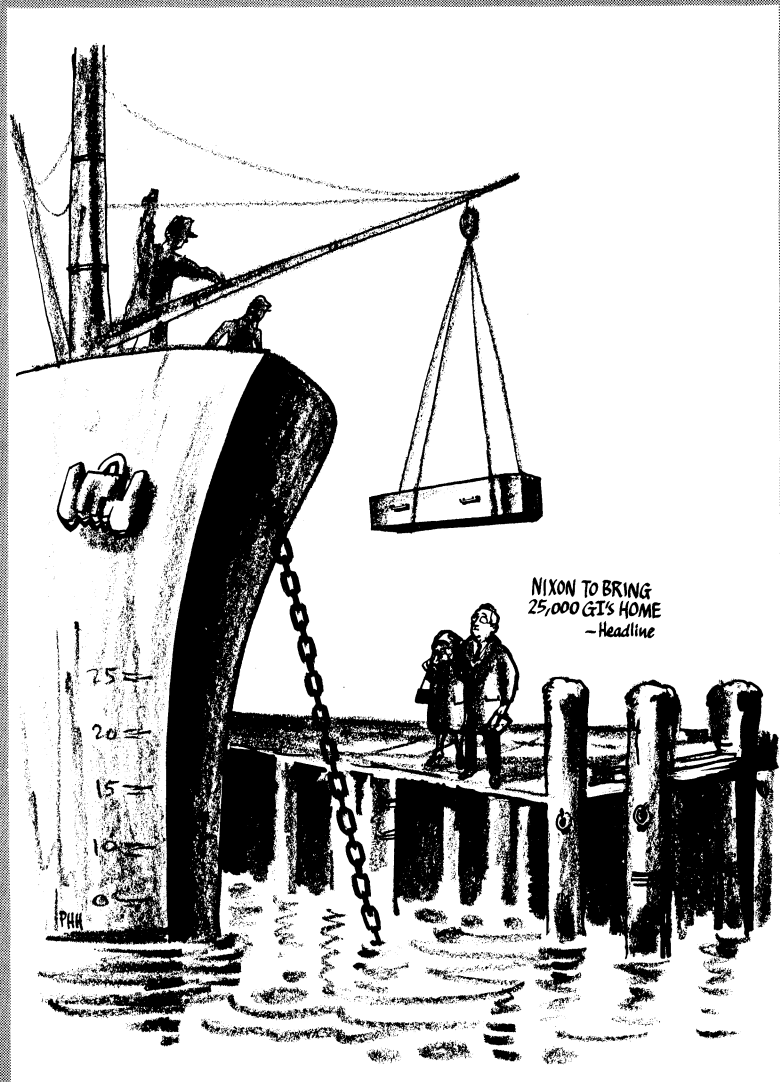
Racist politicians, businessmen-trustees and time-serving college presidents are eagerly awaiting the emergence of the "silent center" of university students who "only want to study and get their degrees" and who will quell by their numbers and conformist virtues the tide of unrest on the nation's campuses. These gentlemen are waiting in vain.

According to a recent poll by Louis Harris, 51 percent of college students hold that "protests in this country by students, Negroes, antiwar demonstrators will lead to positive changes and should be continued"; only seven percent say the protests should never have taken place. By 48 to 34 percent, newly graduated seniors say they

"respect those who refuse to go into the armed forces when drafted."

Harris' findings confirm beyond expectation that the war and continuing oppression of the black masses are creating a widespread radicalization of America's youth. There exists already a mass base of people opposed to any attempts by the nation's rulers to crush dissent and suppress radical movements.

The task is to organize this sentiment, to translate it into effective political action. Much has already been done, but the Harris poll also indicates how much more can be done: 40 percent of students have participated in a demonstration, but 72 percent say they would be willing to. See story page 10.



G.I.'S OF FIRST UNIT IN PULLOUT ANGERED

New York Times
DONGTAM, South Vietnam, June 23 (AP)—The first United States infantry battalion scheduled to be withdrawn from Vietnam is going home in name only, and the men are angry and bitter.

"They are just kidding the public," said First Lieut. Paul Caputo of Brooklyn, N. Y., "telling folks the Third Battal-

ion is going home when in fact only the colors and standards are going home."

Under President Nixon's withdrawal order, the Third Battalion of the 60th Infantry Regiment of the Ninth Infantry Division is scheduled to fly to the United States July 8 for demobilization. But it will actually be a composite battalion of 900 men.

Men with a few months left to serve in Vietnam will be transferred to other units. Their

places on the trip home will be filled by soldiers from other battalions who have completed or almost completed their 12-month tour.

Many of the men have already received letters from home about the withdrawal of their unit and are angry that their families will be disappointed.

"The way it was announced," said Lieut. Harold Hector, a platoon leader from Cambridge, Mass., "wasn't fair to the men or to their families back home."

Two-thirds of GIs leaving Vietnam will stay in Pacific

WASHINGTON (AP) — About two-thirds of the 25,000 American troops withdrawn from Vietnam will be redeployed to Okinawa, Hawaii and Japan — in position to be used in emergencies anywhere in the Far East.

The Pentagon announced Tuesday that some 16,000 soldiers and marines will be repositioned in the Pacific area.

Included are the 8,000-man 9th Marine Regimental Landing Team bound for Okinawa, the 7,400-man 1st Brigade of the 9th Infantry Division and Division Headquarters going to Hawaii, and a 400-man Marine Corps squadron of F4 jet fighters being sent to Iwakuni, Japan, in July and August.

Previously, the Pentagon said that 8,000 Army troops, including 2,000 active duty National Guardsmen and reservists, will be flown back to the United States to be disbanded, and some 1,200 Navy men will be spread throughout the Pacific command and the United States.

Announcement of the destinations of the 16,000 Army men and marines in the Pacific area completed a general detail of the 25,000-man troop withdrawal announced by President Nixon at Midway June 8.

The normal Pacific combat reserve for possible use in such places as Korea and Thailand has been virtually nonexistent since the United States began

pouring troops into the Vietnam war in mid-1965.

When the movements are complete, one brigade of the 9th Infantry Division will remain in Vietnam, one brigade will be in Hawaii and a third will be taken off the regular Army rolls.

The 20 National Guard and Reserve units returning home for demobilization come from 16 states.

They will move first to Army posts near their home stations for processing, then to their home armories or to their Reserve centers to be demobilized back to civilian life.

That will leave some 10,000 mobilized National Guardsmen and reservists still on duty in Vietnam.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1969

Harris Poll: Campus Militance Rising

Chicago SunTimes, June 18

Loss of child dramatizes racism

Only in
capitalist America

Newark, N.J. Mary Mount, the 10-year-old daughter of a wealthy New Canaan, Conn., couple, disappeared from her home. This misfortune occurred May 27. As soon as the distraught parents notified the authorities, the press came out with headlines. All mass communications media informed millions about the missing child. The FBI entered the case along with other federal, local and state agencies. A massive search is underway, and no effort will be spared to find Mary Mount. Her parents are assured of this and know that the search will continue as long as necessary. That is the way it should be, for everyone hopes that she will be found safe and sound.

Another child is missing. Four days before Mary Mount disappeared, Willyvonne Morgan, the 13-year-old daughter of Mrs. Edna Morgan, didn't come home from her class at Broadway Junior High School. Willyvonne lives in Newark, N.J. Willyvonne is a black child.

Whereas the press in almost every major city along the northeastern seaboard featured the news of Mary Mount's disappearance, few, other than the *Newark Evening News*, reported the loss of Willyvonne Morgan. No headlines mourned her absence. The *Newark Evening News* carried her story on the bottom of page 13, opposite a four-column chain-store ad heralding Memorial Day sales. No barrage of news about progress in the search for Willyvonne Morgan goes over the TV and radio waves. There is no real search. There is no mobilization by government agencies at any level. And, although she too might have been abducted (not for money—her folks are poor), the FBI is not straining its resources or men to find her. Willyvonne, you understand, is

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.

only a poor black child. In Newark they disappear often, and the fact of their disappearance is reported on some obscure page of the daily paper. When they are found alive and well, it's hardly considered newsworthy.

"It could only happen in America" that a social system could be so inhumanly racist and unfeeling as to proclaim to the whole country the sad loss of one little girl and actively seek here safe return with every means possible, while at the same time virtually ignoring the equally heart-rending loss of another. It does happen in capitalist America—when one of the children is rich and white and the other is poor and black.

Lawrence Stewart

Is Clark Clifford in GIs United?

Ft. Benning, Ga. Enclosed is a clipping from the front page of the *Columbus, Ga., Ledger-Enquirer*. Under the headline, "Clifford reveals disillusionment over Viet war," the article explains that the defense secretary under LBJ, Clark Clifford, regarded as a leading hawk, told a Senate Foreign Relations Committee meeting that the war in Vietnam is hopeless and Nixon isn't doing enough to end it.

Little additional comment is necessary, but—it seems likely that an enlisted man in the service would be in hot water for making similar comments in public.

Is our defense secretary, the honorable Clark M. Clifford, perhaps a member of GIs United?
Spec/5

Malcolm and Che overemphasized?

Bloomington, Ind. The news coverage in *The Militant* is good and useful. The only criticism I have is one of emphasis—do you have to idolize Malcolm and Che to the extent you do? It doesn't bother me, but a lot of people who read the paper at my house remark sarcastically at it—though I don't think that means they don't like Che or Malcolm. From my point of view it gets a bit repetitive, though, and you can hit other things just as well.

Which isn't to say that *The Militant* isn't an awfully useful source of news, etc.

Yours for the negation of the negation,

R. H.

Upping the ante

New York, N.Y. A Greenwich Village reform Democrat, a stalwart fighter against "the machine," is reported to have taken the daring, forthright stand of calling for withdrawal of 100,000 GIs from Vietnam.

Hot diggety! This must be the whole point of reform capitalist politics. Just think, if revolutionists had buried themselves "working" in the Democratic Party for the past two decades, instead of only building a mass movement for immediate withdrawal of all GIs from Nam, they could succeed in scratching up a reform Democrat or two who could outbid the White House two or three Army divisions on withdrawal.

I am bid 100,000. Last call, ladies and gentlemen. Will anyone raise it to 125,000?

A courageous reform Democrat position against rape must be 20%, maybe even 30%, for withdrawal.

R. V.

PL line: 'romanticism or sadism or worse'

Winooski, Vermont

E.J.'s letter in the June 27 issue [a defense of PL's attacks on Che] reminded me of a wonderful example of PL "ideological criticism." I noticed it quite some time ago in the *Black Panther*, which attacked PL for demanding that Eldridge Cleaver give himself up and go to jail, since by running away he set a bad example for the rank-and-file revolutionary. PL insisted that revolutionary leaders take the lead in going to jail as an example of dedication. Apparently the idea is to get all leaders into the prisons or gas chambers on trumped-up charges, and then all the rank and file will dutifully follow them in. Presumably Lenin would have been condemned for escaping to Germany and eternally branded a counterrevolutionary. You just can't trust a man who doesn't want to go to jail.

For a supposedly revolutionary party to say that **anyone** should go to the oppressor's prisons or execution chambers stinks of romanticism or sadism or worse. There are times when masses of people can be radicalized around a defense of a persecuted revolu-

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The closing news date for this issue was July 4.

tionary, but the aim is, or should be, to get him out, not in. And in the particular case of Cleaver, who would be locked away for the rest of his life, who had been promised by the authorities that they would kill him if they got him back in prison, PL's dogmatic line is not only unscientific but brutal and inhuman.

It would be a wonderful example of the brutality of the power structure if Cleaver were killed by pig agents in prison, but the **Black Panthers** have already given Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, and others who have gone unnoticed by the mass media. How many leaders has PL "given"? Hutton, Carter, and Huggins were not "given"—they were taken by the ruling class which commits murders like this every day, by the thousands, all over the world, without anyone going voluntarily to his death. If PL needs martyrs, let it look in any city or town under the dominion of the U.S.

P. H.

Classes, reading list on women's liberation

Philadelphia, Pa. A group of young women numbering between five and 20 attend discussions on women's liberation every Monday night at 8 p.m. at 602 S. 48 St. in Philadelphia. The women who comprise the group have diversified interests, some considering themselves radical, some not; some being married, some divorced, some single; some students, some housewives, some workers; some more interested in population control, some in test-tube babies, some in the abolition of abortion laws.

The format has so far been loose, with people just talking about anything and everything on their minds, although there is a reading list for each week. So far we have read parts of *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan and *The Second Sex*, by Simone de Beauvoir. A couple of enormous bibliographies on women's liberation are available from the group.

Amy Lowenstein

Albert Shanker and Max Shachtman

New York, N.Y. I thought your readers would be interested in what Murray Kempton had to say about Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, in the June 20 *New York Post*:

"It ought to be said as an excuse for Shanker that he acts with the best advice of old radicals, having the advantage of the counsel of Max Shachtman of the Socialist Party.

"Shachtman is a delightful old rogue, although of somewhat spiteful nature. At last hearing his only complaint about our Vietnam adventure seems to have been that we aren't winning it fast enough. The history of the American Communist Party includes two moments of good sense: It expelled Max Shachtman and Jay Lovestone. The history of the American Socialist Party can be as briefly rendered: Whenever a young Socialist was tempted to do an ignoble thing, there was Norman Thomas to discourage and Max Shachtman

For winning majority to the revolution

Mitchell, South Dakota I'd like a three-month subscription to *The Militant*. Although I don't agree with your views completely, I support your stand in favor on GI resistance and your sincere attempts to get a majority in favor of radical change. A revolution loses its legitimacy to the extent that it is not a popular revolution.

I'm still uncertain about the Arab-Israeli conflict and would like to see more information on it.

I'd also suggest that to make the term "U.S. imperialism in Vietnam" more real to most people you print a summary in each issue that generally describes the aggressive nature of U.S. involvement there (e.g., the repressive aspects of the Diem regime, a comparison of the date when the U.S. started bombing North Vietnam with the rate of infiltration, the legal fact that Vietnam is one country, etc.). Too many people lack knowledge about this.

J. J.

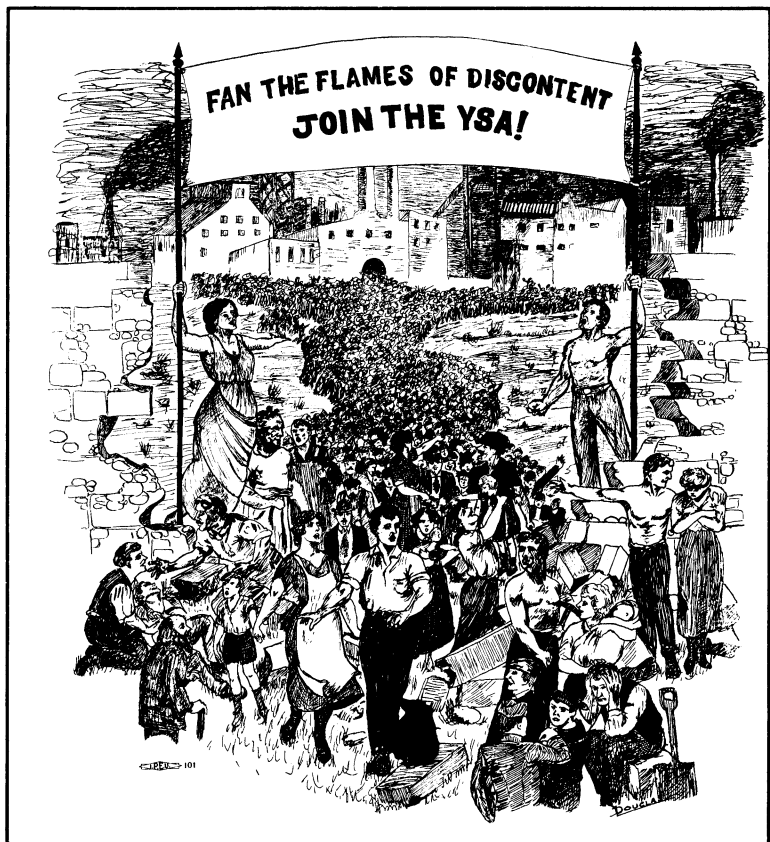
Union officer scores racism

Racine, Wisc. I was given in a local supermarket a flyer headed, "Don't buy Negro records," which advised that "the screaming, idiotic words and savage music of these records are undermining the morals of our white youth in America."

This surely displays only a small part of the racism that is infecting this entire nation.

I am and have been an officer of the UAW for three years, and I am becoming more aware every day of the mass hypocrisy of the American labor movement. Something must be done. *The Militant* is surely doing its part, and I am doing my best to create more interest in your programs.

J. C.



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Editor]

John L. Lewis: a critical estimate

By Robert Langston

There is growing recognition among America's young radicals that in the struggle to fundamentally transform American society the decisive role will be played by the industrial workers. Recognition of this fact must lead to recognition of another one: that as soon as agitation and organization on a mass basis among industrial workers appears on the agenda of revolutionary activity, the vanguard elements will confront within organized labor serious obstacles as well as major opportunities. A clear understanding of the many-sided and contradictory historical development of the U. S. trade-union movement and the bureaucracy that dominates it will be necessary if the obstacles are to be cleared away and the opportunities seized.

The career and character of John L. Lewis, who died June 11 at the age of 89, is worthy of careful study, because this extraordinary individual expressed in a unique way both the best and the worst in this country's trade-union tradition.

The personal qualities that distinguished Lewis from the run-of-the-mill labor bureaucrats were exact expressions of those features of the American trade-union tradition which assure the revolutionary future of the U. S. working class. His powerful intellect, his superb tactical sense, his immense energy, his almost limitless courage, his deep emotional attachment to the labor movement as he understood it, his fierce combativeness, his disdain for narrow craft interests, his imperviousness to the blandishments of social acceptance by the capitalist rulers, and his profound sensitivity to deep-running moods of the working masses make almost every other figure who has risen to official national leadership in the nation's labor movement during the past 50 years appear a midget by comparison.

At the same time, the qualities Lewis shared with the usual fakers—and which often enough turned his great virtues into equally great vices—precisely reflect much in the trade-union movement that will be an obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness and organization of the working class.

In the superficiality of his understanding of the forces shaping capitalist society, in the narrowness of his social vision, in his almost pathetic naivete about the nature of the capitalist political system, in his total lack of clearly defined class principles, in his contemptuous disregard of workers democracy—his perfect readiness to use any means, including red-baiting and goon squads, against union oppositions—Lewis differed in no way from the men—in his phrase—"without heads whose necks just haired over" he so valiantly and successfully fought in his finest moments.

Lewis was born Feb. 12, 1880, in the coal-mining town of Lucas, Iowa. His father, a recent immigrant from Wales, was a miner, and at the age of 15, after seven years of schooling, Lewis too went into the pits. In 1906, following five years in the coal, gold, silver and copper mines

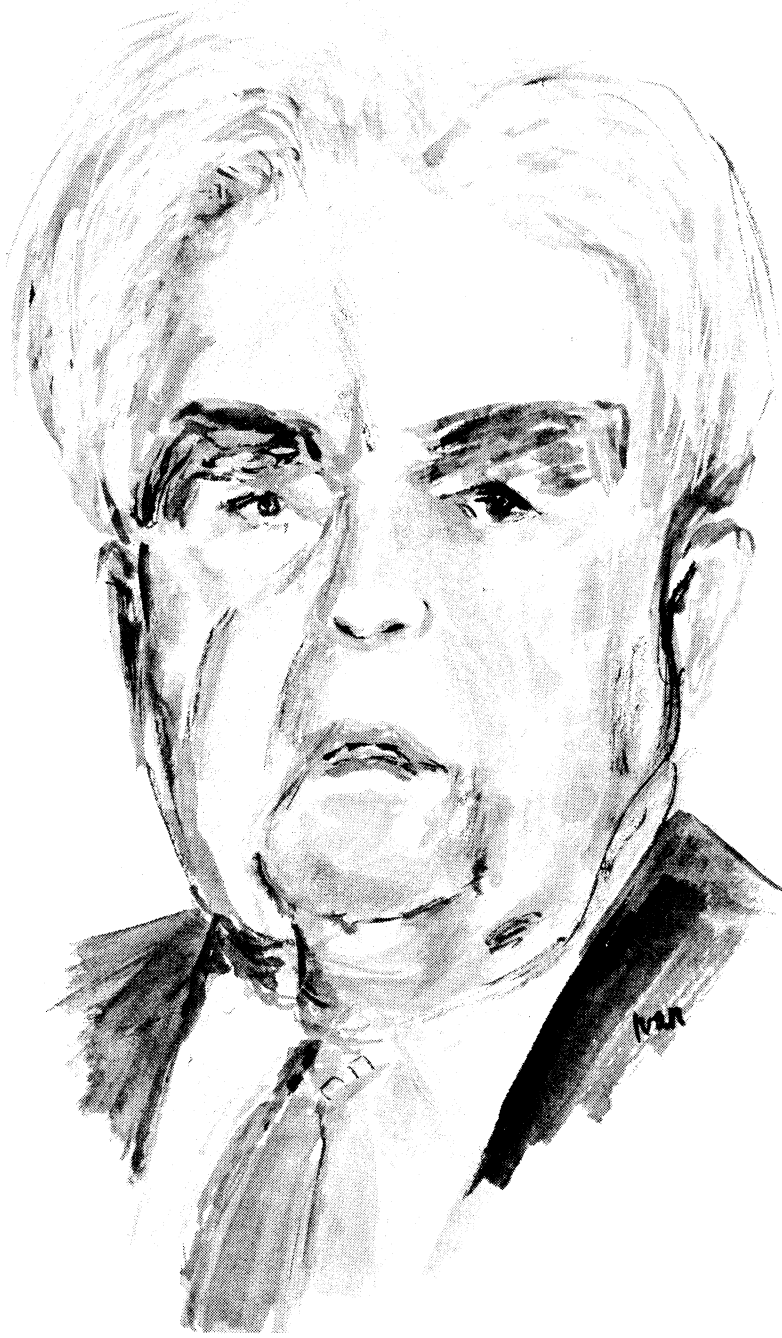
of the West, Lewis returned to Lucas and was elected a delegate to the national convention of the United Mine Workers.

He rose rapidly in the UMW and AFL bureaucracies. In 1911, Samuel Gompers appointed him an AFL general field agent. He was elected vice-president of the UMW in 1918 and two years later, president of the miners' union, a post he held for forty years.

The contradictory sides of Lewis' leadership can already be seen in the conduct of his first great battle on a national scale. The September 1919 convention of the UMW was held in the midst of a rank-and-file rebellion against the wage freeze imposed during World War I coupled with rapidly rising post-war prices. The convention called, by an almost un-

animous vote, for nationalization of the mines and demanded that wages be increased from \$5 to \$7.50 a day.

Lewis, who was already acting as president of the UMW, recognized the depth of the miners' discontent. A political conservative and a fervent believer in "free enterprise," he had no use for the nationalization resolution, but he put himself at the head of the struggle for the wage demands. Lewis led the five-week strike that followed with skill and tenacity in the face of federal court injunctions. But when the union was finally forced to settle—for a wage increase of about \$1.50 a day—Lewis, instead of explaining that the relationship of forces compelled the compromise and that the struggle would be resumed, declared, "I will not fight



John L. Lewis

my government, the greatest government on earth."

During the '20s and early '30s, Lewis devoted all his efforts to consolidating his personal power within the UMW. It was a period of decline for the trade-union movement in general, but under Lewis' aegis, the UMW lost more ground than most unions—it shrank from more than 500,000 members in 1919 to less than 100,000 in 1933.

Lewis transformed what in many respects had been an association of local and regional unions into a tightly centralized national organization, but in the process he destroyed the lively workers democracy and capacity for rank-and-file initiative that had been so much a part of the UMW. Lewis would brook no opposition, and he stopped at nothing to destroy his opponents. In a vicious red-baiting campaign, he appealed to the most backward elements of the rank and file to drive radicals out of union office and even out of the union altogether.

When red-baiting and slander failed to isolate opposition leaders from their base of support, the Lewis machine resorted to physical terror. His goon squads roamed the coal fields "persuading" recalcitrant elements of the glories of his leadership.

Yet despite all this, with the imagination and sensitivity that set him so much apart from the general run of trade-union bureaucrats, Lewis recognized the significance of the mass upsurge of American workers that began in 1933-34. (At that time only a relatively small number of skilled workers were organized in bureaucratically dominated, conservative craft unions. The great bulk of the unskilled, industrial workers were unorganized.)

Where other AFL officials tended to see in it merely a threat to their established positions, Lewis saw in it a magnificent opportunity to extend the power and authority of the labor movement—and, of course, his own power and authority as well.

In the winter of 1933-34, the UMW undertook a massive organizing drive that quickly restored it to its peak membership of 500,000. With this revived miners' union as a base, Lewis responded to the massive upsurge of the unorganized workers in the basic industries throughout the country—as manifested in the militant 1934 strikes of the San Francisco longshoremen, the Minneapolis teamsters and the Toledo auto workers—and began to move against the timorous, craft-bound misleaders of the AFL.

The decisive moment came at the October 1935 AFL convention in Atlantic City. In a superb speech, Lewis called on the fossilized bureaucrats of the federation to launch an immense drive to organize into industrial unions the unskilled mass-production workers, whom most AFL bureaucrats contemptuously regarded as "unorganizable."

"The strength of a strong man," Lewis lyrically declaimed, "is a prideful thing, but the unfortunate thing in life is that strong men do not remain strong. And that is just as true of unions and labor organizations as it is true of men and individuals.

"And, whereas today the craft unions of this country may be able to stand upon their own feet and like mighty oaks stand before the gale, defying the lightning, yet the day may come when this changed scheme of things—and things are changing rapidly now—the day may come when those organizations will not be able to withstand the lightning and the gale. Now, prepare yourselves by making a contribution to your less fortunate brethren. Heed this cry from Macedonia that comes from the hearts of men. Organize the unorganized. . ."

The AFL officeholders were, of course, deaf to "this cry from Macedonia." The convention voted down the industrial union resolution, and on Oct. 19, in an act of considerable symbolic import, Lewis threw a haymaker that laid Bill Hutcheson out on the floor of the convention after the boss of the carpenters' union—who epitomized all the stupidity and brutishness Lewis was then fighting—called Lewis a son-of-a-bitch.

The next morning, Lewis met with a half-dozen other leaders of AFL industrial unions and launched the Committee for Industrial Organization, which after formal expulsion from the AFL, became the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(To be concluded next week)

Shanker's hooker in teachers' pact

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK, June 30—Members of the United Federation of Teachers here ratified their new contract June 27 by an 18-1 margin. The most dangerous clause of this new contract empowers UFT president Albert Shanker and the board of education to work together to "develop objective criteria of professional accountability." This clause opens the way for the board of education to exercise broad, undefined powers to determine who should and who should not teach in New York City's schools.

This contract runs three years, instead of the traditional two years of past UFT contracts. The extra year was undoubtedly latched on because Lindsay and Shanker both understood that a teachers' strike could spark militant new efforts by the black and Puerto Rican communities in their fight to control their own education.

Several points of the contract provide economic benefits for teachers. Starting pay will rise from \$6,750 to \$9,440 annually over the three-year period. The

retirement age was lowered and pensions increased.

Benefits for the community were not so tangible. Shanker is proud of the UFT-initiated More Effective Schools program. The 21 More Effective Schools now in existence have smaller class sizes, plus numbers of psychologists and guidance counselors in order to "provide a more meaningful education for disadvantaged children."

Over a three-year period, exactly 10 additional schools (out of a total of 900!) will enter the MES category.

The "objective criteria" clause, which Shanker brags was instituted at the union's initiative, empowers the union and the board to consult with "universities, community school boards and community organizations" to develop professional standards for teachers.

Not surprisingly, it was not indicated what specific standards were sought nor what organizations would be consulted. However, since Shanker struck for two months last fall against black and Puerto

Rican control of the schools, it isn't likely that any representatives of the black and Puerto Rican communities will be consulted.

The thrust of this clause is undoubtedly aimed at black militant teachers in the schools. Numerous black teachers have already been fired in the last two years—without union protest.

In addition, the national American Federation of Teachers has an anticommunist clause which Shanker successfully fought at last summer's AFT convention to retain. The frequent denunciations of "vigilantes and extremists" by the UFT bureaucracy make it clear that they are seeking ammunition to rid the union of teachers who dissent from their racist policies, as well as to rid the schools of militant teachers who, demoralized by the union's racism, have quit the UFT in disgust.

The black and Puerto Rican peoples and their teacher supporters have a fight ahead of them, not only for community control of education, but simply for the right to express their views within the school system and the union without victimization.

Gain for antiwar forces

Pentagon concedes key GI legal rights

By Michael Smith

(The author is a Detroit attorney active in defending the constitutional rights of U. S. servicemen.)

A letter concerning Pentagon policy towards manifestations of dissent in the Army and signed by the Adjutant General, Major General Kenneth G. Wickham, has been sent to all commanders-in-chief and commanding generals in the U. S. Army. The policy statement, which is tantamount to an Army regulation, is of crucial importance to the GI antiwar movement in that it lays out guidelines regarding possession and distribution of political materials, coffee houses, servicemen's unions, publication of underground newspapers, on-post demonstrations by civilians, off-post demonstrations by soldiers, and grievances.

The letter was sent on May 28, a date that coincided with the reduction of sentences of the Presidio men and the release of the remaining Ft. Jackson 8.

The letter states, "It is important to recognize that the question of 'soldier dissent' is linked with the Constitutional right of free speech and that the Army's reaction to such dissent will—quite properly—continue to receive much attention in the news media." The letter warns that any heavy-handed or arbitrary action may reflect adversely. . . on the image and standing of the Army with the American public."

SMC sponsors a new biweekly GI press service

NEW YORK—The first issue of the GI Press Service has just appeared. Published by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the new publication will bring accurate information and informed analysis about matters important to the antiwar movement inside the armed services. It will be invaluable to the editors of GI newspapers, to antiwar servicemen on posts where there are no GI papers or who want more extensive coverage than the GI papers are able to bring, and to civilians who want to keep abreast of the movement inside the armed forces.

The first issue indicates that the GI Press Service will be a thoroughly professional job. This 16-page, single-spaced, photo-offset issue is skillfully laid out and carefully edited. The editors search GI publications, the movement and commercial press in the States, and some foreign periodicals to discover items relevant to the fight against the war inside the armed services. Some of these they reprint; others they report in well-written summaries and round-up stories. The editors contribute discussion articles on important questions of the GI movement. There are excellent cartoons and photographs.

The June 26 issue contains 27 separate stories. There are two letters from antiwar GIs in Vietnam, one reprinted from the **Ultimate Weapon** and one from **Playboy**. There are reports on free-speech fights and victories at Ft. Dix, Ft. Hood, Ft. Jackson, Ft. Knox and Ft. Bragg and a brief rundown on the present state of the Presidio 27 case. There is a two-page analysis of the significance of the Ft. Jackson 8 victory. There is a report, reprinted from **The Bond**, of a stockade uprising at Ft. Dix. There are announcements of the forthcoming national antiwar and Student Mobilization Committee conferences in Cleveland. There are two brief discussion articles on the "Hamburger Hill" fiasco.

Of special interest are the two stories culled from the **Overseas Weekly** about GI antiwar activity in Germany.

The GI Press Service will appear every two weeks. A year's subscription is \$1 for GIs, \$8.50 for civilians. A six months' subscription is \$5 for civilians. Subscriptions should be ordered from the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, Room 307, New York, N. Y. 10003.

"Dissent," the Pentagon directive declares, "in the literal sense of disagreement with the policies of the Government, is the right of every citizen. In our system of Government, we do not ask that every citizen or every soldier agree with every policy of the Government." It goes on to say that ". . . the First Amendment to the Constitution requires that one be permitted to believe what he will." This right is then balanced, but not taken away, by other asserted concerns which ". . . may require reasonable limitations on the exercise of the right of expression in certain circumstances."

Underground newspapers

Distribution on post of an underground paper may require the prior approval of the commander under para. 5-5, AR 210-100. However, ". . . a commander must have cogent reasons, with supporting evidence, for any denial of distribution privileges." Such reason might be that the publication counsels an illegality. A commander can not prevent distribution because he doesn't like the political content. "The fact that a publication is critical—even unfairly critical—of government policies or officials is not in itself, a ground for denial."

"The publication of 'underground newspapers' is generally protected under the First Amendment's guarantees and soldiers can do it off-base on their own time with their own money."

"Mere possession of a publication may not be prohibited."

Coffee houses

"The Army should not use its off-limits power to restrict soldiers in the exercise of their Constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of association by barring attendance at coffee houses, unless it can be shown, for example, that activities taking place in the coffee houses include counselling soldiers to refuse to perform duty or to desert, or otherwise involve illegal acts with a significant adverse effect on soldier health, morale or welfare."

The letter refers to AR 600-20, which allows soldiers to participate, out of uniform, in antiwar demonstrations in the USA. Moreover, in regard to civilians, the statement cautions post commanders from arbitrarily denying them the right to demonstrate on post. Soldiers are prohibited from on-post demonstrations, however.

Grievances

Complaining personnel should not be treated as "enemies of the system." The right of a soldier to petition or present

New WBAI series will put spotlight on the military

NEW YORK — "Military Monitor," a program from the Washington bureau of WBAI, New York, aims to inform the listening public about the less publicized (and more controversial) activities of the military establishment. It will debut Monday, July 7, at 9 p.m., the listener-sponsored station announced. The initial broadcast will be a panel discussion on chemical and biological warfare with Joshua Lederberg, Nobel Prize-winning geneticist; Dr. Matthew Meselsson, professor of biochemistry at Harvard University; and Dr. Arthur Galston, a professor at Yale and an expert on herbicides.

On future programs — on alternate Mondays at 9 p.m. — "Military Monitor" plans to tackle such issues as the military's quiet entrance into several Office of Economic Opportunity-sponsored projects, costs and other hazards involved in new weapons systems, the interesting military expenditures now being revealed by Congressional probes and other pertinent topics. Various experts in these areas will participate on each bi-weekly program. "Military Monitor" is produced with the help of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.



ACQUITTED. Sgt. Rosaire Bisson (in uniform), editor of USAF, after successful conclusion of court-martial for distributing antiwar literature, being interviewed with defense attorney Michael Smith. At extreme right is defense coordinator Max Hardeman.

any grievance to any member of Congress is emphasized.

The issuance of this letter and, for the U. S. Army, the liberal policy it lays out is a definite product of the antiwar movement. The whole tone of the document is conciliatory. It is a concession to, and thus a legitimization of, the antiwar sentiment which is spreading throughout the Army. The letter advises against any "over-reaction" on the part of the brass to manifestations of dissent and warns that such a move can have a "counterproductive" effect on other members of the command.

This warning underscores the difficult position the brass is in. They have been forced to sanction a whole range of activities — petitioning, demonstrating off base,

publishing an alternative press, gathering at coffee houses — which only a few years ago they would have moved to suppress without a second thought.

They allow these things now because their experience has shown that to do otherwise causes a rebounding effect which thrusts antiwar activity up to new levels of participation and deeper understanding. On the other side, however, to forbear in suppressing the aforementioned activity will also allow for the increasing growth of the new breed of soldier, the antiwar GI.

An intelligent use of these activities — now officially declared to be legal — can prove a powerful weapon for the growing number of GI participants in the movement to end the war.

Air Force antiwar editor acquitted in court-martial

DAYTON, Ohio — Sgt. Rosaire Bisson, editor of the recently established antiwar newspaper **U. S. A. F.**, won an important victory June 25 when he was acquitted by a court-martial at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

Bisson was charged with "failure to obey a lawful order" not to distribute the paper or any other publications on base without prior approval of the base commander. On May 28, the airman, who had been a "hawk" until he "started studying the history of American involvement in Vietnam," was arrested on the base while carrying leaflets announcing an antiwar march in nearby Dayton.

At a press conference the day before the trial, Bisson said that the order was in fact never given and that he was the victim of continual harassment which included physical threats, intimidation and a punitive transfer.

Bisson's lawyers, Marc Stickgold and Michael Smith, and his defense coordinator, Max Hardeman, all from Detroit, also spoke. "Our interest is to see that soldiers aren't isolated, and to see that they are defended when they exercise their First Amendment rights," Hardeman stated. "The freedom to assemble is meaningless," Smith said, "if people are unaware of the chance to assemble. By harassing Bisson and preventing him from getting the leaflets out, the Air Force is denying men their constitutional right to assemble to protest the war."

The trial the next day was, as the local paper had it, "the biggest summary court-martial ever held in the history of Wright-Patterson." A lieutenant colonel was appointed to serve as judge, and another was named prosecuting attorney. In an unprecedented step, a court reporter was brought in to make an official transcript of the trial, which was held in the general courts-martial room. A section was reserved for the press and another for spectators. Police from the office of special investigations took pictures in the hallway, while other police gathered names and addresses of those attending as they passed through the one gate which remained unsealed.

Immediately upon the opening of the trial, defense counsel moved to dismiss on the grounds that the order, assuming it was given, was unconstitutionally vague

and overbroad. The presiding officer took the motion seriously and agreed to consider it.

Next, the prosecution put on its case, which was not extraordinary except for the testimony of the colonel who supposedly gave the order. Insisting that he indeed gave the order, he persuaded observers, including newsmen, that he was mean and vindictive.

The defense moved to dismiss, this time on the grounds that the evidence was weak. Unexpectedly the presiding officer recessed the trial in order to consider the motion. Forty-five minutes later he called court into session, declared that "the buck stops here" and granted the motion to dismiss. Sgt. Bisson was besieged with hand-shaking well-wishers.

If the motion to dismiss had been denied, the defense was prepared to introduce affidavits from friends of Bisson's — including three state senators and two AFL-CIO organizers — from his home state of Vermont. These statements plus those of Bisson's military superiors and local supporters would all have indicated that he is an honest person and an airman who performs his duties correctly and not the type to disobey orders.

"Airmen are human beings, not second class citizens," Bisson told the press. "We have won a victory today. We will continue to organize to oppose the war. We will not let the Pentagon court-martial the First Amendment."

The victory has given the GI-civilian antiwar movement in Dayton a spirited boost. Already copies of another edition of the **U.S.A.F.** are being prepared, and the militants on the base are getting ready to demonstrate on the streets of Dayton on the July 4 weekend.

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United action is the key

The way to defeat ruling-class attacks

By George Novack

The Black Panther Party together with the International Liberation School and other organizations has called a national conference in Oakland, California, July 18-21, to set up a "United Front Against Fascism in America" and promote other objectives. The sponsors have invited all sympathetic organizations to attend.

The initiative of the Panthers is certainly in order since they have been singled out by the government and police for the most sweeping and brutal repressions. After failing to break or behead the Panthers by gunning down or victimizing such leaders as Bobby Hutton, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, the authorities are assailing the general membership in cities from coast to coast.

Prosecutors are arresting local Panthers at will, framing them up on bizarre charges, imposing exorbitant bail upon them, viciously maltreating and denying them ordinary privileges in jail, indicting them on blanket conspiracy charges that require the flimsiest grounds for convictions and rushing their cases to trial. The racist ruling class wants to stop the growth of the Panther's influence and ideas, obstruct the recruitment and training of their cadres, and put the best of them behind bars for years and years, as they have already done with Huey Newton.

The concerted assault upon the Panthers is only one of a number of acts directed against a wide range of dissidents across the nation. These extend from black nationalists like Ahmed Evans, convicted of murder in Cleveland and faced with legal lynching; antiwar activists such as the Chicago Conspiracy 8, who are charged with inciting to riot at the Democratic convention last August; to black and white student rebels on scores of campuses. Militant leaders among the third-world peoples, Mexican-American and Puerto

Rican, have likewise become targets of intimidation.

Grave threat

This wave of persecutions poses a grave threat to every critic and opponent of the status quo and to the civil liberties of the American people. It must be met and beaten back by the united effort of all those organizations and individuals concerned with the protection and preservation of human and constitutional rights in this country.

How can this be done? It must be underscored that this capitalist-racist onslaught is the brutal side of a carrot-stick response to a steadily rising radicalism in sizable sectors of the American population from the black communities to the high schools and campuses, and even among GIs. These attacks by the ruling class offer testimony to their fear of this radicalization. The radicalizing forces in this country now constitute a constituency with enough potential to withstand these blows, defend the victims, and organize a counteroffensive that can result in the strengthening of the revolutionary camp.

However, that potential can be converted into a formidable force only under certain conditions. It requires, first of all, that the projected defense movement be organized and operated in a correct manner. The guidelines for creating an effective united front in defense of democratic liberties have been tested in numerous cases since the first decade of this century. These methods have been responsible for developing such massive, history-making campaigns as the fight against the Mooney-Billings frame-up, the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the Minneapolis Smith Act prosecution during World War II. Properly applied, they can be no less effective today, as was indicated by the victory of the mainly black and Puerto Rican Ft. Jackson 8.

A broadly based defense movement has to bring together a wide spectrum of people and organizations with very divergent and often conflicting views on many questions. Under such circumstances unity in action can be achieved around the one central task of defense.

Since the official attacks are politically motivated, it is necessary to mount a political defense against them. But this strategy should not be construed in a narrow, partisan or exclusive manner. The key political issue linking together all these cases is the violation of civil liberties involved. This must therefore be the political essence of the united front.

Defend all

The national defense campaign must be constituted on the basis of defending the constitutional rights and democratic liberties of all victims of reactionary persecution. A genuine united front must join together heterogeneous groups and individuals in a common cause around the principle of solidarity in action against the antidemocratic prosecutors. Its slogan is: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Agreement with the views or acts of the defendants need not and cannot be made a condition for participation in or sponsorship of the defense. To insist on that as a prerequisite is to weaken the idea of solidarity and make a mockery of any united front.

The Panthers correctly say that it is not necessary to endorse their views or activities in order to engage in the united front. As Panther Chairman Bobby Seale has stated, "We're not asking people to like our ideology," but to cooperate to combat repression. The same rule goes for every other element of the coalition. Any attempt to impose any particular shibboleth or program upon the defense movement in contradiction to its clearly stated objectives would be a sure way to narrow and weaken it at the outset and ruin it in the long run.

This fundamental consideration must go hand in hand with the best legal defense which takes advantage of every inch of protection afforded by the law. The sturdiest defense and most expert use of existing

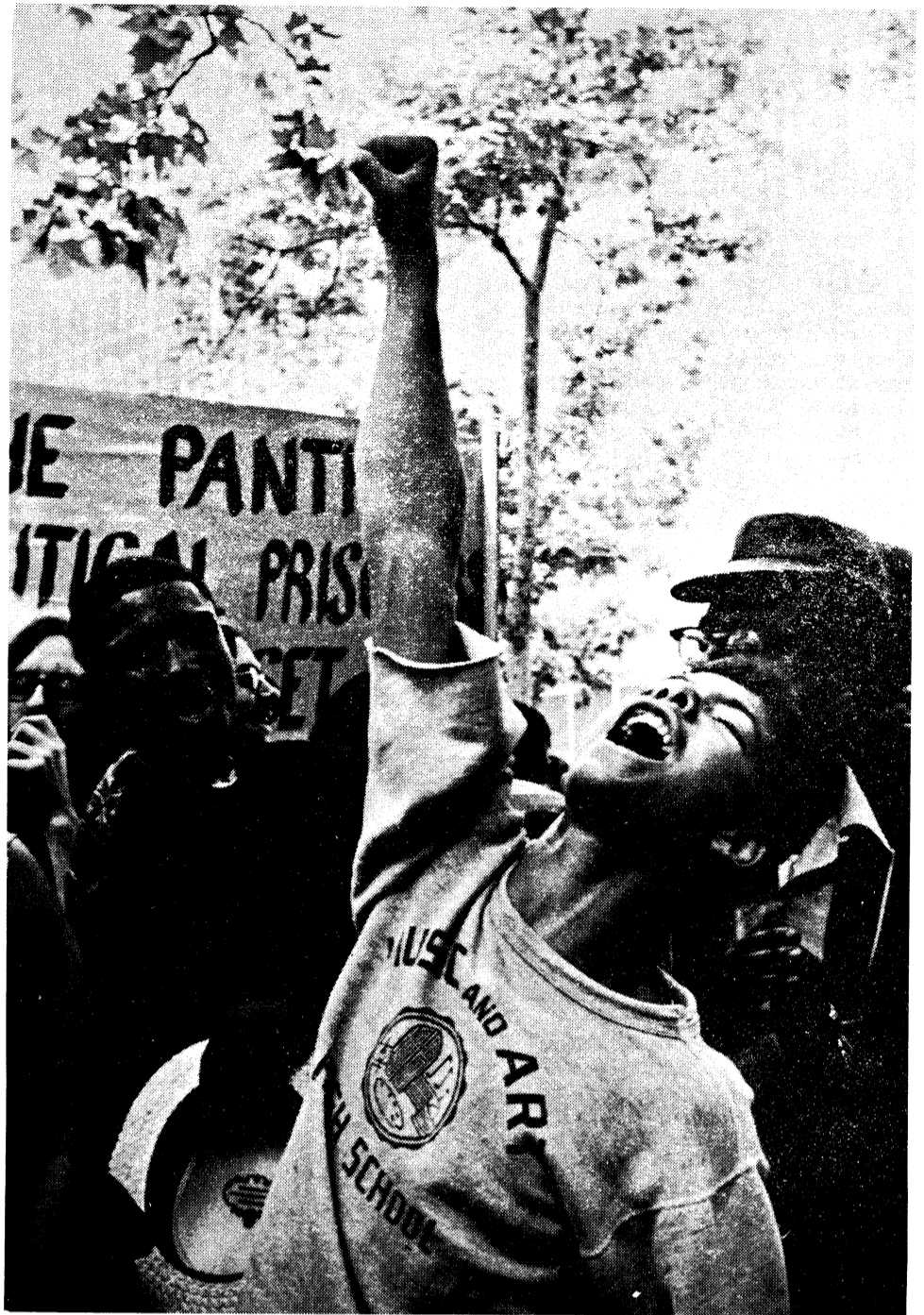


Photo by Barbara Rothkrug/LNS

New York rally for the Panther 21

rights, when they are trampled upon by the authorities, is the best way to keep and extend them. Some Panthers, like Aaron Dixon in Seattle, have won acquittals against flagrant frame-ups. Every defense action must set out to win its case in court, or at least make further frame-ups more difficult for the prosecutors.

At the same time the main source of support for the defendants is to be sought, not in the capitalist-racist controlled courts, but in the arena of progressive public opinion. This factor can become decisive.

It is self-defeating for a defense movement to be conducted in an exclusive or arbitrary manner. Appeals for support should be made upon general civil liberties grounds. Care should be taken to emphasize how the issues at stake affect not only the immediate victims but the hard-won liberties of all Americans. Many individuals and organizations which may not agree with the defendants can be brought to recognize the necessity of working against violations of legal and human rights not simply as a matter of justice but for their own long-range protection against reaction.

We believe that no united defense movement on behalf of democratic freedoms for the Panthers or anyone else can appeal to large numbers of prospective sympathizers and supporters by soliciting obedience to the words and deeds of Stalin or Mao. Stalin was a monstrous tyrant who framed up and murdered all living members of Lenin's Politburo except himself. Mao also levels transparently false accusations against his former associates and factional opponents and forbids the expression of any dissenting views. Neither figure can be held up as a model for emulation nor serve to inspire a movement to protect democracy in this or any other country.

By its scare propaganda and persecutions, the ruling class aims to isolate radicals and revolutionaries, black and white, from their potential allies. The way to counteract these aims and turn the repression against its instigators is to stand foursquare on the ground that the united front is solely devoted to defending basic democratic rights being denied by the federal and local officials. Such a policy would not only correspond to the reality of the situation; it can rally the maximum of support to the defense movement.

This emphasis on securing elementary justice for the defendants, and thereby protecting everyone's rights, will not only help raise the needed funds but bring

the pressure of aroused public opinion to bear upon the authorities, expose their frame-ups, and make them think twice about further attempts at repression.

There is every objective basis for accomplishing this. While the ruling-class response to the radicalization is sometimes brutal, it has not reached the stage, as some in the movement believe, where it has the power to smash the retaliatory capacities of the movement through imposition of fascist rule.

Not fascism

Along with what we see as an incorrect prognosis that fascism has already been, or is about to be, established, there is also what we see as the erroneous notion that it is possible to unite numerous groups with widely differing political views into a front with a common antifascist political program. Such unrealizable efforts can only stand in the way of what is really possible and urgently necessary—the organization of common action by these differing groupings in defense of all victims of repression—regardless of the differences.

The Black Panthers, who are the hardest hit and have so much at stake, are entitled to a major voice in the deliberations, decisions and direction of the defense movement. But any defense organization or committee that comes out of the conference they sponsor should be nonpartisan in its policy and broadly representative in its steering committee and the selection of its leading body. Otherwise, the projected movement will fail to do the kind of job that has to be done both for the Panthers and other targets of persecution.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have not waited for this conference to support the defense of the Panthers and other victims of reactionary repression. From the birth of our movement, we have practiced as well as preached the rule of united opposition to every restriction upon democratic rights in any sector of the movement and regardless of differences with the views of the defendants.

We will continue with this course, locally and nationally, regardless of the proceedings and results of the Oakland meeting. We hope that the conference will be a step toward forging a strong and genuine united defense that can mobilize the mass support required to make the ruling class retreat and frustrate its sinister designs to isolate and intimidate articulate and vigorous dissent in this country.

Bay Area SWP assails attacks on Panthers

SAN FRANCISCO—The Bay Area Socialist Workers Party charged local and national authorities throughout the country with engaging in "a concerted effort to destroy the Black Panther Party," spearheaded by the Senate Permanent Investigations Committee's witch-hunt hearings. The SWP declared unconditional solidarity with the Panthers in the face of this campaign to destroy their organization.

An SWP statement cited ample evidence of this "campaign of harassment, frame-ups and smear tactics" being conducted from coast to coast: the Senate committee's hearings; investigation of Bay Area Black Panther leaders by a federal grand jury; indictment of 21 New York Black Panthers on phony conspiracy charges; the arrest of the entire leadership of the New Haven, Conn., Black Panthers; the raids on the Panther headquarters in San Francisco, Sacramento and Chicago; the frame-up of three Panthers on murder charges in Santa Ana; and the bombing of the Des Moines, Iowa, Panther headquarters.

In addition, the SWP cited slanderous front-page stories in the daily newspapers falsely depicting the Panthers as a band of terrorists, crooks and conspirators. According to Lew Jones, a Bay Area SWP spokesman, "this serves to prepare public opinion for the destruction of the Black Panther Party."

"We pledge full solidarity with the Black Panther Party against these attacks," Jones said, "and call upon everyone who supports the right of a black political party to exist without harassment from the white supremacist power structure to join in the defense of the Black Panther Party."

Statement by SDS leaders 'justifies' expulsion of PL

By Julia Martin

The first public statements made by the newly elected leaders of Students for a Democratic Society make it clear that they intend to defend, justify, and continue the bureaucratic methods used in expelling Progressive Labor Party members and supporters from SDS.

In a letter sent to all SDS members on the day following the convention, and in the first issue of **New Left Notes** since the convention, the SDS leaders got right down in the gutters with PL, hurling epithets and exchanging slander for slander.

The headline of **NLN**, for example, reads, "National convention expels racist PL, and elects new officers."

Inside the paper, the new national officers, Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, and Bill Ayers, explain that "the legalistic argument that we should take a vote among the entire convention body was rejected, as it meant counterrevolutionaries having the right to 'vote' on their own counterrevolutionary nature."

And a large-type box, taken straight from the book of Stalin and entitled "Know your enemies," launches a personal attack on John Pennington, the national secretary elected by the SDS(WSA), for his "pig work" in relation to the trial of Ben Morea in Boston.

In case it needs to be spelled out further, in its letter to all SDS members the leadership states, "PL has excluded itself from the struggle and has chosen to ally itself with the class which runs this country." In other words, PL has now become synonymous with the class enemy. "The political difference is not one 'within the left' or 'within the movement'; it is a principled difference on what the movement is about, where and what class war is, and who the sides of it are," says **New Left Notes**.

The tactic of proclaiming that anyone you disagree with is a "counterrevolutionary" and "class enemy" is, unfortunately, far from new. It was such tactics that helped discredit and isolate the Communist Party and which were exploited so effectively by the capitalist red-baiters to discredit socialism, falsely asserting that such methods were inherent in socialist politics.

It has been used many times in the Stalinist movement, one of the most recent examples being in China during the

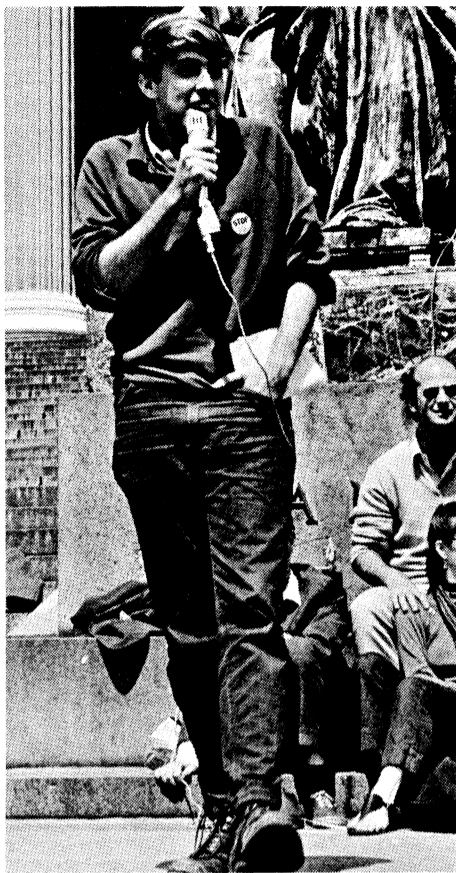


Photo by Dan Rosenshine

Mark Rudd

"cultural revolution." In that bureaucratic struggle all those who dared disagree with the Maoist clique were not answered politically but branded as having taken "the capitalist road." It is also a favorite tactic with PL.

PL's false political line will not be defeated by proclamations and name calling, and it is not SDS that will decide who is and who is not "inside" the left movement. It is the working class and the oppressed masses themselves who will finally decide that question over time, and they will be convinced not by name-calling but by their experiences in struggle and by serious political education.

How a genuine Leninist youth organization deals with differences within its ranks is a topic we will deal with in future articles.

Civil Liberties Union files anti-snooper suit

By Robert Langston

NEW YORK—The American Civil Liberties Union filed a suit June 26 in the U. S. District Court in Washington asking prohibition of electronic snooping on political dissidents. The suit also seeks criminal prosecution of U. S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell and FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover because of their illegal authorization of wiretaps and other bugging devices.

In a June 13 brief submitted to the Chicago federal court hearing arguments preliminary to the frame-up trial of the Chicago Conspiracy 8, Mitchell made the unprecedented claim that the government has the legal right to wiretap in purported "national security" cases without obtaining any kind of court authorization. He also admitted that Justice Department agencies

had eavesdropped on five of the eight defendants.

At the Houston federal court hearing on the appeal of Muhammad Ali's conviction for draft refusal, FBI agents testified last month that they had tapped Martin Luther King's and Elijah Muhammad's telephones during 1963 and 1964. Hoover admitted that he had authorized the taps. There followed a rather unedifying game of "pass the buck": Hoover claimed he had authorization from then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and President Nixon backed up Hoover's story. But former Attorney General Ramsey Clark disputed Hoover's statement, calling it "unfair and deceptive."

It seems likely that Hoover's account, reported in a June 19 **Washington Star** interview, is substantially correct. Kennedy—of whom a friend reportedly once remarked, "It's not that Bobby's opposed to civil liberties; it's just that he doesn't know what they are"—it seems, discreetly inquired of J. Edgar if it would be "technically feasible" to tap King's telephone. The G-man-in-chief took the hint, and replied to the attorney general that it would indeed be "technically feasible" to do the job.

Melvin Wulf, legal director of the ACLU, called the suit "a class action on behalf of all Americans who hold unpopular, controversial and dissenting political positions."

The suit points out that Mitchell's new doctrine violates First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable searches. Mitchell and Hoover, the suit contends, "have assumed judicial, penal and otherwise regulatory authority over the protected activities of all dissenting Americans."



J. Edgar Hoover. Getting in practice for railroading.

Views and reviews

Radical papers report split at SDS convention

The radical press has begun to assess the split at the SDS national convention. To one degree or another, most of the radical press has favored the anti-Progressive Labor faction.

Jack A. Smith gives his somewhat pessimistic support to the anti-PL "real SDS" in the June 28 **Guardian**. "When the ninth annual convention of SDS convened here June 18," Smith writes, "the question was which road the nation's largest radical organization would take. When it ended in the early morning of June 23, across town from where it began, the question was whether SDS could successfully negotiate the perilous road it had chosen."

"SDS expelled the Progressive Labor Party and, by extension, the worker-student alliance caucus from its ranks. It did so by what can only be termed a most unusual procedure."

"PL—a small cadre group formed along Leninist lines—and the WSA, a broad caucus which PL created within SDS through diligent organization during the last year—may have constituted a voting majority at the convention."

Smith concludes, "No one can fully anticipate what PL will do, nor the impact of two groups saying they are SDS. It is conceivable that PL can continue to hold its group together."

"SDS itself has a lot of problems. Sectarianism is heavy, and will probably get heavier before it gets lighter. Comradely references to Stalin among part of the leadership—though the convention was spared at least this—disturb many SDSers. The base of membership still remains incredibly distant from the center of decision-making in the organization. If this trend continued, the distance may become unbridgeable."

The June 26 **Liberation News Service** story by Allen Young also gives an anti-PLP account of the convention. He is evidently also critical of the anti-PL SDS leadership, although less so than Smith. He writes:

"What does it all mean? Those who have been active in SDS, but troubled by a tendency toward arrogance and dogma, breathed a sigh of relief. The expectation is that SDS will be able to do better in the absence of battles with PL."

"The anarchist caucus in SDS voiced a popular criticism of the group in its position paper: 'The sectarianism of the past year has already created the "SDS-type"—a humorless, poker faced "political" with arteriosclerotic ideas that were new in 1848.'

"Now, there is some hope that the sectarianism will depart with PL, and various New Left tendencies will be able to engage in comradely debate."

"Anarchists, pacifists, and yippies, among others fed up with SDS, may not find the organization all that different, however. The new leadership defines itself clearly within Marxist-Leninist revolutionary traditions and hopes that revolutionary collectives within SDS will eventually lead to a new Marxist-Leninist party."

Daily World writer Lincoln W. Sheffield also takes an anti-PL attitude. He states in the June 24 issue:

"The Communist Party and W. E. B. DuBois Clubs caucus at the convention moved to the church with the national leadership at the time of the split."

"However, it issued a statement critical of some of the major policies of that faction and expressed concern that a 'student program was not even on the agenda at this convention.'"

In the June 28 issue Sheffield writes: "SDS can recover from this convention. The expulsion of PLP can in the long run strengthen the organization. But a new youth organization, firmly based on principles of internationalism and class struggle, may well be the necessary ingredient on the outside for this recovery."

"I am convinced that the leadership of SDS, split into two or three factions itself, cannot give the kind of consistent class-conscious leadership needed for the continued building of the student movement. But a new organization, based mainly among the young workers, can provide an example and can be an ideological beacon in what may otherwise be the



Photo by Shannon

Jeff Jones

dissolution of the most powerful radical student movement our nation has ever seen."

Completely uncritical support for the anti-PL faction has thus far come only from the June 26 **Workers World** article by Fred Goldstein. "The results of the 1969 National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society give rise to nothing less than enthusiastic optimism for all those who look forward to the growth and development of the revolutionary struggle in this country."

"SDS expelled from its midst the Progressive Labor Party faction which sought to impose upon the organization a political line hostile to national liberation and a tactical policy of no struggle—all in the name of 'Marxism-Leninism.'"

"In combat with the phony 'Marxism' of PL, SDS youth have adopted many genuine (i.e. revolutionary) Marxist positions and in the process greatly strengthened the ideological foundations of their organization."

Goldstein continues, "PL packed the convention with the obvious objective of taking over the organization. Such a takeover would have meant the imposition of what amounts to a bourgeois, integrationist line on SDS, a position long ago repudiated by the black masses themselves. . . ."

"SDS, both rank-and-file delegates and leaders alike, came to Chicago to chart a course for militant struggle in support of national liberation and to activate working class youth along openly anti-imperialist lines. PL came precisely to stop that. The expulsion was therefore a matter of direst necessity."

In view of the remarkably unqualified endorsement of the Mark Rudd-Jeff Jones leadership of the "real SDS" that **Workers World** puts up, we may well anticipate the virulently sectarian **Workers World** Party and its youth associate, Youth Against War and Fascism, will soon be deeply involved in SDS.

—Malachi Constant

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An unvarnished history (VIII)

PL and the right of self-determination

By Mary-Alice Waters

Progressive Labor's position on black nationalism, like its position on the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, has not been consistent. For several years the PL line tended to vacillate, sometimes pompously presenting PL as the nationalist leadership of the black masses and sometimes condemning nationalist activities and demands as "bourgeois."

However, several months ago, in a public self-criticism, PL reprimanded itself for earlier deviations. "We failed to understand that nationalism is reactionary, and that this is its main aspect," states the January 1969 issue of PL (p. 17). While it would be fruitful to deal with some of the earlier positions, it is the current attitude of PL towards black nationalism which is of greatest concern to those in the revolutionary movement today.

The essence of PL's current position is to deny the revolutionary nature of the Afro-American struggle for self-determination. While they do not deny in theory that Afro-Americans are exploited and oppressed as a distinct group, nor that they have a right to self-determination, PL states categorically that all nationalism is reactionary and that class demands are the "only real basis for the national form of struggle" (*Challenge*, March 1969).

PL's position is not a new one. Essentially, it is the same as that held by the American socialist movement in the pre-World War I era. However, under the impetus of the Russian Revolution and the leadership of the newly formed Communist International, American revolutionaries rejected their former attitudes—similar to PL's today—and came to understand that the nascent national consciousness of Afro-Americans could be a powerful force and ally in the destruction of American imperialism. The terms in which leaders of the International berated the American revolutionaries for their backwardness, chauvinism and capitulation to the prejudices of the more privileged white workers were extremely sharp. Slowly, the American communist movement assimilated the Leninist positions on oppressed nations and national minorities.

In reverting to the infantile errors of the American socialist movement PL simply reveals its total inability to comprehend that social phenomena usually have contradictory aspects, that they are rarely all "good" or all "bad" (to use the moralistic terms PL is so fond of), and that Marxists are concerned with the dynamics of struggles as they develop and attempt to analyze the relationships between them and the basic class conflicts of our epoch.

PL's attempt to hide under the cloak of Leninism, to claim revolutionary backing for the categorical denunciation of all nationalism as serving the interests of the ruling class, is a grotesque fraud. One has only to read Lenin's writings on nationalism and self-determination to see that he was clearly polemicizing against positions such as those held by PL.

The oppression of nations and national minorities is one of the cornerstones on which imperialism maintains itself. Thus

the world capitalist system, which according to its own democratic rhetoric is supposed to open the way to national independence and freedom for all peoples, is precisely the system which today prevents the realization of those democratic aspirations. It is this fundamental contradiction which gives the nationalism of the oppressed its revolutionary implications.

The development of nationalist consciousness is often the very first step taken by the masses in a revolutionary direction.

While the nationalism of the oppressed constitutes a direct threat to world imperialism, it is only under the leadership of the revolutionary communists that these aspirations of the masses can be fully attained. As the examples of Cuba, China, North Vietnam prove, genuine economic independence from the world market, land reform, industrialization, nationalization of resources, education, adequate medical care and other basic reforms can only be achieved by abolishing private property in the means of production and establishing a planned economy.

Marxists have understood this for decades. The masses, however, are convinced by experiences gained through struggle, not by theoretical discussion. They have learned not to trust anyone and want to be shown who is on their side. They will not be won to communism by someone telling them their nationalist aspirations are reactionary. They will be won to communism only when it is proved to them that the revolutionary communists alone can guarantee their freedom from national oppression.

They know full well that their nationalist consciousness represents a sense of identity, self-confidence, pride, hatred of oppression—all the prerequisites of the will to struggle; that it represents a force which can mobilize the oppressed masses.

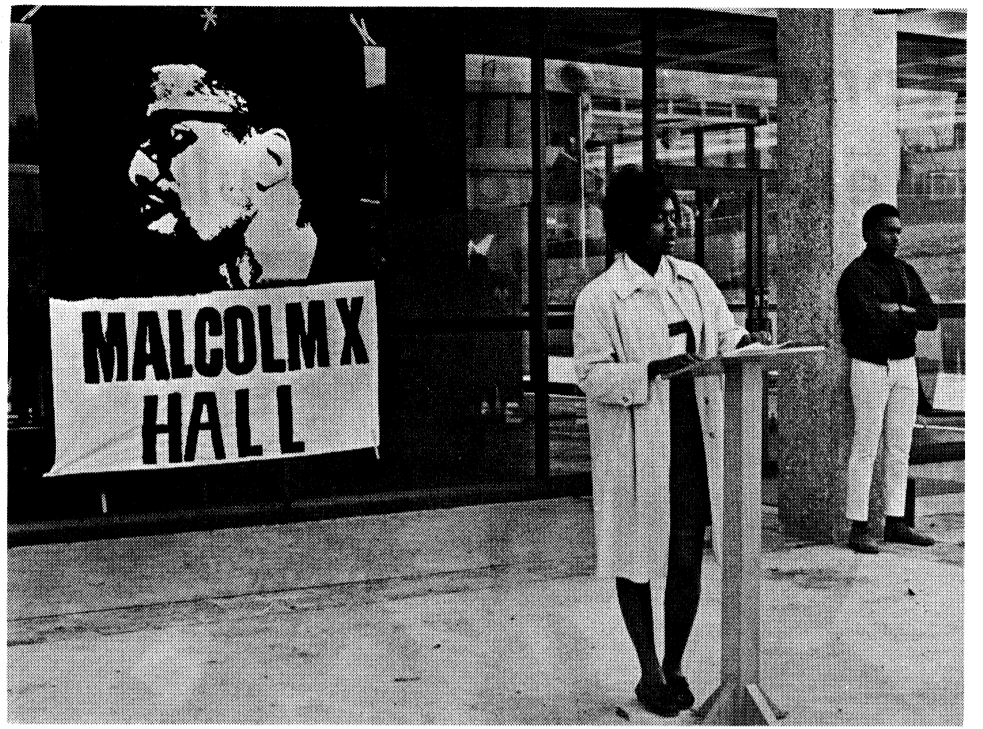
Within the United States, the contradiction between the needs of imperialism and the growing nationalist consciousness of 22 million Afro-Americans constitutes one of the most explosive, revolutionary elements in American society. This is all the more true because the Afro-American people are overwhelmingly working class in composition. They, along with the other oppressed minorities—Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian, Asian-American, and others—constitute the most superexploited sector of the working class.

But, does their class identity constitute the only valid basis for struggle? Does class identity negate a common identity as an oppressed national minority, as PL claims?

To say yes is to deny that Afro-Americans have a common historical experience in the United States and suffer a common oppression, in addition to their class oppression, against which struggle is justified. To say yes is to deny the reality that the not insignificant number of non-working-class blacks are also racially oppressed and also capable of struggle. To say yes is to deny the right to self-determination, either out of fear that capitalism can satisfy the demands of black people for control over their lives or from fear that self-determination will not lead directly to socialism.

The support of revolutionary communists for the right of self-determination is unconditional. We do not withdraw our support from national liberation struggles simply because they do not succeed in abolishing capitalism. We call on the masses to continue the struggle, but we in no way withdraw or qualify our support for the struggle against imperialism. We do not predicate our support for self-determination on the condition that the masses choose socialism, or that they demand what we think is correct.

Progressive Labor's refusal to give unconditional support to the right of self-determination for black America, their insistence that the only justifiable demands are class demands, their refusal to support demands arising from the common national oppression of Afro-Americans have led them to adopt some of the most utterly reactionary positions.



"BOURGEOISIFIED"? Students at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University in Tallahassee, Fla., hold Malcolm X Memorial meeting on campus. White PL college students, with a straight face, advise blacks they shouldn't fight for right to go to college because they'll become "bourgeoisified."

They have opposed the demands of black students and the black community for educational facilities under their own control. This, says PL, only fosters illusions that the ruling class will yield control over one of their institutions. But by the same token, it would be incorrect for workers, either black or white, to demand control over production lines because factories are also capitalist institutions, and such demands for control would only foster illusions.

PL opposes the demand for free university education for black students. They actually argue that such education "bourgeoisifies" them, helps them to escape the contradictions of class society! But it's not so easy to convince black students they shouldn't have a right to get an education when millions of white youth do. It's not hard to comprehend why so many black students consider PL's position racist.

PL argues that the only correct demands to raise on the campuses—in relation to the black struggle—are demands that build alliances between the black students and the black workers. But when it comes to the demands being raised by the black workers themselves, PL attacks them also for being oriented towards the black community, not exclusively the black workers. It fits into a neat circle, where—all rhetoric aside—PL ends up supporting neither the black students nor the black workers.

For example, the May issue of *Challenge* carries an article attacking the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in Detroit for projecting a boycott of 1970 Chrysler products. "The boycott plan," says PL, "is a purely nationalist (bourgeois) approach, because the primary group to be organized is not the black workers."

Pvt. Woodfin: 5 Fort Jackson: 0

FT. JACKSON, S. C., July 3—Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, one of the Ft. Jackson 8, won the fifth round today in his battle against continuous harassment by the Ft. Jackson brass. Woodfin was found not guilty on two counts of assault and pleaded guilty, receiving mild punishment, for a charge of having been AWOL one weekend. This was Woodfin's second court-martial and the fifth time he was threatened with court-martial. He was previously acquitted of having illegally distributed a "flyer" (a petition of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam).

Woodfin was acquitted of using "provocative language" against, and assaulting with a cup of coffee and a chair, a noncommissioned officer, Acting Sgt. Brody, who acted as sergeant for the occasion. Two witnesses testified that Brody had threatened and struck Woodfin.

Woodfin pleaded guilty of going AWOL Memorial Day weekend to visit his girlfriend, who was in the hospital. Woodfin has been denied weekend passes since February, as part of the harassment against him for daring to exercise his right to speak out against the war. He was given one month of hard labor without confinement and busted to the rank of Pvt. E-1.

but the black community, and the black workers, and white, would be the first to suffer. . . This demonstrates how nationalism is divisive if the consciousness of black workers is not transformed into a working-class approach." (p. 12)

In other words, any attempt to organize the black community itself as a force for struggle is anti-working-class. The next thing we know, it may even become "counterrevolutionary."

Nothing could be farther from a Marxist approach to the black liberation struggle in the United States. Any issue that helps unify the Afro-American population in struggle, as an independent force conscious of its own power, effectiveness and will to fight, constitutes a blow against the capitalist rulers of this country. It is through such struggles that the black masses will come to understand that capitalism must be abolished if they are to be freed from the national oppression they suffer. And it is the black working class that will be in the very vanguard of this struggle against capitalism—both as black workers and as black men and women.

In the process, the white workers, and hopefully, perhaps even some PL members, will learn a great deal about revolutionary struggle in the United States.

(This serial history of the Progressive Labor Party is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will appear in the issue dated July 25.)

SPECIAL ISSUE:

Intercontinental Press

Documents of the World Congress of the Fourth International

A special 72-page issue of *Intercontinental Press* containing the main documents and reports discussed at the April congress of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. Includes: "The New Rise of the World Revolution," "The 'Cultural Revolution' in China," a resolution on perspectives for the revolutionary movement in Latin America, and "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also reports by E. Germain, Livio Maitan, and a message of greetings to the congress by Jose Revueltas.

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CALENDAR

DETROIT

THE NECESSITY FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.
Speaker: Lynn Henderson. Fri., July 11, 3:37 Woodward, 8 p.m., Contrib. employed 75c, unemployed 35c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

SYMPOSIUM ON THE ARAB REVOLUTION AND ZIONISM. See story p. 8.

SEATTLE

LENIN VS. THE NOT-SO-NEW LEFT. A Marxist analysis of the SDS split. Speaker: Russell Black, nat'l committee member of Young Socialist Alliance and leader of Indiana University Student Strike. Fri., July 11, The Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N. E., LA 3-2555.

Wonderful L.A. response to ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley



Photo by Della Rossa

Andrew Pulley, Janet McCloud (partly hidden) and Laura McCloud

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—Ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson 8 was welcomed in the Los Angeles area as a hero of the antiwar movement on a tour sponsored by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Pulley was given a standing ovation by the National Lawyers Guild at a dinner meeting here June 20. He told the gathering of attorneys, "I was given an undesirable discharge as a security risk. I disagree with this because I did nothing undesirable. I did what I pledged to do in our oath of enlistment—defend the Constitution against external and internal enemies."

At a June 8 Indian Colloquium, Pulley won the support of Janet McCloud and her daughter, Laura McCloud, militant leaders of the Tulalip Indians who have been fighting for their traditional fishing rights in the state of Washington. Janet McCloud, who faces a prison sentence for her participation in the Indian rights struggle, became a sponsor of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

"They defame us in school," said Laura McCloud at the colloquium. "They make us feel stupid, so we can't learn."

And Pulley added, "Then they push us out of school and then shove us into jail or the Army, like my probation officer did with me."

"That's just the way it is with young Indians, too," Laura McCloud told the black ex-GI.

Pulley spoke at the Peace Action Council

conference June 13 and at a Conference on Racism, War and Peace before an audience of 150 June 14 on a panel with economist Stanley Sheinbaum of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara and the Rev. George Lawrence of Brooklyn, N. Y., both of whom decided to become sponsors of the GI CLDC after hearing Pulley's speech.

At a People's Tribunal on the steps of the federal building protesting the Subversive Activities Control Board hearings going on inside, Pulley spoke as a witness against those who would destroy freedom of speech.

By Lea Tammi

PHILADELPHIA—Ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley addressed a public meeting sponsored by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee June 25. The meeting was held to publicize and celebrate the Ft. Jackson 8 victory and to raise funds for the GI CLDC, which handled the defense. Nearly \$350 were raised for the defense committee.

Pulley told the enthusiastic crowd of about 120 how GIs United Against the War in Vietnam had been organized and how the GIs defended themselves against the brass. Matilde Zimmermann, national secretary of the defense committee, spoke on the continuing work of the GI CLDC.

At a press conference earlier in the day, Pulley was asked if he had anything good to say about the Army. He retorted, "Well, yes. It educated me about the system. It made a radical out of me."

A Vietnam GI appeals for aid against Army frame-up

NEW YORK—Spec/4 Martin Brown, a black GI just about to complete his tour of duty with the 101st Airborne in Vietnam, wrote home to his mother appealing for help after being framed up on a possession-of-marijuana charge. His mother, Mrs. Isabelle Brown, contacted the civil liberties attorney, Conrad Lynn. On June 23 Lynn read Martin Brown's letter over New York radio station WBAI. Lynn has also written to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, commanding general in Vietnam, asking him to intervene to prevent any further miscarriage of justice in this case. The following is the text of the letter that was read over WBAI.

* * *

Dear Mommy:

I hope when this letter reaches you it'll find you and the rest of the family in the best of health. Mom, what I'm about to say isn't going to be any good news from this side of the world. In fact, sometimes I wish I were dead.

Mommy, listen to me and listen very careful. Now that I'm getting short [near the end of his period of duty] and want to get out of this crazy country, this Army I'm fighting with won't let me. The things that they do to our guys is a shame, the main being us colored fellows. Now it's my turn and they're trying to pin me with

having packs of smoke and having pipes which I've never smoked and still don't.

Mom, I don't know how you or the family feels about me or even if you love me, but please believe me, I didn't do it. Mom, right now I need your help more than ever because the court I'll be brought up against there just isn't any fair dealings. Oh yeah, you get to have your say with a lawyer, but the Army goes by the book and you still come up losing.

The only way of hope I have is to get the family together and get in touch with our Congressman. That's the only way, or I'll never be coming home.

Love,
Martin

P.S. And please hurry! Time is important. Something else I forgot: Then they tell me, Don't say anything to no one until they give the charges to me. Mommy, you're my only help I've got and him left in the world. Please help.

* * *

[Letters of protest on behalf of Martin Brown may be sent to Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Commanding General, Headquarters, United States Army, Vietnam, APO San Francisco 96375, with copies to Conrad Lynn, Lynn, Spitz and Condon, 401 Broadway, New York 10013.]

New York symposium on Mideast will include Palestinian Arabs

NEW YORK—A symposium on the Arab revolution and Zionism, featuring revolutionary socialist and Palestinian Arab speakers, will take place here July 11.

Rashed Hussein, a Palestinian Arab writer, poet and journalist who lived in occupied Israel for eight years, will discuss the fate of the Palestinians in Israel.

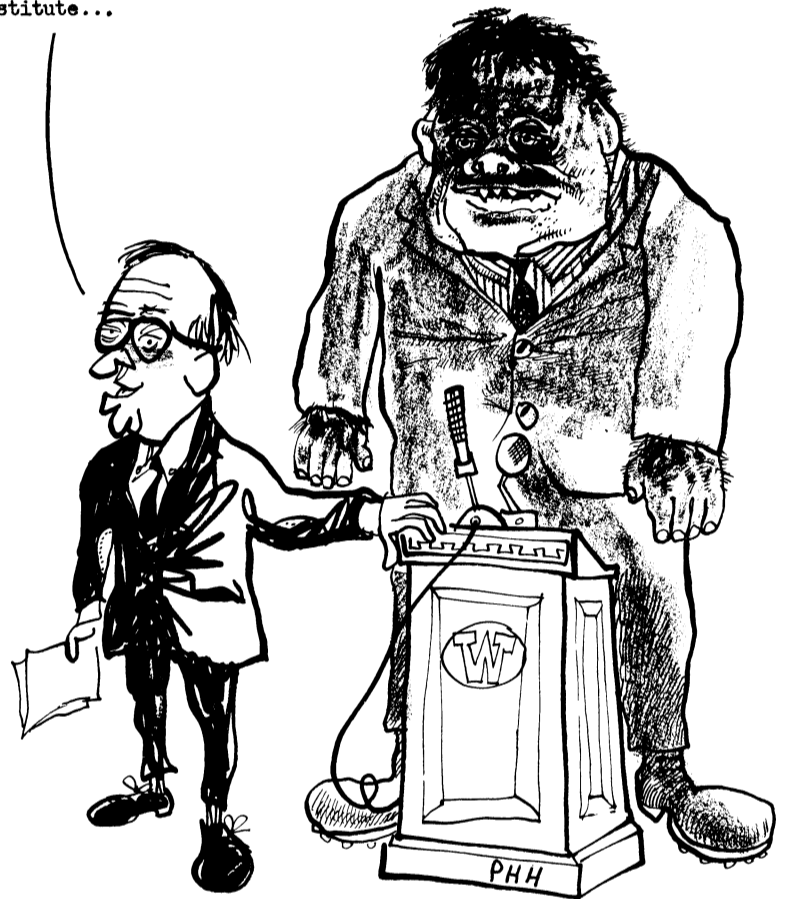
Jon Rothschild, a leader of the Philadelphia Young Socialist Alliance, will present the YSA's viewpoint on the Arab revolution.

Speaking on the cause of Palestinian

liberation will be Sami Al-Banna, vice-president of the Organization of Arab Students at Columbia University and a graduate student in engineering at Columbia. Amr Armanazi, president of the Organization of Arab Students at Columbia, will discuss the program and aims of Fatah, one of the major Palestinian guerrilla organizations.

The symposium will take place Fri., July 11, 8:30 p.m., at 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), and will be sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

And now, with a profound sense of gratitude to the Board of Regents, who upheld the right of all students to hear all points of view, let me introduce Mr. Bert Popple of the American Nerve Gas Institute...



Among the heartening number of responses to our appeal for contributions to help defray the operating costs of The Militant was this very enthusiastic letter from R. J., a Detroit supporter.

"How is it possible that each issue of The Militant is better than the one that preceded it? Without a doubt our paper has become the paper of the left in the USA. Enclosed is a check to help you keep up the good work."

While our own estimate of the week-to-week progress of the paper might be a bit more conservative than that of R. J., we do feel we have been moving forward and are determined to continue doing so.

One of the factors that has helped significantly in brightening our pages is the increasing number of contributions from artist and photographer friends. The above cartoon by PHH is one example of this.

Not all of us are able to contribute cartoons, drawings, photographs, etc. But most of us are in a position to make a financial contribution of one size or another to help improve and expand the paper. If you haven't done so already, why not fill out the "I want to help" blank today. Thanks.

Yes, I want to help

NAME

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Movement for 'safe' black mayor gaining with Detroit politicians

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, June 28—The June 24 announcement by Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh that he will not run for a third term is added evidence that an important and apparently dominant segment of the ruling class in this industrial city has decided to place a black candidate in the top office.

There is agreement in all quarters that control of the black community is the central issue at stake in the Detroit mayoralty campaign. Disagreement arises over how this issue shall be presented and resolved. The city's rulers are asking, how can the issue best be disguised so as to give the impression that needs of the black community are being considered by the same old white ruling structure? This question is of paramount concern among the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, within the ranks of the trade-union bureaucracy, and in the councils of the city's big-business interests.

When Cavanagh announced his decision not to run, he tacitly admitted the real reason and referred to the problem that prompted it. "I will never stop believing that the common concerns that unite people are ultimately stronger than the differences that separate them," he said. This refers to the separation, discrimination, and deprivation of the black community.

It remained for the kept press of big-business advertisers to explain why Cavanagh had little choice, and here the immediate reason is stated only by implication. The Detroit *Free Press* put the problem in broadest focus. "The mayor was criticized, undoubtedly unfairly, during the 1967 riot, first for not being out on the streets like John Lindsay, then for not getting enough action to rebuild the city and restore the health of the community. He could get no cooperation from the Common Council and as the war in Vietnam grew he could get less help from Washington. Nothing seemed to go right."

Here is the story of most U.S. cities for the past several years. Nothing seemed to go right. But the immediate reason has been and is the open revolt of black communities against the old relations of

isolation, discrimination and double-exploitation. This is what they call "the riots" and what they fear now above all else and seek to prevent by backing off and making the least costly concessions possible.

Part of this conscious policy, under present conditions and existing racial divisions here in Detroit, is to sponsor the election of a black candidate for mayor. The rent gougers and mortgage brokers and price manipulators in this city have taken to heart the lessons of municipal government in nearby Cleveland, Ohio, and in Gary, Ind., where black mayors have served the real rulers well.

Application of this policy was clearly stated in a *Free Press* editorial: "The Cavanagh announcement has special interest for Richard Austin, Wayne County auditor and the black candidate so far, as well as for those who have wanted some black candidate other than Austin. It makes more pressing the obvious questions that have been impending for several months.

"Can the soft-spoken Austin rally the troops and get his campaign off the ground?"

"Might some possible alternative—again, former Councilman William Patrick—to the Austin candidacy reassert itself?"

They are saying here that the decision to back a "suitable" black candidate is firm. What remains for them is to find one who is competent as well as "safe", and they don't know if Austin fills the bill. They would prefer Patrick.

Patrick is a Republican who has declined to run. Austin is the candidate of the Democrats.

Fellow Democrat Cavanagh is already in the act cutting down all opponents—both Democrats and Republicans—who seek to defeat the black candidate by campaigning for "law and order." Such candidates are Council President Ed Carey and Councilman Mary V. Beck, both Democrats, and Walter C. Shamie, a Republican who opposed Cavanagh in the previous election four years ago. Of Shamie and Beck, Cavanagh warns their election would be "disastrous." As for Carey, a more serious threat, the major explains that



TAKES DIM VIEW. Rev. Albert Cleage, prominent black Detroit political figure says he won't back Richard Austin, black Democratic aspirant.

the council president must share at least part of the responsibility for any present failures in city government.

By implication this is an endorsement of Austin, but when asked directly about this Cavanagh said it is still too early to say as there may be other candidates filing before the July 26 deadline. This is what the politicians call "playing the game," for which Cavanagh expects to extract his full measure of rewards.

The Urban Alliance, a biracial coalition of "liberal leaders," mostly Democrats, has been formed and warns against a racist campaign. A spokesman for the group exposed the racist character of the newly formed Real Detroit Committee, an association of policemen, firemen and assorted white home-owners groups. He charged that "for the first time we have a political party that is armed," adding that it presents "a very real danger."

Further signs that the Democratic Party will back Austin was his endorsement by Judge Crockett, Detroit's most able and popular black jurist. Austin's campaign manager is a former Crockett law partner. His campaign is being handled by the public relations firm of John P. Casey, a former aid of the mayor.

Some who are still out of step persist in urging the mayor to "reconsider." These are that swarm of enlightened trade-union bureaucrats who buzz around inside the Democratic Party spreading "political realism." They include two black "leaders," Horace Sheffield of the UAW and Tom Turner, president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO. Turner is also head of the Detroit branch of the NAACP. A spokesman said the election of Austin is doubtful and thinks "if he were elected the races would be further polarized."

The most nettling question for the architects of the black mayor policy is whether Austin can lead the black community. He

has no popular appeal. But neither is there a militant leadership yet prepared to challenge the present political alliances operating through the machinery of the Democratic Party.

The better known militant spokesmen were caught in the trap of a black united front seeking "the one man" who could best represent all. No such man was found. So Austin was pushed forward as the best possible substitute.

Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., one of the more militant spokesmen in the black united front, very early in the game announced that he could not support Austin. Others, such as Dan Aldridge, are dissatisfied with the substitute candidate. Both have pointedly remained silent since the announcement of Austin's candidacy. They deliberately ignore the mayoralty campaign, and in the pages of Detroit's Afro-American weekly, the *Michigan Chronicle*, where both have regularly featured columns, they now concern themselves with other issues.

The mayoralty campaign at this time certainly attracts the most attention. Indicative of how the problem is felt and viewed among all strata of the black community is a statement in the current issue of the *Chronicle* attributed to attorney Louis F. Simmons Jr. He says, "The black man isn't reaping the economic or political benefits of strong local leadership. . . because too many black leaders are beholden by political alliances to those who put them in office." This statement of the problem is heard over and over again. But there has as yet appeared no leadership capable of organizing the independent black electoral machinery which is clearly indicated by the mere statement of the problem.

There is little doubt at this juncture that if no attempt is made by the militant black spokesmen to organize an independent black coalition and enter their own candidate, then such a candidate as Austin, who is controlled by the Democratic Party and not the black community, will receive a solid black vote. His chances of winning appear favorable.

Both the rulers and the ruled in this city must look beyond the fall election. What will happen if Austin is elected? Will he be able to re-organize the racist police department? Can he promote a low-cost housing program? How can he lead the black community to gain control of community institutions such as hospitals, welfare centers, libraries, schools? What can a black mayor, beholden to the Democratic Party, do to create job opportunities and raise wages for black workers?

Candidates like Austin promise none of this. But this is what relates to the basic needs of the black community. Evidence that the black community intends to satisfy its needs in its own way continues to mount. Whatever happens between now and the election this fall, some coalescing of black militants will begin to organize the political machinery necessary to win black control of the black community.

The political objective of the ruling class in this campaign and after is to forestall and prevent such a development among black people. Whether Austin is the right man to serve them in this objective is their dilemma.

Minneapolis printers upset officers with wage demand

MINNEAPOLIS—The printers employed at the Minneapolis *Star and Tribune* were informed at a union meeting June 22 that their international union, the International Typographical Union, will not sanction a strike against the multi-million-dollar Cowles-owned newspaper.

During an often stormy meeting, the membership was told that not only would the International not sanction a strike but that the more militant members, who had formed themselves into a "Dollar an Hour Committee," were guilty of antidemocratic, and antiunion activities.

It turned out that the "antidemocratic" actions taken by the committee were such things as pasting up leaflets, posters and flyers, and collecting signatures on petitions for special union meetings.

The "antiunion" activities included such things as "not relying on the elected leadership" to handle the local union's problems.

The membership, whose contract expired Jan. 1, were understandably upset after being forced to take an LBJ six percent guideline contract in 1965, are determined to see that all the ground lost due to inflation will be made up in this contract.

The Committee, which started two weeks ago with nine members, now enjoys wide support and counts over 40 official members.

It has sought, through educational leaflets and personal contact, to make the membership realize how far it has slipped in terms of real wages since the last three-year contract was signed.

Although it is primarily a one-issue committee and has concentrated on agitating for a dollar-an-hour increase, its demands also include an escalator wage clause and better vacation and holiday sections in its program.

The local misleaders, at first taken aback by the only organization opposition it has faced in years, now is on the offensive, warning the membership, in thinly veiled red-baiting, to watch for "SDS infiltrators" and "other undesirable influences."

The international, for its part, does not want to grant strike sanction because, obviously, if Minneapolis breaks the national wage pattern, "all the other locals will want it (the increase) also."

The Cowles Communications empire, faced with an angry American Publishers Association, also feels that the national wage pattern must not be broken.

Members of the union, although disillusioned by their leadership, continue militant and determined to wrest a living wage from the enormous profits piled up by the Cowles family which, according to John Cowles, Jr., is worth "in excess of 50 million."

L.A. SACB hearing evokes movement protest actions

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES, June 21—A meeting of the Committee Against Repression was held today to evaluate the demonstration and rally it organized against the Subversive Activities Control Board. The SACB held hearings on June 17 and 18 to determine whether Cliff Fried and David Mares, student activists in UMAS (United Mexican-American Students), belong to the Communist Party.

Five to six hundred people responded to this unconstitutional witch-hunt by joining the picket line in front of the Federal Building on the day the hearings opened. Picket-sign slogans ranged from appeals for rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights to the anti-"fascism" slogans of the L.A. Friends of the Black Panther Party.

A Peoples Tribunal was held which heard indictments of the SACB and the U.S. government it works for. The witnesses included Terry Hillman for the UCLA Coalition, Jim Boggio for the GIs and Vietnam Vets Against the War in Vietnam, Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party, ex-green beret Don Duncan, Father Blaise Bonpane, Cliff Fried and David Mares.

Fried announced that he was indeed a member of the Communist Party and most activists knew it. Mares declined to admit or deny membership.

Ex-private Andrew Pulley spoke for GIs United at Fort Jackson and received the most enthusiastic applause of any speaker.

The main "achievement" of the SACB hearings was to expose two FBI agents assigned to work in the Communist Party. William Tulio Divale, a 27-year-old UCLA student, had been paid over \$14,000 by the FBI for his services in the last four years.

The other agent, 69-year-old Harry Bennett, was said to be well-known for sleeping through CP and other meetings these last many years.

Attorney John Abt, during cross-examination of Divale, presented a copy of the National Swingers Directory of 1969 which featured a photo of the FBI fink and the following caption: "Single swinger, educated, well-mannered and discreet, six-foot, four inch, 200 pounds, seeks single gal and couples for sexual excitement."

There was no indication offered of J. Edgar Hoover's view of such moonlighting activity on the part of one of his agents.

Harris poll: Campus radicalism rising

By Alex Harte

"Large-scale militancy of American college students, rather than being the future possibility cited by Congressional committees or college faculties and deans, could well be in an advanced stage of development."

The statement is by national pollster Louis Harris, summarizing the results of a May survey on the opinion of graduating college seniors. Harris found a profound radicalization among the 1,000 students interviewed. One can only comment that even we were surprised at the extent of it.

Here is a summary of the poll results as described by Harris in the June 30 *New York Post*:

"Aversion to the Vietnam war has reached the point among college students that by 48 to 34 percent a cross section of just-graduated seniors say they 'respect those who refuse to go into the armed forces when drafted.' This marks a sharp reversal from a year ago when seniors then said by 50 to 29 percent that they would 'respect' such draft resisters less."

The radicalization Harris discovered was clearly the result as well as the cause of the massive campus protests that swept the country last year. **Harris found that only seven percent of the students questioned actually opposed the protests.**

He reports: "Fifty-one percent say 'the protests in this country by students, Negroes, antiwar demonstrators will lead to positive changes and should be continued. Another 36 percent believe that while the protests have been worthwhile, they have gone too far and should be stopped."

"Only 7 percent say the protests should never have started in the first place."

Harris' results suggest that newspapers failed to report or greatly underestimated the breadth of the protest movement.

"Two out of every three of the campuses had experienced demonstrations or protests by students during this past school

year. Seventy percent of the students on campuses where protests took place expressed sympathies in favor of the aims and goals of the demonstration, although 64 percent took exception to the specific tactics of the leaders of the protests."

Harris stated that the students interviewed included such well-known campuses as the University of Wisconsin in Madison and the University of California at Berkeley. But they also included such less well-known campuses as: "Mississippi Industrial College; Arkansas Poly.; Western College of Education; Black Hills, S.D., College for Teachers; Aquinas College; Mount Mercy College. . ."

Harris also found, "Over one-third of all the seniors took part in the protest on those campuses where they took place. . . Black students in these colleges were consistently more militant than white students and appear to have been in the forefront of the thrust for protest."

The "potential for student activism has not begun to be tapped," Harris stated. "It is likely to accelerate rather than decline." In eight areas of radical student activity, he surveyed "student activism potential":

	Have Done	Would be Willing
Sign a petition	84%	97%
Participate in a demonstration	40	72
Defy school authorities	23	47
Join a picket line	18	59
Violate the law	18	34
Participate in civil disobedience	11	36
Risk a future security clearance	9	37
Go to jail	4	38

The "commitment behind the protest tactic ranges from a low of 40 percent in the Plains States and 42 percent in the South," Harris states, "to a high of 71 percent on the West Coast and 74 percent among black students."



New York antiwar demonstration

Third world liberation notes

Facts and figures on oppression of Chicanos

The June 17 issue of the *Congressional Record* includes a very interesting contribution from Senator Joseph Montoya, Democrat of New Mexico. His speech dealt with the situation of the Chicano and other Latin peoples in the Southwest and on the West Coast. He also touched upon the situation of Puerto Ricans in New York City.

Sen. Montoya spoke before a Senate subcommittee concerned with legislation to establish an interagency committee on Mexican-American affairs. The interagency has been operating so far on an executive mandate that was issued by LBJ. The move now is to get it established as a permanent government agency.

Sen. Montoya's speech describes the situation of Chicanos and other Latins in education, employment, poverty, housing, health, and as migrant laborers. In many of these areas, the plight of Chicano people is worse than that of black people.

In the Southwest, Chicanos 14 years and older average 3.9 years less schooling than the Anglo, and 1.6 less than both blacks and Amer-Indians. The situation is particularly bad in Texas, where 15 percent of the population is Chicano. There, 64.7 percent of the Chicano population has not completed grade school. This figure is more than twice the percentage of the total population that has not completed school. If Chicanos are aced out of the public school system, it only makes for a tighter situation at the college level. At the seven campuses of the University of California, less than a half of one percent of the students are Chicano.

In employment, situations in which Chicanos have the same amount of schooling as the Anglo have resulted in Chicanos receiving 40 to 50 percent less in income. According to a 1960 census, 79 percent of all Chicano workers held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. The farm labor force, which Montoya estimates at about 250,000 has no legal protection at all as workers. No social security, no minimum-wage laws.

In New York City, which has an overall unemployment rate of 4 percent, the unemployment rate in Puerto Rican East Harlem is 9 percent.

The housing occupied by Chicanos is such that the mortality rate at birth or during the first year of life is twice that of the Anglo. In Arizona, while only 11.3 percent of the Anglo families occupy overcrowded or dilapidated housing, the figure is 43.6 percent for Chicano families. In Texas, it is 9.4 percent of the Anglo families and 46.5 percent of the Chicano families.

Among the migrant laborers, the life expectancy of a Chicano child is 38 years. This is compared to a 55-year life expectancy for migrant children in general, and a 70-year life expectancy for the average Anglo child. As for education, the migrant worker averages a fourth-grade level. Migrant workers earn between \$1,000 and \$2,000 a year.

And when we talk about the "defense" of Amerika, we get that same old story. Chicanos and other Latins are found to die in very disproportionate numbers for the preservation of Amerika. According to statistics from the Department of Defense for the period of January 1963 to February 1967, in Colorado, where 9 percent of the population is Chicano, Chicanos shared 20.3 percent of the Vietnam casualties; in New Mexico, where Chicanos constitute 28.3 percent of the population, they constitute 40 percent of the casualties; in California, where the 1960 census recorded 9 percent of the population Chicano, Chicanos constituted 12.3 percent of the casualties.

But however appreciative we may be to Senator Montoya for the facts in his report, the real purpose comes through with his statement that "to date, the Spanish-speaking American has not been duped or led astray by the apostles of hatred and violence whose only solution to problems is to tear down our social institutions in-

stead of to try to reform them. And those apostles of hatred and violence do exist even among the Spanish-speaking Americans. . ."

There is, he suggests, just a little unrest here or there, but that can be cooled out by letting a few more crumbs fall from the table. So it is in this sense that we must take Senator Montoya's report, a report to the imperial Senate on the merits of establishing a neocolonial agency to better deal with the Chicano colony.

The June 29 *New York Times* reports on the growing unrest amongst black labor. The article sheds light on the situation developing in the N. Y. C. Transport Workers Union. The agitation is centered in Local 100 which represents the bus drivers and subway workers. There, a group has challenged the right of the TWU to represent the workers. According to Joe Carnegie, a black subway conductor who heads the Rank and File, this is going to be done by obtaining the necessary 9,000 signatures to get a new representation election. The signatures are required by New York labor law.

Of the 27,000 workers in the TWU, the article reports that some 17,000 are black. Yet, a fellow by the name of Matthew Guinan, an Irish-American, heads the union. This situation is very undemocratic to say the least.

At present, the Rank and File has obtained 4,000 signatures and hopes to have 10,000 by August 31. The article quotes Carnegie as saying, "For the first time, nearly 20,000 black transit workers have the opportunity to be involved in a struggle in which their numerical strength can decide whether transit workers will be represented by a union in which they have no real voice (no other workers really have a voice either, for that matter) or whether we will be represented by an independent union that is not tied to management and

the rotten racist power structure of this city."

Also in the June 29 *Times* was an article concerning the land claims being pressed by Eskimos in Alaska. The Anglos in Alaska are very uptight about these claims. The Eskimos are demanding \$50 million a year for 10 years, the right to select 40 million acres of the 365 million acres in Alaska, and a 10 percent share in perpetuity in mineral revenues from all public land.

The basis for these claims is that when the U.S. acquired Alaska in 1867 from Russia, the U.S. was sold political control, not control of the land in Alaska. The Eskimos never gave up any of their land through treaties, as was the case with the Indians.

The vast richness of the land was exhibited in the Prudhoe Bay oil strike. This was on part of the 103 million acres owned by the state government, and is expected to bring billions into the coffers of the state.

Of the 250,000 persons in the state, 55,000 are Eskimos and Indians. The Eskimos and Indians are organized into a group called the Alaska Federation of Natives.

— Derrick Morrison

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The Great Society

The Nixon ecumenism—Some of the participants were startled and some literally at a loss for words when the first White House religious service ever to be led by a rabbi opened with a Christian hymn. It was no error, a White House spokesman explained, that the service opened with a Lutheran choir singing a Christian Doxology. "That basic form of the service is constant," he said, "even though the faith of the speaker changes." Drawing on memories of her youth, a fellow staff member recalled that the Doxology usually preceded the collection.

Still naive—"U. S. May Investigate Demands by Forman," the *New York Times* headline said. "My," we reacted, "maybe they're going to recommend a settlement." The story reported that a federal grand jury is considering whether or not the Forman group can be put in jail for their reparations demands on the churches.

The hair of Dicky's dog—The Nixon poodle, Vicky, gets her pom-pom trimmed every month at Suzette's Poodle Groomette. Mrs. Nixon firmly declined an offer to trim Vicky gratis, insisting on paying the \$8 monthly barber bill. Suzette's saves every hair that comes off Vicky, bagging it as souvenirs for other customers. It was not reported if Vicky's hair is dispensed at a fee and, if so, what the White House percentage is.

Socio-esthetic critique—Revealing that the Army had spent about a million tax dollars helping John Wayne make his jingoist film, *The Green Berets*, and then billed his production company only \$18,000, Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal of New York also commented that, to add insult to injury, it was a terrible movie. "This alliance of Hollywood and the Pentagon," he observed, "seems to have brought out the worst in both institutions."

We thought it was the name of the game—Evangelist Billy Graham urged New York mayoral candidates to make a campaign issue of pornography.

Better button up—A spokesman for the TV industry says they're determined to end once and for all the "flurries of public excitement about television radiation." This

excitement has been stimulated by such findings as those of the Suffolk County, N. Y., Health Service, which said that 20 percent of the color sets in the area were emitting excessive radiation. The industry responds that in two or three years they hope to have a virtually radiation-proof product. Meanwhile, you might try one of those iron chastity belts enjoying a current vogue.

Note to junior college students—Campus demonstrations against Marine Corps recruitment were so successful last year that the corps dropped 600-700 men behind schedule. To recoup, they've lowered the educational requirement and are now beating the bushes in the junior colleges.

And rightly so—As a student membership inducement, the California Teachers Association offers a \$1,000 accidental death or dismemberment policy.

Two, three, many S. F. States!—Let motorists consider this fact: During the period of the San Francisco State College campus strike, the city's revenue from traffic tickets dropped by a thumping \$288,000.

Getting sensitive—"I worked for Jack Warner for ten years, and that wasn't easy. I was on TV for General Electric for ten years, and I survived that, too. But those goddam Berkeley kids—they've given me an ulcer."—California's Gov. Reagan.

Long, hot summer in Norway—Some 3,000 youths bust loose in Oslo. Police spokesmen attributed it to the heat.

Note to Household Finance—The Federal Trade Commission is, curiously, without staff or funds for enforcement of the nation's new "truth-in-lending" law which apparently requires that the loan sharks tell you precisely how much flesh they're taking. Poetically, the law is "Regulation Z" of Federal Reserve statutes.

Eliminating the middle man—John Hurd, a long-time Texas oil wheeler and dealer, was nominated by Nixon to be ambassador to Venezuela.

— Harry Ring

Reading for revolutionaries

How class society began



Engels

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Frederick Engels. 176 pp. \$1.85.

Engels was the close friend and collaborator of Karl Marx whose own work is on the level of a profound and original thinker. His name is coupled with that of Marx as the founders of scientific socialism.

In this book Engels describes the origins of three institutions with which everyone is familiar. However, since all three arose during that period of mankind's history when the written word was still unknown, the origins of these institutions required a special study and research on the part of historians and anthropologists. Engel's work is largely based upon the discoveries of Lewis H. Morgan, an anthropologist who spent 40 years of his life living with the Iriquois Indians, as well as studies that he and Marx made on their own.

Most people generally assume that mankind has always lived in the kind of family relationship that we see all around us today, that privately owned property, including productive property, always existed and that all societies were ruled over by a state of one kind or another. This is not true. Primitive peoples did not know the family as it exists today; they had altogether different customs, rules and ways of producing and reproducing themselves. This was discovered about a hundred years ago through the study of remnants of very old institutions that left their traces upon certain peoples in modern times. It was fully confirmed by observations of primitive peoples in certain islands of the Pacific as well as in Africa and Australia.

Morgan, in his famous book *Ancient Society*, shows how the forms of family among the Indians was entirely different from that which we know today. His discoveries were remarkably similar to those made by others who studied peoples and societies very far from America.

The same sort of thing can be said about private property; it was unknown in primitive times. Marx noted that primitive people understood the category of possession but not that of ownership. Everything was owned in common by the group, tribe or

whatever other form of social organization existed.

Similarly with the state; it did not always exist; it arose at a certain point in history when the need for it came. In primitive times, when all the members of a group were equal and performed more or less equal labor, they all belonged to one class. Since there were no classes, there was no need of a state—i.e., an instrument used by one class to rule others.

In this book, Engels makes a detailed study of the societies that came before classes came into existence to show that the three institutions we are discussing did not always exist. He then shows how these primitive societies changed and how families, private property and the state came into existence. The book has a particular interest and relevance for today's rapidly developing women's liberation movement.

It is a fascinating study of that part of human history that is relatively unknown. It raises the question of how mankind can change again, this time on the far higher level of modern productivity and science. If the most solid-looking institutions in modern society came into existence as a result of a need for them, then they can be discarded and other, newer and better institutions can be built that fit the needs of modern times.

— Milton Alvin

Veterans office burglarized in L.A.

By James Boggio

LOS ANGELES — In the early morning hours of Sunday, June 22, the Los Angeles office of GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Student Mobilization Committee was looted. The thieves made off with two cash boxes, two small file boxes and a confidential loose-leaf notebook.

Inasmuch as no article of monetary value (mimeograph equipment, typewriter, phonograph, etc.) was taken—nor was the office in any way damaged—it is apparent that the pirates were after specific items and that they probably had reasonable knowledge as to where these specifics might be found.

Inside the file boxes were the names, addresses and phone numbers of nearly 100 antiwar Vietnam veterans who live in the L.A. area and a portion of an exclusive mailing list of supporters.

The fact that GI mailing lists were abducted while SMC files were left untouched is indication that the fly-by-night bandits were interested in a limited area of antiwar activity.

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In Vietnam it's war "as usual"

By Dick Roberts

JULY 3—Three days ago a South Vietnamese colonel embarrassed U.S. military officials when he declared that the besieged Special Forces camp of 1,000 American and South Vietnamese soldiers in Benhet was "bait" for North Vietnamese units operating nearby.

A U.S. spokesman said, "It's a word that keeps cropping up. But of course we never use soldiers for bait."

The following day a convoy of South Vietnamese armored personnel carriers made its way into the Central Highlands outpost over a road that had been closed by the siege.

About 300 soldiers, a tenth of whom were Americans, had been killed in the seven weeks of combat around Benhet by this time.

The event underlines the contradiction between the pretense of the Nixon administration to be "phasing out" of the war and the reality that the U.S. military strategy remains one of exerting "maximum pressure" on the battlefield.

Nearly 45,000 GIs have been killed or wounded in the first six months of Nixon's term of office.

The Pentagon's "business as usual" offensive in South Vietnam was described by *New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba in a Saigon dispatch June 29. Sterba ran down a "typical" week:

"During the seven days before June 19, U.S. and South Vietnamese jet bombers

"The 'kill ratio' appears to be a way of measuring success that has more appeal for military commanders than others." *New York Times*, June 29.

and fighters dropped on South Vietnam between 10,000 tons and 35,000 tons of some of the most sophisticated bombs that munition makers can produce this side of the mushroom cloud. . .

"During the same seven days, thousands of American soldiers scoured the mountains, jungles and rice fields with the same intensity and in the same numbers as they did before the White House changed occupants last January."

Sterba all but dismissed the withdrawal of 25,000 troops as meaningless: "The question of whether the U.S. is de-escalating the fighting has been raised since President Nixon announced earlier this month the initial withdrawal of 25,000 American



Photo by Dave Wulp

FILES SIGNATURES. Syd Stapleton, (left) SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, files 20,074 signatures to assure ballot status. Only 12,864 signatures are required by law. Stapleton will be the first socialist mayoralty candidate in Cleveland for decades. Freedom for condemned

black nationalist Ahmed Evans and the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam have been the central campaign issues. Threatened with induction into the Army, Stapleton announced a pre-induction rally for July 9.

troops. Military spokesmen have responded that the U.S. is following a strategy of 'maximum pressure' on the enemy."

And Sterba also dismissed such remarks as President Nixon's assertion in his June 20 news conference that the orders to Gen. Creighton Abrams are to "conduct this war with a minimum of casualties." The comment from one field commander, Sterba reported, was: "That's what we've been doing all along."

The truth of the matter is that the withdrawal of 25,000 troops from Vietnam is only a drop in the bucket compared to the number of young men that have already been sent over or are slated to go to Vietnam in the remainder of this year.

The fact that Washington maintains a level of approximately 535,000 GIs in Vietnam, most of whom are there on a one-year rotational basis, means that the Pentagon has to send an even larger number of GIs over every year to keep at that 535,000-man level—since thousands of GIs are killed and wounded.

The hard facts are that 573,900 replacements will be sent to Vietnam in 1969. Deduct 25,000 from that and you still have 548,900 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

Panthers call conference; seek broad participation

NEW YORK—A national spokesman for the Black Panther Party said special efforts are being made to obtain the broadest possible representation at the national Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism called by the central committee of the Black Panther Party.

The conference, designed to organize resistance to the repressions being directed against the Panthers and other forces, will be held in Oakland, Calif., July 18-21.

Cosponsor of the conference is the International Liberation School, a Bay Area grouping.

In New York to help promote participation in the conference, Don Cox, national Panther field marshal, told *The Militant* that all groups that are antifascist but not anticommunist are welcome and urged to attend.

To indicate the breadth of representation they are trying to achieve, Cox said invitations had been issued to such figures as Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam. Unionists, church spokesmen and various other community groups have also been invited Cox said.

Cox discussed the rumors that have circulated in the radical movement to the effect that the conference will serve to launch some kind of a new political movement. He said this definitely is not on the conference agenda and that the function of the gathering will be that of establishing coordinated efforts in fighting repression.

Two basic actions will be proposed to the conference by the Panthers, Cox said. The first will be a proposal for a united national petition campaign for community control of the police. The text of the proposed petition includes a proposal for amending local city charters to "give control of the police to community-elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set policy and standards of conduct."

The other principal action proposal the Panthers will bring before the conference, Cox said, was establishment of a central bail fund and legal defense pool for political prisoners. Such an effort, he emphasized, would be dedicated to the defense of all political prisoners, not just Panther prisoners. In this regard, he noted that Chicano and other third-world groups would be participating in the conference.

In addition to these action proposals, he added, there would be discussion of political programs for various con-

stituencies in the struggle against ruling class repressions which the Panthers see as fascist in character.

Additional sponsors of the conference include SDS leaders, Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter*, and attorneys Charles Garry and William Kunstler. Garry is Huey Newton's lawyer and Kunstler is principal counsel for the Panther 21 in New York.

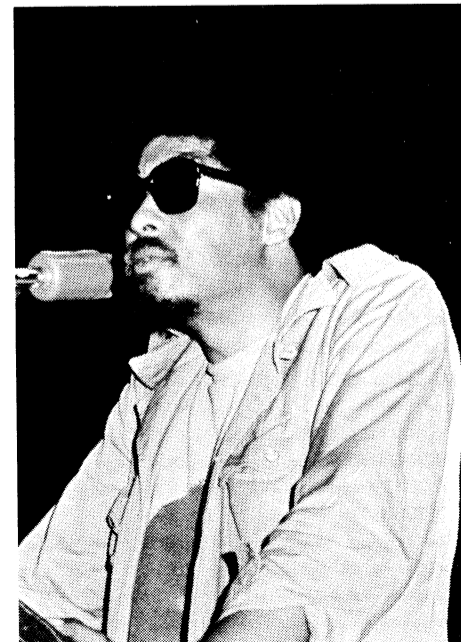
Application forms for the conference may be obtained from the Black Panther Party, 2026 Seventh Ave., New York (212-864-8951) or 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley (415-845-0104), or from the National Committee to Combat Fascism, c/o 58 W. 25th St., New York (212-675-2520).

Advance registration fee (for applications postmarked before midnight, Sat., July 12) is \$4. Later registration is \$6. As participants arrive, they are instructed to check in at the Black Panther Party national headquarters (above address in Berkeley). It is suggested that participants arrive as early as possible in order to get housing and necessary information; check-in time is Thurs., July 17, 9 a.m. through Fri., July 18, 5 p.m. The conference begins July 18, 7 p.m. in Oakland.

(For a discussion of the Oakland conference, see the article by George Novack, page 5.)



INDUSTRY DAY, NATICK ARMY LABS. Some 150 pickets in Natick, Mass., greeted Gen. Westmoreland when he visited the Army labs in this wealthy Boston suburb on the occasion of "Industry Day, 1969." The theme for Industry Day was, "Support the combat soldier." "We support him—bring him home now!" said a leaflet distributed by the demonstrators. Speakers at this town's first antiwar action included Nick Egleson from the staff of the *Old Mole*, Harvard's underground paper, and Charly Fisher of the Boston Draft Resistance Group.



Don Cox