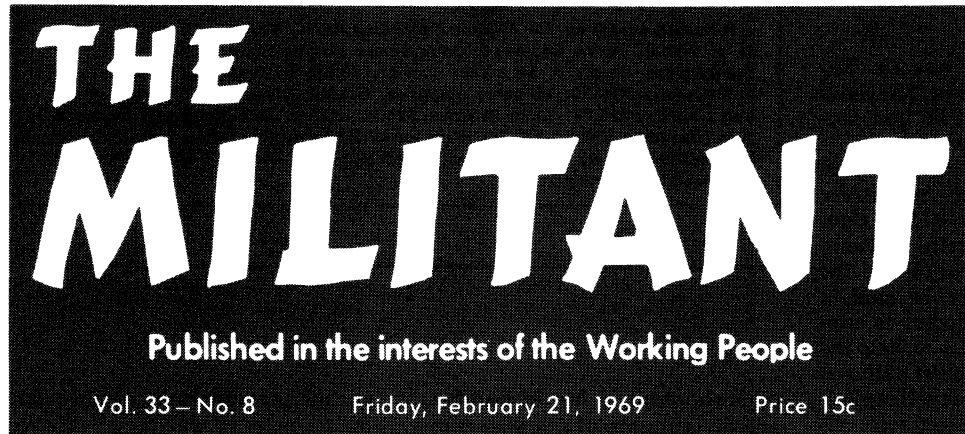


Bay Area labor-student aid pact

—See pages 6 & 12



A discussion of SDS's
youth movement resolution

—See page 8—

Ft. Jackson GIs organize to exercise their rights

Antiwar GIs initiate meetings, petitions

By Lew Jones

FT. JACKSON, S. C., Feb. 13—Do GIs have the right to freely discuss the war in Vietnam? Growing numbers of GIs at Ft. Jackson, S. C., think they do.

A petition circulated by antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson and calling on the post commander to authorize and provide facilities for an open meeting to discuss the war has met an immediate favorable response. More than 400 petition sheets are now circulating all over Ft. Jackson, including the basic training area. After only one-and-a-half days of signature gathering, over 200 signatures have been turned in.

The petition requests permission of the Ft. Jackson commanding officer to hold an open meeting on the post on Feb. 26 at which all those concerned can freely discuss the legal and moral questions relating to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens both within and outside the armed forces.

The petition points out that GIs desire to exercise the rights guaranteed them as citizens by the First Amendment to the Constitution. (See the Feb. 14 *Militant* for full text of petition.) The petition was initiated by a group calling itself GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

Ft. Jackson is a training base. GIs are sent through basic training, advanced infantry training and combat-support training here. A high percentage go to Vietnam. The percentage of blacks and Puerto Ricans here is much higher than in the general population. Antiwar sentiment is common among enlisted men and it appears to be growing.

GIs United has no formal membership and is open to all Ft. Jackson GIs. It has held nightly meetings of 30 to 80 GIs on post in the last several weeks. Most of those attending have been black GIs, a significant number of Spanish-speaking GIs, and a smaller number of Anglos.

The group has issued a policy statement which says in part:

"We, as GIs, are forced to suffer most of all in the Vietnam fiasco. Many of us were drafted into the Army against our will—nearly all of us are kept in its grasp against our will—all in order to carry out this illegal, immoral and unjust war. We are forced to fight and die in a war we did not create and in which we don't believe.

"This is not to mention the tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese who are dying at our hands, many of them killed only because we can no longer tell the difference between them and our 'enemies.'"

"And while all of this goes on, the Army continues to trample on our rights as well as our

(Continued on page 5)



Photo by Ron Alexander

BERKELEY CAMPUS STRIKE. On Feb. 13 members of the Berkeley teaching assistants' Local 1570, American Federation of Teachers, held an informational picket line at a campus gate where picketing by striking students has been banned. The teachers' line was dispersed and 26 were arrested, including Ringo Hallinan, president of local 1570, and Antonio Camejo, executive-board member of Berkeley-public-school AFT Local 1078 and SWP nominee for Berkeley city council.

'Burn their groves with fire'

The Biblical basis of Mid East claims

San Francisco, Calif.

I make the radical suggestion that you objectively and thoughtfully read Deuteronomy, Chapters 10,11, and 12. Consider these ancient writings not in a sense of a distracting opiate of religion, but as a generally recognized work of love and art, and most importantly consider the historical content herein.

Anyone who does not understand the significance of the claim of Jewish ownership of the geographical areas mentioned in these writings has absolutely no right to make statements one way or another on the current dispute between Jew and Arab.

All imperialist powers stink, no matter if they be communist or capitalist. In thinking of myself as a socialist, I do not include the Arab countries in the socialist camp by any stretch of my imagination. Arab leaders forfeit any further consideration for inclusion in the socialist brotherhood at the time they call for genocide against any people.

For "socialists" to approve of Nasserite statements, much less encourage these statements, makes me sad, disillusioned, and certain of their amoral inhumanity.

Shalom and Salam, T. H.

(The following are some of the passages pertaining to the territorial question in the chapters cited by T. H. They are quoted according to the King James version.

Jehovah, the god of the Israelites, is explaining what is required of and promised to his people after their escape from slavery in Egypt.

Chapter 11, verses 22-25: "For if ye shall diligently keep all these commandments which I command you, to do them, to love the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, and to cleave unto him;

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.

"Then will the LORD drive out all these nations from before you, and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves.

"Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Eurphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.

"There shall no man be able to stand before you: for the LORD your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as He hath said unto you.

Chapter 12, verses 2-3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree:

"And ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out that place."

— Editor)

Outstanding doctor

New York City

A hero, especially of women, died last month in a small, played-out mining community in Ash-

land, Pa. His name was Dr. Robert Spencer. He was 79 years old. He figured that he had performed 100,000 abortions.

Dr. Spencer operated in anti-septic surroundings and never charged more than \$100. Educated at the University of Pennsylvania medical school and the Rockefeller Institute, he said, "I always figured a doctor is supposed to help people, to help the living." He became chief pathologist at the Ashland State Hospital, which specializes in miners' diseases.

One day, a miner's wife came to ask for help. She did not want to have the child she was carrying. That was his first abortion. His reputation soon spread, for he never tried to hide what he was doing. He spoke out at every forum for reform of abortion laws. On the East Coast college campuses, he was known as the "angel of Ashland."

In the thirties, having left the hospital, he opened his own clinic. Because of his willingness to go down into mines to aid injured miners, he gained the support of the powerful United Mine Workers.

In 1956, a young teacher died on his operating table. He called the police and told them that the girl had died of a freak reaction to sodium pentathol while he was performing an abortion. At his trial, his statement was read, but he presented no defense witnesses. A jury of seven men and five women returned a verdict of "not guilty" to the charge of performing an abortion.

When a county employee was asked how this could have happened, he replied, "There aren't too many people in this county he hasn't helped."

Constance Weissman

The Jews in Iraq

New York City

I wish to bring to your attention the historical fact that the Jews

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.

of Iraq, though few in number, are descendants of a Jewish community in Iraq that has existed for 3,000 years there. This makes the Jewish community in Iraq older than the Arab community in Iraq, which has only existed in Iraq since about 600 A.D.

I therefore ask you: Shouldn't the Iraq Jews have the same kind of community control that you advocate for the black people in the USA?

I am plainly disappointed in the SWP's fear of defending Jews when they are right.

I hope you are not afraid to comment on this note.

Maurice Goldman

(The Militant does not condone, but condemns, national oppression wherever it occurs and whoever practices it. We also know that oppressed people can at the same time persecute other people. We do not have any reliable information about the extent and character of the persecution of the Iraqi Jews. We do know that the capitalist press lies about such matters to whip up hysterical support for its imperialist policies in the Middle East.

Above all, it is certain that as long as Israel remains the embodiment of the political, military and economic might of imperialism in the Middle East, the Jews in the Arab countries — and, in the long run, in Israel itself — will be in extreme jeopardy.

Only through a united Jewish-Arab struggle against imperialism and its primary current manifestation in the Middle East — the state of Israel as it is now constituted — can this danger be reduced. And only through a triumphant socialist revolution in the region can it be eliminated altogether. — Editor)

sociates are now doing, what tasks the agencies he was involved with during his stay are now performing, how he was employed after he left government work by research institutions which were later uncovered as being CIA-funded (without attempting to prove that Marcuse knew about the connection), and by bald assertions such as:

"Marcuse has never broken these government connections. 'In San Diego, he has been the local host for visiting German scholars, sponsored by the State Department,' wrote Herbert Gold in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 19, 1968."

Also in this vein are the labeling of a photo of Marcuse "The G-Man Himself" and captioning a picture of a demonstration during the May-June upsurge in France, "Marcuse got to Paris too late to stop the May action."

Attempts to explain Marcuse's supposed "government-agent" actions include the following example of factional venom:

"This past summer Marcuse claimed to have received an anonymous death threat at his California home. This gave him the excuse for his third European tour in one year. The *Washington Post* (Nov. 10, 1968) reported that 'he met with Nguyen Thanh Le, chief representative of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks,' thereby lending his still-considerable prestige to the sellout negotiations."

If the radical movement is not to witch-hunt itself to death, the burden of proof for such "spy" charges must be on the accusers and not on the accused. And it would be better for all concerned if none of us let a factional frenzy get the better of us.

A. M.

Likes Mailer but not Malachi

Indianapolis, Indiana

Malachi Constant's review of Mailer's latest book ("in passing," *The Militant*, Jan. 31) is a good example of much that is wrong with the movement. He has the right attitude but little else. A little knowledge is worse than none — his reference to Cuba's political setup only sounds smug, not an informed opinion at all, and can only turn off the intellectual needed in the movement. It is not a child's game that we are playing, after all.

Mailer's book, *Why Are We In Vietnam?* is all about why we are in Vietnam, or at least Mailer's opinion of why we are. Maybe Constant didn't read the book at all — surely he is not informed on Mailer's theory of Johnson, Texans and war games. *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* has much of Mailer's good writing in it, and it is to be recommended, but it is not a good example of Mailer's writing. It is not "crystal clear"; Mailer never is. *Barbary Shore* is a heavy, wordy antique of the '50s; my advice is, don't read it. His *Cannibals and Christians* is his very with it book and of political interest to his fans and those of the new left interested in reading the greatest American writer of the 20th century.

D. C.

How PL 'defeats' opponents' ideas

New York City

The February issue of *Progressive Labor* contains an article that makes you think you're reading some sort of left-wing version of *Confidential*. PL's little expose, "Marcuse: Cop-Out or Cop?" tries to accomplish two tasks: 1) to establish that Marcuse is a government agent and 2) to show that his political ideas and actions can be best explained by this knowledge.

On the first point, it is recalled Marcuse was employed by U.S. government intelligence as a research analyst during and after World War II — until 1951, during the McCarthy period. This is true, and unfortunately Marcuse was no unique case. Radicals under Stalinist and Social Democratic influence did the same sort of thing in relatively large numbers during that period. This last point is not made by *Progressive Labor*. Since Stalin is one of PL's heroes, I'm sure they wouldn't like to expose his class collaborationist theories by showing what kind of political activity they lead to.

Progressive Labor goes on to "prove" that Marcuse remained a conscious agent of the government intelligence service after he officially left it in 1951 by telling us what his former intelligence as-

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Don Critchlow, 6929 W. Mariposa, Phoenix, Arizona 85033.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Peter Signorelli, 2075 W. Stadium, #1939, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Trainor, 5203 S.W. Pomona, Portland, Ore. 97219. Tel: (503) 246-9254.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

P & F since the elections

By Mary-Alice Waters

When the Peace and Freedom Party succeeded in obtaining ballot status in California in January 1968, it was at the zenith of its political influence. Antiwar activists from around the state pitched in to help register voters in time for the deadline; radicals and progressives from different milieus became active, many for the first time in years; many believed that a new political movement was being born.

The California success gave a boost in morale and energy to other Peace and Freedom-type groups around the country and inspired them to seek ballot status also. Even the "more realistic" estimates suggested that P & F would be on the ballot in 25 or 30 states in time for the November elections.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance had a somewhat different estimate. We said that the impressive victory of gaining ballot status in California was a very encouraging sign of the deepening radicalization taking place, particularly around the issue of the war in Vietnam. It indicated the disgust and contempt with which many liberals and radical young people viewed the Johnson administration and their groping for an answer. However, for several reasons we did not think that Peace and Freedom could provide that answer.

The main reason for this estimate was that the P & F organizers were attempting to hold together a political party made up of very disparate forces on the basis of minimum program—withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and support for the black liberation struggle. While it is possible to draw together large forces in united-front actions around such specific areas of agreement, to build a political party requires fundamental agreement on a whole series of questions. Without such agreement, the Peace and Freedom Party would tend to fly apart, its various components would rapidly become contending factions, many supporters would become disillusioned and drift away. We estimated that the Peace and Freedom Party, as an all-inclusive radical formation would, in all likelihood, not survive the 1968 elections.

Previous developments

Even prior to the elections, this general analysis was confirmed in the development of P & F around the country—the fiasco of their national convention in August, their ability (even in combination with the Freedom and Peace Party) to obtain ballot



Eldridge Cleaver

status in only 11 states, their decision not even to try to agree on a vice-presidential candidate. These and other questions have been discussed in previous issues of *The Militant*. However, developments since the elections have, if anything, shown even more clearly the weakness of P & F.

Some of the most revealing comments on the present state of P & F are those that have been made by Peace and Freedom Party members and leaders themselves. Only one issue of the Berkeley-based *Peace and Freedom News* has been published since the elections, but it featured a lead editorial trying to explain what happened to P & F. Referring to the California campaign, the editorial says that no one should be surprised that the vote for P & F candidates was so low.

"What does require some explanation, however," the editorial states, "is the fact that among politically active people . . . the November P & F campaigns elicited relatively little interest and enthusiasm. In fact, considerably more people worked on the primary campaigns, which were seen merely as a means of getting our candidates on the November ballot."

Several possible reasons for this are discussed, including disagreements inside the party over Eldridge Cleaver's candidacy. A portion of the P & F coalition felt that a more "moderate" candidate than Cleaver should have been chosen as the Presidential standard bearer, and an even larger portion of the coalition was very unhappy about Cleaver's desire to have Yippie spokesman Jerry Rubin as his running mate. In fact, Cleaver's proposal of Rubin was rejected both at the national convention and at the California statewide convention.

SDS's fault?

However, the editorial dismisses these problems as secondary and reaches the conclusion that the main reason P & F failed to interest and excite large numbers of radicals was the antielectoral bias prevalent on the left in 1968.

Why such organizations as national SDS were reluctant to become involved in the P & F campaign is not discussed, and it is not clear whether the editors of *Peace and Freedom News* approve or disapprove of the SDS position. They simply end on the assertion that there is a place for P & F: "to provide a vehicle in which radi-

cally oriented adults can relate to the militant white movement, and which can develop programs that will benefit and gain the support of white working people."

There are few clues in the paper as to the meaning of that definition of P & F, but it became clearer at the Feb. 1 conference of the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party. The conference was attended by approximately 70 or 80 people, and while there was no discussion of program or analysis of the past election campaign, several new projects were planned.

The conference decided that as individuals they should support the oil workers' strike and the Delano grape workers' strike, but they did not pass a resolution putting P & F on record in support of these struggles (a strange thing for an organization that aims to "benefit and gain the support of white working people"). They decided to launch a campaign to abolish the state income tax; to investigate a stronger alliance with the Black Panthers (there were no Afro-Americans at the Feb. 1 conference); and, in order to curb police brutality, to set up a committee to teach individuals the correct procedures for citizens' arrest so that they can act when they witness cops mistreating people!

They also decided to run a candidate in the Berkeley city elections this spring, but no campaign committee was set up and no concrete plans were discussed. All these projects were put forward within the context of considerable demoralization over the weakness of P & F and the need to "reestablish" an organization.

McReynolds' view

Similar cries of discouragement have emanated from various other P & F sources around the country. One of the most illuminating came from Dave McReynolds, Peace and Freedom candidate in the 19th congressional district in New York City. In the Dec. 19 issue of the *Village Voice*, he pointed out, with a little bitterness, that he had gotten virtually no support from the War Resisters League (for which he works), SANE, Resistance, Women Strike for Peace, the Socialist Party (of which he is a long-standing member), "the Soviet-oriented Old Left," or the hippies. He then continued:

"The greatest frustration came from the Peace and Freedom Party which, having nominated me, then seemed terribly unsure whether it really wanted to run a campaign at all. Once the nominating petitions had been filed, PFP seemed to collapse of exhaustion and was never heard from again. I exaggerate, but not much."

McReynolds remarked that he enjoyed working with the 20 or 30 people who did support his campaign, yet, in his opinion, "politically, the election in the 19th C.D. was a disaster and a defeat for everyone who ran and for all voters."

Factional disputes

The New York state party was probably the strongest outside of California, but throughout its entire campaign it was plagued with factional disputes. The first one resulted as a split and the formation of the rival, Communist Party-influenced Freedom and Peace Party which supported Dick Gregory for President.

Following the elections, the two groups initiated merger negotiations which were subsequently dropped when no agreement could be reached guaranteeing that some leadership positions in a new merged organization would be reserved for former members of the Freedom and Peace Party. Both groups reportedly claimed that there were no political differences between them.

The second major factional dispute within the New York P & F was between two tendencies, one led by the Independent Socialist Club and the other by the Progressive Labor Party. However, at the statewide convention of the New York P & F, held Thanksgiving weekend in New York and attended by some 125 people, the Progressive Labor Party sent only a few observers who played no active role in the conference.

Members of the P & F in New York have announced they plan to do research on housing problems, rent and tax structures, and plan to hold a series of public meetings in the future.

The type of demoralization expressed by the McReynolds letter to the *Village Voice* has been prevalent elsewhere. In Pennsylvania (where the group was largely dominated by the CP and nominated Gregory instead of Cleaver), the one full-time staff person of P & F told a *Militant* reporter that he thought P & F was dead; that there had been no activity since the elections, and there was no sign of any. He thought most of those who had been around P & F probably voted for Humphrey and were now working with the Coalition of Independent and Democratic Voters.

It's all a little bit of a comedown for a "mass" party that was going to ignite the



Dave McReynolds

left and build a permanent, all-encompassing radical political movement.

To see how far down it's come, perhaps the best place to go is Venice, Calif., where the Peace and Freedom Party has launched a "community project," the purpose of which is "to organize a white community into the movement and develop a model for Peace and Freedom's ability to 'reach,' i.e., convince people."

What is P & F trying to convince people of? "To polarize Venice residents by a drive to free Venice from the city of Los Angeles," and establish a provisional government by 1970. That the P & F organizers could be so attuned to the realities and needs of the world revolutionary process today, leaves one awe-struck.

To accomplish this goal, a Venice Survival Committee has been formed and a Free Venice Organizing Committee. A newspaper, *The Beachhead*, which defines itself as "a poem" is being put out to tell people about the history of Venice, Calif. Other plans include an art festival, a move to abolish auto traffic in Venice, and a walkie-talkie citizens' alert system.

Statewide gathering

A good over-all picture of the P & F in California was provided by their state council meeting held in Los Angeles the weekend of Dec. 21. Only 56 people registered for the statewide meeting—from an organization that at one time was supposed to have 26 chapters in Los Angeles alone. They decided that neither a viable state organization nor the projected spring convention were needed, and a powerless state caretaker committee was set up to look into the possibilities of calling an active members' conference for sometime next summer. The purpose of the conference would be to exchange information and ideas.

What becomes clear from all of these experiments and meetings is that P & F has learned little or nothing from its harsh experience. A year of "organizing" on the basis of a reformist minimum program has produced, in their own words, "little interest and enthusiasm." Yet the solution P & F organizers offer is more of the same, but on an even lower level of political consciousness—tax reforms, housing laws, and city planning. Concern with the central political issues of our day, nationally and internationally, such as the war in Vietnam and the black liberation struggle here in the U.S., has slipped even further into the background.

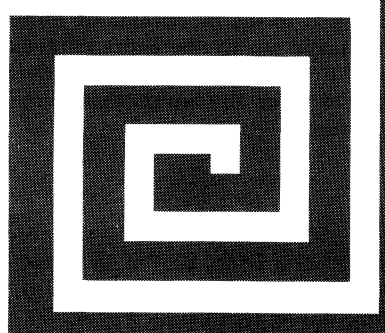
The organizers of the Peace and Freedom Party thought they would be able to find a shortcut around the difficult task of constructing a revolutionary party. Like those who have attempted the same experiment before them, they are reaffirming that an all-inclusive radical party is a shortcut not to revolution, but to reform.

The Murder of Nigeria —An Indictment By Obi Egbuna

50 Cents

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION A MARXIST VIEW BY GEORGE NOVACK



Just published

● A history of empiricist philosophy from Bacon and Locke to its most recent manifestations in the work of Karl Popper.

● Written from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, this book is an admirable introduction to the Marxist method in treating the history of ideas.

● Contains an outstanding critique of pragmatism, and especially of the philosophy of John Dewey, that will be of value to all students of American philosophy.

160 pp. paper \$2.45 cloth \$4.95

merit publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003



Rank-and-file coal miners map fight on "black lung"

The smoldering anger of the nation's soft-coal miners against both the corporations and their own top union leadership was amply demonstrated when 3,000 coal diggers met at Charleston, W. Va., Jan. 26 to form their own Black Lung Association.

Black lung is a disabling disease which leads to emphysema, heart failure, tuberculosis, or pneumonia. Dr. I. E. Buff, a cardiologist who has done extensive research on the disease, says that 100,000 of the nation's 135,000 soft-coal miners are afflicted. It is caused by free-floating coal dust, and its fatal affects can only be avoided by stopping the constant exposure to the hazard. In other words, leave the mines.

The Bureau of Mines is interested in coal dust as a hazard only if there is enough present to cause explosions and fires. It has no interest in dust as a medical hazard. Neither, apparently, is any other governmental agency, state or federal. And so far the United Mine Workers' top officials have displayed the same lack of concern.

One of the major demands made by the rank-and-file miners during the contract negotiations last fall was for compensa-

just 30 miles away, which in late November 1968 became a tomb for 78 miners.)

Humphrey No. 7 exploded into fire when the roof of a runway collapsed. More than 130 miners narrowly missed death. Twelve of the men were working three miles deep within the mine but were saved when a rescue team found them and led them to safety. The other 126 were working close to the entrance and were taken out by hoist buckets and elevators.

The Bureau of Mines announced, after the fact, that more than 100 infractions of the Safety Act and the union-company agreements on safety had been listed during the last six inspections. Some of the violations had been listed on every report!

—Marvel Scholl

Views and reviews in passing . . .

I've been waiting for a long time for a comprehensive, theoretical analysis of the revolutionary dynamics of our epoch. And I think I've finally found it in a book called *Fifty Years of World Revolution (1917-1967)* edited by Ernest Mandel (Merit Publishers, \$7.95).

Mandel's book is a collection of articles written especially for this anthology by revolutionary Marxists from 10 different countries. In one article or another, nearly every currently relevant problem of world revolutionary theory is taken up and dealt with in its historical context.

A word of caution. Those completely new to socialist thought will not find it possible to simply sail through this work. But if you are minimally at home with some of the basic ideas of revolutionary socialism, you will get a great deal out of this book.

In any case, this short note can hardly do the job of conveying the message about this really fine collection. Hopefully, someone will do it justice in the near future.

If you get the chance, a good movie to take in is "The Charge of the Light Brigade." The movie is an examination of British class society, imperialism and militarism during the Crimean War of the 1850s.

All of this climaxes with the disastrous and useless charge of the Light Brigade, made famous by Tennyson's poem glorifying the incident.

None of the characters are really sympathetic types. One—a sort of a liberal type—does question the inefficiency and opacity of the British imperial bureaucracy. None of them go to the obvious root of the problems depicted, namely class society.

Nevertheless, the film offers some very real analogies with American class society, imperialism, militarism and face-saving.

Most specifically, you'll notice that the role of the British in the Crimean War and the role of the U.S. in the Vietnam war pose some striking parallels.

Most radicals in the United States are having a lot of trouble trying to figure out

Regime in Bolivia hit by peasant struggles

A significant upsurge of peasant militancy is taking place in Bolivia, the land of Che Guevara's assassination, according to a recent report in *Intercontinental Press*. Written from La Paz in the last week of December by M. Vallejos, the report states:

"The peasantry has already drawn the line of direct militant confrontation. Driving the officials out of the towns and occupying them, stoning the president and his ministers, taking hostages to exchange for peasant prisoners, and marching on the cities are expressions of a high level of consciousness and militancy."

Revolutionary organizations have solidified themselves with the peasants, Vallejos notes. These are the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), Bolivian section of the Fourth International, and the National Liberation Army (ELN) led by Inti Peredo, which is continuing the guerrilla front launched two years ago by Che Guevara.

"ELN flags have been raised in La Paz, Chochabamba, and in important peasant centers, along with placards repudiating the agricultural tax and calling for guerrilla fighters," Vallejos writes. "An ELN manifesto signed by Inti Peredo is circulating in numerous copies throughout the country."

(This manifesto is published in the Feb. 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Vallejos' report from La Paz appeared in the Jan. 27 issue.)

Bolivian peasants were driven into active opposition to the military dictatorship of President Barrientos when it attempted to impose an agricultural tax in early December. The importance of this tax to the Barrientos regime was underlined by Barrientos' personal campaign in its support, which included visits to peasant villages.



Che

But the peasants have rejected the tax and physically assaulted the government spokesmen for it "for political as well as economic reasons," according to Vallejos.

"With the military dictatorship, the peasants found themselves more tightly bound than ever to a socially and racially inferior status. In addition to poverty and backwardness the peasants are suffering from stifling oppression.

"Consciously or unconsciously, the peasants perceive that this oppression would be aggravated by the agricultural tax. The per capita annual income of the peasants is barely \$100 and the tax would force them to turn from 30 to 50 percent of this over to the state.

"The tax could be paid only by resorting to loan sharks, either individuals or banks. Sinking in debt, the peasants would be forced to sell their land or would lose it through foreclosures. On the ruin and liquidation of the peasantry a new landlordism linked to imperialism would arise and the peasants would revert to the status of peons.

"The political implications were understood by the peasants, and this is the reason for their violent and unanimous response throughout the country."

The government has temporarily withdrawn its tax attempt, Vallejos notes, "but at the same time it has reinforced all its military units in the countryside.

"But these measures cannot halt the process already begun. The peasants have gotten a close look at the danger represented by a military government . . . The agricultural tax was the final straw. The passive discontent of the peasants was transformed into armed rebellion.

"In this new period, the guerrillas will have the active collaboration of the Bolivian peasantry. The peasants will find the guerrillas a necessary ally to combat the army which oppresses them. In turn, the peasants' sympathy and support will create the conditions for the reinforcement of the guerrilla struggle, conditions far superior to those Che Guevara faced in Nancahuazu and La Higuera in 1967.

"The year of 1969 will be a year of great struggles for Bolivia. We Bolivian revolutionists are confident that the struggle which Che began for the liberation of Latin America will continue with greater vigor and win important victories.

"In 1969, the cry 'Victory and Socialism!' will resound in the mountains of Bolivia and be taken up by the entire continent, uniting all Marxists in a force powerful enough to bury the ignominious imperialist system."

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

—Malachi Constant

The National Picketline

tion when they become disabled by black lung disease. W. A. Boyle, president of the UMW, ignored their demands. Thousands of striking miners refused to go back into the pits after Boyle signed his contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Ralph Nader, the safety crusader, wrote and sent a paper to the Black Lung Association organizing meeting. It charged the industry with health and safety failures "that make the lives of coal miners cheaper than coal," and reminded the state legislators now in session in Charleston that "they are elected to represent people, not coal."

Nader blasted the United Mine Workers' officialdom, particularly Boyle. He said: "I doubt whether there is any union in this country whose highly paid leadership has been as insensitive and inactive toward health and safety conditions."

Nader also charged the Boyle machine with neglect of duty in not including provisions for compensation for black lung disease in the union contract, for not demanding stricter state and federal enforcement of mine health and safety regulations, and for not initiating health and safety regulations of its own.

On hearing the paper, the 3,000 miners cheered and applauded.

They also passed a resolution demanding that West Virginia bring black lung disease under the umbrella of workmen's compensation. At the present time, only two states—Pennsylvania and Alabama—have such coverage.

Just two days after the Charleston meeting, another near disaster occurred in a mine owned by Consolidated Coal Co. in Mt. Morris, Pa. (Consolidated also owned the mine at Mannington, W. Va.,

Army gives up on Pvt. Glover

By Larry Siegle

FT. BENNING, Ga. — The United States Army has had enough of Pvt. Edwin Glover. After months of harassment, restrictions, extra duty and physical intimidation, the brass have decided that the only course left open to them was to convene a field-board hearing which will probably order Glover discharged for reasons of "national security." The hearing was held here Jan. 27-28.

The Army's decision to throw in the towel in this case was due to Glover's strength in standing up to them and to the energetic work of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in rallying public support for him. The Young Socialist faced a particularly vindictive junior officer staff which was determined to break him because he refused to think as they do about the war, about Afro-Americans, and about the rights of GIs to free speech.

The field board which acted to get Glover off the Army's hands can recommend three types of discharge: honorable, general, or undesirable. It is likely that one of the latter two will be recommended. Thus, while Glover will probably be returned to civilian life, he will have to appeal the nature of the discharge through Army channels and then into the federal courts.

The hearing itself was a perfect example of the absurd routines followed by an institution so completely torn with contradictions as the U. S. Army.

The purpose of the hearing was to expel from the Army a "defendant" who didn't ask to be inducted and would be pleased to be released—provided, of course, that his discharge be on honorable terms, which is clearly what he deserves. The Army's sudden acute concern about Glover's alleged threat to national security seems a bit absurd since they knew full well when they drafted him that he was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party and that he intended to continue to speak his mind if drafted.

The Army's three allegations of fact (the specific charges they were supposed to prove) were readily conceded by the defense. They charged Glover with the following "crimes": 1) being a member of the Socialist Workers Party; 2) failing

on induction to fill out in its entirety the standard "security" questionnaire; and 3) failing to fill out the Army's "personal history" form. Glover has never denied membership in the SWP or YSA, and he explained he refused to complete the forms because they are a violation of First Amendment rights.

Perhaps recognizing the Catch-22 quality of charging a man with "crimes" they were fully aware of when they inducted him, the Army also announced they had a **confidential file** which they were going to introduce as **secret evidence**. Under the provisions covering this kind of hearing, evidence can be submitted to the field board which cannot be seen by the defendant nor by his counsel. The difficulties of conducting a defense with those ground rules can easily be imagined. No challenge can be made to the evidence, no cross-examination, no denials nor explanations can be offered. You literally do not know what you

are charged with!

(One final twist: The Army is reasonable, and Glover can appeal the decision of the board. The catch? **The decision itself is secret!** Glover will never know what the board decides; he will only learn indirectly by the nature of the action or nonaction taken by the Army against him, which may or may not conform precisely to the recommendation of the board.)

If Glover had committed any actual crime or violated any regulations, the Army could have had him brought to a court-martial. They admitted they have no such case when they chose this type of hearing.

The reasons for the Army's decision became abundantly clear as the Army's case against Glover unfolded. Capt. Davis, Glover's former commanding officer, was a key witness. Davis testified under oath that on several occasions he had seen Glover with several other soldiers, and

"it was pretty clear to me that Glover was orating." (!) Under cross-examination Davis said that naturally he hadn't stayed around to listen and that he had no idea whether Glover was "orating" about cars, women, the war or apple pie.

The next witness was Sgt. Whitney, a lifer. Whitney testified, also under oath, that Glover had told GIs to "tear down the factories and just give them to the people." Whitney conceded he couldn't quite understand how the demolished factories were to be "given to the people." Whitney further testified that Glover had been reading a copy of **The Great Speckled Bird**, an underground paper published in Atlanta.

The rest of the testimony of Army witnesses was just as "damaging." Glover was seen several times talking to black and Puerto Rican soldiers (this was always said with a tightening of the lips and a knowing glance—this was clinching evidence of a real subversive). A secret report was made public to prove that Glover had been seen entering the SWP hall in Chicago while on leave last summer; Glover was seen wearing the YSA-JCR button; Glover was definitely a "dissenter"; Glover had a lot of literature; etc. etc.

Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, Glover's civilian counsel, pointed up the absurdity in the Army's case. If they didn't want a member of the SWP and YSA, they shouldn't have drafted him in the first place. Glover was not charged with violating any regulations or committing any crimes. If the Army now decided to discharge him, the regulations provided that the discharge be based solely on his military record, which is unblemished, and he should be discharged honorably.

It is unlikely that the seven officers of the board saw the logic in the defense arguments. They will probably recommend a discharge on a less than honorable basis. If this is in fact what happens, a legal battle for an honorable discharge will still be necessary. Financial aid for this, and for the defense of other GIs whose rights have been infringed by the military, is urgently needed by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Contributions can be sent to the committee at Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.



THEY GOT HOME. GI demonstration in Philippines at end of World War II demanding they be brought home. Similar massive demonstrations in other areas brought demobilization of GIs.

...Ft. Jackson GIs organize for their rights

(Continued from page 1)

lives. All the crap, the harassment, dehumanization and contempt for the enlisted men that make F.T.A. the three most popular letters in the Army goes on full swing in Nam, just like it does here. Inspections, haircuts, saluting the brass, etc., all are part of the grind. And there's a reason for it: the Army **has** to crush our spirit, it has to stamp the humanity and individuality out of us so we won't be able to fight back. This is an undemocratic war—the only way it can be fought is with an undemocratic army, where GIs cannot be allowed to think, to discuss the war and speak out against it, to influence and control policy.

"But it is our right to be human. No one can take that from us—no one has the right to rob us of our dignity, like the Army tries to do every day. It is our right to think and to speak out against an unjust war, to demonstrate our opposition if that is necessary. We are citizens of America even if the Army would like to forget it, and these rights are guaranteed in the Constitution of the U. S."

"In addition," the declaration said, "the rights and dignity of the black man in America have been trampled upon for the past 400 years while being called upon to fight and die for so-called freedom . . ."

The Ft. Jackson brass, not prone to observe constitutional niceties, has reacted to the antiwar feelings and organizations with added harassment, added intimidation and frame-up charges. This, however, has not deterred GIs United. In fact, their ranks are growing. A brief summary of the recent events will illustrate why.

A unit of the Third Brigade was given Christmas leave. They were not told, though, that those leaves were also their pre-Vietnam-embarkation leaves. When this fact was revealed to the GIs, the brass found it necessary to quarantine the GIs' anger. This unit of 134 men was restricted to its barracks under armed guard for four days prior to embarkation. In violation of Army regulations, they were prevented from seeing the inspector general. They were loaded into buses for Vietnam embarkation under armed guard.

This is one of the things the GIs want to discuss at their open meeting.

At that time, and since, GIs United has met frequently. Last Sunday, the group participated in a discussion at the USO coffeehouse in Columbia, S. C., with 80 people present. At a Monday meeting of 60 GIs at Ft. Jackson, petitions were given out to be circulated all over the base. On Tuesday the brass, some of them armed, dispersed a meeting of GIs United, advising that everyone had better go to a brigade basketball game. Since no direct order was involved, not one of the GIs went to the

game, but the continued presence of armed guards in the barracks prevented any meeting from occurring.

On Wednesday no meeting was held, but over 200 petition signatures were turned in.

GIs United are also planning a GI teach-in against the war on Feb. 23 and are organizing to participate in the civilian supported GI Easter peace march in Atlanta, Ga.

Meanwhile, the brass have moved to frame up five black GIs who are active in GIs United. The charges run from disobeying an order to go to bed, to a charge of assault. In two cases charges have been indicated but not actually filed.

The first is the case of private Lawrence Hart, who has been charged with assault, disrespect to a noncommissioned officer, and attempting to defraud the U. S. government. All three charges are phony. The assault, even prosecution witnesses at the court-martial testified, was one that in fact did not occur! Witnesses agreed that Hart did not get within 10 feet of the man he was supposed to have assaulted. (One did say he got within nine inches but did not hit him.)

The second charge was disrespect to a noncommissioned officer. Hart was told he was disrespectful after the noncommissioned officer called him a "mother-fucker." The strange thing is that the noncommissioned officer did not become a noncommissioned officer until after the incident, when he was promoted to an acting sergeant. He was then transferred from Ft. Jackson.

The third charge was defrauding the government. This involved a check which Hart tried to cash at Ft. Jackson. Through a fault of the government or the bank there had not been enough money in his account. Prior to the trial, postfinance had informed Hart that the matter had been cleared up. Nonetheless, Hart was found guilty on all three charges, with the prosecution admitting that the case was not too strong. Hart is now in the stockade. He has not been

sentenced yet, but he faces a possible six months at the Ft. Riley, Kans., military prison.

The second case is that of Private Andrew Pulley. He was found guilty of disobeying an order to go to bed. Pvt. Pulley was sitting on his bed last week when an officer told him to go to bed. Pulley said he was in bed. The officer said he would return in five minutes. He came back in three-and-a-half minutes, as timed by the men in the barracks, and told Pulley that he still wasn't in bed.

The court-martial took place this week. Pulley was found guilty but no sentence has been passed yet.

An appeal on this case has already been filed on the grounds that the trial officer was prejudiced against Pulley to begin with. Prior to the trial, the officer had told a South Carolina ACLU lawyer that he considered Pulley a "culprit."

The third case concerns Pvt. Alfred Toomer and Pvt. Johnny Davis. Both were picked up under armed guard approximately 10 days ago and have been held in the stockade ever since. The brass will not disclose the charges against these men. Repeated, futile inquiries have been made.

Finally there is the case of Pvt. Albert Madison. He is charged with assault and his court-martial comes next Monday. Madison had been pushed by a white racist GI. When this GI, Private Dinglefine, pushed him Madison tried to avoid a fight by pushing his hands aside. Dinglefine pushed him again and Madison walked away. Then Dinglefine slammed the door to the mess hall in Madison's face, at which point Madison reacted but was restrained by several black GIs. That's the entire grounds for the assault charge.

GIs United have secured some legal counsel in Columbia. But public support is needed. Telegrams of protest should be sent to the Commanding Officer, Ft. Jackson, Columbia, South Carolina. Messages of support to the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam should be sent c/o **Short Times**, Box 543, Columbia, S. C.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

MALCOLM X: CATALYST IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. Speaker: Jamal Hannah, member of the Boston University Afro and a former Green Beret. Fri., Feb. 21, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speakers from the Black Panther Party, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement and Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 21, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Contrib. 75 cents; unemployed and students, 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

CUBA TODAY: TEN YEARS OF REVOLUTION. Speaker: Mareen Jasinski, Young Socialist just returned from celebration of 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution and a month's visit to Cuba. Fri., Feb. 21, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad (Broad and Fairmount). For further information call CE6- 6998. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Liberation News Service photo

EDUCATION FORCE. Club-happy Bay Area tactical cops are giving striking workers and students education in class politics and need for unity between them.

Berkeley student strikers fight 'emergency' decree

By Jeff Rozler

BERKELEY — The strike by Third World students and their supporters at the University of California's Berkeley campus continues to gain momentum in the face of Governor Ronald Reagan's Feb. 5 declaration of a "state of extreme emergency" on the campus. The declaration allows California highway patrolmen to occupy the campus indefinitely "to maintain order."

At his news conference announcing the

decree, Reagan stressed that he took this action with the full concurrence of university officials and quoted a latter from UC president Charles Hitch, who wrote, "We have come to the end of the road in depending on local law enforcement on campuses."

In the days following Reagan's proclamation, large crowds have continued to gather around Sather Gate to show their support for the strike and to jeer the newly arrived, brown-uniformed highway patrolmen. Students continued their marches through campus buildings, and on Friday, Feb. 7, they marched through the faculty dining room during the lunch hour to try to press the teachers into action.

Cops have prevented picket lines from forming at entrances to the campus and around Sather Gate. Violating the traditional free-speech status of the Sproul Hall Steps, the university administration has banned noon rallies there for an indefinite period.

The Third World Liberation Front has treated Reagan's decree with contempt. At a news conference following the governor's action, TWLF spokesmen Bernard Garcia and Jeffrey Leong called it "an attempt to mobilize reactionary forces in the state." They declared that their protest would continue and that "Reagan's police are no different from [Berkeley-campus chancellor] Heyn's police."

Garcia and Leong went on to characterize the university administration's interim suspension of 14 students as "terrorist tactics," and asserted that the TWLF would hold no further discussions or communications with the administration until the suspensions were revoked or formal criminal charges filed against the suspended students.

On Wednesday night, following Reagan's declaration, the Berkeley student senate voted 10 to one in favor of a resolution calling for the closure of the university for a two-day convocation to discuss the TWLF's demands.

Student-body president Charles Palmer told a news conference following the senate's meeting that minority students had been lied to, deceived and misled. "The channels of communication here are not open," he said. "It is impossible to teach, learn and study in a police state. Violence did not start up because people wanted to raise a little hell. The cause was frustration. The students want to make society responsive to their needs."

The student newspaper, **The Daily Cal**, joined the student senate in calling for closure of the university. Under the headline, "Keep Cool but Close it Down," the paper editorialized, "Yesterday our idiot governor declared a state of extreme emergency and immediately there was one." The paper called on faculty members to "stop hiding their heads" and to refuse to teach until "we can return to sanity and start talking about what is happening before there is no one left to talk at all."

At the time Reagan declared his "state

Interview with leader of striking oil union

By David Warren

RICHMOND, Calif. — G. T. (Jake) Jacobs is the secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561, International Union of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, AFL-CIO. As we sat in the union headquarters, I discussed with him the progress of the strike that Local 1-561 is engaged in against Standard Oil in Richmond, Calif. The men have been out since Jan. 4 and have been subjected to severe harassment by the cops, both on and off the picket lines.

Jacobs explained that the men have been able to get by because the longshoremen's union, the ILWU, has allowed them to work a couple of days a week out of the ILWU hiring halls, and some have been able to get welfare benefits or a little help from the poverty program. The union also has been able to provide a few strike benefits.

I asked Jacobs to summarize the main issues involved in the strike, and what the slogan "72 plus" meant, a slogan I had seen on buttons the guys were passing out.

"Originally our demands provided for a 72-cent-an-hour wage increase, over a two-year period, plus improvements in fringe benefits. For example, we're asking the company to pay the full cost of the dependent medical coverage, and we've asked them to pay the full cost of the new pension plan. There are a few other issues such as time and a half for Sunday and a couple of extra holidays. If we won these demands they would begin to bring us to a level that would be more in line with other industries around the country."

"As the strike has progressed, however, those demands have been scaled down. The union and some of the companies settled for a package that was worth about 65 cents an hour. But the package offer made so far by Standard Oil amounts to only about 46 cents an hours. That's well below the national pattern that has been set."

Automated plants

Some of the men had mentioned that one reason they thought Standard Oil could hold out for so long was that some of the plants were highly automated. I asked Jacobs about this.

"It has something to do with it, but it's clear that plant isn't operating to capacity. Not by far. The company would like to make the public think it is, but that's all propaganda. They're using supervisory staff and scab operators, but the plant's certainly not operating the way it should."

At the Standard Oil refinery there are about six or seven craft unions which have contracts that bar strikes or lockouts. Thus the company propaganda plays on the theme that if the members of those unions honor the picket lines of the OCAW, they will be breaking their contracts. Any union can advise its members of their individual, legal right to honor a picket line, but so far the heads of these unions have not done so.

We discussed the question of community support for the strike. The union has requested any and all help it can legally receive from community supporters. For instance, the union picket line has been limited by a court injunction to no more than five pickets at any one entrance to the plant. But strike supporters have not

been limited, and they have a legal right to picket and demonstrate anytime they want. "It's a question of freedom of assembly," Jacobs said.

"The support we've gotten from the community has been a big factor in keeping up the morale of the men," he added.

Cop brutality

The strikers have been subjected to considerable harassment and brutality by the Richmond police, and our discussion turned to that topic. Jacobs described the events of the morning of Jan. 13, which was the first time they were brutally attacked by the cops. There were about 30 pickets at each gate, and they were effectively turning away the cars. "This apparently upset the Standard Oil Company no end. A police lieutenant later told me that the plant manager called the city manager, who in turn called the chief of police. They sent forces to the gates with orders to break it up in any way they could. And that is exactly what they did."

"They didn't seek out the picket captains, or try to find out who was in charge or what was legal. They didn't use clubs, but they were pretty rough. One woman was knocked to the ground and dragged across the ground. Another woman was walking across in front of one of the cars. A policeman grabbed her by the arm and flung her into the street. If it had not been for another person being in the way she would have been hit by a car."

"We protested this, or course. All we could get from the cops was, 'We are protecting your pickets. Don't interfere or we'll haul you in too.'"

In all, they arrested two pickets and three students that morning. The union lodged complaints with every one they could, including the Richmond city council. Jacobs commented, "About all we got from them was a whitewash of the Standard Oil Co. and the Richmond police department."

Educational experience

Jacobs described his own experiences with the police, too. He had gone to the police department on Jan. 23 to check on one of the pickets who had been arrested. When he arrived he was told that he could not see anyone, could not talk to anyone, and that no one would be told that he had been there inquiring about them.

"I was sort of amused by the officers' loud and aggressive manner, so I turned to Mrs. Anderson (the wife of the man we were inquiring about) and said, 'The voice of authority is speaking.'"

With that, Jacobs was placed under arrest. "Suddenly I looked up. There was a flurry of activity coming through the door, and the next thing I knew I was down on my face and they gave me a pretty good working over. There were four of them. One went for my head, one for my feet, and I was slammed down and beaten around the head and the neck. I was kicked in the back. This was the first time I had experienced anything like this. Now I believe some of the stories I've heard."

"The police have been acting as strike-breakers for Standard Oil Company. When a foreman or a manager of a plant can call a police officer and have a picket arrested, something is wrong."

Jacobs thought it would be possible to reduce this kind of police violence by having strong picket lines and through the pressure of an effective general strike, but he added, "If we as working people want justice we are going to have to have a little more control of the establishment, if not become the establishment."

Political action

We had a fairly long discussion about what this meant politically, and Jacobs told me he had been doing a lot of thinking about the question. He had come to the conclusion that only if the working people get together and do something politically will they be able to find a permanent solution to problems like the ones with which his union was faced.

When I asked him if he thought this should be inside the Democratic or Republican parties, or whether something like a labor party was needed, he replied that he had mixed emotions, but "the further down the road we go, the more I become convinced that the problems we are discussing are not going to be solved through the middle-of-the-road processes of our society. The wealth of the nation and the corporations more or less control the middle of the road."

Trial proceeds in Oakland 7 antidraft case

By Hal White

OAKLAND — "Vietnam is an international mugging." That's the way defense attorney Malcolm Burnstein argued in behalf of the "Oakland Seven" as the long-awaited, controversial trial got underway.

The seven are antiwar activists charged with felonious conspiracy by the state of California for their involvement in demonstrations at the Oakland Army induction center in October 1967 as part of "Stop the Draft Week."

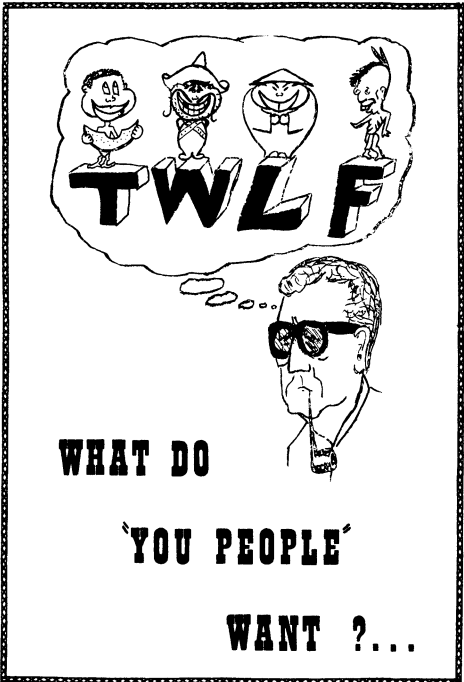
The seven are Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Steve Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal and Mike Smith. Segal is currently in the Alameda County jail serving a four-year sentence for refusing to be drafted.

The seven have been charged with conspiracy to commit two misdemeanors — trespass and interfering with the legal duties of a police officer. None of them are charged with actually committing the crimes, but in California it is a felony to engage in a "conspiracy" to commit a misdemeanor.

The seven are basing their defense on the unconstitutionality of this conspiracy law and on international laws respecting the right of individual conscience.

The seven activists have linked up their case with that of another group of youths involved in a confrontation with the military — the 27 Presido soldiers charged with mutiny. In their statement to the press the Oakland Seven said, "Over a year ago thousands of us took to the streets to protest the war and the draft. The Oakland power structure retaliated by singling out seven of us in the hope they could intimidate the movement and effectively silence the seven."

"Well, they can't. San Francisco State proves that. For every one they imprison or tie up in the courts, dozens will step forward. The same is true in the armed services. Just like us on the outside, our brothers are no longer willing to submit to a system that robs them of their rights and human dignity."



Berkeley TWLF strike paper

Why Mexico banned 'Hair'

By Ricardo Ochoa

MEXICO CITY (IP)—The banning of the musical comedy **Hair** in Acapulco shows the lengths to which the Diaz Ordaz government is going with its witch-hunt. A seemingly harmless bit of entertainment became the target of this oppressive government.

The musical comedy, which might have been quickly forgotten, became a cause celebre in the press, where arguments justifying the government ban predominated.

Occurring in the middle of Mexico's winter holiday season, the **Hair** case showed that Diaz Ordaz's political police don't go on vacations—not even in Acapulco.

As in New York, Los Angeles, London, and other cities, the comedy, which is about the "hippies," was announced with a big publicity campaign. Alfredo Elias Calles scheduled the play for January, which is the "international" (i.e., American) season in Acapulco.

The authorities in the port granted him the necessary permits, and the actors' union approved the entry of the 15 Americans cast for the parts. The entertainment taxes were even paid in advance, since Elias Calles figured it to be a surefire hit. Rehearsals were held in Mexico City for months.

In December, the company moved to Acapulco, where some benefit performances were staged before the opening night on Jan. 3.

The premiere, with all its fanfare, was a smash hit, and the success was celebrated with a fiesta "a go-go" in Acapulco's "in" cabaret, "Tiberio's" (owned, of course, by Elias Calles).

Acapulco, it looked like, was in for another of the entertainment spectaculars for which the vacation center is famous, although this time the entertainment was to have an "international" aura, something



Scene from New York production of 'Hair'

new for Acapulco, and to be credited to Elias Calles' flair for culture.

The impresario has said the following of the port: "Acapulco is a new and special market. There is nothing to do in Acapulco but get drunk and go sunbathing."

As is befitting the grandson of a president, he wanted to bring in a little culture. In his opinion, the Olympic games had definitively "cosmopolitanized" Mexico. Thus, the republic was now "mature" enough to appreciate one of the most advanced examples of the contemporary theater.

However, on Jan. 4, the rare treat which he had gone to such lengths and such expense to make available to the public was shut down by the authorities.

Which authorities? On Jan. 2, Acapulco changed mayors. The new mayor, it seems, had decided to clean up Acapulco and make it a moral, law-abiding town. He canceled the permit for **Hair** which his predecessor had issued—although, it appears, without refunding the thousands of pesos paid in advance in entertainment taxes.

Naturally his denunciations of the immorality of the musical comedy made the whole mafia of hotel and cabaret owners and proprietors of whorehouses, who are a prominent part of the scenic background, sit up and take notice. Would the new mayor close down the joints where vice is featured on a belt-line basis?

Rumors circulated about some . . . nudes in **Hair**. So, the innumerable cabarets

that specialize in shows of this type felt the hot breath of morality closing in on them. But, no, these fears proved unfounded. Once **Hair** was banned, the crusade to make Acapulco a moral city instead of a fun city came to an abrupt halt.

Possibly the incorruptible mayor had lent an ear to the considerations advanced by the real purveyors of vice and corruption—the drug pushers, the pimps, and the hotel keepers, both Mexican and foreign, the real bosses of the beautiful seaport. With rumors spreading about a "cleanup" in Acapulco, this mob thought of the inconveniences this would mean for the American tourists in search of relaxation, who would have to look for towns with balmier moral climates.

At this point, no one less than the highly virtuous Secretary of the Interior Luis Echeverria moved into the scene. His agents arrested the "foreign actors" Jan. 5 because they did not have "work permits."

In defense of his department's order giving the cast 24 hours to get out of the country, he said: "If we were to let all the tourists work, every year we would have to provide jobs for a million people."

This observation was quite pertinent because, in fact, the capitalist system in Mexico can barely dig up the half-million new jobs needed each year for the new contingents of youth entering the job market.

However, Echeverria glided over the real reason for banning **Hair**. In fact, as could be proved, some of these foreign artists

without "work permits" had been acting in Mexico for years.

Moreover, the Department of Immigration and the Department of Interior had issued permits for the rehearsals and for the premiere.

Finally, to make the government's arguments look still more ridiculous, the overwhelming majority of viewers of the show would be Yankee tourists, since it would be played in . . . English. And ticket prices were adjusted to the high level of the Yankee tourist's pocketbook.

So why all the uproar? How to explain the absurd ban? The Mexican student vanguard could see only one item in the comedy that could have made the hackles of the Diaz Ordaz government rise like that.

The play has a scene about the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. At that point, the actors trot out signs referring to Oct. 12. Some who saw the rehearsals say that the placards did not carry the date "October 12." They read "October 2." That was the date of the massacre in Tlatelolco. Some actor, or sign painter, sympathetic to the student movement had left off the "1."

When the "hippies" left Mexico City, every paper ran photos of them on the front page. The reason for the ban became still clearer. All of them were making the "V" sign with their fingers.

The "V" for "Victory" or "Venceremos!" (We will win) has become a symbol in Mexico of the revolutionary-minded student movement.

BOOK REVIEW

A new Brecht biography

BERTOLT BRECHT, His Life, His Art and His Times by Frederic Ewen. Citadel, 1967, 573 pp., \$10.

Bertolt Brecht, the German poet and playwright (1898-1956), perhaps the greatest artist of the second quarter of this century, needs an artist to do justice to his life and his art. Frederic Ewen, a former professor of English and author of a fine book on Heinrich Heine, hasn't done what we'd like to read, but he has written the fullest introduction to Brecht in English. His play-by-play account, although pedestrian, should be of use to readers unacquainted with the subject.

Among the best features are Ewen's presentation of the intellectual currents in Germany when Brecht grew up, and his own translations of many lines by Brecht—the best done yet.

Ewen never really gets inside Brecht—we do not feel we know the man better after reading the book. On the other hand, he avoids the cheap pseudopschoanalysis that has marred the work of some of his predecessors; perhaps their errors scared him off.

Ewen also does better than some of the previous writers (in English) in handling Brecht's theories about drama; at least he takes them seriously.

Brecht began his career after World War I as a bohemian, guitar and all, with strains of anarchism and nihilism not unlike those encountered today among some hippies. In the late 1920s, however, he came under the influence of Marxism, and considered himself a communist for the rest of his life. Ewen provides a little addi-

tional information about Brecht's conversion to Marxism.

A fuller treatment of this phase would have been welcome, even if it had meant sacrificing some of the play summaries.

Brecht, unfortunately, equated Marxism and Stalinism. While socialist posterity may overlook or forgive him for this, judging him primarily on his art, the readers of this century have the right to know about Brecht's politics too. But the most disappointing parts of Ewen's book are those dealing, or attempting to deal, with Brecht's politics, and especially his attitudes toward Stalinism, the purges of the 1930s, and the heavy hand of the bureaucracy in East Germany, where Brecht lived and worked after World War II.

Let us hope the day will soon come when Brecht's political views, including his errors and ambiguities, can be discussed objectively, without apologies of Ewen's variety or those of the cold warriors on the other side. (Incidentally, Ewen is right when he says there is "little fact to support [Isaac] Deutscher's conjectures" in his Trotsky biography that Brecht had been "in some sympathy with Trotskyism.")

After reading this book, the reader, of course should turn to Brecht himself—large parts of which are now available in the paperback collection edited by Eric Bentley and published by Grove Press. (Random House has been talking about publishing Brecht for years, but Grove deserves the credit for actually making the major plays available in English to the present generation.)

— G. B.

Louisville authorities press their frame-up of six black militants

By Robert Langston

FEB. 4 — By means of legal maneuvers of monumental complexity and deviousness, Louisville, Ky., authorities have succeeded in jailing James Cortez, a young black militant, for the past eight months without ever allowing any of the various charges lodged against him to be tried. At the same time, they have successfully kept five other militant Louisville Afro-Americans under indictment for "conspiring" with Cortez to perpetrate a variety of outrages—the precise charges keep shifting—likewise without ever having brought them to trial.

Cortez' codefendants are Manfred Reid, a realtor; Mrs. Ruth Bryant, prominent black community leader and former member of the Louisville Mayor's Citizens Advisory Committee; Pete Cosby; Sam Hawkins and Robert Kuyu.

The bizarre chain of events began last May 8, when, Reid says, a Louisville cop beat him. The black community reacted with a series of protests, and Hawkins, Kuyu and Cortez addressed a rally May 27. Following the rally, there was an outbreak in the Louisville ghetto.

On June 1, Cortez, who had recently moved to Louisville from Washington, D. C., was arrested in his motel. The arrest slip carried the notation, "inciting to riot," and bail was fixed at \$25,000; but he was formally charged merely with committing a "common nuisance."

Cortez has been in jail since that morning. Since then, he has been charged with a variety of other crimes, including cashing bad money orders, robbery of a liquor

store in Washington, and illegally transporting a sawed-off shotgun across state lines. These charges have been lodged and dropped or "filed away" at a bewildering rate, but total bail has always been maintained at a level sufficient to keep Cortez in jail.

Early in June, Cortez, Hawkins and Kuyu were charged with conspiring to dynamite the city's oil refineries. When they were finally indicted, along with the other three defendants, however, the charge had been changed to the much vaguer one of "conspiring to destroy private property," and all the businesses damaged in the May 27 uprising were listed in the bill of particulars.

In the meantime, Manfred Reid, whose beating at the hands of a cop started the whole sequence of events, was charged with assault and battery of the cop who attacked him. He was also charged with passing bad checks; this charge was later filed away.

Then, on Sept. 24, the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee got into the act. At its hearings to investigate the Louisville uprising, Mrs. Ruth Bryant and Pete Cosby were mentioned for the first time in connection with the events of May 27. On Oct. 17, a grand jury returned indictments against Cortez, Cosby, Reid, Mrs. Bryant, Hawkins and Kuyu on charges of "conspiring to destroy private property."

Since then, the defendants have been trying—unsuccessfully—to have the case brought to trial. Understandably, the state does not appear to want to have to try and sustain its phony charges in court.



REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION THAT MISSED. Demonstration of French worker-student-teacher solidarity during revolutionary struggle last May. Absence of mass revolutionary party led to lost opportunity to end capitalist system.

By Gus Horowitz

At its December 1968 national council meeting, SDS passed a resolution, "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement," which declared the need to develop a class-conscious youth movement. The resolution assesses the revolutionary struggle as a many-sided one that "necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students." Since ultimately the success of a socialist revolution rests upon the organization of the working class and not only the youth, the resolution envisions "a revolutionary youth movement as an important part of building a full revolutionary working-class movement."

This poses the question: What type of organization is needed to organize and lead a victorious struggle for the socialist revolution?

The objective prerequisites for socialism have existed for many years: 1) the evolution of capitalism from a progressive social system into a brake on human progress; 2) the development of the economic conditions necessary for socialism; 3) the creation of a working class sufficiently numerous and concentrated to take power, in whose interests the new social order would be created. The delay in achieving the socialist revolution, a delay of many decades, can be traced to inadequate consciousness of the task, rather than the objective impossibility of building socialism.

Previous experience

The problem of revolutionary consciousness has not been, as some assume, in the unwillingness of the masses of workers and other oppressed sections of the people to overthrow capitalism. Time and again revolutionary situations have arisen only to pass, leaving the capitalist system intact. The revolutionary mood of the mass was not matched by a conscious revolutionary organization able or willing to lead the struggle successfully. A series of revolutionary opportunities have been lost.

A few examples: In Germany in 1918-1919, a revolutionary situation developed. Among the leaders of the German working class were such outstanding figures as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. But for all the capable individual cadres, there was no strong revolutionary organization, no party, that had been built over the years and was capable of combating the pernicious, reformist Social Democrats. That task was attempted, unsuccessfully, in the course of the revolutionary struggle itself.

In Spain in 1936 the workers were ready for a socialist revolution. The Communist

and Socialist parties limited the struggle to a disastrous policy of supporting bourgeois "democracy" against fascism. Again in France and Italy at the close of World War II, revolutionary masses were diverted by the CP and SP into accepting capitalist "popular front" governments.

French events

In France last year, the revolutionary outburst of the working class was contained when the strongest organization within the working class, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, pursued a course designed to prevent the possibility of overthrowing capitalism.

In Indonesia, the powerful Maoist-oriented Communist Party diverted all revolutionary consciousness among the masses into blanket support for Sukarno. Its disastrous course disarmed the workers and oppressed peasantry and left a clear path for the bloodbath by the military.

In the United States we can also expect revolutionary possibilities to develop. Today there is a significant growth of radicalism among students and black people. Time and changed circumstances will also change the minds of the majority of workers, a process occurring even today. The inability of capitalism to resolve its crises will drive the working class to seek alternatives. At such a point the crucial issue again will be whether there is a revolutionary party capable of leading the movement toward the overthrow of capitalism.

SDS members and most other revolutionary-minded youth now see the need for some type of organization or party to carry out a socialist revolution. Most see the development of revolutionary consciousness as a long-term proposition in which propaganda, education, experience in struggle, and objective developments will all play their part. Capitalism, they recognize, is a powerful and well-organized system; to overthrow it organization is necessary.

Central role

The paramount importance of building a revolutionary party, however, is not really grasped. All historical experience in revolutionary struggle points to the central role of such a party. The lessons of the victorious Russian Revolution and the lessons of defeated revolutions all drive this decisive point home.

As Trotsky described it, "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat," i.e. the revolutionary party.

The distinction between a party and a movement is most important. A movement of individual revolutionaries loosely aligned, if aligned at all, has never proved capable of organizing victorious revolutionary struggle, and it never will. Individuals and the general "movement" will surely participate in struggles, but only a cohesive party formed around a political program can organize and lead the struggle itself.

The development of mass socialist consciousness and the building of the vanguard revolutionary party are interrelated tasks, but they are not the same. In the preparatory period prior to a revolutionary upsurge, party building—that is, assembling a cohesive revolutionary cadre—is the necessary axis of revolutionary strategy. Incalculable difficulties would prevail were the party left to be forged only in the course of a revolutionary upsurge itself. An extended process of cadre building, political experience and contention with

other claimants to revolutionary leadership are necessary.

Political disputes

Radicalizing youth drawn to a socialist perspective soon find the terrain occupied by a myriad of contending factions. Their political disputes are, as many are now realizing, not as irrelevant or unnecessary as they may seem. The issues involved are the great issues of revolutionary perspective. The major tendencies in the world working-class movement—the social-democratic parties, the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist parties, and the Trotskyist parties—present different courses of action, different programs, to the working class. Which perspective the working class adopts—and historically one of these ideological tendencies will usually predominate—will determine the fate of revolutionary possibilities for years to come. Around these contending reformist, centrist and revolutionary perspectives are the major contending radical parties built.

In historical experience, all viable socialist youth organizations have been politically aligned to one or another of the major radical parties. Such, for example, is the relation between the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. In American radical history strong Communist Party and Socialist Party youth groups have also been built. Independent youth groups have always had an episodic existence, lasting only until clear lines of political demarcation have been drawn.

Part of the reason behind SDS's present internal factional difficulties is the reflection of different embryonic (and finished) political tendencies. One of the problems that SDS members have in thinking through a

political program is the cynical, factionally motivated intervention of the Progressive Labor Party.

PL's view

PL, whose members have entered SDS, sees itself as the revolutionary party. SDS, to it is simply a mass student organization, a fertile ground for recruitment. Any tendency for SDS to develop a political program other than PL's is regarded as a threat to PL. Hence PL's attempt to graft its own program on SDS—the resolution on the black liberation struggle is an example.

Hence, also, PL's opposition to "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement," a resolution implying a different course for SDS than that of a student-support appendage to PL-sponsored "worker-student alliance" projects. On the part of most SDSers, the failure of the resolution to deal with the question of the need for a party springs largely from their not having a thought-out view on the question. But for the PLers in SDS the omission is a happy one.

They see the question of a party as already settled by the existence of PL and prefer that the SDS members not occupy themselves with the problem. After all, such a discussion poses the question of the history, role and program of all the existing radical parties, as well as whether or not a new one is needed. PL apparently sees no profit in such a discussion.

Inextricably tied to the question of the party is, of course, the decisive issue of program. This too is dealt with only in the most general way in the SDS document. We propose to discuss the question of the kind of program a revolutionary party needs in a coming issue.

I.F. Stone reports U.S. stepping up S. Viet war

By Dick Roberts

FEB. 13 — New confirmation that Washington is using the Paris negotiations as a cover for stepping up combat activity in South Vietnam comes from Washington Journalist I. F. Stone in the Feb. 10 issue of his informative *Newsletter*. Stone estimates that more than 2,000 GIs have lost their lives in escalated U.S. activity in South Vietnam since the halt to the bombing of the north.

In an analysis of ground combat operations in South Vietnam, Stone concludes that "the tempo of offensive operations from our side has gone up about 25 percent in December over November." Both U.S. and Saigon battalion-sized operations increased during that period.

The number of attacks mounted by the National Liberation Front is information classified by the Pentagon, but it is known to be considerably smaller.

Stone believes that the "escalation" of U.S. combat activity in South Vietnam was pegged to "military limitations" imposed with the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. This, Stone says, allowed Washington "to move considerable forces from the northern part of South Vietnam where they had been on guard against a possible invasion from the DMZ. These forces have been moved south, for 'pacification' operations in the Mekong Delta . . .

"The bombing of the North ended Nov. 1. The escalation from our side began at the same time. In the three months since, more than 2,000 Americans have lost their lives."

Stone cites that weekly AP casualty dispatch from Jan. 21 to describe the nature of U.S. combat operations: "There has been no sustained large-scale fighting since last fall . . . thousands of U.S. and government troops carry out daily operations in search of an elusive enemy . . . pushes are also being made into areas long held by the Vietcong, and in these, even when no opposition is encountered, there are casualties from mines and booby traps."

He concludes, "Neither the U.S. military nor the Saigon regime ever wanted to negotiate. The Paris talks for them only make it easier to continue the war."

Stone also warns his readers not to take refuge in the idea that the change-over of administrations will make any difference. He calls attention to the statement President Nixon made in his first press conference that "it is not helpful in discussing Vietnam to use such terms as 'cease-fire.'"

"Until the bombing pause," Stone declares, "the U.S. official line was to call for a cease-fire as the price of a bombing halt. The line has changed because we hope to exploit the present situation by 'clean-up' operations against the guerrillas in the South."

The Invasion of Czechoslovakia

- First Balance Sheet
- The Prague Club's Program
- Czech Student Appeal
- Fidel Castro's Position

65 cents

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

How Colombia progresses with the 'Alliance'

By Robert Langston

Colombia, where 20 million people live in the extreme northwest of the South American continent on an area somewhat smaller than that of Alaska, was selected in 1961 by the planners of the then just launched Alliance for Progress to be the "showcase" of that ambitious project to bring "peaceful social change and progress" to Latin America. The choice seemed a wise one. The country had recently thrown off a military dictatorship and had a popularly elected government. Its industrial base ranked fourth in Latin America, surpassed only by Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. It possessed a flourishing "free enterprise" industrial sector and, as a result, an "elite" relatively enlightened by Latin American standards.

Now, seven years later, the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has taken a close look at the showcase, and it has found the wares pretty shoddy. In a statement accompanying the staff's report, "Columbia—A Case History of U. S. Aid," Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the committee, cautiously summarized the report's findings: U. S. economic aid since 1962 has "fallen far short" of the social and economic goals announced by the Alliance.

According to a summary of the report in the Feb. 2 **New York Times**, \$732 million of U. S. "aid" has been dispensed in Colombia by the Agency for International Development (AID) since the start of the program in 1962. The Alliance plan anticipated a 2.5 percent annual increase in per capita gross national product; since 1962, however, Colombian per capita GNP has risen on average only 1.2 percent annually—from \$276 to \$295.

During the same period, the agrarian reform program, enacted in 1961, has led to the distribution of land titles to just 54,000 landless families, while the Fulbright report estimates that there are 400,000 such families (this is undoubtedly an underestimate) and that they are increasing in number at the rate of 10 percent per year. Further, according to the report, the Colombian government prior to 1967 failed to enforce its own revised tax laws. Also, the government has "barely begun" to do anything to change the nation's extremely lopsided income distribution. The **Times** dispatch summarized the report's conclusion: "The country's social structure remains 'essentially unchanged' with close to two-thirds of the population not participating 'in the economic and political decision-making' process."

The study singles out for special criticism

AID's "program loans"—lump-sum loans to finance imports—which, the Fulbright staff disclosed, are not tied to the proclaimed social goals of the Alliance, but to the export requirements of U. S. industry and to the Colombian government's fiscal and monetary policies. These policies are strongly influenced by the international financial institutions on which the government is increasingly dependent. In the words of the report, "The rhetoric of the Alliance for Progress was lost in the arcane world of international finance."

The case of Colombia is especially significant, not only because it was chosen to be the Alliance's "showcase," but also because its economic performance has in fact been **better** than that of most underdeveloped countries. Thus, while Colombia has shown a real per capita GNP increase of 1.2 percent, Alfred L. Malabre Jr., writing in the Jan. 31, 1968, **Wall Street Journal**, reported: "A private study by a large New York City bank shows that since 1965 [i.e. during 1966-1967] the 'real' per capita GNP of some poor nations actually has been declining. In Ghana and Indonesia this GNP figure has dropped roughly five percent since 1965, the bank estimates. In India, in the same period, there has been no increase. In Brazil and Kenya, the increase since 1965 has averaged barely one percent annually."

The general situation was summed up by a UN official quoted by Malabre in the same article. Commenting on the UN-sponsored project to make the 1960s the "decade of development"—the Alliance was to be a major U. S. contribution to this undertaking—the official said, "The decade of devel-

opment is going down as the decade of disappointment. Let us hope that the '70s won't turn into the decade of disaster."

There is no reason to suppose that these trends will be reversed. For they are only an expression of the fundamental structural features of imperialism, of world monopoly capitalism.

In the first place, rapid, balanced economic growth of the underdeveloped countries under capitalism would require the possibility of a drastic change in income distribution, so that the presently utterly impoverished peasantry—the great majority of the population in these countries—could become the basis of a mass-consumption, home market.

In the absence of such a potential market, the most profitable domestic investments for **native** capital are not in those branches of the economy that contribute to the economic development of the country, but in unproductive, speculative ventures, like real estate, and in industrial branches fabricating luxuries for the small, wealthy section of the population.

But drastic land reform—a virtual agrarian revolution—as well as drastic changes in tax policies would be required to alter the existing income distribution. These reforms could only take place at the expense of the existing land owners. But these land owners are either large, foreign-owned monopolies or members of the native ruling classes—the very "elites" on whom the Alliance for Progress, for example, was supposed to rely to bring about the reforms! It is thus not too surprising that the Fulbright Committee found both land and taxation reform seriously lagging in Colombia.

Second, rapid and balanced economic development of the underdeveloped countries under capitalism would require that **foreign** capital—whether private or public, and whether in the form of loans, grants, or direct investments—flow into economic branches that would aid industrial and agricultural development. But the international monopolies that carry on the bulk of private foreign investment, and the imperialist governments that serve their interests, place their funds where they will contribute most towards maximizing the monopolies' profits.

This means that private investments will go overwhelmingly to the extractive industries that supply the monopolies with essential raw materials and to local industries that provide a good market for the monopolies' exports of industrial goods. It means that public loans and grants and loans from international financial institutions will go overwhelmingly to finance military expenditures to protect the monopolists' holdings, to loans to governments to make it financially possible for the monopolies to remove their profits from the underdevel-

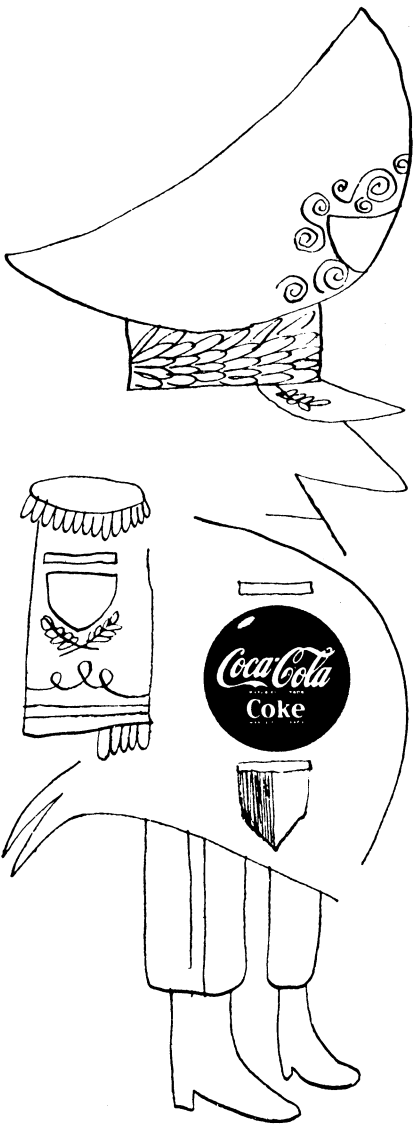
oped countries when they desire, to "infrastructure" development—road building, education, public health, etc.—that contributes to the profitability of foreign private investments, and to projects that will supply a demand for the monopolies' exports.

But all these uses of investment capital have no connection with the most productive use of capital for the economy of the underdeveloped country as a whole. It is thus not surprising that the Foreign Relations Committee staff found that AID "program loans" were tied not to the "social goals" of the Alliance, but to the export requirements of American industry and the monetary policies of the Colombian government, policies which are in turn dictated largely by the monopolists' own international financial institutions.

Finally, rapid and balanced economic development of the underdeveloped countries under capitalism would require a willingness on the part of foreign monopolies and the imperialist governments that are their agents to break with the whole prevailing pattern of world economic relations, to encourage a fundamentally new world division of labor and world distribution of ownership, productivity, markets and income. That is, it would require that the monopolies facilitate the rise of new, powerful competitors in the capitalist world market. But a monopoly is a monopoly just because the limitation of competition enables it to win superprofits. The overriding political aim of every monopolist is not merely to preserve and extend capitalism on a world scale but to maintain, or change only to increase its monopoly advantage, the prevailing, historically evolved pattern of monopoly relationships.

Thus, every capitalist monopoly in the world has an interest in assuring that whatever economic development takes place in the underdeveloped countries is confined within such limits that no new competitor appears on the scene to undermine its established monopoly position.

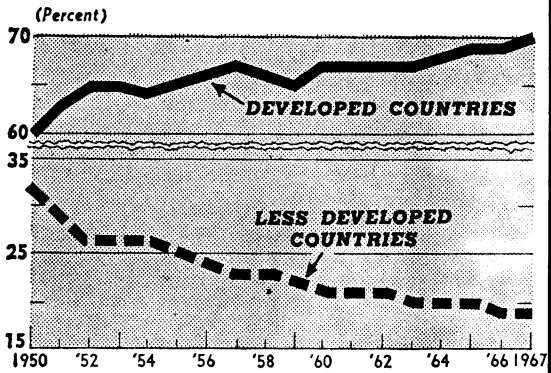
Capitalism is no longer able to develop the world's productive forces on a world scale. Within its constricting framework, the social miseries of hunger, disease and ignorance that afflict the great majority of mankind cannot begin to be eliminated. The debacle of the "decade of development," the outcome of the Alliance for Progress, and the story of Colombia demonstrate anew that only through socialist revolution, through the expropriation of landed oligarchies and international monopolies, through liberation of the nations from the "arcane world of international finance," and through the beginning of the construction of the national elements of a genuinely international, rationally and democratically planned world economy, can the historical burden of underdevelopment be thrown off.



Nuez, Havana

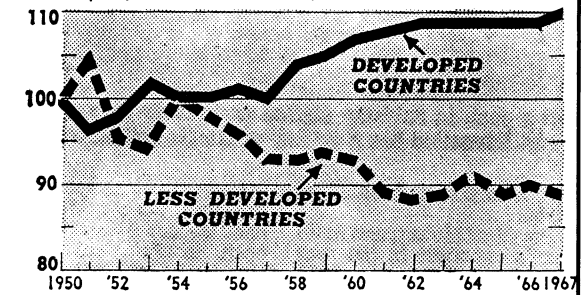
HOW THE LESS DEVELOPED LANDS ARE FARING

SHARE OF WORLD EXPORTS



TERMS OF TRADE (Index 1950=100)

(Export prices divided by import prices)



Sources: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

The New York Times

Jan. 17, 1969

Bolivia can't afford to accept aid

Bolivia may literally not be able to afford U. S. "aid" in the future. Prior to 1968, if a country received a project loan, a certain portion of the funds would be earmarked for the purchase of U. S.-produced materials and machines necessary for the project. The remainder would be used to pay workers and buy locally available products.

Under a condition added last year, however, the recipient government must agree to buy an amount of commodities in the U. S. equivalent to the *entire* sum loaned, and these commodities must be selected from a list of goods that are not doing too well in foreign trade. These items must, of course, be paid for in dollars. Thus, underdeveloped countries, which suffer chronic balance of payments difficulties anyway, are forced not only to buy high-priced American goods with their "aid" dollars; they are forced to drain even further their depleted reserves of dollars to buy U. S. goods which have no connection with any development project but which U. S. capitalists are having trouble unloading on the world.

According to a Feb. 6 **New York Times** dispatch from La Paz, the Bolivian government has announced that it cannot accept two proffered loans totaling \$4.1 million because it cannot get together the dollars for the required purchases.

It might be the best thing that ever happened to Bolivia.

A GI visits a town in South Vietnam

By Larry L. Sluder

(The author was a noncommissioned officer in the U.S. Army who served in Vietnam last year in a helicopter battalion.)

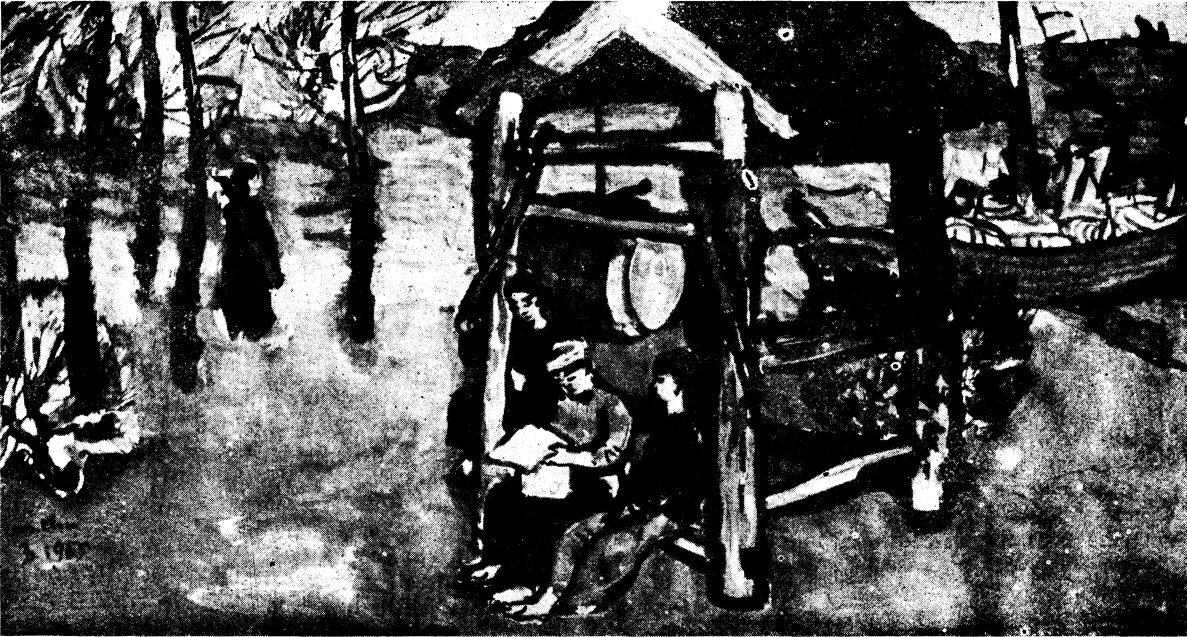
The southern part of Vietnam, in addition to being often harsh and eroded by a quarter century of both civil and national fighting, is also a queerly enchanting and beautiful place. On first landing in the nigh impenetrable Cam Ranh base, the eye is drawn not to the sandy, bunkered quonsets and billets that the military has scattered over all its privileged sanctuaries but to the decaying French villas and to the long stretches of beach and Carribean-like water which is the Bay of Cam Ranh. America has no beaches like these, rocky on one side and with white, powder sand on the other, the ocean floor smooth and gently sloping for several hundred feet into the water. Except on Sundays, when most of the soldiers around Cam Ranh have half a day off, and when only Budweiser and Canada Dry ginger ale are sold from dirty concessions, the beaches are mostly deserted.

To the north of Cam Ranh military complex, on the partially surfaced, partially graveled QL-1, is Nha Trang, a moderately large city which, like other major cities in the country, suffers occasional mortars,

rockets and street-fighting. Unlike Cam Ranh village, Vung Tau, Saigon and Pleiku, however, Nha Trang is still fundamentally a Vietnamese city, although Americans are everywhere.

The trip from Dong Ba Thin, several miles north of Cam Ranh Bay, to Nha Trang is one I made frequently, both by helicopter and by truck, on official business and out of pleasurable expediency. This trip, if you can forget your uniform and weapon in a country completely hostile to the ideas that uniform and weapon represent, is as entrancing as traveling the American Blue Ridge Mountains or the green coast of Jamaica.

Aesthetically, it is most beautiful in the early evening. It is not safe, however, to travel except in the day, for the rubber plantations on the left, which extend nearly to the road, and the steep-rising hills on the right are places where the local population or elements of Front regulars can easily ambush or fire on your vehicle. QL-1 is paved only a few kilometers north of Cam Ranh and after a rain, the road is impassable. Bridges do not last long. But to the few soldiers who are interested, the trip is a mild adventure through lush rubber trees, weird semi-Americanized villages which sport poor cattle and a rich selection of Vietnamese 33 beer, Schlitz and Coca Cola; it is tropically warm and



Nguyen Thu

in the early evening, it is all peaceful and a little like a sleepy town in the American deep south.

Announcing that you are near the city is a three-story-tall, white plaster Buddha, sitting on a low hill and overlooking both the city and the bay of Nha Trang. At the base of the hill is a Buddhist elementary school, the young boys in white shirts. Other children, not so lucky as to attend school, offer to watch the truck for a few piasters.

We go on to what the Americans call the Beach Road, a stretch of miles of segregated beaches, the kind of beaches which would make the fortunes of hundreds of Florida real-estate entrepreneurs. To the right are old French villas, now private clubs, restaurants and residences. There is also what appears to be a POW compound. Turning back toward the central part of the city, we park our 3/4-ton truck on Duc Lap Avenue, and on the fifth floor of the Nha Trang Hotel we order Vietnamese beer, a steak and fried potatoes from a menu written in French. Here a room with air conditioning is 20 American dollars; a girl from the hotel is another 20, and marijuana is ten cents a cigarette. From the garden above the restaurant the slums and shrines of the city sparkle in the sun.

Off Duc Lap, we visit a bar. Beer is 85 cents. There are perhaps 15 girls. One sits beside me, talking in bits of English, Vietnamese, French—"number ten, xin loi, tete, beaucoup." The woman who runs the bar indicates she wants 15 dollars to let the girl leave and the girl will negotiate her price later. I tell them I have no money.

We drink American beer and talk about Nha Trang and Saigon, about the trip from Dong Ba Thin. The girl says that Nha Trang is better than Saigon, that things are cheaper here. By way of conversation, she says that the Viet Cong are number ten, very bad (perhaps that is so, to the eyes of a bar girl—both the Front and the Nha Trang police extract large sums in return for assurances that the bars will stay open). But to see her reaction, and as a kind of joke, I answer that the Viet Cong are number one, that I am an American cong, that I sympathize with the Front, even though I wear the American uniform. She is quiet for a moment and talks with the woman who manages the bar.

They return together and ask me if I wouldn't like to stay with the girl that night. I tell them again that I don't have

much money. She asks if I have \$5 and I say no. The girl says she must have some money but that \$1 is enough. I wonder why it is only \$1 now, and they answer in a Vietnamese phrase which I don't understand. When I leave, everyone is friendly and warns against driving back at night.

We decide to drive back immediately rather than spend the night in the city. In the dark, the overhanging trees look more like water oaks draped with Spanish moss, and the nightbirds seem louder than the gun fire from the hills. As Bac Ho said, each man must learn a foreign language, must learn to draw, must learn to work a little for the benefit of all, and must each day learn some lesson, even from the most common and trivial incident.

Oakland Panthers initiate children's breakfast program

Under a "Breakfast for Children Program" sponsored by the Black Panther Party, black school children in Oakland, Calif. are being served hearty breakfasts at St. Augustines' Church each morning.

Attendance at the breakfasts, which include eggs, sausage or bacon, fruit, grits and hot chocolate, has gone from 11 children on the first day to a regular crowd of well over a hundred, and the number is steadily increasing. The Panthers now hope to encourage other churches to begin working on similar programs for children in other areas.

A recent statement on the breakfast program by the Panthers' national advisory cabinet declared that "revolutionaries always go forth to answer the poor and oppressed people's momentary desires and needs while waging a revolutionary struggle for freedom."

In the statement the Panthers asked that "all persons, particularly mothers, college people, high-school BSU students, and church people who are interested in helping to see this program continued at St. Augustine's, contribute labor, time, money, food or needed materials."

If you would like to help, contact the Black Panther Party national headquarters at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley.

The Great Society

The Educators—Bruno Bettelheim, University of Chicago psychologist, commenting on the student sit-in there, confided to newsmen that some of the rank-and-file demonstrators were "paranoics." But their leaders, he advised, were "very rational people who are trying to foment a revolution." The estimate was rounded out by faculty member Dr. Charles Huggins, who said some the demonstrators were "adolescent ugly ducklings," while other (non-ugly?) were "hard-core revolutionaries who wish to bring America to her knees."

Comedian?—Todor Pavlov, member of the politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party, suggested that the USSR and its allies in the invasion of Czechoslovakia be awarded an international peace prize.

Science Fiction Dep't.—The Daily World, voice of the Communist Party, suggested that Jan Palach, the Czech youth who immolated himself, had really been murdered.

A Few People Suspected As Much—Operating with funds from the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the distinguished sociologist, Daniel Bell, has completed a study of the "social well-being of the nation." On the basis of extensive research, buttressed by years of specialized training, Dr. Bell concluded: "After a variety of factors are taken into account, there is evidence that Negroes are not as well off as whites when both have the same qualifications."

The Legal Way—The San Francisco office of Bache & Co. is presenting a series of lectures on the workings of the stock market to inmates at San Quentin Prison. Apparently designed to suggest that it pays to keep it legal, the course is of largely academic value since California law bars prisoners from investing. Maybe officials view the market something like those who see marijuana as the road to heroin.

Reducing Surplus—Sicilian citrus workers demanding government price supports pelted cops with a barrage of oranges.

Ain't It the Truth!—Author Herman Wouk (*Marjorie Morningstar*, etc.) says that for the communist countries, "words are only tools for politics and war. The lie as such does not exist; truth is relative to state needs." Wouk offered this wonderfully appropriate moral judgement in an article—so help us—on the good ship Pueblo. There, you'll recall, the captain and his government offered splendid examples of "our" morality. The captain said he lied in his confession to the North Koreans; the government said it lied in its apology to them—and then put the captain on trial for lying.

And a Trifle Senile?—Designer George Halley, whose dresses start at \$400 (evening gowns from \$1,000), says women aren't really women until they're over 30.

Extending the Franchise—The Wyoming state senate amended a bill to lower the voting age to 19, specifying that the privilege would apply only to those with short haircuts. Perhaps that's so the registrars can assure that the skulls of prospective voters are at least of an equal quality of thickness as those of the men who govern in their behalf.

Transplants—An example of how our free-enterprise society creates a variety of socially necessary labor is the New York manicurist who saves nail clippings to graft onto upset ladies with broken ones.

Spirit Moved Him—There's a happy ending to our report of a while back that members of Canada's mounted police were joining in choirs with prisoners to promote the theme of Justice and Mercy. At the conclusion of one such service, one of the prisoners apparently departed with the mounties.

—Harry Ring

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

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory three-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 3 month introductory subscription.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.
- ☐ For GIs—\$1 for a 6-month introductory subscription.

NAME

STREET

CITY STATE ZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

L.A. socialists nominate ticket

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — Revolutionary socialists have entered one of the most hotly contested municipal elections in recent Los Angeles history. The Socialist Workers Party has nominated William E. Hathaway for mayor and Della Rossa for board of education, post six.

Dissatisfaction with the present Yorty administration extends from the black people who have endured eight years of Yorty's racist policies to the big business interests around the Los Angeles **Times** who are unhappy over Yorty's apparent neglect of the duties of his office.

While Yorty has been junketing about the world on expense-paid trips and telling the voters how he would intensify the war in Vietnam, the problems of the country's second largest city have gone unsolved.

Conditions in the ghetto have only worsened since the Watts uprising of 1965. The unemployment rate among minority people is one of the highest in the nation. The transportation system is so bad that many people cannot even reach jobs that are available.

Schools in the minority communities are turning out "graduates" who can scarcely read at grammar-school level. In the huge Mexican-American community, the drop-out rate in high schools runs as high as 57 percent.

Racist-minded teachers have been con-

cerned only with maintaining discipline and moving the students from class to class and out of the school regardless of their real educational needs.

Both black and brown youth have reacted strongly against being cheated of an education. They have organized, walked out of classes, demonstrated and demanded community control of their own schools, their teachers, and their curriculum.

Yorty's administration has answered these demands by arresting leaders of the Chicano students and talking of "law and order" instead of the serious problems of the city schools.

Adult workers are faring little better than the students under Yorty's administration. For over a year imported professional scabs have been producing the city's second major newspaper. Antiscab ordinances have barred such rats from some other cities. But the weak organized labor movement in this open shop citadel has been unable to defend the locked-out union printers at Hearst's **Herald Examiner**.

Unemployment rates are higher than in other large cities, and the welfare rolls among the largest. It is estimated that by 1970 a million people will be subsisting on welfare in Los Angeles. Employed and unemployed workers alike are burdened by a six percent combined city and state sales tax, one of the highest in the nation.

Even the weather has conspired against

Bay Area unionists, students in aid pact

By Nat Weinstein

RICHMOND, Calif. — The executive committee of striking Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (AFL-CIO) here has unanimously approved a resolution calling for a mutual aid pact between the oil workers and striking students and teachers at San Francisco State College. The executive committee proposal was slated to be submitted to a full union membership meeting on Feb. 13.

The committee's action followed a Feb. 7 call for such a pact issued by G. T. Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561, in association with representatives of the S. F. State Third World Liberation Front and Local 1352, American Federation of Teachers, the S. F. State teachers' union.

The Feb. 7 statement explained the significance of the proposed pact. "There was a time," Jacobs said, "when we in the labor movement were widely respected as the champions of the underdog. That was

a profound source of the power of the organized workers. We earned the support of the community—the minority groups in particular—by our actions in solidarity with people getting a dirty deal from the big corporations and the establishment."

But, Jacobs continued, this moral authority has been seriously undermined by "the smug complacency and blind narrow-mindedness of the bulk of the labor movement. . . . We are going to revive the old spirit of solidarity and identification with progressive social causes that characterized the historic movement of organized workers for justice and equality. We fully expect in time to strike a responsive cord throughout the length and breadth of American trade unionism. The strains of the old union song 'Solidarity Forever' will be given renewed meaning and once again reverberate throughout the land."

On Feb. 12, in response to these calls for mutual aid, over 300 Third World and other students and teachers from S. F. State joined the striking member of Local 1-561 before the entrances of the Standard Oil refinery here. A busload of longshoremen, painters, and other trade unionists from the Bay Area also helped man the picket line.

A small army of police, outfitted in tactical-police style, wearing gas masks, armed with four-foot-long clubs, tear-gas guns, helmets, and plexiglass space masks, attacked about 200 pickets manning one of the main entrances to the refinery.

Using tear gas and clubs, they broke the picket line and herded the pickets down a seldom-traveled service road alongside the refinery, away from the view of passers-by. Poking and jabbing the retreating pickets, they attempted to provoke a response that would permit them to unleash the full force of their weaponry.

The oilworkers' leaders responded to the unequal relationship of forces by organizing the retreat and calling for a march to the near-by Chevron chemical plant, which is also on strike. There, more pickets and a soundtruck were stationed. By the time the Standard strikers and their supporters had reached the Chevron plant, they had disengaged themselves from the cops.

A rally was held in front of the Chevron plant, with speeches by Jacobs, Roger Alverado of the Third World Liberation Front at S. F. State, and others.



Della Rossa, SWP candidate for Los Angeles board of education and Chicano students.

the well-being of Los Angeles residents. Although Mayor Yorty cannot be held responsible for the recent heavy rains, his corrupt building inspectors and the venal real-estate interests can be faulted for permitting home building on sites that can be washed away in a heavy rain.

Scandals have been so numerous in the various city departments that it is hard for citizens to keep track of them all. If just the present prosecutions are successful, it would appear that a number of city departments would have to be operated from behind prison bars.

In view of all these mounting problems, it is not surprising that many citizens believe they can do a better job than the present administration. Sixteen people have qualified for a place on the ballot for mayor, despite the \$700 filing fee required.

A hundred candidates will be on the ballot competing for seven posts on a newly created junior-college board.

Among the more serious contenders for mayor is Alphonso Bell, former Republican congressman, whose well-heeled campaign, full page ads and bill boards suggest he is getting the backing of the anti-Yorty elements among the people of property. The working people of Los Angeles can have little hope of better things from this candidate.

A more liberal candidate who will get serious consideration from the voters is Councilman Thomas Bradley. A black man and a former police lieutenant, Bradley has served on the city council for the last three terms. Given the unrest in Los Angeles, Bradley feels he might repeat the success of Carl Stokes in Cleveland and become the second Afro-American mayor of a major American city.

Los Angeles blacks comprise only 18 percent of the electorate; but Mexican-Americans form another 23 percent. United, these two minorities could wield a powerful 41 percent of the vote. Bradley has appealed to the Mexican-Americans for an electoral coalition for this election.

Mexican-Americans are divided on this question. Their one candidate for the city council, Ernest Cortes, opposes the idea, largely on the worst grounds. A conservative who voted for Barry Goldwater, Cortes tries to deny the common interests of the black and brown people as oppressed minorities.

At the other end of the political scale the militant Chicano youth and Brown Berets view Bradley as an ex-cop who has never broken with the establishment. This view of Bradley is shared by the Black Panthers and other militant groups in the black community. Black Student Union members note that Councilman Bradley never came to their aid when they were embroiled in struggle with the reactionary board of education.

Militants of both races would applaud the formation of a united front of these two powerful minorities behind a slate of candidates who would break with the city political machine and two parties. But they see Bradley's attempt to form a coalition

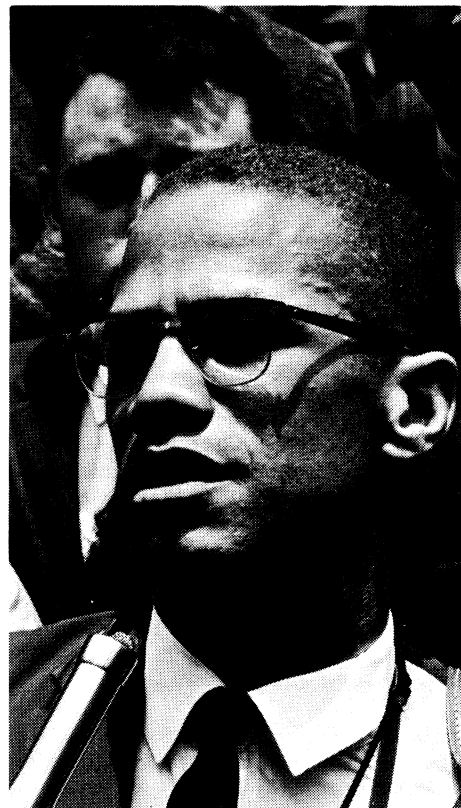
as just a means to corral votes for the status quo.

The Socialist Workers Party will address its vigorous election campaign to both minorities, as well as the white working class and youth. Bill Hathaway, an X-ray technician who ran for the board of education in 1967 will stress the need for community control of the police, for continued opposition to the Vietnam war, and for socialist solutions to our problems.

Della Rossa, who is running for the board of education, has been active in Chicano struggles. She is also the author of the pamphlet on the Watts uprising, "Why Watts Exploded." This text is being used at Cal State, Long Beach.

Della Rossa calls for community control of the schools, for bilingual classes in the Mexican-American community, and for an educational system that will be relevant to youth who are struggling to create a new society that will replace the worn-out capitalist system.

People active in the black and brown communities have already endorsed the SWP candidates. Among them are: Julia Mount, Chicano Educational Issues Committee; Tana Luna Mount, activist at Roosevelt High School; Bob Freeman, parent active with Fremont High Black Student Union; Fernando Gaxiola, Cleveland House activist and member of editorial group, **Chicano Student** and Bob Morales, leader of Lucha.



Our next issue will present a number of special features commemorating the fourth anniversary of the death of Malcolm X, including a letter he wrote from Africa to members of his organization six months before his death.



Striking oil union leader G. T. Jacobs after being beaten by cops in police station. See interview page 6.