

Ft. Hood GI fights new persecution

— See page 9

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 2

Friday, January 10, 1969

Price 15c

The new
Israeli
aggression

— See page 12 —



1967 victim of Israeli napalm

Set April 6 for national GI-civilian peace marches

— Story page 4



Photo by Bruce Marcus

Pvt. Rudy Bell (clenched fist, above) is fighting new army victimization. One of the Ft. Hood 43 imprisoned for protesting slated "riot" duty in Chicago, Army is now trying to illegally extend his term of duty and even send him back to Vietnam. With him at Chicago GI-Civilian Conference is Rev. Edward Redick of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket. At right is Mrs. Nettie Bell who told conference of mothers' organization plans to fight for her son and other antiwar GIs. At top right is Pvt. Ed Glover who told parley how GIs can fight for their rights, and win.

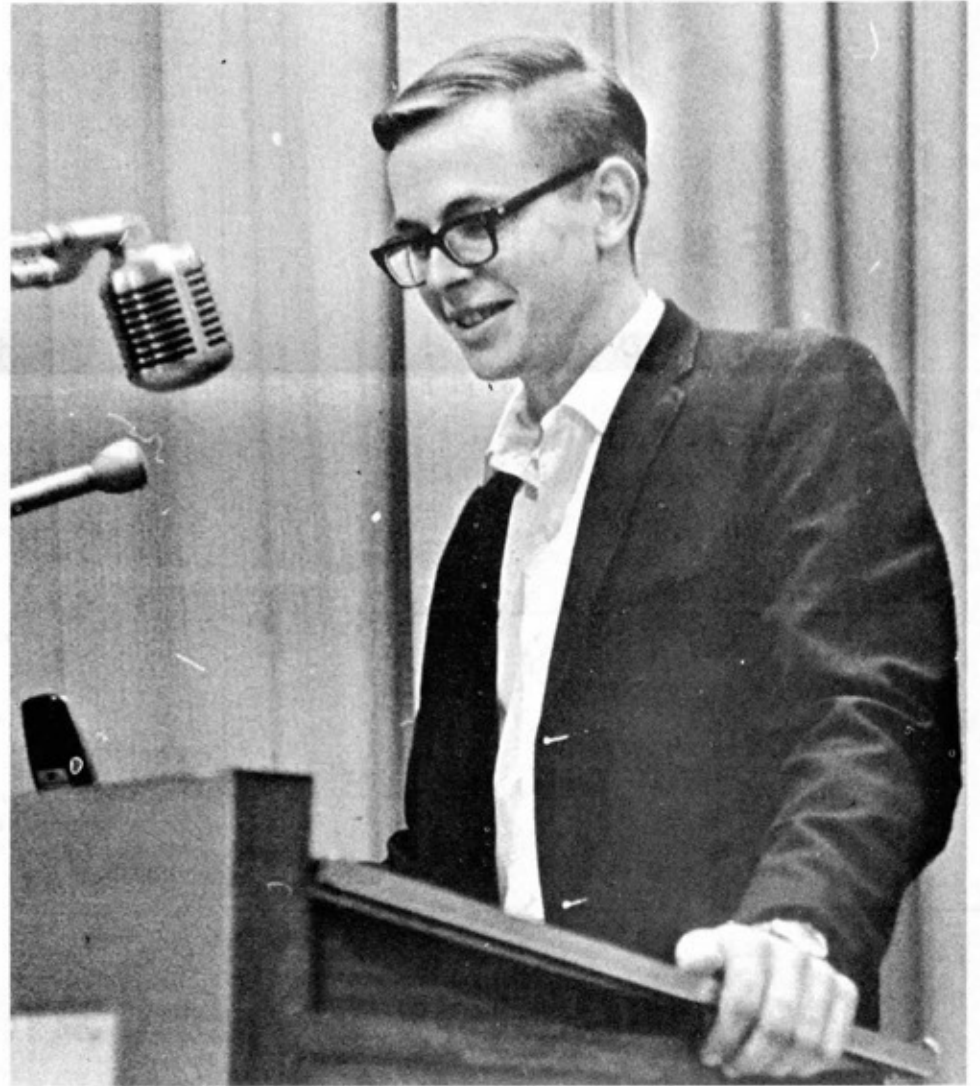


Photo by Robert Langston



Photo by Bruce Marcus

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

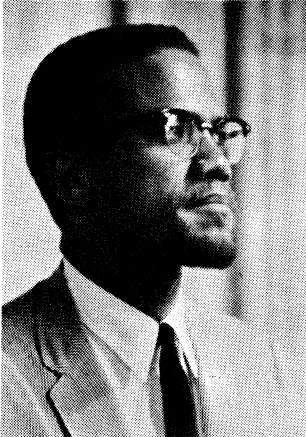
Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$10.50; all other countries, \$15.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$15.00; Latin America, \$24.00; Europe, \$28.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$33.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 33—No. 2 Friday, January 10, 1969

Commemorating the 4th Anniversary of the Death of Malcolm X

February 21, 1969

THE ASSASSINATION



OF MALCOLM X

1. UNANSWERED QUESTIONS
By George Breitman

2. THE TRIAL
By Herman Porter

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Con Edison paid millions to scabs

Yule-time greetings

New York, N.Y.

During the recent strike by Con Edison employees in New York, you didn't hear the company screaming too loud. That's because they forced the strike in order to lay the groundwork for rate increases in gas and electricity.

They paid the scab supervisors \$10 million for two weeks' work. And the supervisors had been given a \$1,500-per-year increase before the strike began!

Several hundred scabs received about \$150 per day for working.

All the employees got was a yule-time greeting card from the chairman of the Con Ed board of directors—and a bill for two weeks' back medical-insurance dues.

Con Edison employees service nine million people, but the company is trying to reduce the work force from 22,000 to 15,000. The employees are constantly harassed. And this is despite the population explosion and the need for more jobs for young people.

Public utilities should be publicly owned and serve the needs of the people, not the fat cats in high-paying jobs.

Otto Thomas

Takes students side

Huntington Park, Calif.

The following letter was sent to Radio Station KGIL. I thought you would be interested:

"Ever since hearing an editorial on your station about two weeks ago asking for letters to university officials to support their stand as against the students' position, I have been going to write this letter.

"I am getting more angry the more I think about it. How come the protesting students cannot have equal time for an editorial on the air asking for letters to support *their* cause, which is to make education more meaningful and life more beautiful?

"If this war in Vietnam is not stopped pretty soon, you are going to have more 'commu-

nists' here at home and abroad than you have imaginary ones running around now.

"And, of course, a communist is anyone who doesn't like the status quo—the draft; air, water and ground pollution; the archaic educational system; inferior treatment of minorities; unemployment and poverty; billions of dollars for war; millions for not growing food; enough atomic bombs to overkill the world population ten times—only to mention a part of the unhealthy status quo.

"We have university complicity in all of these abominable activities. Who is going to stop it if not the students?"

L. U. K.

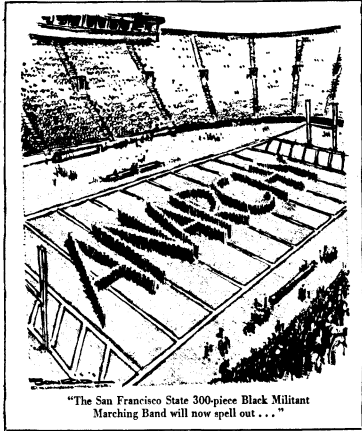
Reply in kind

Los Angeles, Calif.

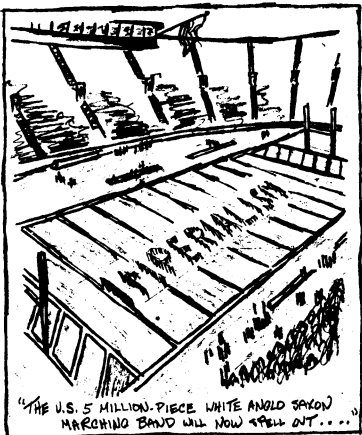
The first cartoon is by Conrad of the *Los Angeles Times*.

The second is what I consider to be an appropriate answer.

H. M. S.



"The San Francisco State 300-piece Black Militant Marching Band will now spell out..."



"The U.S. 5 million-piece white Anglo Saxon Marching Band will now spell out..."

Thoughts on a union "leader"

Flushing, N.Y.

How can a young apprentice be militant in a union like the electricians' Local 3, which is run with an iron hand under Harry Van Arsdale?

The union is composed of 24 divisions; all paid business agents of these divisions are appointed by Chowder Head Van. He has the authority under the by-laws to hire and fire any or all officials of the union.

Look at that piece of garbage, the *Union World*. It's the Van Arsdale line all the way. No opposing views are allowed, just attacks on hippies, yuppies and support the Mayor "kill'em" Daley. Yet the members pay for this paper out of their dues.

I wrote a piece on socialism for the union paper a couple of years ago. The editor told me it was thrown in the wastepaper basket. A white guy wrote quite an article on Vietnam two months before the presidential election and was told he ought to go to Russia if he wanted socialism.

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.

The white mechanics earn \$15,000-\$20,000 a year and generally ask, "What in hell do you people want, the whole earth?" Only recently, after CORE took action, did they start to take in Negro apprentices in their construction division.

Reader

Shafting the establishment

Rahway, N.J.

As a disgusted high-school student, I enclose a dollar for a subscription. I don't agree with all *The Militant* and SWP have to say, but I find *The Militant* a very good weekly paper for anyone interested in "shafting the establishment."

J. W.

De-Zionize Israel

Detroit, Mich.

There is an important aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict which has been overlooked by the writers in *The Militant* letters column. It is particularly relevant to the contention of Hana Niel that there is somehow an Israeli Jewish people that is "progressive." If this bases itself on the argument that national consciousness, as in the case of black nationalism, is progressive, then the following points ought to be borne in mind.

Not all nationalism is the reaction of the oppressed against the oppressor. Some, like the racist Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa, is totally reactionary.

Israel in the midst of the Arab world is like a recently constructed cluster of white middle-class high-rise apartments in the downtown area of a metropolis populated predominantly by black people. If the high-rise population develops a group solidarity opposed to the population at large, it is not at all progressive.

As a matter of fact, Jewish nationalism has never played a progressive role. The historical reasons for the peculiar character of Jewish nationalism are best explained in A. Leon's *The Jewish Question*. The summary statement that it is rooted in the outcast role that Jews played as traders and moneylenders in medieval society, is at best incomplete. Yet it is this continuing nonpeasant-nonproletarian character that puts its stamp upon Jewish nationalism.

What is the solution to the Jewish question? To de-Zionize, says Al Fatah. We agree, but add: To fight alongside the oppressed peoples (including the Arabs) and the working class for a socialist world free of national oppression.

Jan Garrett

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

CALIFORNIA: **Atascadero:** YSA, Bill Blau, P. O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

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

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S. F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** YSA, 187 14th St.

ILLINOIS: **Carbondale:** YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P. O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: **Bloomington:** YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P. O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: **Baltimore:** YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: **Boston:** Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: **Ann Arbor:** Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: **Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: **St. Louis:** Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: **Newark:** YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: **Albany:** YSA, Carol French,

194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: **Cleveland:** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, P. O. Box 116, Kent.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: **Portland:** c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S.W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: **Philadelphia:** SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6 998.

TEXAS: **Austin:** YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2 236.

UTAH: **Salt Lake City:** Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-35 37.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

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

WISCONSIN: **Madison:** YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.



Photo by Dave Warren

SUPPORT S. F. STATE STRIKE. Participants in the press conference called by the Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee, Dec. 30. From left to right: Tom Kalinee, La Jolla High School BSU; Antonio Camejo, Berkeley Federa-

tion of Teachers Local 1078; Jim Gillette, Sonoma State Strike Committee; Howard Cohen, S. F. State Strike Committee; Lionel Evans, San Francisco Polytechnic High School BSU; and Francis Oka, Asian American Political Alliance.

Call S.F. State Solidarity Week

By Mary Kraft

SAN FRANCISCO — When San Francisco State College reopens on Jan. 6, President Hayakawa can expect to be confronted with a broadened struggle to win the 15 demands of the BSU and the Third World Liberation Front.

Plans for a National Week of Solidarity with the striking students were disclosed at a press conference here Dec. 30 by the Statewide Strike Support Organizing Committee (SSSOC).

There will be demonstrations, rallies, and other actions throughout the week of January 6-13, on campuses and high schools throughout the state and the nation. There will also be community rallies to mobilize support for the students' struggle. Antonio Camejo, of the executive committee of Berkeley Federation of Teachers Local 1078, told the reporters that the week would culminate in a mass convergence on the S. F. State Campus Jan. 13.

"We are inviting all sectors—teachers, students, members of the black, Chicano and minority communities, to come and

bring pressure to bear, to express their shock at the use of intimidation and repression to answer just educational demands, and to oppose the racist admission and hiring policies of the state educational system," Camejo said.

In response to questions by reporters about the purpose of the statewide committee, Jim Gillette of the Sonoma State College Strike Committee answered, "From now on, any racist attack or denial of the rights of minority students by the state on any campus, be it the college of San Mateo, Sonoma State, or the high schools, will be met by the united power of the people."

The call for the Week of Solidarity issued by the SSSOC has been issued with the endorsement of representatives of all sectors in support of the strike, and new endorsements coming in show the breadth the struggle has already achieved. Endorsers range from high-school students in BSU, Chicano, and Third World groups, to such figures as Prof. James O'Connor, the distinguished economist at San Jose State College, and Luis Flores, the Northern California Vice-

President of the Mexican-American Political Association.

The SSSOC was formed at a conference held here a week ago. It is based on the principles of:

1. Support for the 15 demands of the BSU, and TWLF.
2. Support to the right of minority students to determine their own educational destiny.
3. Support to the fight against racism in the educational system.

One of the most important sectors of support for the strike being developed by the SSSOC is in the high schools, and high schools were represented at today's news conference by Tom Kalinee of the BSU at La Jolla High (near San Diego) and Lionel Evans of the BSU at Polytechnic High in San Francisco. Evans announced plans of Poly students to strike Jan. 3 in support of the S. F. State demands, and for some demands of their own:

"Our school has no heat; in one class, there is one book for 35 students; next year we will have 50 new teachers — all

white as far as we can determine." The student body is overwhelmingly black. He indicated how well the students understand the racist maneuvers of the Board of Education as he added, "we've been declared an 'experimental school' — which means that if anything happens, they're going to close it down."

Also present at the news conference was Warren Furatami of the TWLF at the college of San Mateo. That school has been turned into an armed camp by officials determined to wreck the aims of the Collegiate Readiness Program (CRP), whose direction threatened to fall into the hands of minority students and faculty. Furatami reported that 50 students have been suspended in that struggle.

Howard Cohen of the S. F. State Strike Committee dealt with reporters' questions about "violence" at the campus. "There was violence, all right," he said. "Police were brought in from 12 neighboring municipalities to wreck violence on students attempting to hold peaceful assemblies and picket lines. We are organizing on a far broader scale to defend ourselves from this violence, and we will bring hundreds and hundreds of people to the State College campus to prove that residents of more than 12 municipalities are opposed to this violent suppression of students."

Camejo added that the real violence is "the daily violence, the daily human degradation brought about by an educational system which is racist at every level." He pointed out the high illiteracy rate among Spanish-speaking students: "the educational system has failed more than two million Chicano students in this state," he pointed out. "That is violence."

Copies of the SSSOC call are being sent from the committee's offices at 546 Fillmore St. to organizations on campuses across the country. The committee's telephone number is 415-626-8285. The committee is asking for telegrams to be read at the rallies and demonstrations during the week of Jan. 6-13, and for representatives of as many different campuses as possible to come to State for the focal demonstration on Jan. 13.

Cops raid Des Moines Panthers

By Nancy Strebe

MINNEAPOLIS — On Friday afternoon Dec. 27, about 100 Des Moines cops and FBI agents stormed the Black Panther's headquarters with drawn guns, arrested two people on suspected arson charges, searched the building for "empty bottles, rags, and narcotics," threw books and papers around, kicked in doors, and generally attempted to terrorize the Panthers. At the same time two more people were arrested in Black Hawk County for the same alleged arson, and a warrant is out for Des Moines Black Panther leader, Charles Knox, who was not at the headquarters at the time of the raid.

The arson charges stem from two Des Moines fires which occurred last Oct. 9. Jewett Lumber Company and an A & P store caught fire that date and the cops have been under pressure to find a "guilty" party. There is absolutely no evidence linking the Panthers to the fires, but it now appears the Panthers will have to prove that they did not set the fires, since they have already been condemned by the cops and the commercial press of Des Moines.

Two of those arrested at the Panther headquarters were Mrs. Joanna Cheatom and her 16-year-old son, Marvin Cheatom, Jr. Mrs. Cheatom has been president of the Des Moines Welfare Right Organi-

zation, an organization of mothers fighting for more adequate welfare aid to dependent children. Panther leader Charles Knox is wanted because of his alleged role as chief "conspirator" in the "plot" to set these fires.

The people arrested in Black Hawk County are not even from Des Moines. Terry McDonald, 19, and Calvin Jones, Jr., 19, are both from Waterloo, Iowa, where the local cops have been anxious to "get" them for their role in organizing black high-school students.

Bail for Mrs. Cheatom and Marvin Cheatom has been set at a prohibitively high \$20,000 each; \$10,000 for each alleged arson incident. Attempts by the Panthers and their lawyers to lower the bail have so far been unsuccessful.

The police came armed not only with guns and warrants for the arrests of the five Panthers, but with warrants for empty bottles, rags and narcotics, none of which were found. Had they found empty bottles and rags, this would have been proof to the cops and FBI that the Panthers were engaged in making Molotov cocktails!

But even though the cops were unsuccessful in their search for empty bottles, rags and narcotics, they found other things that interested them, so they confiscated them—a brief case containing personal papers of one of the Panthers, a poster,

and several copies of Chairman Mao's little red book.

The Des Moines Panthers have distributed a leaflet to the community describing the government's attempts to smash the Panthers as well as other organizations calling for black self-determination. They're trying to involve other local groups in a defense and educational movement. But their most immediate and urgent need is bail money so that two innocent people, Mrs. Cheatom and her son can get out of jail.

The Panthers were formed last summer and have attracted a good number of high-school and working youth. The Panthers emphasize education, holding classes at different levels, from kindergarten on up, several days and nights a week. These are mainly on black history and black revolutionaries, especially Malcolm X. The Iowa Black Unity Conference, with headquarters at 1207 11th St., Des Moines, has become a black community center and therefore a threat to the status quo.

Contributions to help raise bail should be sent to Dan Hall, 1207 11th St., Des Moines, Iowa. Telegrams and letters protesting excessive bail and prejudicial atmosphere created by the press and police should go to district Judge Gibson Holliday, who set bail, and to the mayor of Des Moines.

Start the New Year right. Buy a friend a subscription to The Militant.

GI-Civilian parley maps out plans for April 6 action

By Robert Langston
CHICAGO—Plans were mapped here for a nationwide series of GI-led antiwar marches in half a dozen key cities on Easter Sunday, April 6.

The proposed action, which will focus on the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, was agreed on by the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference held here Dec. 27-28. The conference had the support and endorsement of leading antiwar groups and activists across the country as well as antiwar active-duty GIs and various GI underground papers.

To assure maximum GI participation cities were designated that have large troop concentrations in their area. These include New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Austin, San Francisco, Seattle and possibly Los Angeles.

To further ensure maximum GI participation, the Spring Action workshop, which formulated the April 6 proposal, emphasized that the slated marches and rallies would all be organized so that GIs could participate without jeopardizing their legal rights. Individual acts of "civil disobedience" or "confrontation" are not part of the program.

Despite storm conditions which closed Chicago's O'Hare Airport for a good part of the two-day conference, there were 300 people registered at the conference, including at least 30 active-duty GIs.

The two-day conference was followed, on Saturday night, by a meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam which voted all-out support to the April 6 action.

Launched during the GI-Civilian Conference was a new group to defend the civil liberties of GIs, the GI Defense Organization.

The conference established a liaison-coordinating committee to begin organizing the spring actions. One of the chief functions of the committee will be to involve the greatest possible number of antiwar activists associated with the various groupings in the antiwar movement in the planning and organization of the action.



Photo by Bruce Marcus
Sid Lens, co-chairman of National Mobilization Committee, stressed need of linking antiwar movement with labor.

Those who have agreed to be members of the liaison-coordinating committee include Sidney Lens, co-chairman of the National Mobilization Committee; Fred Halstead, currently on the staff of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee; Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee; Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Council; Syd Stapleton of the Chicago GI Weeks Committee; Ken Shilman of Task Force newspaper; and GIs stationed at Ft. Dix, Ft. Jackson, Ft. Hood, and Ft. Sheridan.



Photo by Robert Langston
Leroy Wolins of Vets for Peace urged conference to organize legal defense for GIs.

The liaison-coordinating committee was authorized to add additional individuals as necessary to gain the broadest participation in the spring actions.

Fred Halstead was chosen convener of the liaison-coordinating committee. He stated that the committee would not hold its first full session until after the Jan. 19, Wash., D. C., Inaugural Antiwar Action sponsored by the National Mobilization Committee and the New York Parade Committee, since a number of key antiwar leaders are presently involved in preparing that action.

Acting on a recommendation by the Spring Action workshop, the conference plenary voted to endorse the D. C. Inaugural Antiwar Action.

To help meet the increasingly urgent need of more adequate defense of GIs' rights, the conference unanimously approved a resolution initiated by Leroy Wolins of the Chicago Vets for Peace to establish the GI Defense Organization.

The new group will set up a headquarters in New York City and solicit sponsorship beyond the original member group. It hopes to be fully functioning by the end of January. Guidelines for the work of the organization were set forth in its statement of aims:

"The purpose of the GI Defense Organization is to uphold the rights of American GIs to freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and association, the right to petition for re-



GI-CIVILIAN ACTION. Philadelphia antiwar march last October, organized by Student Mobilization Committee and involving GIs as well as civilians, was among the first actions drawing servicemen into organized antiwar activity.

dress of grievances, and all other Constitutional rights. To this end, the organization will carry out the following activities:

"1. Arranging civilian legal counsel for GIs victimized for exercising their rights.

"2. Carrying out national publicity campaigns to rapidly get out the facts on cases involving GIs that deserve public scrutiny.

"3. Utilizing all legal and political channels to safeguard the right of defense guaranteed to citizens in uniform by the Bill of Rights, including those provided by the legislative branch of government.

"The GI Defense Organization subscribes to no political ideology except that set forth in this statement. It actively solicits the support of all individuals and groups dedicated to the preservation of Constitutional liberty."

The provisional executive committee of the GI Defense Organization will include Leroy Wolins and Irv Block, both of Chicago Vets for Peace, Mrs. Nettie Bell of Detroit, and Matilde Zimmerman, currently executive secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Miss Zimmermann is provisional executive secretary of the new group and will open the national office in New York.

In an important related development, Mrs. Nettie Bell, the mother of Pvt. Rudolph Bell (see story, page 9), announced at the conference the formation of a mothers' committee to defend GI rights. The committee will rally women, and especially the mothers and relatives of servicemen, to support in all possible ways GIs' struggles against military persecution for exercising their rights.

Further information on the mothers' committee can be obtained by writing to Mrs. Nettie Bell, 4768 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48208.

The discussion at the teach-in on the evening of Dec. 27, which opened the GI-Civilian Conference, as well as the area reports from servicemen and civilians to the plenary the following day, all pointed to the rapid growth and deepening of antiwar sentiment in the Army and the possibility of building a mighty movement against the Vietnam war within the armed services.

At the same time, GIs stressed the need to proceed with the utmost care and responsibility in reaching out to servicemen, and above all the need to assure them of the strongest possible support if they are victimized for exercising their Constitutional rights to express their antiwar convictions.

The SMC meeting considered a proposal to call a student strike prior to the April 6 demonstrations. While the conference unanimously endorsed the principle of such a strike, there was a consensus that the real possibilities for its success should be explored before a call is issued or any action concretely planned.

The SMC discussed the possibility of establishing a GI press service to make information from all areas of the country available to the various underground GI papers.

Finally, the SMC resolved to launch a major campaign to revitalize the student wing of the antiwar movement by intensifying the organizational work of the SMC on campuses throughout the country.

Organizations sponsoring the GI-Civilian Conference included such underground GI newspapers as **Fun**, **Travel** and **Ad-**

venture of Ft. Knox, Ky., and **Logistic** of Ft. Sheridan, Ill.; the Oleo Strut, UFO and Shelter Half coffeehouses; the Ft. Hood Five Defense Committee; **LINK**; Chicago Vets for Peace; Chicago High School Students Against the War; and the Southern Legal Assistance Project.

Individual sponsors included Prof. Howard Zinn; Prof. Noam Chomsky; Clark Kissinger of the **Guardian**; Donald Duncan of **Ramparts**; Jim Boggio of LA GIs and Vietnam Vets Against the War; Elinor Ferry; Otto Nathan; Ruth Gage-Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee; Robert Putnam, chairman, Philadelphia SANE; and Donna Gripe of the National Mobilization Committee.



Photo by Bruce Marcus
Clark Kissinger, organizer of first national antiwar march, chaired session of conference.

NEW YORK

Where We Go From Here

—the fight for community control
—the fight for a democratic, socially responsible union

Community Church,
28 E. 35th St.
Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m.

Speakers: I. F. Stone, Nat Hentoff, Leo Rabouine, Deavera Allen, Murry Kempton, Jason Epstein, Representative of District 65, RWDSU

New Coalition
235 E. 49th St., N. Y., 10017,
tel. 568-7833

Reuther's cost-of-living deal -- a fast \$15 check

DETROIT—On Friday, Dec. 27, the last 1968 payday, approximately 800,000 members of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, at Ford, Chrysler and General Motors plants received a separate pay check to cover the cost-of-living allowance provided for in the current UAW Big Three contract. It was the first cost-of-living check these workers have received since the new contract was negotiated a year ago. It covered the period from Oct. 28 through Dec. 15, represented an eight-cents-per-hour increase in wages, and totaled approximately \$20, from which \$4

received to date: September 1967, 3 cents; Dec. 1967, 2 cents; March, 1968, 3 cents; June, 1968, 3 cents; Sept. 1968, 4 cents; Dec. 1968, 4 cents. This adds up to 19 cents. They will get another increase next March which will put them over the maximum mentioned in the Big Three UAW contract. Meanwhile workers in these giant corporations will still be limited to their eight-cents COL allowance.

The Reuther give-away of the cost-of-living clause has been one of the issues that has nurtured a growing opposition in the UAW since the current contract was signed with Ford in October 1967. At that time spokesmen of the \$1 An Hour Committee went on television to urge that the contract be rejected.

Reuther then angrily told the UAW membership and the press that his critics in the union didn't know what they were talking about, that the UAW cost-of-living clause had only been changed "in technicalities," and that its "integrity" had been saved.

More recently, a rebel president of one of the UAW locals in Cleveland charged that "the wage increase won in the 1967 negotiations (except for the skilled trades) has been completely wiped out." He wrote other UAW local presidents asking that they all demand re-negotiation of the cost-of-living clause of the 1967 Big Three contracts. The Reuther bureaucracy was displeased with this suggestion, but it was picked up by the opposition group which calls itself The United Caucus. The four-page caucus paper, published quarterly, has announced in its October issue support of the demand to reopen the UAW contract. This publication solicits support, suggestions, and reports from UAW members in all parts of the U.S. and Canada. Its mailing address is P. O. Box 146, Centerline, Michigan.



Fast talking Walter Reuther.

withholding tax was deducted. An additional \$1 was taken out for "local tax" in most cases, leaving a grand total of \$15. This was far less than most auto workers had expected. They had waited a year for this and the check they got was hardly enough to cover the difference of a week's grocery bill over last year's prices.

Under the complicated revision of the UAW cost-of-living clause which the Reuther officialdom granted the auto corporations in the 1967 negotiations, the 8-cents hourly COL increase will be paid in quarterly allotments until October 1969, at which time it will be adjusted in accordance with the constantly rising consumer price index. This first COL check covered a seven-week period, succeeding checks will cover 13 weeks, and those who work the quarter without missing a day will get a check for \$41.60 less taxes.

The same day that auto workers got their miserable \$15 COL "bonus" checks, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that the steepest inflationary spiral in 17 years had wiped out wage gains of 45 million workers. This was based on the rise of four-tenths of 1 percent in the consumer price index for the month of November alone. Arnold Chase, BLS spokesman, predicted that further increases in December would bring the total price rise for 1968 to about 4.7 percent, the highest since 1951. The value of the dollar, compared with 1957-59, fell to 81 cents, and the average paycheck of \$109.21 was worth \$78.06 after taxes in terms of purchasing power 10 years ago.

The worst feature of the present UAW cost-of-living formula is that it fixes a limit on what the corporations will pay, regardless of how much prices rise. Eight cents is the most they pay until October 1969, after which date they must increase to 11 cents. Under terms of the contract "the maximum Cost of Living Allowance shall not be more than 21 cents . . ."

This contrasts sharply with provisions of the previous UAW contract. The Huck Manufacturing Company workers, part of UAW Local 212, remain under the old cost-of-living clause which is clear and without a ceiling. Here is what they have



HIGH SCHOOL ACTION. Last April 27 these New York high-school students participated in the 200,000-strong demonstration against the Vietnam war. Growing demands among high-school students for greater individual and political freedom are a cause of great concern to high-school administrators.

New York high schoolers chalk up a gain for rights

NEW YORK CITY—High-school students scored a civil-liberties victory here when New York City superintendent of schools Dr. Bernard E. Donovan ruled that girls in New York City public high schools who wish to wear slacks to school must be permitted to do so.

While the state commissioner of education made a similar ruling over two years ago, it has never been enforced in New York City's schools, and girls have been continually harassed by school officials for wearing slacks to school.

The ruling came after the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC)

and the New York Civil Liberties Union filed complaints with the state commissioner of education and the New York City superintendent on behalf of Lauren Claussen and Laura Caplin, both sophomores at Washington Irving High School, who were threatened with suspension from school for wearing slacks. Laura Caplin is the daughter of Ramona Ripston, co-director of the NECLC.

According to one school official in New York, the reason girls are not allowed to wear slacks to school is that slacks are "erotic stimulants."

Interview with Cheyney students

Introduction

The following interview was given to Mareen Jasin on Dec. 23 by Bill Johnson, Theodus Jowers, and Andre Adger. Bill Johnson and Theodus Jowers were among the nine members of the Militant Black Students League who were expelled on Nov. 29 from Cheyney State College in Pennsylvania on charges of "verbal abuse" against the dean of academic affairs, "disrupting" normal processes on campus, creating an "aura of fear," and calling a Jewish teacher a "racist Zionist." (see *The Militant*, Dec. 20, 1968)

The students at Cheyney responded with a 100 percent effective student strike on Dec. 3, the creation of freedom schools and other acts of solidarity with the nine. On Dec. 11 college president Wade Wilson called 250 state cops onto campus and 14 student demonstrators were arrested on charges of burglary and "riotous destruction." Andre Adger was one of the 14 arrested.

* * *

Mareen Jasin: What happened at Cheyney following the arrests on Dec. 11?

Andre Adger: When the 14 students were arraigned, bail was set at \$10,000 for all but one brother, and his was set at \$15,000. After we got a lawyer, he went to the judge with a writ of habeas corpus and got the bail lowered to \$2,500 for all but the one brother, and his was set at \$5,000. The bail money was raised by concerned people in the Philadelphia area. So now all 14 are out of jail.

Theodus Jowers: On Dec. 20 a preliminary hearing took place and all the brothers were held over for indictment on charges of "unlawful holding" and "riotous destruction."

As for the nine of us who were expelled, our status has now been changed to suspension, pending a hearing by a board of trustees. But that doesn't really change anything because we still don't have the right to attend classes, we are still pro-

hibited from entering the campus, we are still not legally students at Cheyney State College.

This week Cheyney Freedom School was started in West Philadelphia, and we are using this as a lever of pressure against the administration. The goal of the Freedom School is to alleviate and eradicate racism and oppression of all black people throughout the world. We want a curriculum that will meet the needs of the black people.

Mareen Jasin: What kind of support have you been receiving?

Theodus Jowers: During the court hearings three busloads of students came to support us, but the hearings lasted for four days and the last couple of days the students decided it was more important to strengthen the protest schools. So they did that and only sent a few people to act as witnesses.

There are several faculty members who support us, but they are being intimidated by the administration and haven't yet organized themselves.

We have had massive community support from groups like the Council of Black Clergy, the Alliance of Black Social Workers, the Black Coalition, the City Wide Council, Black Independence Alliance, Black Communication Councils, CORE, and others.

Mareen Jasin: How has the mass media treated the Cheyney events?

Theodus Jowers: As usual the mass media has slanted and distorted every news item about us, misleading the public. They always do that with anyone who goes against the power structure.

Mareen Jasin: What do you expect will happen when school resumes next semester?

Bill Johnson: I am sure that there will be a continued push by the students for their rights and for a relevant education. As long as the participation in the Freedom Schools continues, there will be no rest or tranquility on campus. The struggle

will continue here just as it has all over the nation.

The trend nationally is for students to fight for a relevant education, as our education in America has never really been relevant. Our responsibility as students is to make it relevant, so that we can begin to solve the problems of violence, capitalism and racism.

Mareen Jasin: Has the struggle at San Francisco State College had any effect on your struggle here?

Bill Johnson: Well, of course, we were protesting here before the S.F. State struggle began. Historically, students at black institutions have been demonstrating and boycotting and carrying on some sort of protest since the early 1950s. However, the fact that the S.F. State situation exists, and that our situation exists, only indicates the national trend of student protest movements.

Theodus Jowers: Black people realize more and more the precarious position they occupy in this racist country. They realize there must be some kind of struggle to gain the liberation and independence they desire. College students have more time to think and reflect and analyze the power structure they live under, and they are becoming more radical in their thinking. The tide of world revolution is sweeping in and black people are becoming more perceptive and responsive to this. One result is that we are organizing to make our education more relevant. In response, the establishment is becoming more entrenched and more reactionary. This is why there are more repressive actions and more flare-ups on the college campuses across the country.

Bill Johnson: The only way that we can begin to solve our problems as students, as black students, is through a national organization where we can apply national pressure and have the leverage of our national weight.



Paris, the Night of the Barricades



Berkeley, barricade

1968: East and West, the stu

(The following are major excerpts from the 1968 year-end summary printed in the December 23, 1968, issue of Intercontinental Press.)

By Les Evans

The year began with some reason for muted optimism in the world's financial capitals. The British pound had survived devaluation. While West Germany had experienced its first serious recession since the advent of the postwar "economic miracle," a new upturn had begun. Che Guevara was dead in Bolivia and it was boasted in Washington that any hope for an imminent upsurge of revolution in Latin America had died with him.

From Vietnam, General Westmoreland sent optimistic dispatches, assuring President Johnson that light had indeed been sighted at the end of the tunnel, the U.S. was winning the war and the resistance of "the enemy" was visibly weakening day by day.

As 1968 drew to a close, the prospects facing the defenders of capitalism were considerably dimmer. The forces for revolutionary social change had proved to be immensely stronger than the rulers of Europe and America had supposed.

Heavy blows were dealt to imperialism in the colonial sector, particularly in Vietnam. Westmoreland himself was knocked out early in the year.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the second major sector, a new generation of radical youth had appeared on the scene in strikes and demonstrations of massive character. In France in May and June the student revolt touched off the first revolutionary mobilization of the working class in an advanced country for more than twenty years.

The third major sector, the workers states dominated by the Soviet bureaucratic caste, also exploded in 1968 with the mass movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

The first harbingers came with the New Year's celebrations. On January 5 Antonin Novotny, long-time Stalinist boss of Czechoslovakia, was ousted as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and replaced by Alexander Dubcek. On January 23 the U.S. spy ship *Pueblo* was seized in North Korean waters and its crew interned.

The Tet Offensive

Then, on January 30, the tone was set for the year. The National Liberation Front celebrated the lunar new year with simultaneous assaults on twenty-six provincial capitals in South Vietnam. It was

the most stunning blow the U.S. invasion force had yet received in the course of the war. Overnight the vaunted "pacification" program evaporated and the countryside passed into the hands of the Vietnamese freedom fighters. The ancient imperial capital of Hue fell to the insurgents, as did a substantial part of Saigon itself. The lack of popular support for the Ky-Thieu regime was glaringly exposed.

The dramatic advance of the Vietnamese revolution in the face of Washington's callous disregard for the lives of the people it claimed to be defending, drew worldwide admiration and a new upsurge of antiwar sentiment and action.

More than 20,000 persons marched in West Berlin February 18 protesting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. It was the largest demonstration against the war yet held in Europe. In the front ranks were 300 members of the French JCR, Revolutionary Communist Youth, who would soon be facing de Gaulle's police in the streets of Paris. The demonstration was an important step toward practical cooperation among revolutionary socialist youth groups in various countries.

Meanwhile the Tet Offensive took its toll among America's rulers. As the myth of a foreseeable U.S. victory crumbled, divisions became sharper within the ruling class over what tactical course should be followed in Vietnam. The McCarthy "peace" campaign picked up steam. Johnson's popularity sank so low that the president, elected in 1964 with the largest popular majority in history, no longer dared to appear in public because of the antiwar demonstrations wherever he went.

A Casualty of the Antiwar Movement

Johnson began to wriggle. The ever-optimistic Westmoreland was summarily dropped from command in Vietnam and hastily promoted to an administrative post at home. Two days before the Wisconsin presidential primary—which could only spell disastrous defeat—Johnson made his famous March 31 broadcast to the nation in which he announced a limited "bombing halt" over North Vietnam, and his own abdication. In essence, Johnson was a casualty of the antiwar movement.

Even Johnson's withdrawal could not save the Democrats in November. The party's responsibility for the criminal war in Vietnam ensured Humphrey's defeat, despite the unattractiveness of his opponent. The war in Vietnam remains a central issue as Nixon prepares to take over the White House.

The struggle of the colonial world against imperialism has its direct counterpart in the antiwar movement in the advanced countries. Similarly, the revolutionary rise of the colonial masses is directly related to another immensely important development in the main bastion of the capitalist system—the struggle of the Afro-Americans for freedom. In 1968 this reached fresh heights.

Only a few days after Johnson's announcement that he would not run, a bullet fired by a white racist assassin struck down Martin Luther King Jr. The Murder triggered a new explosion of America's black ghettos.

In the days that followed, rebellions and elemental mass outbursts took place in more than 100 cities. The federal government, while making a show of mourning

King's passing and urging nonviolence on black people, called up 65,000 soldiers in the largest peacetime muster since the Civil War.

Brutal governmental repression left 43 dead and more than 20,000 arrested. But the flames of burning white businesses could be seen two blocks from the White House and their message could hardly be misunderstood.

The McCarthy campaign and Johnson's so-called bombing limitation disoriented some sections of the antiwar movement. Nevertheless the depth of popular revulsion at the war could be gauged by the participation of more than 1,000,000 students throughout the country in the April 26 campus strike against the war called by the Student Mobilization Committee. The next day over 200,000 marched against the war in New York; 30,000 in San Francisco; and thousands more in hundreds of other cities.

Revolt in France

Without question the most significant event of this extraordinary year was the May-June revolt in France.

The French upheaval was a great test for the prophets of the new capitalist millennium and for those "New Left" critics who had written off the working class.

Beginning with a protest at Nanterre University over the arrest of several students involved in an antiwar demonstration, the action spread to the Sorbonne May 3. On the night of May 10-11, the famous "Night of the Barricades," thousands of students battled de Gaulle's elite police units in the streets of the Latin Quarter.

The heroism of the students won the respect and support of wide layers of the working class. The General Federation of Labor (CGT), the leadership of which is dominated by the Communist Party, was forced to call a one-day general strike on May 13, despite the hostility of the CGT leaders to the student revolutionaries.

When a million workers and students turned out for the march in Paris during the token strike, the Communist Party bureaucrats found themselves caught up in a struggle that tended to sweep over their heads. On May 15 a strike broke out again spontaneously in the Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes. Within a few days 10,000,000 workers had gone out on strike without the approval of their unions.

The de Gaulle regime was suddenly confronted with the most massive general strike in the history of any capitalist country. The "strong state" constructed in the decade since de Gaulle seized power seemed very weak indeed compared to the power of the organized workers. The most sophisticated observers, including the *New York Times*, agreed that the future of capitalism in France depended on its final bulwark, the Communist Party.

The Betrayal of the French CP

When on May 27 the Communist Party attempted for the first time to give leadership to a general strike which it had not called, it was to try to persuade the strikers to go back to work. The workers overwhelmingly rejected the purely economic settlement negotiated for them between the CGT bureaucrats and the de Gaulle regime.

This readiness to fight for power, despite

the opposition of all the established organizations in society, including the Communist Party and the unions, showed the combativeness of the French workers. All that was lacking was the organization to take the power. In this regard, the Communist Party was the greatest single obstacle to the creation of a workers state in France last May.

In the basic ranks of the working class, the influence of the Communist Party was seriously weakened but not broken. But a sizeable revolutionary vanguard, which was able to win the leadership of the student movement, was formed in the course of the struggle. It numbered thousands of students and many hundreds of workers throughout the country. The role of the militants in the JCR was decisive in this regard.

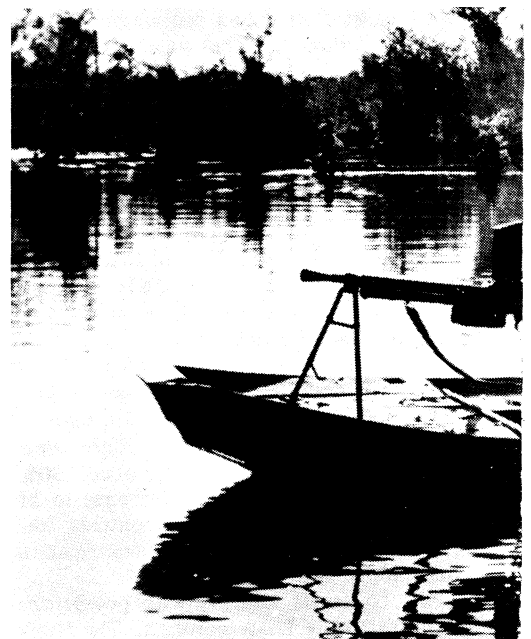
As the year closed, de Gaulle found himself in a difficult position. The growing competitive power of West German capitalism and the refusal of Bonn to revalue the mark left de Gaulle with no alternative but to devalue the franc or to institute an "austerity" program.

The flight of French capital to Swiss and German banks, speculating on devaluation, led de Gaulle to decide to make the workers pay for the weakness of the French economy—a dangerous game. He threatens to freeze wages in the face of already steep increases in prices and taxes. If the general has his way, the French workers will find themselves worse off than before May.

This will help drive home the lesson that economic gains, to be made lasting, require establishment of a workers government.

With all its repression, the government has not succeeded in demobilizing the student vanguard. Although the JCR and many other radical organizations have been declared illegal, there is a growing movement of revolutionary socialist youth around the new left communist paper *Rouge*.

All the sectors of the mass movement in France remain explosive. The conditions



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Prague, students burn occupation tank

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that led to the May upheaval still exist. The June concessions that gained French capitalism a respite are rapidly being eroded.

The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in Czechoslovakia

The third major arena of struggle in the world revolution, the degenerated or deformed workers states, was also the scene of giant battles in 1968. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August was a major political disaster for the Kremlin.

Czechoslovakia was the only East European country that did not go through a period of "de-Stalinization" in the 1950's. When the long-delayed explosion came it went deeper than in Hungary or Poland. The mass movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia was triggered by a rift in the top layers of the bureaucracy. The differences came into the open at the end of 1967 in a contest for power between the old-line Stalinist grouping around Novotny and a newer layer of technocrats and reformers led by Dubcek.

In attempting to unseat Novotny, who had the blessings of the Kremlin, the reformers were compelled to give considerable scope to the independent activity of the ranks of the Communist Party and to the unorganized masses. By early spring there was a virtual explosion of creative mass energy. While many different tendencies and groupings arose, within and without the party, there were certain common features to most of their demands.

Nowhere in the mass movement was there any serious call for the restoration of capitalism or for a rapprochement with imperialism, as the Soviet leaders later deceitfully claimed.

Most often heard were demands for the right of free speech, press, and organization for tendencies that supported and defended the socialist property relations.

The Dubcek leadership was caught in a crossfire between the Czech masses, who wanted to carry the process of democratization further by setting up workers councils, and the Kremlin bureaucrats, who wanted the process halted and turned back.

When Brezhnev and Kosygin failed to achieve their aims by threats, they launched their blitzkrieg invasion of Czechoslovakia August 20-21. The justification they advanced was that a "counterrevolution" backed by Western imperialism had broken out and that top government and party leaders in Czechoslovakia had appealed for help.

The chief Soviet demands on the Czech leaders have been to end the workers councils, reimpose censorship, and outlaw the left-Communist associations.

Virtually without exception, the major Communist parties of Western Europe criticized the Kremlin's action. Even in those few parties that remained determined apologists for Moscow, like the Communist Party of the United States, sections of the leadership publicly dissented from the official view.

On top of all these serious defeats for the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with Western imperialism, the invasion failed to accomplish its primary aim: it did not succeed in demobilizing the Czech masses.

It is true that important concessions were wrung from Dubcek, Cernik, and the others. Many of the Czech party leaders are today following a course of conciliation with Moscow at the expense of the revolutionary gains of the masses.

But also to be noted are the enormous difficulties which these forces have encountered in trying to reimpose the Stalinist straitjacket on the workers, students and intellectuals of Czechoslovakia.

Nearly four months after the invasion, unions in Prague publicly announced that they would call a general strike if Josef Smrkovsky, the most stalwart of the de-Stalinizers in the leadership, were removed as National Assembly chairman and member of the politburo.

Despite attempts to restore censorship, the Prague papers have remained critical of both the invasion and the party leadership. The new year opens with a deeper commitment among the Czech masses to press on for full socialist democracy. There will certainly be new clashes and confrontations there in 1969.

The Student Radicalization Around the World

The flames leaped high in France, Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, but there were fires elsewhere, too, some of them quite fierce. If there was any nearly general phenomenon throughout the world in 1968 it was the mass radicalization of students and youth.

The Mexican student strike, for instance, involving hundreds of thousands of students and young workers in pitched battles with the police and army marked a new stage of revolutionary action in the cities of Latin America.

The student movement in Mexico City began mass demonstrations in July around the slogan, "Free Mexico's Political Prisoners." The "democratic" government of Diaz Ordaz replied with brutal police violence. On July 26 at least one student was killed and many injured when police attacked a peaceful demonstration at the Zocalo, the huge square where the government buildings are located.

On September 18 the army occupied the

campus of the University of Mexico. In the battles that followed more than 1,000 students were arrested. The parallel with the French events was very much in the minds of both the students and the government, and was frequently discussed in student publications.

Diaz Ordaz decided to crush the student movement. On October 2 the army surrounded a peaceful crowd of 30,000 at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. The soldiers attacked without warning, machine-gunning women and children. The dead were estimated at more than 300, with an uncounted number wounded.

This crime stunned the general population of Mexico. The student militants received a heavy blow, but like their French counterparts they have continued their struggle despite the fierce government repression.

In London, more than 100,000 persons, led by a youthful vanguard, marched against the Vietnam war October 27. The week before, 800,000 persons took part in antiwar actions in cities across Japan.

From Zurich to Capetown and from Berkeley to Lisbon, students took to the streets to demand fundamental changes in the system.

In the last months of 1968 student demonstrations shook the governments in the United Arab Republic, Pakistan and Italy.

In Latin America the trend toward open military rule, with the backing of Washington, continued in 1968. Military juntas displaced civilian regimes in Peru and Panama. On December 13 Brazil's "civilian" president Arthur da Costa e Silva—the handpicked successor of his military predecessor—assumed dictatorial powers, dismissed congress, and ordered widespread arrests of political opponents.

Severe witch-hunts against revolutionary student organizations were opened in countries as diverse as Mexico, France, Japan, Brazil, Tunisia, and South Africa. In the United States legal harassment and victimization of leaders of the Black Panther party and other militant black organizations continued throughout 1968.

Such repression, however, can cut two ways. The general period favors the continual rise of revolutionary forces. In the absence of a decisive defeat for the student movement and the working class, sporadic victimizations can have the opposite effect from that intended. They can bring new layers into struggle who are outraged at the authoritarian and antidemocratic behavior of the government.

The United States

In the United States, the citadel of world imperialism, new forces were set in motion in 1968 that will bear watching closely in the year to come.

Throughout the country hundreds of black student and community organizations formed around the struggle for black control of the black communities. This demand was expressed in different ways, but the most common was for local control of ghetto schools.

The New York City teachers' strike expressed the reactionary resistance of the white trade-union bureaucracy to the growing power and organization of the black community.

The mounting concern of the black com-

munity over the curriculum and teaching staff of its school system was a prominent phenomenon in most of the major cities in the United States in 1968. It is evidence of a new stage in the consciousness and organization of the black masses.

Another new development in 1968 that did not go unnoticed in Washington was the participation of more than 1,000 active-duty soldiers in antiwar demonstrations in October, which were called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

This public manifestation of the antiwar sentiment among the ranks of the armed forces is a portent of what is to come.

On January 20 Nixon will take office with far less political capital than Johnson had after the 1964 election. Along with the presidency, he will inherit the dilemma of Vietnam. If he continues to cast Washington in the role of world policeman, attempting in particular to crush the colonial revolution, if he continues Johnson's policy of keeping the war going in Vietnam, he risks ultimate defeat and disaster and an escalation of opposition at home.

The liquidation of the war without a clear imperialist victory is perhaps equally hazardous for Washington. A triumph for the revolutionary movement in one area has immediate repercussions in many countries. The victory of the Cuban revolution, for instance, inspired a series of struggles in Latin America.

This victory was partially offset by a number of defeats and setbacks as in Brazil, Indonesia, Algeria, Ghana, the Middle East.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has helped overcome the demoralizing effect of these defeats. In large measure it inspired the new youth radicalization in the advanced capitalist countries that was so marked in 1968.

Intercontinental Press

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

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LeRoi Jones

Black Liberation Notes

S.F. State — the vanguard

With San Francisco State in the vanguard, black students on numerous campuses are taking up the fight for meaningful black studies programs with the most important battles shaping up over demands that such programs be controlled by black students and professors and that adequate funds be guaranteed.

At Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., black students have demonstrated in favor of a proposal that the university set up an autonomous college of Afro-American studies to be run by a committee of black students.

Reed College students have won a partial victory after they sat in at the college administration offices in support of a demand for a black studies program under black student control.

Similar protests have occurred at Brown University in Providence, R.I., at Fordham University in New York, and at San Mateo State College in California, where the campus has been closed as a result of the struggle being carried out by the black, Mexican-American, Chinese and Japanese students who are demanding self-determination for a Third World studies division.

Jones wins case

The appellate division of the New Jersey superior court has reversed the conviction of poet LeRoi Jones on a charge of carrying a weapon during the 1967 Newark rebellion. The review court found the judge trying Jones had made an unfair charge to the jury. The contempt-of-court conviction brought against Jones during his trial was also reversed.

May serve one year

The federal government has finally moved, although in a half-hearted way, against the highway patrolmen involved in the infamous "Orangeburg Massacre" which took the lives of three black students and wounded 27 others almost a year ago.

On Dec. 20 the Justice Department brought charges against nine patrolmen for willfully shooting into a group of black students at South Carolina State College during demonstrations to desegregate a bowling alley last Feb. 8. The maximum (!) penalty they could receive is one year in prison and \$1,000 fine.

The federal government brought charges only after a South Carolina state grand jury failed to bring any indictments against the cops after an investigation ending Nov. 7. Since the state investigation, protests by students and others, demanding that the patrolmen be given their due, have intensified.

According to the Dec. 28 **Amsterdam News**, a hearing on the Orangeburg case in a federal court in Florence, S.C., re-

vealed that the patrolmen involved had received "riot training" from the FBI.

Mass expulsions

The Wisconsin State University board of regents has expelled 90 black students from Oshkosh State University — practically the entire black enrollment — for their participation in the Nov. 21 demonstration in support of black student demands.

A faculty committee has been formed to defend the students, and the struggle at Oshkosh is expected to continue after the Christmas break.

Panther photo display

A "photographic essay" depicting the activities of the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area will be on display at the Young Museum in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park until Jan. 19. The display includes 123 photos of Panther members and leaders taken by photographers Pirkle Jones and Ruth-Marian Baruch.

Mohawks demand rights

About 100 Mohawk Indians stopped traffic on the Seaway International Bridge linking the U.S. and Canada Dec. 18 in a demonstration which was broken up by Canadian police. The Mohawks are protesting the fact that they are forced to pay duties to the Canadian government on goods they carry across the bridge to and from the St. Regis Reservation. They claim the bridge is actually on territory belonging to the reservation and that, in addition, collection of duties goes against the Jay Treaty of 1794, which guarantees the right of Indians to travel unhampered between the U.S. and Canada.

Black Christmas

Reports in the black press as well as in the **Wall Street Journal** show that sales of "soul toys" were at an all-time high this Christmas. Toys which appeared under Christmas trees this year included black jack-in-the-boxes, black astronauts, black puppets, black angels and, of course, thousands of black dolls.

One negative note was the appearance of a toy "riot jeep" complete with instructions such as: "1) Switch on. Jeep rushes to scene of riot. Jeep goes in all directions by mystery action. 2) Jeep stops off periodically to turn hood over automatically and machine gun appears with realistic shooting noise."

After one customer discovered this toy in a New Jersey department store, he complained to the management, and it was removed from the shelf.

— Elizabeth Barnes

Panther captain murdered

By Peter Seidman

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30 — Franko Diggs, a captain of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, was murdered at 120 St. and Main St. on Dec. 19, according to a statement made today by Panther spokesman Mike Pennywell. The murder received no coverage in the local newspapers. A public funeral was planned for 1 p.m., Thursday, Jan. 2, at the Victory Baptist Church, 4802 McKinley Avenue.

In a statement to **The Militant**, Pennywell described the murder of Franko Diggs as "an attempt to liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party by the racist power structure. . . . Captain Franko had no real family — but he had a big family here in L.A. that loved him very deeply, the Black Panther Party. . . . We will intensify our struggle until there will be no more cold-blooded murders of our people."

Funds to help with the funeral expenses are needed and can be sent to the Captain Franko Diggs Fund, 8404 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

Black leader framed on pot charge in Va.

By Susan Harris

Authorities in Norfolk Va. have used one of the oldest tricks known to cops in order to victimize John Kenyatta, local leader of the Afro-American Liberation Movement. As a result of entrapment by a police undercover agent, Kenyatta faces three years in jail on a narcotics charge.

It was only through the most elaborate scheme that the police were able to "get" Kenyatta who is neither a user nor pusher of drugs. They first persuaded an "old friend" of Kenyatta's to seek him out and to become active in the Afro-American Liberation Movement. As time went on, the "friend," Alfred Fenner, allegedly began asking Kenyatta if he could get him drugs. Kenyatta refused. Then on June 14 when the two were engaged in discussion on the street another man came up and asked Kenyatta if he wanted some marijuana. When the reply was negative, Fenner drew Kenyatta aside and asked him if he would purchase some for him since he did not know the man. As a favor to a friend, Kenyatta obliged.

On Aug. 5, Kenyatta was charged with the sale of narcotics! His "friend" turned out to be a cop. The white judge who later sentenced him to three years refused to give any credence to proof brought forward by the defense showing the political nature of the case. Kenyatta has not only been active as a leader of the Afro-American Liberation Movement, but he has organized Afro-American history classes and has served on the police department's Community Relations Board where he has openly criticized the Norfolk cops.

A defense effort is being organized in Norfolk to expose this travesty of justice. Information on how you can help can be obtained by writing to John Kenyatta, 860 Wolcott Ave., Norfolk, Va.

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Cuban exile dynamite was from CIA

LOS ANGELES — A Los Angeles County grand jury has revealed the fact that the explosives used by Cuban Power, a group of Cuban counterrevolutionaries, in a series of bombings here on July 19 came originally from the CIA.

Among the places bombed were the offices of the Shell Oil Company, Air France, Japan Air Lines and the Mexican National Tourist Council, all of which had done business with Cuba. The Cuban Power group was also responsible for bombing the offices of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles last Oct. 16.

Not only were CIA explosives originally intended for the Bay of Pigs invasion used, but the man who organized the bombings admitted he was trained by the CIA. The counterrevolutionaries testified before the grand jury that the bombings were meant "to show the sincerity of the exiles" and to "encourage Americans to help the movement by providing money and arms to be used in the liberation of Cuba." The true nature of these champions of "liberation" was shown by the testimony of an FBI agent to the effect that "many of the Cubans who were sent on this [Bay of Pigs] invasion never actually went. We found they went to small islands near Cuba where they buried all of these weapons knowing they could go back and sell them."



COMPLIMENTS OF CIA? Scene at entrance to L.A. SWP hall after bombing Oct. 16.

Brown Beret h.q. blasted in L.A.

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Arsonists set fire to the headquarters of the Brown Berets, Chicano defense organization, about 3:00 a.m. Christmas morning, burning furniture, charring walls, and breaking windows in the attack.

No one was in the offices at the time, and the family living upstairs at the 318 N. Soto address in East Los Angeles was unharmed.

Arson investigators found two cans which had contained gasoline in the offices. Gasoline had evidently been spilled throughout three of the rooms in the headquarters before being ignited.

David Sanchez, prime minister of the Brown Berets, could give no motive for the attack.

**HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please
notify our business office of your
new address, including ZIP.**

Army illegally jails purple-heart Viet vet

By Doug Jenness

ATLANTA—Pvt. Larry Darby, a purple-heart Vietnam veteran, was thrown back into the Ft. Benning, Ga., stockade Dec. 23 for allegedly missing a formation on Dec. 21 about which he was never informed. He was reimprisoned just 24 hours before he was planning to go to Atlanta to celebrate Christmas with friends.

Darby's buddies at Ft. Benning have been unable to learn whether he is being held in solitary confinement, but it is feared that he is.

A Young Socialist and an opponent of the Vietnam war, Larry Darby was charged early last October with "possessing beer in the battalion area" and insubordination to a noncommissioned officer for referring to a sergeant as a "lifer" in conversation with another GI. He was convicted by a court-martial and sentenced to four months in the stockade. After serving some 70 days—all but 16 of them in solitary confinement or "maximum segregation," he was released on probation.

When he was first admitted to the stockade in October, he was placed in "the box," where he was stripped and put on a "light tray," which consists of a breakfast of puffed rice, water and two pieces of bread, and lunch and supper of boiled potatoes, bread and water.

The guards attempted to provoke him to violence to find an excuse for extending his time in the stockade. No lavatory facilities are provided in "the box," and he was forced to sleep on a wooden bench with no blankets.

With the exception of the books required for an Army correspondence course he

was allowed to take only after repeated requests, Darby was permitted only the Bible for reading material. The brass attempted to hold back his mail while he was imprisoned, but after threatening legal action he began to receive mail from members of his family.

When Darby was thrown back into the stockade on Dec. 23, he was not informed of the charges against him. Legal counsel has advised that even if Darby had committed an act that might constitute a violation of the terms of his probation, he cannot legally be returned to the stockade without a board hearing.

All antiwar activists and all civil libertarians should demand the immediate release of Larry Darby, the dropping of all charges against him, and the restoration of all pay lost while he is in the stockade.

Messages of protest can be sent to Secretary of Army Stanley Resor, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C., and the Commanding General, Ft. Benning, Ga. Copies of these messages should be sent to GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, N. Y. 10011.



Harold Wilson

London Letter

How the 'City' made a crisis

LONDON — The latest monetary crisis has had its repercussions among left-wing British Labor Party spokesmen, as well as on the British financiers, and pressure has been building among the Labor left to take some action restricting the vast powers of "the City," Britain's equivalent of Wall Street.

Reflecting an increasing sentiment among British workers, Eric Heffer, a left Labor member of Parliament, demanded in Liverpool, "It is time to fight the City interests. . . . They force concessions and still try to kill off the elected government. . . ." He urged the arrest of speculators, strict exchange controls to stop the outflow of capital, and the public ownership of overseas companies and finance houses.

Even such minimal demands are not likely to be acted on by the Labor government. But they do indicate the reaction of some to attempts by British financial tycoons to make the Labor government, rather than the capitalist system over which it presides, appear responsible for Britain's economic problems.

For instance, during the first weekend of December last year, the British press, from the scandal sheets to the "responsible" London Times, all played up on a rumor that Britain was heading for a new financial crisis and blew it up to the main story of the day.

It later turned out the source of the rumor was a phone call from "someone in the City" to a friend in capitalist West Germany, and the Wilson government angrily denounced the attempt to further undermine its stability.

Of course, neither side asked why a "socialist" government is so diligently trying to save Britain for capitalism.

— Tom O'Flaherty



OCTOBER 12, 1968. San Francisco antiwar march was organized and led by several hundred active-duty GIs. Actions such as these are the GIs answer to brass who harass antiwar soldiers.

Fort Hood GI fighting new victimization move

By Roger Harrison

CHICAGO — Rudolph Bell, one of the Fort Hood 43, is now fighting an attempt by the army to punish him further by illegally extending his period of service and very possibly sending him back to Vietnam.

The 21-year-old black combat veteran told his story at a press conference held here Dec. 27 by the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference. He later elaborated on the case, as did his mother, Mrs. Nettie Bell, at the GI-Civilian teach-in.

On Aug. 24, 1968, Sp/5 Bell joined some 300 other black GIs at Ft. Hood, Texas, in a peaceful protest against their possible deployment to Chicago for "riot control" duty during the Democratic Party national convention. Along with 42 other participants in the demonstration, Bell was court-martialed for "refusing to obey a direct order" to disperse, an order which he did not hear and which, it was actually admitted at a later trial, had never been given.

Bell was convicted and sentenced to six months in the stockade, six months' probation thereafter, forfeiture of two-thirds' pay while imprisoned, and reduction to the rank of private. After serving two months in the Ft. Hood stockade, he was sent to the Corrective Training Facility at Ft. Riley, Kans. Here the Vietnam combat veteran had to repeat basic training — under the harshest possible conditions.

Bell was released on Dec. 18, and was told by his commanding officer that he would be assigned to the 24th Division, which is scheduled to be sent to Germany soon, and shortly thereafter to Vietnam.

Just before his court-martial, Bell discovered that the brass had apparently decided to "extend" his term of service for a year. He enlisted for three years on Feb. 21, 1966, and is thus due to be discharged on Feb. 20, 1969. Ever since he joined the Army, his pay vouchers, the stubs of which are in his possession, have shown the 1969 date as his ETS (end of term of service). But two days before his court-martial, Bell noticed that his ETS on the company roster had been changed to Feb. 20, 1970.

Bell received the usual run-around in his efforts to straighten the matter out with his company and battalion commanders and with the Ft. Hood inspector general. Finally, he was able to see his service records, but the one document which could definitively establish his ETS—his original enlistment papers — was mysteriously and, for the brass, conveniently missing from the records.

Bell served in Vietnam for a year and saw combat with the 35th Engineer Bat-

talion of the 18th Engineer Brigade. Except for the court-martial following the Ft. Hood protest, he has a perfect record of conduct during his time of service.

Bell is fighting this attempt by the brass to persecute him further for his views. He doesn't want to return to Vietnam; on the basis of his experiences there, he came to oppose the American aggression. With the aid of the noted civil-liberties attorney Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, Bell is taking all possible legal steps to force the Army to discharge him on his genuine ETS date and to block his reassignment to the Vietnam-bound unit.

The broadest possible public support is essential to assure that Bell wins his fight against this victimization by the brass. Letters and telegrams of protest may be sent to the Commanding General, Ft. Hood, Texas. Copies of these messages should be sent to Bell's mother, Mrs. Nettie Bell, 4768 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48208.

N.Y. picketline is announced in Sherwood case

NEW YORK, N. Y. — A picket line and demonstration will be held Saturday, Jan. 11, at 2 p.m. at the Canadian consulate, 680 Fifth Ave. (near 53rd St.) in support of Robert Sherwood.

Sherwood, a draft resister and a member of the Toronto branch of the Workers League, is being prosecuted by the Canadian government and is threatened with deportation for allegedly violating the Canadian Immigration Act. He failed to note at the time of his immigration to Canada that he had a "criminal" record, consisting of arrests in the summers of 1965 and 1967 in civil-rights demonstrations in Chicago.

The demonstration is being sponsored by the Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood (243 E. 10th St., Rm 7, New York, N. Y. 10003). Among the sponsors of the committee are Norma Becker of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, Marvin Gettleman of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, William Rose of the Guardian, and Dr. Grace Carlson.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

THE STRUGGLE AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Fri., Jan. 10, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Moscow's Brezhnev is adding to woes of world CPs.

Canadian CP is hit hard by defections

VANCOUVER, Canada — Thirty-five Vancouver members of the Communist Party resigned from the party Dec. 13, on the very eve of the CP's Dec. 14-15 provincial convention, which took a hard, pro-Moscow line on Czechoslovakia.

Charles Caron, 54, full-time organizer for the CP in Vancouver, took about 20 of the 25-member city committee with him when he left.

Charles Boylan, editor of the CP's national youth magazine, *Scan*, also resigned, as did Allan Blakey, president of the Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association, and James MacFarlan, another teacher who was recently defeated in his bid for re-election to the Vancouver school board.

A handful of more militant members, led by Bert Johnson, had resigned earlier over differences with the CP's line on Czechoslovakia, the May-June events in France, and the bureaucratic practices of the CP in British Columbia.

Nigel Morgan, provincial leader of the party, claims the CP has a thousand members in B. C. and "35 people don't make much difference." He adds, "We've had our eye on these people for two years now."

Boylan replies that in a month, when the convention assessments fall due, Morgan will discover that the CP has only 200 members left in the province.

Before the resignations the CP had in fact only 400-500 members, of whom probably less than a hundred support the Caron grouping. From a position of control in the Vancouver city committee, Caron has for some time been waging a struggle within the CP on tactics in the antiwar movement, handling of the press, as well as on Czechoslovakia.

It is believed the 35 have contact with members in Toronto (through Boylan) and Manitoba. (The provincial executive in Manitoba took a position opposing the invasion of Czechoslovakia before the CP adopted its hard-line support of Moscow's action.)

There is speculation that the 35 also have close contact with the dissident group in California led by Al Richmond, editor of the *People's World*.

The provincial convention responded to the resignations by expelling four of the 35 dissenters.

The CP received another rude shock on Dec. 15 when Homer Stevens, head of the 7,500-member United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union, and the party's top trade unionist in B. C., resigned from the CP in a speech from the floor of the convention. It is believed the major issue in his resignation is disagreement with the CP's trade-union policy. That policy was badly exposed three weeks ago when Charles Stewart, "progressive" trade unionist, former CPer, and business agent of the Vancouver local of the Amalgamated Transit Union, resigned his job with the ATU and his vice-presidency of both the Vancouver Labor Council and the B. C. Federation of Labor to take a well-paying job as "mediator" with the B. C. government's infamously antilabor mediation commission.

Book review

Two valuable works on Mexico

By Allen Young
(Liberation News Service)

MEXICO 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression, published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025, 50 pp., \$1.00.

MEXICO '68: The Students Speak, published by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001, 30 pp., \$1.00.

Imperialism is like a mugging on a dark city street. First they grab you so you can't move—they find out what you have, and they take anything that's worthwhile. Then, if there's any danger you'll cry out or complain, they beat the shit out of you.

The criminal nature of United States relationships with one of its many victims — Mexico — is amply documented in two pamphlets recently published in New York by North American radicals.

Both pamphlets put forth a central theme: that Mexico's well-fostered image of peace and progress is a facade. Behind, brutal repression enforces a growing gap between the very rich and very poor.

The USLA pamphlet relies primarily on the writings of Mexican students and Mexican intellectuals to show the direction of the Mexican student movement. This movement took on new, militant tones last July, after government riot police, called granaderos, violently broke up a street skirmish between two rival high schools. Within a few weeks, students were occupying several secondary schools and universities. Repeated street battles between the granaderos and the students culminated in the Oct. 2 massacre at the Tlatelolco housing project, where hundreds were killed and wounded and thousands arrested.

While the student "strike" has dissipated, and many of the jailed students were released during the Christmas season in an obvious cool-it measure, the movement represents an important first step in the growth of political consciousness in Mexico. It means that Mexican officialdom, which defines itself as the heir of the 1910 Revolution, can no longer make this absurd claim with impunity. New forces will emerge to insist on the realization of the goals of that heroic struggle.

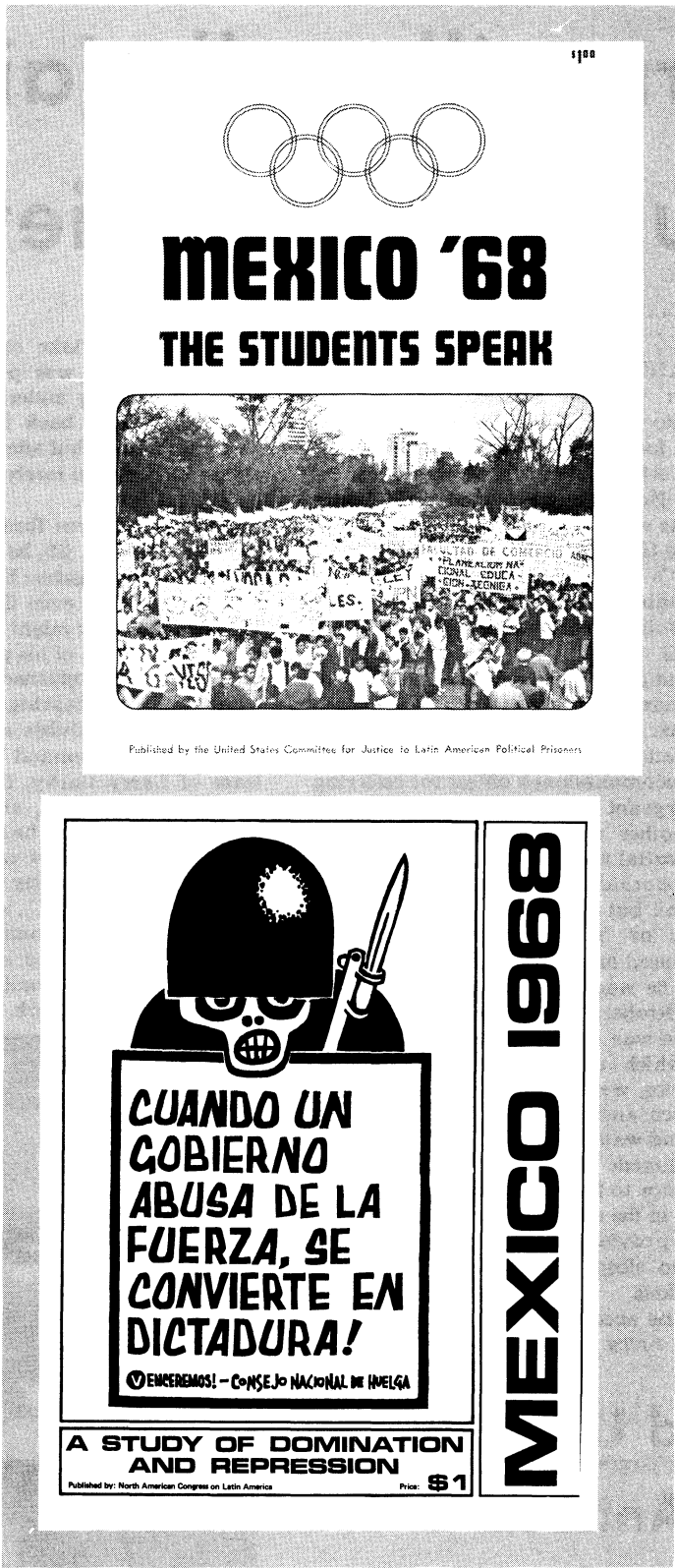
The USLA pamphlet, however, which is primarily written by Mexicans, indicates one of the key faults of the anti-imperialist

Antiwar Capt. wins a stay

Air Force Capt. Dale E. Noyd won a Christmas Eve victory when Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas ruled that Noyd should be placed in a "nonincarcerated status" until Jan. 10, when the Supreme Court next meets and can consider an appeal he has filed. Justice Douglas said Noyd should not be placed in a position where he would have to make a choice of performing military duties or facing a court-martial.

Capt. Noyd, a former psychology instructor at the Air Force Academy, was court-martialed in March 1968 for refusing to train a student pilot for duty in Vietnam. He was sentenced to a year at hard labor, dismissal from the service and forfeiture of all pay and allowances.

Before refusing to train pilots for Vietnam, he had tried to get a transfer or release from the Air Force as a conscientious objector to the war in Vietnam.



movements in Latin America—their inability to define the workings of imperialism in real, specific terms.

The NACLA pamphlet is successful not only in describing the repression, but also in linking it directly to the "domination" policies of the U. S. government and U. S. business.

A series of articles shows the nexus: the Mexican emphasis on industrial development and private enterprise and the U. S. domination of both industry and commerce.

Analysis of the Mexican economy in the pamphlet concentrates on how U. S. influence has directed the economy away from the needs of the nation's population at large and toward the profit needs of local big businessmen and U. S. corporations.

"The influx of foreign investment and 'loans' only accelerates the dash toward bankruptcy and increasingly deprives the Mexican economy and society of national control. Increasing exports places Mexico in the forefront of U. S. expansion. Four hundred thousand new jobs are created every year in Mexico, but the capital for creating employment is flowing upward and outward, leaving the worker in misery. The need for a revolution that seizes the wealth and pushes the surplus downward is not just a rhetorical phrase; it is a practical imperative, for national survival."

Charts and data on U. S. corporations show imperialism in action. While the Mexicans make much of the "restrictions" placed on foreign capital through so-called Mexicanization, the case of E. I. du Pont de Nemours' Mexican operation shows how an American company, with only 49 percent control, obtained Mexican "partners" to hold the other 51 percent and ended up with increased secure, profitable interests.

These booklets are not dull tracts by any means. Both the USLA and the NACLA pamphlets contain photographs, documents, posters, drawings, cartoons and other illustrative material.

Despite the wealth of information, however, there are only fleeting references to the overall strategic problems of the Mexican movement. While the students did make attempts to broaden their struggle to in-

clude workers and peasants, these attempts were largely unsuccessful.

The difficulties they encountered may contain lessons valuable to U. S. organizers. Revolutionaries in advanced capitalist countries are debating the role of students in the struggle against monopoly capitalism. What about the role of students in underdeveloped countries? How does the (premature?) development of a militant student movement relate to the various theories of guerrilla warfare for Latin America as reflected in the works of Fidel, Che and Debray?

In any case, these pamphlets are documents of the beginnings of struggle, documents dedicated to free men. As Victor Rico Galan, well-known Mexican author, wrote from his jail cell to his "student comrades":

"We political prisoners face our fate with dignity and with pride, because it is the fate of the immense majority of the Mexican people. We don't feel sorry for ourselves and we ask for nothing. There are men who lack liberty within these walls, and there are men who lack liberty outside of them, because the only free men are those who fight—the combatants."

Judge Voyeur set down the sentence?

OKLAHOMA CITY, Dec. 20 (UPI) — A 17-year-old youth, told by a judge that "when you break the law you must pay the penalty," was lashed in court today 20 times on his bare back with a leather whip.

Scott Browning Grandstaff chose the lashing rather than go to prison for five years after he was convicted of receiving stolen cigarettes.

District Judge Carmon Harris ordered the whipping

Book review

Red Flag Black Flag

RED FLAG BLACK FLAG—FRENCH REVOLUTION—1968 by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville. Ballantine Books, New York, 1968. 240pp, paper, 95 cents.

This exciting journalistic account of the May-June uprising in France, written by two reporters for the liberal London **Observer**, should be read by everyone who wishes to understand the basic facts of that immense student and working-class upsurge.

Especially acute is the analysis of the role played by the "groupuscules"; and the authors correctly focus most of their attention on the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR). The JCR is described as a "tightly knit, well-disciplined Trotskyist striking force, which emerged during the May Revolution as perhaps the most formidable pressure group on the extreme left."

In the March 22 movement, at the barricades, and in the action committees, the JCR is portrayed as playing a leading role. It was the JCR, the authors assert, who were the driving force behind the National Vietnam Committees (CVN), which have sprung up all over France in the past years and which, together with their high-school counterparts, the CAL's (High School Action Committees), served as organizing centers during the massive student revolt.

Indeed, the role played by the Vietnam war in radicalizing students and workers was tremendous. **Red Flag Black Flag** points out that "much of the revolutionary sentiment to the left of the Communist Party was powered by one major issue: The Vietnam War. As a prodder of tender consciences, as a mobilizer of radical sympathies, it has far outstripped even the Algerian War.

"No youth group," they add, "has made more successful use of it than the JCR."

That this revolutionary fervor was indeed very much to the left of the Communist Party is explained in detail. The authors write: "The French Communist Party (PCF) has been much maligned. DeGaulle can scare the electorate with the specter of a Communist revolution, but the truth is that the Communist Party has not been a revolutionary movement since the Second World War." While they incorrectly add nearly two decades to the revolutionary period of the CP, the authors do understand the crucial point.

That in the May revolt it played a fundamentally counterrevolutionary role.

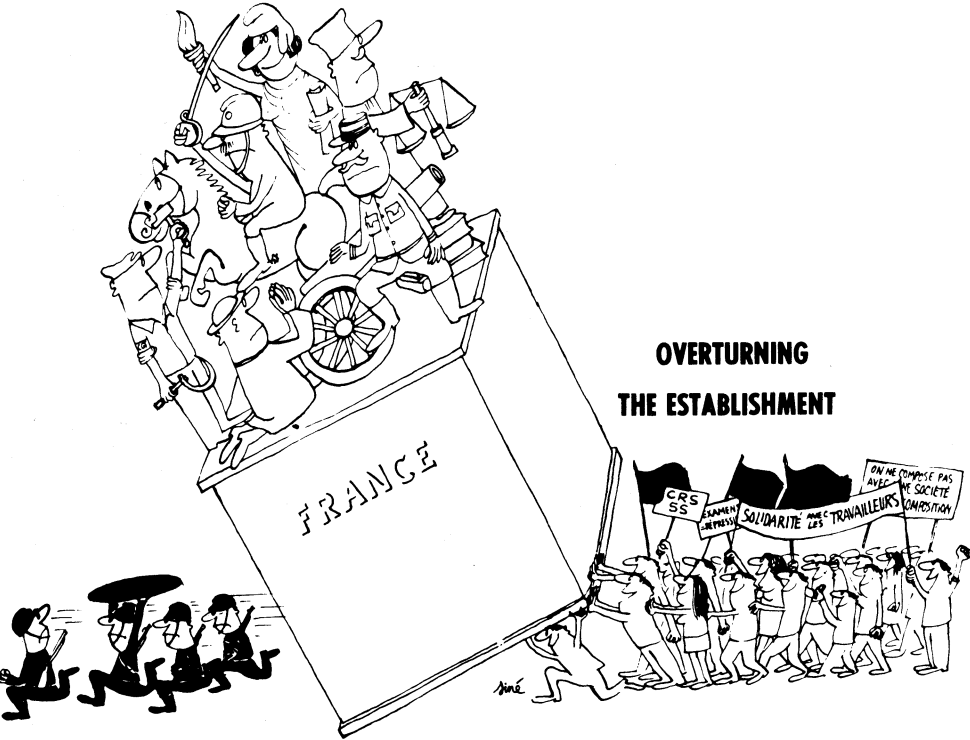
Unfortunately, there is not enough understanding on the part of the authors as to why the CPF has degenerated so much. Indeed, they seem to put the blame on the working-class constituency of the party. They compound this by adding the "fact" that "the Communist-led CGT has shied away from anything that might seem like treasonable collaboration with the capitalist enemy" and therefore sought to focus attention on wage demands instead of political demands! Their very reportage of the actual role played by the CGT—that is, as consciously "collaborating with the capitalist enemy"—itself refutes their analysis of the CPF.

A much better account is given of the great strike. "On May 11," they write, "200 men were on strike; on May 14, 2,000,000; on May 22, more than 9,000,000. The paralysis spread with incredible speed and spontaneity. At no time did a general strike order go out from the Paris headquarters of the union federations, and yet all over the country a calm, irresistible wave of working-class power engulfed the commanding heights of the French economy. In thousands of plants the workers not only struck but also locked themselves in with their silent machines, turning the factories into fortified camps."

Special stress is given to the fact that many French factories are "positively medieval by British and American standards," although the authors recognize that this factor alone could hardly save Britain and the United States from a similar working-class upsurge; and France was still one of the better-off countries in Western Europe, so far as rights of the working class were concerned.

In an upsurge as all-embracing as the one in France, there is an abundance of colorful, striking scenes: "At Berliet. . . the workers, in a giant game of Scrabble, rearranged the letters on the front of the factory to spell 'liberte.' The Paris headquarters of the French employers' federation—a club for the top bosses if ever there was one—was occupied for two hours by commandos of insurgent engineers. The merchant navy was out, the undertakers, and some big Paris hotels. . . Even the weather forecasters struck."

But such peripheral scenes were overshadowed by the phenomenon of the



widespread growth of political consciousness among many workers. "What is striking," the authors write, "about the May crisis is that it saw the emergence of yet a third trend on the French labor scene, as hostile to the CFDT as to the CGT. The trend was frankly revolutionary; its ambition to overthrow capitalism led it first to undermine the Communist-led CGT monolith, which it saw as an unwitting pillar of the bourgeois state." By the end of the strike, the monolith was no longer seen as an "unwitting" pillar.

One of the most significant scenes during all of May was the Nantes commune. In an entire chapter devoted to it, the authors state that "for six remarkable days, from May 26, to May 31, 1968, the city of Nantes, at the head of the Loire Estuary in southern Brittany, was the seat of what amounted to an autonomous soviet. A Central Strike Committee—representing workers', peasants', and students' unions—set itself up in the town hall, becoming in effect the real local authority."

The story of how the people of Nantes fed, clothed, and housed themselves, educated, amused, and in particular governed themselves, provides one of the most inspiring chapters of the book.

What stands out are the authors' many insights regarding the tremendously revolutionary potential of the situation: "The truth is that for a little less than four days, from May 27 to May 30, the crumbling of the state laid bare a great emptiness at its center. Men glimpsed the prospect of a new, wholly different political order, a new organization of society." Everyone was on strike—students, workers, professionals, even police. The only thing which prevented a successful revolution was the politics of the CPF. "The overriding aim of the French Communist Party," the book says, "has been to emerge from the political wilderness. . . and to become acceptable as a participant in the government." It was to these petty parliamentary aims that the CPF sacrificed the socialist revolution.

The fantastic, sweeping drama of the May-June revolt in France—with its bold actions and innovations, its successes and failures, even its humor—is vividly described in this unusually objective book. Although it is by no means free of political errors, as an account of revolutionary events it deserves to be read by all who wish to duplicate them.

— Al Rosenthal

The Great Society

PERISH THE THOUGHT! — A cynical New York Health Department official suggested that in order to save a few bucks some landlords only pretended to be out of fuel during the city's shortage. That's almost as wild as suggesting a vampire would suck blood.

SOME OF THEIR BEST FRIENDS ARE PORTERS — The secretary to the chairman of New York's office of collective bargaining charged the Americana Hotel with racial discrimination because she and some friends were ordered from an elevator one midnight and grilled about their presence in the hotel. "It just doesn't figure that we would discriminate against Negroes," said a hotel spokesman. "So many of our employees are Negroes."

THIN GREEN LINE — Eastern Airlines sees its \$500,000 (tax-deductible?) four-year pledge to the Metropolitan Opera as a "marketing investment." A spokesman explains: "We bring Eastern's name to people of means. . . . It's hard to say where things begin to be culture and cease to be advertising."

PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS — The military is still seeking a suitable sandbag for Vietnam and similar tropical areas, according to *The World Today*, a Ft. Jackson news sheet. The traditional cotton has been found unsatisfactory and various synthetics are being tested for their resistance to the elements, fungus growths and attacks by insects and rodents. Some even sprout plants.

SHAKESPEAREAN STUDENT? — A letter to the Dec. 21 *Daily World* advised that a previously frustrated leftist student, on discovering the *World*, had told him, "Oh, the wonder of a daily Marxist paper, with even sports included!"

THE MARCH OF SCIENCE — To cope with the growing shortage of gravesite space, a U. S. patent has been issued for an animal mausoleum consisting of a wall with cubicles on both sides where animal lovers can place the ashes of the dearly departed.

PRAY TOGETHER, STAY TOGETHER? — Canada's national parole board organized a religious service in which members of the Royal Mounted Police and prisoners from two penitentiaries sang together in a choir. The theme of the service was Justice and Mercy. Nobody was let out.

PROGRESS REPORT — The Pentagon announced that in 1963 there were only 29 minority-group students enrolled at West Point, the Naval Academy and the Air Force Academy, for a total of about one-quarter of one percent of the student body. But now there are 116 such students for a total of practically one percent.

POST-XMAS IDEA — They may be fresh out, but just before Xmas, Bergdoff-Goodman was offering a bright plaid mink skirt in red, yellow and green. \$1,500. At that price, however, we assume it was only a miniskirt.

— Harry Ring

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

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The new Israeli aggression

By Elizabeth Barnes

JAN. 2—As 13 Lebanese civilian aircraft, worth nearly \$50 million, went up in flames in Beirut International Airport Dec. 28, the Israeli government made clear once again its determination to use whatever brute force it deems necessary to maintain its illegal occupation of Arab territories.

So outrageous was this most recent blitz attack that all the nations represented on the UN Security Council, including staunch Israeli supporters, felt the need to dissociate themselves from it—at least verbally.

Israel's imperialist allies apparently regard the attack as tactically stupid because Lebanon is one of the Middle Eastern countries which has been the most "restrained," the most compromising, in the face of Israeli aggression. In addition, the fact that most of the destroyed planes were U. S. and European-owned was not to be overlooked. (American Airlines and Air France are investors in the affected Lebanese line.) Lloyd's of London will be footing a large share — \$18-million — of the insurance bill.

"Serious and unwise," said President Johnson. "Unjustified, unacceptable, an act of arrogance," echoed the U. S. delegate to the UN. Even as they protested, the true role of the U. S. as the force behind Israeli aggression was underlined by the announcement that the sale of 50 U. S. Phantom jets to Israel would proceed as planned with no questions asked.

Powder keg

But the alarm expressed in U. S. ruling circles in the face of this most recent crisis is not a total put-on. It reflects a general fear of the powder-keg situation which is developing in the Middle East. In the 18 months since the six-day war of June 1967 the forces of resistance within the Arab

Young Socialist delegation on visit to Cuba

NEW YORK—A delegation of 14 Young Socialists from various parts of the country are among the North Americans invited to Cuba to join in the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the revolution. Coming issues of The Militant will feature reports by various of these Young Socialists on their experiences in Cuba.

The 14 are Joel Britton, Los Angeles; Peter Camejo, Berkeley; Maren Jasin, Philadelphia; Evelyn Kirsch, Detroit; Robin Maisel, Chicago; Paul McKnight, San Francisco; Derrick Morrison, New York; Derrel Myers, Minneapolis; Lew Pepper, Madison; David Prince, Cleveland; Will Reissner, Seattle; Dan Rosenshine, New York; Stewart Singer, Boston; and Linda Wetter, Atlanta.

A Jan. 2 cablegram from one of the Young Socialists said:

"Over a million revolutionary Cubans assembled today in the Plaza of the Revolution to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Fidel stressed the achievements in agriculture and paid tribute to the Vietnamese. 1969 was named Year of Decisive Effort. Large contingent of American Youth present. More later."



DRIVEN FROM COUNTRY. Palestinian Arab children driven from their homeland by Israeli government in refugee hovels in Beirut, Lebanon.

nations have grown steadily. Israel's reaction has been one of escalation of the terror against the Arab peoples and reassertion of its intention to continue the occupation of new territories grabbed from Egypt, Jordan and Syria during the six-day war. The fact that they would go so far as to attack the "moderate" government of Lebanon shows the extent of their unbridled arrogance.

Conscious of the mounting anger and will to resist on the part of the Arab masses in the face of Israeli aggression, the U. S. is relying on such conservative regimes as that of Premier Abdullah Yaffi of Lebanon to put the breaks on Arab resistance. But within the context of increasing Israeli belligerence, figures such as Yaffi are finding this role difficult to play.

Premier Yaffi stressed this point during an interview with a New York Times reporter after the Israeli attack: "I know the difficulties of Arab leaders," he said. "I see ferment among the people here, there, everywhere." He advised the reporter that it would be a grave error for Western countries to try to obtain "further concessions" from the Arab nations.

At the time of the Times interview, Yaffi was feeling the "ferment" he spoke of hot on his heels. According to the Jan. 2 New York Times, the Lebanese government felt it necessary to ban demonstrations within Lebanon called to protest government in-

action in the face of the Israeli attack. Under popular pressure the parliament issued a public statement to Israel warning of its intention to defend Lebanon against any future attacks.

Although the Lebanese government has been forced to show some verbal sympathy for the various Arab resistance groups operating in the area, they have not thus far allowed regular commando operations to be organized in Lebanon. Three months ago a Lebanese army patrol went so far as to fire on Al Fatah commandos who crossed over the Lebanese border, killing one.

It is interesting that in arguing within the UN in favor of the Security Council censure of Israel, the Lebanese delegate to the UN pointed out that Arab commando organizations were in actuality defending the Nov. 22, 1967, UN resolution which stipulated that the Israeli immediately withdraw from the newly occupied territories. And in a speech during the recent crisis, Yaffi felt pressure to say, "We consider commando action as a legitimate and sacred action . . . Every people whose property and land has been taken from them must resort to every means to get it back."

Experience has shown that Israeli aggression and the inability of the armies of the existing Arab governments to defend themselves against it have only strengthened independent resistance movements such as Al Fatah. The Israeli land assault last year against Al Fatah bases in Jordan immediately resulted in an increased number of recruits to Al Fatah.

Since the Israeli raid on Lebanon, both the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Al Fatah have pledged themselves to an intensification of the struggle against Israeli aggression and occupation of Arab lands. In doing this Al Fatah reiterated its position that what is needed is not a war against Israeli Jews as a people but the destruction of the Israeli state as it now exists.

The key organizing base for these resistance groups is the Palestinian refugee camps which are inhabited by those hundreds of thousands of people who have suffered most from Zionist expansionism. Estimates are that the total number of refugees now in Jordan is 371,000. Lebanon has 150,000.

Some of these refugees have been forced to resettle three times—once when they moved onto the west bank of the Jordan River after fleeing their homes during the original Zionist occupation of Palestine, again in 1967 when they were driven across the river because of Israeli occupation of Jordanian territory as a result of the six-day war, and again last year when they fled further into Jordanian territory as a result of Israeli raids in February and

March.

Like Nazi deeds

In condemning the Israeli attack on Lebanon, a spokesman for Al Fatah commented, "It reminds us of Nazi deeds—if they had one soldier killed, they proceeded to destroy entire villages." It is ironic and tragic that some of the very people who fled the horrors of Nazism have now become so blinded by their privileged economic position within the Arab world, and by their feelings of white "superiority," that they are now supporting a government using fascist methods to oppress another people.

According to reports, there have been second thoughts on the part of some Israelis as to the advisability of the anti-Lebanese raid in the face of the overwhelming world reaction against it. Clearly the only hope for the Jewish population of Israel is that they turn away completely from their present government and its policies and join with the developing Arab resistance movement. The logic of this movement is toward struggle not only against the oppressive Israeli government, but against the corrupt and oppressive capitalist forces within the Arab nations as well.

The fact that the Palestinian refugees are joining with Arab militants from other countries to form pan-Arab movements such as Al Fatah, independent of any existing government, is obviously of great significance for the revolutionary struggle in the Middle East.

Prisoners end hunger strike in Mexico

Mexican political prisoners who went on a hunger strike Dec. 14 ended their fast three days later, according to information received in New York by the United States Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners.

The USLA Justice Committee said 120 students and teachers were released from prison Dec. 24. These releases are intended to show the "liberality" of the Diaz Ordaz regime. But simultaneously the regime is reportedly hunting down student leaders and continuing to keep key student strike leaders in prison, along with other political prisoners.

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