

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33 - No. 16

Friday, April 18, 1969

Price 15c

The Army's undercover man
in the Ft. Jackson GIs United

— See page 12 —

Massive antiwar marches jolt Nixon's war plans

— See pages 5-8



Photo by Bruce Marcus



Photo by Dave Warren

GIs at New York Vietnam war protest (top) and marchers in San Francisco

"They become floaters in the air"

On reforms vs. reformism

Toronto, Can.
George Breitman's article of Feb. 28 on reform and reformism was quite excellent because it shows the great potential of mobilizing many, many people, who can be brought to a socialist position by radical issues such as organizing and demonstrating against the war in Vietnam. It shows also that their struggle is ours too. As one who became a socialist by supporting a "reform"—to stop nuclear arms for Canada—I can certainly vouch for such a method.

To see reforms as just leading to other reforms as Paul Sandahl does [**The Militant**, letters column, March 28] is to ignore the implications of these struggles. Such a view is both formal and vulgar. Fights for simple reforms sometimes result in an understanding of the complexities of the system; most opponents of the war in Vietnam now understand the nature of capitalism and imperialism because of their struggle. If this were not true, no revolution, bourgeois or socialist, would have come about. The militancy of the organizers of the "reform" for boycotting British goods prepared the American colonists for their revolution in 1776.

Finally, to look upon radical issues as meaningless unless they specifically call for socialism there and then not only defies history, but also contradicts socialist thinkers of the past and their experience. DeLeon, for example, said:

"By this giving over all participation . . . they wholly disconnect themselves from the class struggle that is going on every day; and by putting off their whole activity . . . they become floaters in the air."

G. R. J.

Antiwar action proposed

Cleveland, Ohio

The following is a copy of a letter that I sent to Carol Lipman of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

* * *

In response to your letter of April 1 requesting suggestions of "projects or actions" for after the April 5-6 demonstrations which will help strengthen the peace movement, please consider the following:

The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council has voted to sponsor a mass march through downtown Cleveland on May 31. Theme of the march, coming as it does on Memorial Day weekend, will be "Mourn the GIs who Died in Vietnam—Bring the Live Ones Home Now!"

I would suggest that May 31 be set as a date for nationwide demonstrations with the same or a similar theme. The antiwar movement, following its fantastic April 5-6 success, has acquired a vital impetus which it dare not lose through inactivity or delay. At this juncture and in these climactic days, we should mount more frequent actions and not wait six months or a year as we have done in the past following national mobilizations.

May 31 will occur shortly before school recesses for the summer. Thus there would still be an opportunity to directly approach high school students who increasingly play a vanguard role in the antiwar movement. From the point of view of timing, this is a critical consideration.

The high pitch of peace senti-

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.

ment in this country today mandates that the next wave of demonstrations to end the war in Vietnam must be conducted not in six or even a dozen centers, but that they be held across the length and breadth of this nation. Our goal for May 31 should be peace demonstrations in at least 200 cities. Peace activists could address themselves to their own communities in a qualitatively new way, probing to develop deep roots among a population increasingly receptive to the antiwar movement, and providing avenues for expression to millions of Americans who have had enough of Vietnam. A special effort could be made to involve trade unionists as the natural ally of antiwar youth in the fight to end the Vietnam killing by bringing U.S. troops home now.

Yours for Peace Now,
Jerry Gordon, Chairman
Cleveland Area Peace
Action Council

Bare Czech plot?

New York, N. Y.

The "sweet life" came in for some sharp rebukes on Easter Sunday. The Pope declared himself resolutely opposed to it, declaring himself against "the lures of the sweet life, of sense, opulence, power and self-sufficiency."

Also, adding its voice to the calumny of "the sweet life", the Soviet Young Communist League charged that pictures of naked women were being used in Czechoslovakia to harm the cause of true communism. The League's newspaper charged Czech "reformers" with flooding the press with pornography and with introducing strip-tease into the country.

Viktor Bolshakov, the author of the article in **Komsomolskaya Pravda** wrote that he was "convinced that these naked women carried an extremely well-concealed [sic?] ideological burden," namely, to turn the thoughts of the people toward the "sweet life."

Bolshakov goes on to score the Vatican newspaper **L'Osservatore Romano** with using a similar tactic: "**Osservatore Romano** once openly called for the encouragement of sport, sex, gambling, dancing—in a word, everything except politics—in order to draw youth away from the embrace of Communism."

In any case, although these spokesmen for the Kremlin and Vatican condemn the sweet life, they do not make exactly clear what they propose instead.

A. M.

Literature on Arab world available

Beirut, Lebanon

A friend in New York has sent me the Feb. 7 issue of **The Militant**, in which you reply to a letter from Otto Nathan. It seems to us a new and very welcome development on the American scene that anyone should take a clear analytical stand towards the Arab-

Israeli conflict. The issue has always been seen there from a purely visceral or purely interest standpoint (Zionist special pleading or the oil lobby).

If we can help you in any way to get more information about the Arab world, please let us know. A newly published book, **The Arabs in Israel**, by Sabry Jiryis (\$2.20), a comprehensive "information kit" on the real origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict (\$4.50), and further information may be obtained from us, The Fifth of June Society, a non-profit volunteer organization dedicated to improving understanding of the Arab world.

Rosemary Sayigh
Honorary Secretary
The Fifth of June Society
Box 7037, Beirut, Lebanon

Guerrilla brigade for Africa suggested

Royal Oak, Mich.

In Africa there are significantly four countries in which black nationalists are battling racist oligarchies. These are Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea. This situation presents an important task for revolutionary Americans; that is, the establishment of a unit of volunteer guerrillas.

These volunteers could be screened, trained (more or less fundamentally), armed and then dispatched (with the consent of each member) to supplement the black nationalist forces. The three basic objectives of this unit would be:

1) To hasten the liberation of these peoples from the prevailing regimes.

2) To insure the liberated peoples freedom from North American imperialism and Russian or Chinese monolithism.

3) To aid the socialist guerrilla movements in battling the bourgeois and opportunist factions. This would mean specifically adhering to the PAIGC (Portuguese Guinea), the MPLA (Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique).

Those who are dedicated to the revolution must keep in mind the words of Guevara: "Every drop of blood spilled in a land under whose flag one was not born is an experience that is treasured by anyone who survives and who can then apply the lessons learned in the struggle for freedom in his own place of origin. And every people that frees itself is a step won in the battle for freedom of one's own people."

Tom Scharret

Woman power

Los Angeles, Calif.

The very first woman jockey to ride in an official betting race said she owed her chance to the trainer who hired her. However, the owner of the horse—who is also the trainer's wife—said, "I told him to hire the girl or get another job."

D. S.

Boston Globe not conservative

Natick, Mass.

In the interest of maintaining **The Militant's** fine reporting let me mention that the **Boston Globe** is by no means a conservative paper as mentioned in last week's **Militant**.

The **Globe** represents the ideas of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. It is currently supporting the Kennedy program on which he plans to become President in '72.

J. R.

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Vol. 33—No. 16



Friday, April 18, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was April 11.

The meaning of April 5-6

The gratifying success of the massive April 5-6 demonstrations against the Vietnam war offers some important lessons for the future of the movement.

Ever since the beginning of the Paris negotiations some people have insisted that the war was about to end and so there was no real basis—or need—for massive antiwar actions. Others held that while the U. S. government was not serious about ending the war, there was sufficient mass belief in its good intentions that the antiwar movement had been disarmed and could not realistically think in terms of significant actions against the war.

A different political estimate was made at the GI-civilian antiwar action conference which initiated the Easter-weekend demonstrations. That meeting in Chicago, held just prior to New Year's, concluded that Washington was still intent on crushing the Vietnamese revolution and that the bombing pause in the north and the Paris talks were intended to open the way for intensified warfare in South Vietnam.

It followed, therefore, that there would necessarily be a resurgence of popular antiwar sentiment. Moreover, the conference saw that the antiwar forces had the opportunity to add two significant new constituencies to its ranks—the antiwar GIs and the radicalizing high-school youth.

The Chicago conference, admittedly, was not held at the most auspicious moment in the history of the antiwar movement. The false belief that McCarthy's 1968 election campaign offered the road to peace, coupled with illusions about Paris, had drawn significant forces out of activity. Political differences within the movement had sharpened, and the various coalitions of antiwar forces were, in most areas, in a strained situation.

Yet the real political situation proved decisive. While only a minority of the movement at the time of the Chicago conference were ready to build a major antiwar action, the facts of life prevailed. More and more people recognized that the war was in fact continuing and that antiwar sentiment was not only reviving but in many ways becoming even deeper and more widespread.

It quickly became apparent that the movement was not "tired of marching" and that activists were ready to plunge in and build the Easter-weekend actions. The response among GIs was gratifying in all areas, with many helping to plan and build the actions and hundreds joining in across the country.

The lessons to be drawn have an immediate relevancy. The continuing determined resistance of the South Vietnamese liberation fighters and the mounting opposition at home have forced the Nixon administration to speak increasingly in terms of a "settlement" even though it is plain they will not yield one moment before they are compelled to.

The antiwar movement has made a truly major contribution to the cause of peace. Continuing, intensified efforts along the same line are clearly dictated by both the needs and opportunity of the situation.

I'd like a big job please.

IF YOU SUPPORT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

BLACK POWER

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

JOIN THE YSA

----- clip and mail -----
Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

☐ I would like more information

☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip



Czech gov't in new retreat under Kremlin pressure

By Gus Horowitz

Yielding to pressure from Moscow, the presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party announced government crack-downs on the press and threatened further restrictions on political life in that country. The government action, announced April 2, followed a series of massive demonstrations March 28 against the Soviet occupation.

Tight censorship of the mass media had been lifted in March 1968. Thereafter, until the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia last August, the press, radio and TV were open to different views within the framework of support to socialism. After the invasion, the mass media were regulated by "self-censorship" within guidelines that restricted free speech but not to the same extent as before 1968. Some publications, however, were banned entirely.

Now newspapers and magazines have orders to clear all articles in advance with government censors. At least three television programs have just been removed from the air, and staff changes have been made in the Communist Party paper, **Rude Pravo**. The paper has been accused of failing to give full support to the Moscow-imposed policies adopted by the Czechoslovak C. P. officialdom.

The March 28 demonstrations were sparked by the victory of the Czechoslovak ice hockey team over the Soviet team in the nationally televised world championship tournament. In Prague, tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered in Wenceslas Square shouting, "Russians go home!" Demonstrators sacked the offices of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline. The Czechoslovak Interior Ministry reported that demonstrations also spread to other major cities throughout the country and included attacks on Soviet offices and barracks and the burning of Soviet military vehicles.

Moscow used the demonstrations to demand new concessions from the Czech government.

Besides press censorship, the April 7 **New York Times** indicated that the clampdown would mean:

●Continued postponement of the 14th Communist Party congress and of elections to the country's National Assembly. Both are long overdue. It is expected that even now, the hard-line Stalinists would lose ground if the congress and elections were held and were not totally controlled from the top.

●Postponement of, or an end to, the political rehabilitation of victims of the Stalinist era, whose ranks include thousands of unjustly accused individuals. On March 3, 1969, for instance, a special commission assigned to look into purges in the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry recommended the rehabilitation of hundreds of diplomats, saying that "innocent people were unjustly persecuted for other than professional reasons." Among the reasons cited for such persecutions were resistance work in Western Europe in World War II, service in the Spanish Civil War, or "nationality of origin," a common euphemism for Jews or Slovaks.

●A clampdown on the demand for elected workers' councils in the factories, one of

the central demands that have been raised by the trade unions. In the first week of March 1969 a congress of Czechoslovak trade unions—1,615 delegates representing 5.5 million workers—called for such councils with the right to appoint, recall and conclude work contracts with elected managers of factories.

The union congress, in a resolution, also stated its agreement with Marxism-Leninism, "an inseparable part of which is the principle of solidarity and equality of all nations, including the right of self-determination and sovereignty of the socialist countries." The congress also called for party decisions to be "based on democratic principles insuring the broad participation of trade unions in the creation of policy and making impossible the creation of a system of personal power."

●The possible removal from party posts of Josef Smrkovsky, a symbol in the country of opposition to the Soviet-imposed restrictions. Jan Palach's self-immolation and the mass demonstrations of January followed the removal of Smrkovsky from his position as chairman of the National Assembly.

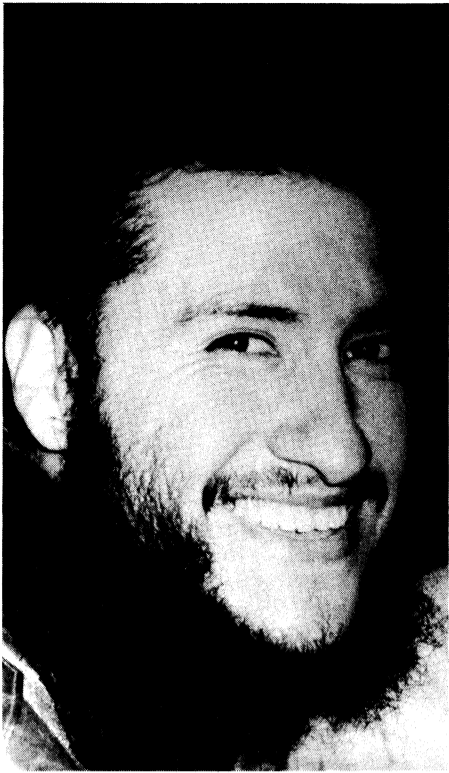
The new restrictions were signalled by an article in the March 31 **Pravda**, which indicated Moscow's displeasure not only with the recent demonstrations but also with the continued popular sentiment against the occupation policies—with the spirit of resistance that has not abated even seven months after the invasion.

The same day, two very high-ranking Soviet officials arrived in Czechoslovakia without invitation. They were Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko and Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Semyonov. Grechko and Semyonov were said to have threatened the use of Russian tanks in the near future. On April 3, Alexander Dubcek appeared on national television saying that "because of extremist forces, we are living, without exaggeration, in the most serious days since August of last year." He appealed to the population to end their resistance.

But the workers, students and intellectuals indicated that they were not yet ready to follow the government's acquiescence in the Soviet-imposed policies. Meetings of workers, Communist Party groups, students and intellectuals adopted resolutions critical of the censorship decree. The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists declared that the new press curbs would lead to "serious weakening" in the relations between the mass media and the people.

Attempts to achieve "normalization"—a term meaning mass acquiescence in bureaucratically-imposed policies—have been continually frustrated due to a persistent public spirit of opposition. Even Lubomir Strougal, party leader in the Czech Republic, admitted as much on March 12. Referring to "normalization," he said that "as soon as someone takes these words seriously, he finds himself in contradiction with public opinion, which is influenced by contrary feelings."

The new Soviet crackdown, although agreed to by the Czechoslovak government officials, remains to be imposed on an unwilling population.



Hugo Blanco

Why oligarchy in Peru fears Hugo Blanco

This May, Hugo Blanco will mark the beginning of his seventh year in prison. The thirty-four-year-old Trotskyist peasant leader has demonstrated in these difficult years the qualities of revolutionary will and dedication to the struggle of the oppressed that made his name an object of fear to the Peruvian oligarchy when he led the peasant masses of La Convencion in their seizures of land from the **hacendados** [landlords].

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw at first hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who constitute the majority of the Peruvian population. From his youth he spoke Quechua, the Indian language, as well as Spanish. In the early 1950s, Blanco went to Argentina, where he studied agronomy and worked as an active union member in an American-owned meat-packing plant.

When he returned to Peru he helped to organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of then-Vice President Nixon in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, Hugo Blanco returned to Cuzco where he and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

Beginning with literacy campaigns and the establishment of hospitals, the union movement soon confronted the central problem: the tiny group of capitalist rulers who owned the vast bulk of the land. The peasants began peaceful occupation of land that had been taken from them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963 more than 300 such "recuperations" took place. The oligarchy used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions in reply created armed self-defense units.

On May 30, 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured. On July 23, 1963, Che Guevara, while on a visit to Algiers, declared, "Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could."

The government did not dare bring Blanco to trial immediately for fear of the repercussions among the masses. It was not until August 1966 that the Belaunde regime felt secure enough to put him and 28 of his comrades before a military tribunal in the remote village of Tacna.

Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in prison. His close associate Pedro Candela was given 22 years. The prosecution sought the death penalty on appeal. This was avoided only because of a world-wide campaign on Blanco's behalf that enlisted hundreds of intellectuals, trade-unionists and independent political figures, including such people as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell.

The new threat of the Peruvian junta to permanently silence this outstanding fighter will certainly provoke an outcry from Hugo Blanco's friends and supporters throughout the world.

Blanco faces jungle prison

(IP) News has just been received that Hugo Blanco is threatened with being sent to a prison camp in the jungle region of eastern Peru named El Sepa.

The camp is completely isolated, being linked to Lima solely through military planes that bring in supplies and relief guards.

The hot, humid climate is extremely oppressive and the area is noted for the insects that make life virtually unbearable for those confined to the camp under the most primitive conditions.

Lacking in medical facilities, with the prisoners at the complete mercy of brutal guards, it is obvious that anyone sentenced to being held there has few chances for surviving long.

The official reason for transporting Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners to this hell hole is that El Fronton, the prison island where they have been held up to now, is to be closed down.

The government made this decision in view of the ability of the prisoners to call national and international attention to the scandalous conditions prevailing in the prison and the shocking treatment afforded the inmates.

The current military junta is carrying out this "reform" initiated by the regime they overthrew.

Protests are in order on an international scale. They should be addressed to the Peruvian embassies and consulates and to the military dictator, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Presidential Palace, Lima, Peru.

Copies of protests should be sent to CODDEH [Comite de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos], Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

New York New York

High school students and the World Revolution



The May '68

upsurge in France

The Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions

Capitalist and postcapitalist societies have been shaken by revolutionary movements more and more composed of high-school activists. Hear a symposium of revolutionary socialists discuss the nature and future directions of these movements.

Saturday April 19
7:00 pm

873 Broadway (near 18th St.)

party with live entertainment to follow

sponsored by High School Students for Boutelle

for further information call (212) 533-4450 or 477-9506



Czech youth before tanks during Kremlin invasion

An unvarnished history (II)

The PL adventure in Hazard, Ky.

By Mary-Alice Waters

In the fall of 1962 a long and bitter strike began in the coal mines of eastern Kentucky. The roots of the strike went back to the post-World War II period when, in a drive to reduce wages and other costs and break the United Mine Workers, the big mine owners introduced "truck mining" as the predominant form of mining in the area. Small mines were leased to individual operators who usually refused to pay the union wage, and in many mines wages had fallen as low as \$5 or \$3 a day.

Furthermore, the mine operators were refusing to pay the 40-cent-a-ton royalty to the union welfare fund—a fund which financed four hospitals in the eight-county area of eastern Kentucky and provided free medical care to the miners and their families. When the union began cutting back on free medical care, claiming it could no longer pay the costs, the action touched off the miners' strike.

Berman Gibson, who had helped organize the United Mine Workers in the 1930s, became one of the central leaders of the strike. The UMW leadership denounced the strike as "unauthorized" and led by "non-union elements," and decried the "lawlessness," not of the mine operators, but of the strikers.

The strike received a great deal of publicity, not only in the radical press, but in the liberal publications, the daily papers, the slick newsmagazines and on television. Many radical organizations and publications, including *The Militant* were involved in helping organize support for the strike—sponsoring meetings, pressuring unions to aid the miners, and collecting funds.

Enter PL

Such was the situation when Progressive Labor decided the time was ripe to make some quick gains.

Revolutionary organizations have always recognized their obligation to give maximum support to strikes and other labor struggles. Such an obligation is of a two-fold character: to advance the immediate struggle and — equally important—to seek to have such aid promote class and socialist consciousness among the strikers as well as among those whose aid is being solicited.

The second half of this proposition is something that a serious socialist organization carries through in as conscious and responsible a way as the first. That is, it is always careful that its efforts to aid

a given strike do not in fact become an obstacle to it. And in the circulation of its socialist literature in strike situations, revolutionaries try to proceed with good judgment and common sense.

For example, there are situations where a union may face heavy red-baiting from the employers and press and, sometimes, even from elements in their local unions. And there are occasions, too, when the level of consciousness among the strikers may be quite low and they may be very susceptible to such red-baiting.

All of these are factors that revolutionaries must carefully weigh in determining precisely how to conduct themselves in intervening in a strike situation. Such considerations assume greater weight in particular regions—in the South, for example, where the political level of the white workers is often lower than elsewhere and where the difficulties this presents are compounded by more widespread racial prejudices. During periods like the McCarthy era such considerations assume even greater weight.

Despite all such considerations, however, the leadership of Progressive Labor proceeded to intervene in a manner that made it clear they had no concern for the real welfare of the striking miners. They were interested in making a name for Progressive Labor, and if that aim happened to conflict with the goal of winning the strike, it was unfortunate for the miners.

From the outset the PL leaders tried to create the public impression that they were the leadership of the strike and that Gibson was functioning as a PL collaborator. All of this was done without regard for fact—or consequence.

There were, however, undoubtedly numerous supporters of the Hazard miners who got caught up in PL's campaign and unknowingly contributed to the problems of the strikers, due to their own lack of experience or naive confidence in the "trade-union experience" of some of the PL founders.

Self-interested approach

The Hazard campaign was announced in the January 1963 issue of *Progressive Labor* under a front-page banner headline, "Class War Rages in Kentucky Coal Fields." The issue devoted several pages to articles outlining the background and disputes involved in the strike, interviews with wives of the miners, and appeals for aid. But the appeals for help give the best indication of PL's self-interested approach to the struggle.

"IT DOES NOT MATTER TO HUNGRY CHILDREN WHICH WAY THE AID GETS THERE—AS LONG AS IT GETS THERE," (emphasis in original) proclaimed PL. The magazine then gave three ways to send aid. First, by sending it directly to PL (three telephone numbers and an address were listed); second, by sending it to the Trade Union Solidarity Committee for Hazard Miners and thirdly by sending it to the miners directly registered mail, care of Berman Gibson. But it was clear that the preferred method to send aid was through PL.

It is true that the children of the Kentucky miners were more interested in food for their stomachs and clothes to keep them warm than anything else. But it would also have been evident to any supporter who stopped to consider the question that a publicly flaunted campaign in the name of PL opened the strikers to a serious danger of red-baiting.

But such thoughts, if they crossed the minds of PL's leaders, did not deter them. PLers went house to house in some areas collecting food and clothing and money for the miners—in the name of PL. Again, however worthy the intentions of some supporters may have been, it was at best a tactically questionable move. PL members and sympathizers, had they acted in the interests of the strikers rather than trying to exploit the struggle would have at least carried out their strike-support work under the auspices of the Trade Unions Solidarity Committee.

Also another consideration should have been kept in mind. The scope of aid needed by the miners was far greater than any single small, radical organization, or even all of them together, could have mobilized at that time. The only force strong enough to tip the scales in favor of the miners was the organized labor movement. If PL had been seriously interested in assuring victory to the miners, wouldn't the organization have devoted the bulk of its energy to seeking union endorsements for the Kentucky miners, and pledges to send substantial aid?

PL in Hazard

PLers did not limit their activities to areas remote from Kentucky, unfortunately. PL correspondents and others went to Hazard to cover the events there and distribute their literature. On the surface, again, it would seem harmless enough. After all, Berman Gibson and other miners' leaders had made statements, like the one to the *National Guardian* (Jan. 31, 1963) saying, "They call us integrators because we got colored miners on the picket lines; they call us communists—everything. But we're all in this together and we won't be split up, because we got nothing to lose and no place to go but up."

So, throughout the area PL distributed the issues of the magazine which covered the miners' strike. And the expected was not long in coming.

On Feb. 7, the Hazard *Herald* printed a screaming banner headline: "Communism Comes to the Mountains of East Kentucky." Along with it was an article opening up a vicious red-baiting attack on the miners because of the presence of Progressive Labor reporters and the fact that PL had been so obtrusive in the support campaign.

PL's response was a quick letter to the *Herald*, challenging the editor, a Mrs. Nolan, to a public debate in Hazard.

The response of the miners' leadership was not quite so happy. PL's lack of discretion had put them in a very vulnerable position. Berman Gibson, speaking at a mass rally the same day that the *Herald* article appeared, disclaimed any association with communists but said they weren't going to send back any aid they had received.

Gibson letter

However, the pressure on Gibson obviously continued to mount, and on Feb. 19 he wrote a letter to Milton Rosen of Progressive Labor, with a copy to the Hazard *Herald*. Receipt of the letter was



Berman Gibson

acknowledged by PL in its March issue, with the following comment:

"As we went to press, *Progressive Labor* received a letter from Berman Gibson in which he disassociates himself from communists. Gibson has said from the outset that he is not a communist, but this has not prevented the coal bosses and politicians in Hazard from using red-baiting to pressure him and others connected with the strike. The latest developments from Hazard will be reported in full in the next issue of PL."

But the next issue said nothing of these "latest developments from Hazard." In fact, the Hazard story suddenly dropped to page 9. PL readers never learned what Berman Gibson really said.

Thus even PL activists never really knew why they suddenly were no longer campaigning for a strike action on which they had been going all out—hardly a way to educate and develop revolutionary cadres.

The letter was printed in the Feb. 21 issue of the *Herald*, and in it Gibson disassociated himself from PL in the strongest possible terms. In fact, there is an element of red-baiting in Gibson's letter itself which, while inexcusable, testifies to the degree of pressure he was under. Gibson was known even among radical supporters of the strike, as an honest, straight-forward trade-union militant and responsibility for his capitulation to the prevalent anticommunism must be placed primarily on the doorstep of PL, whose actions placed him in an untenable position. The letter said in part:

"The charge has been made that I and the group which I have been chosen to lead here in Perry County has allowed itself to become affiliated with communism or subversion or with 'reds' or 'pinks.' This group and I want everyone to understand that we are not in any way in sympathy with any such organization or movement.

"We are against such organizations and we don't want either their 'moral' or financial support, and we don't knowingly accept such support.

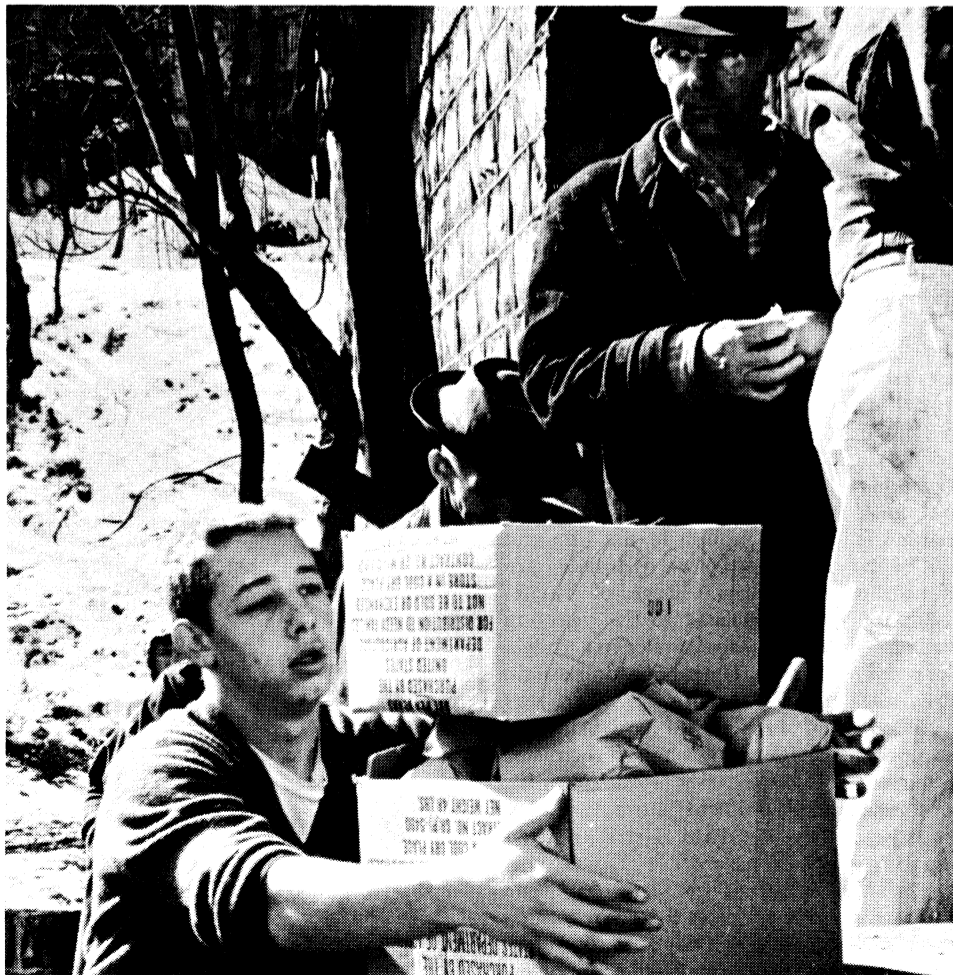
"Especially we want you and everyone else to understand that neither you, nor Progressive Labor nor any other person or group speaks for us or me."

Court injunctions were obtained in most counties to prevent picketing; severe spring floods further demoralized the embattled miners and destroyed many homes and meager resources; Gibson and other strike leaders were framed-up on charges of dynamiting a railroad bridge; and most of the men drifted back to work, forced to accept the same conditions which had driven them to the strike seven or eight months earlier.

Progressive Labor was hardly responsible for the defeat of the strike. But there can be no question that they seriously damaged the strike efforts by their cynically adventurous attempt to make some fast gains for their own organization, and did little to help the cause of socialism in the Kentucky mountains.

Even worse, however, the Hazard adventure was not an isolated, unfortunate, tactical error. It is but one example of a general method of operation for PL, one that was soon to be repeated in Monroe, North Carolina.

(This is the second in a series of articles which are being published every other week. The next article will appear in our issue dated April 25.)



Jobless Hazard miner receiving federal surplus food.

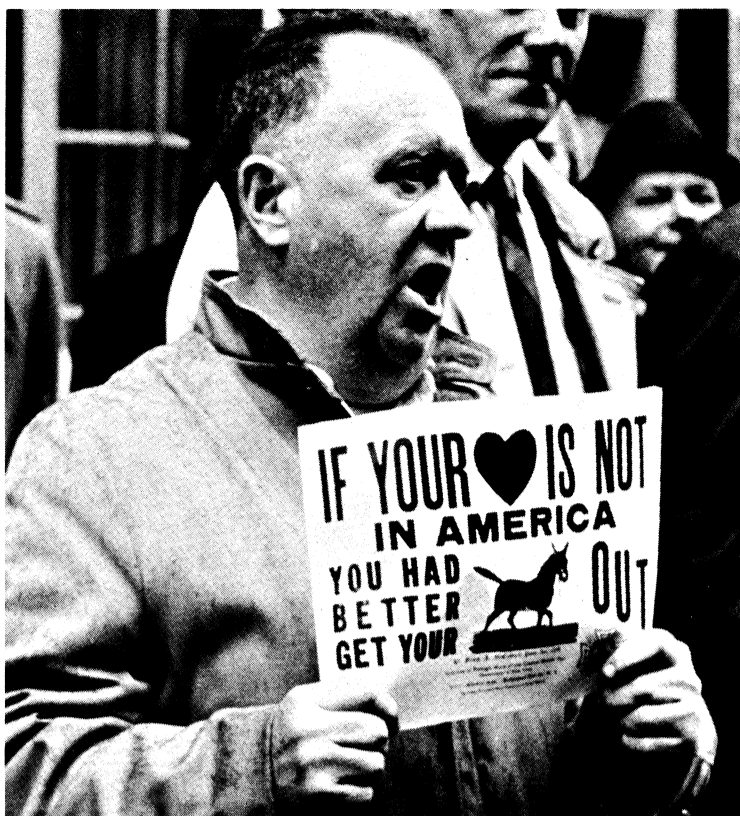


Photo by Alan Mercer

This brainy-looking fellow took dim view of N. Y. march



Photo by Alan Mercer

This GI had a more positive reaction

New York: 100,000 march against war

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK—Despite rain, more than 100,000 people marched up Sixth Avenue in midtown Manhattan April 5 in protest against the war in Vietnam. The turnout exceeded all expectations. The demonstration was sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. A key factor in the large turnout—particularly the record number of youth—was the intensive activity of the Student Mobilization Committee.

Some 200 GIs, identified by white paper hats, led the march beneath a banner reading, "GIs Against the War in Vietnam." Many other GIs in the march had been assigned duty that morning and arrived too late to be in the lead contingent.

Marching behind the GIs were veterans of Vietnam and other wars.

The throng was probably the youngest

yet for a major antiwar march; the overwhelming majority appeared to be under 25. High school and college students predominated, and many new student antiwar groups were represented.

Internationalism was exemplified by a huge banner reading, "Iranians, Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Ethiopians, Latin Americans Support the Vietnamese Struggle." A banner not far behind said, "Quebec libre, Vietnam libre!"

Many marchers wore black armbands with the numerals "33,000," signifying the number of American dead in Vietnam. Among the most popular banners were those proclaiming solidarity with the victimized antiwar GIs: "Free the Ft. Jackson 9" and "Free the Presidio 27."

Thousands lined the march route, many smiling at the demonstrators and some returning the "V" symbol flashed by the marchers.

Despite the steady rain, tens of thousands of demonstrators filled the Central Park Mall to hear rally speakers. Pvt. Dave Cortright of Ft. Wadsworth spoke for the GIs and called for continued civilian support for the GI movement. One of the biggest applause of the day came when Prof. Howard Zinn of Boston University stated that "the best way to stop this war is for the U. S. to pack up and get out right now."

A taped message from Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, representative of the National Liberation Front to the Paris talks, expressed solidarity with the marchers.

Many of the speakers, including the rally chairman, Ossie Davis, call for support for the 21 Panthers recently arrested in New York. The National Field Marshall of the Panthers spoke on the arrests and outlined the Panthers' perspective for a revolutionary struggle for socialism.

Other speakers included Dixie Bayo of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence and Beulah Saunders of the Welfare Rights Coordinating Committee.

Also speaking was Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee and one of those recently indicted in Chicago for participating in the Democratic Party convention demonstrations. Dellinger then took it upon himself to give the microphone to unscheduled speakers, Jerry Rubin and Abby Hoffman, the "Yippies" defendants in the Chicago indictments. The Parade Committee arrangements committee had previously agreed that Rubin and Hoffman would be introduced, but they were not scheduled to speak.

The demonstration received wider media coverage than most previous antiwar actions. The Sunday New York Times featured a front-page, five-column photo of the GI contingent leading the parade. Bob Teague on NBC-TV began his Eleventh Hour News, saying, "The movement which dumped President Johnson has just served notice on President Nixon that the honeymoon is over."

Creative April 5 buildup by SMCers in Cleveland

By Don Gurewitz

CLEVELAND—Almost 1,000 people demonstrated in downtown Cleveland April 4 to protest the war in Vietnam. The demonstration, organized by the Student Mobilization Committee, was one of the largest, youngest and most spirited antiwar demonstrations in Cleveland's history. The march and rally capped a week of intensive SMC activity in building Cleveland's participation in the April 5 mass demonstration in Chicago.

During the previous week the SMC organized an "Action Army" to spread the word in Cleveland. We passed out thousands of leaflets at every conceivable place. The imaginative use of guerrilla theater and other unusual publicity methods

brought us considerable press coverage. One of the high points of the Action Army's "offensive" was the launching of an eight-foot weather balloon in Public Square. The balloon bore a message about the upcoming demonstrations, displayed the SMC phone number, and was seen by tens of thousands on TV and in real life.

The Cleveland demonstration began with a brief rally in Public Square. The demonstrators, mostly junior and senior high school students, then marched through the shopping district passing out leaflets and chanting antiwar slogans demanding the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. Then we marched back to Public Square for another brief rally.

In the evening the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and the SMC co-sponsored a send-off rally for the six buses going to Chicago. The auditorium, which holds over 600, was packed. The program included live rock, soul bands and militant speeches.

6,500 marchers in Los Angeles demonstration

By Stephen Bloom

LOS ANGELES—About 6,500 antiwar demonstrators, including 50 active-duty GIs, marched several miles through central Los Angeles April 6, demanding immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and freedom for the GIs at various bases who have been arrested for organizing against the war.

The peaceful, but spirited demonstration proceeded down Wilshire Boulevard to chants of "Peace Now" and "Free the Presidio 27." People in buildings along the way flashed the "V" sign at the marchers.

In the GI contingent were soldiers from Pendleton, March and Norton Air Force Bases; and the Long Beach, Coronado and San Diego Naval Stations.

To insure that the GIs involved would not be put in unnecessary jeopardy, a group of defense monitors was organized. This group guarded against the possibility of attack by counterrevolutionary Cubans or Nazis, both of whom had attempted to disrupt antiwar demonstrations in the past. It also watched for possible provocateurs who might attempt to divert the march into a confrontation with the police. At one point in the demonstration Cuban exile thugs did try to attack the line, but were quickly driven off and the march proceeded without incident.

The march concluded in a rally which filled MacArthur Park to capacity. Speakers included Paul Halvonik, a lawyer for the Presidio 27, and the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike. There was an open mike for GIs at which several GIs spoke.

The march was organized by the GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Peace Action Council, a coalition of many antiwar groups in the area.

DETROIT—The April 5 Action Committee filled five buses from Detroit and one from East Lansing to go to Chicago for the march. Additional hundreds went by car. In addition to Detroit, there were car pools organized in Ann Arbor, Flint, Monroe, Kalamazoo, Saginaw and Ypsilanti. A majority of those who went were college students but there was also a very large percentage of high schoolers.



Photo by Robert Langston

Bread & Puppet "Peacemaker"

Seattle antiwar "basic training" upsets brass

By William Massey

SEATTLE—Seattle's antiwar action on Easter weekend consisted of antiwar basic training days on April 5-6.

Three hundred people attended the first antiwar basic training day. Only about 20 GIs were able to attend because the army brass put the entire base on alert and gave the soldiers extra duty to keep them away. The program was presided over by active duty soldiers and airmen, some of whom had to get official leaves to get off post.

Terence Hallinan, defense lawyer for the Presidio 27, described the inhuman conditions of the army stockade system. He told of the harassment that the military has been using to intimidate GIs from exercising their constitutional rights and called for the building of a large defense movement for the Presidio 27 and other antiwar GIs.

Aaron Dixon of the Seattle Black Panther Party spoke of the need for the black, student and GI movements to get together in their struggles for freedom. This was greeted by enthusiasm from the audience.

Other speakers were Sidney Mills, an Indian rights fighter; Anne Fetter of the Resistance; Bill Massey of the Socialist Workers Party; Stephanie Coontz of the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace; and several GIs.

Several more GIs were able to attend Sunday's events. Workshops discussed GI organizing, defense of GI rights, and other struggles for social change and their relation to the Vietnam war.

The meeting mapped plans for a broad campaign against the Presidio trials and in defense of GI rights. Also discussed were plans to broaden and increase activity by the civilian movement in Seattle.

Atlanta's biggest ever; 4,000 in antiwar march



Marching in Georgia

By Doug Jenness

ATLANTA—The largest antiwar demonstration ever held here took place April 6 as 4,000 people from all over the South, including over 50 active-duty GIs, marched in the scorching sun through the streets of Atlanta.

The march was called and organized by the Southwide Mobilization Against the Vietnam War and for Self-Determination, a coalition of over 30 groups. It was dedicated to the memory of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The marchers gathered early in the afternoon at Ebenezer Baptist Church where Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. used to preach. As the assembled demonstrators wound their way out of the churchyard and through the black community, hundreds of antiwar signs and banners waved in the air. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference prepared a number of signs paying tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr.

Active-duty GIs marched behind a large "GIs for Peace" banner and wore identifying hats.

Hundreds of high school students added a spirited tone to the march. A guerrilla theatre organized by the Atlanta Workshop in Non-Violence also participated.

Dozens of black people lined the sidewalks along Auburn Avenue as the marchers passed through the black community. Some joined the march. When the march passed by the offices of the *Atlanta Daily World*, a black newspaper, black pickets from the International Typographers Union, Local 48, who were protesting a lock-out, joined the antiwar march.

At the rally Pvt. Charles Morgan of Ft. Jackson read a statement from the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam and described some of the events leading to the charges against the nine Ft. Jackson GIs that now face court-martial.

There was a fiery talk by J. T. Bear, a black leader of the Duke University student revolt in February. He attacked the capitalist system as the primary cause of racism and white supremacy and called for its overturn in order to win black liberation.

Other speakers included Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC; antiwar fighter Jeanette Rankin, the first congresswoman; Rev. Andrew Young of SCLC; Dave Dellinger of the National Mobe; and former Pvt. James Niles, recently discharged for his pacifist views.

Literature sales brisk

NEW YORK — A good indication of the extent of radical thinking among opponents of the war was the sale of revolutionary literature at the antiwar demonstration here. Despite the rain, 2,000 copies of *The Militant* and 500 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold. Thirty-four people bought introductory combination subscriptions to the two publications. Two Militant Forum Bookstore tables, sheathed in plastic to keep them dry sold more than \$300 worth of books, pamphlets, buttons and posters.



Parade marshalls and GI contingent at outset of N



Not all, but many New Yorkers liked the antiwa



New York demonstrators approach Central

**Midwest Socialist
Educational
Conference**
University of Illinois
Champaign, Illinois
April 19-20

Saturday, April 19—314 Altgeld Hall

10:30 a.m. **Czechoslovakia Today:** Gus Horowitz, recently returned from Czechoslovakia. *Militant* staff writer.

1:30 p.m. **The Afro-American Struggle:** Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

3:30 p.m. **The Student Movement and the Working Class:** Richard Hill, national committee member, YSA.

7:00 p.m. **The International Student Movement:** a keynote speech by Dan Rosenshine, national executive committee member, YSA.

PARTY! PARTY! PARTY! PARTY!

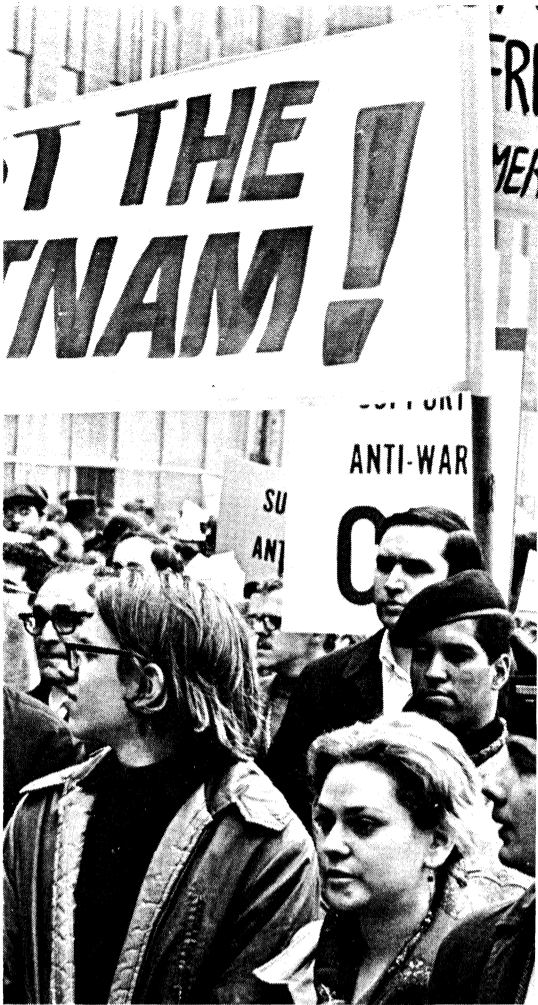
Sunday, April 20—314 Altgeld Hall

10:30 a.m. **The Fight Against the Vietnam War:** Richard Lesnik, national committee member, YSA. Staff member, Chicago Student Mobilization Committee.

1:30 p.m. **Cuba and Latin America:** Robin Maisel, national committee member, recently returned from Cuba.

Registration, \$2 or 50 cents each session
Register in North Lounge, Illini Union, or at Altgeld Hall 314.
Housing will be provided.

For information or transportation, write
Champaign YSA P.O. Box 2099 Station A
Champaign, Illinois 61820 or call (217) 359-1333.



7. march

Photo by Hermes



march

Photo by Harry Ring



Photo by Hermes

Chicagoans hit streets--Daley quiet

By John Grazny

CHICAGO—April 5 was the greatest success scored in the history of the Chicago antiwar movement. More than 30,000 people marched, led by a contingent of 30 GIs from the Chicago area. Most of the demonstrators were young, including a large number of high school students.

More than 20,000 onlookers lined the route of the march, some of them joining in as the parade went by. The response of the onlookers was friendlier than ever before. More black people participated this time than at previous antiwar demonstrations, including many Easter shoppers.

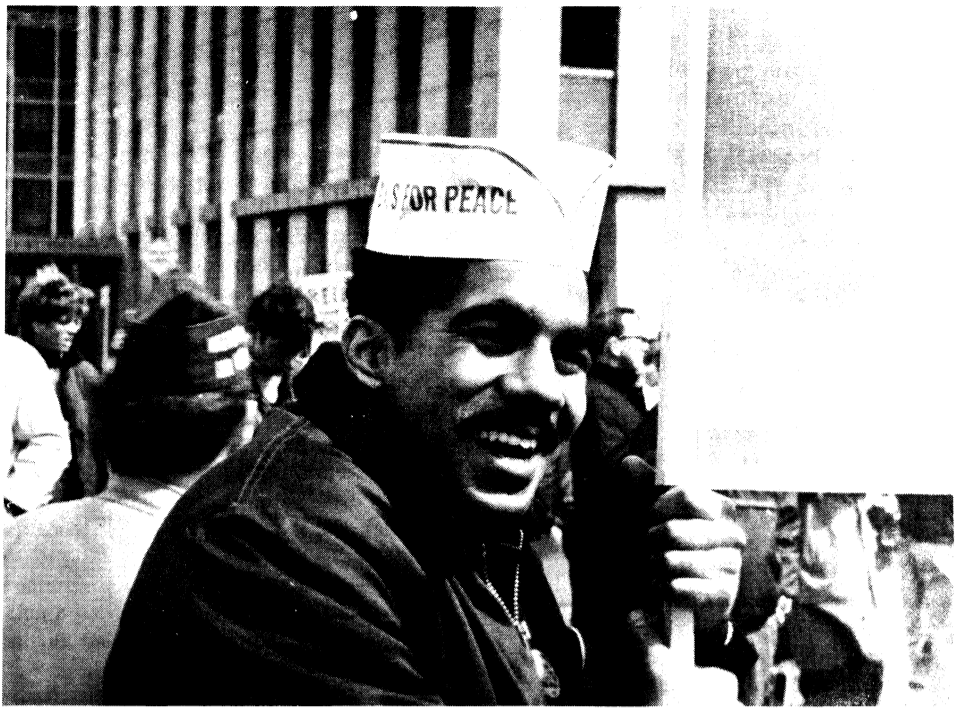
The Chicago Peace Council and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Chicago's principal antiwar coalitions, did the major organizing for the march. A very broad range of groups and individuals participated, including demonstrators from all major cities in the Midwest.

On the Thursday before the march, 6,000 National Guardsmen were sent to Chicago to crush outbreaks in the black communities of the West and South sides. This triggered speculation that Mayor Daley would revoke the permit granted to the Peace Council for the march. However, due to the enormous support and publicity that the march had received, the city officials took no such action.

Following the march was a rally sponsored by the Peace Council at the Chicago Coliseum. It featured Stuart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee; Sid Lens of the Chicago Peace Council; Paula Smith of High School Students Against the War and the YSA; Joe Miles of Ft. Bragg and an initiator of GIs United at Ft. Jackson; Brother Nathaniel Jr. of the Illinois Black Panther Party; and Cha Cha Jimenez of the Young Lords Organization, a militant Puerto Rican youth group here.

Joe Miles emphasized the need for the antiwar movement to link up with GIs, stating that "you can't find a GI who's for the war." Miles charged that the Vietnam war is for the profit of big business and serves the interests of corporate capitalism. At this point he was given a standing ovation by the crowd.

Sid Lens expressed the feelings of the crowd when he declared we will march "again and again and again" until this war is ended. Sid Peck of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council chaired the rally.



Pvt. Joe Miles of GIs United in Chicago march

'We're going to win!'

The following is the text of the speech by Paula Smith at the April 5 antiwar rally in Chicago. She represented High School Students Against the War, which played a major role in building the very large high school turnout for the mass march and rally in Chicago.

Paula Smith was expelled from the Academy of Our Lady high school on Feb. 24 because of her antiwar and socialist activity. Petitions, demonstrations, and other protests have been raised in her defense.

* * *

I want you to look around. The majority of people present are high-school students, and that's who I'm here to talk about.

We are the people who are becoming recognized as the newest and most active segment of the antiwar movement. A quarter of a million of us boycotted classes in New York last year to protest the Vietnam war; 50,000 of us walked out last October in Chicago in response to the racist character of this country's school system; 3,000 high schoolers in Detroit went to an antiwar rally instead of their classes on April 3; and 1,000 students attended a rally in Cleveland in preparation for this march! These are just a few examples of what we've accomplished, and there ought to be a lot more credits added to the list before we're done.

There are many of us out here today and it's no wonder! We are not fooled by the government's war policy which they call "peace." We are not fooled by the Nixon administration. He has no more intention of ending the war than Johnson did! We are not fooled by the "peace talks" in Paris. The casualties in Vietnam have now surpassed those of the Korean war, and this is sufficient indication that an early end to the war is nowhere in sight. The war continues, and the Vietnamese and our GIs continue to die.

The U.S. has always been for a military victory in Vietnam, and only mass opposition on our part is going to show the government that they are fighting the kind of war that we are not going to support! We as high-school students are going to voice our opposition to the war! We have demonstrated by the thousands, and we will demonstrate by the tens of thousands if not by the hundreds of thousands until we are heard and every last GI is brought home!

This is not going to be easy. There are many obstacles we will have to face. We are going to encounter opposition, just as I and other activists have encountered opposition in organizing antiwar committees in our schools. When I was expelled, I was told that I was "defiant, militant, and revolutionary." I was "inciting a riot!" The principal expressed a fear that my ideas, my opposition to the war, were having an influence on the student body. I certainly hope so!

The day of the apathetic student is gone. We are not going to passively submit to an education that does not prepare us to face the issues of this society, but syste-

matically channels students into an already predetermined pattern. Schools that are racist and repressive in every aspect! And if you don't believe that, ask the black student who can't get into college because of the inferior education he was subjected to in high school; or try to explain the value of education to the black or white working-class kid who can't continue his schooling and must fight a war in which he is old enough to die but not old enough to have a voice in determining whether there should be a war in the first place!

In fighting to transform our schools from patterning devices into instruments of social change where we can exercise the rights guaranteed us in the Constitution, we are going to face the authorities! Our principals, the board of education, and the cops that walk up and down our halls every day. Not only are we going to face the authorities but the whole system of government itself, which makes high schools the way they are! It is from the high-school graduates that the government fulfills its manpower needs to wage its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

1969 is the year of the antiwar GI. We are also going to make it the year of mass high-school opposition to the war and repression. We are going to fight for the right to organize against the war in our schools. We are going to fight for the right to have our own press, to have our own organizations. We are going to fight for the right to speak out against the war and against the government that perpetrates this war! We are going to fight for the right to become politically active in our schools! It will be hard. It will take time, but the struggle for these rights is vitally important, for once we win this struggle we will have taken a giant step towards being a truly effective force in this society, capable of bringing about change, capable of ending this goddamn war!

We have the power to do this because it is high-school students who are going to be going to college, and we know what's happening there! It is the high-school students who will be going into the Army, carrying their antiwar sentiment with them, and high-school students will be going into the factories and shops, and it's as simple as this. We are not going to allow the government to carry out a war which the America people do not support!

We have experienced the growth and development of a new force within the ranks of the antiwar movement. High School Students Against the War has been in the forefront of the high-school antiwar movement and will continue to build militant high-school opposition to the war and the fight for free speech and the right to organize within our schools. United with the GIs, we shall go forward together! Nixon and the warmakers can go forward together too. But with all this strength we are going to stop them! We're going to go all the way! We're going to win!

CALENDAR

BOSTON

THE MIDEAST CONFLICT. Speakers: Salim Tamiri, member of Organization of Arab Students; Emmanuel Farjoun, member of Israeli Socialist Organization; Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 18, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS: A panel representing community, teacher and student viewpoints. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m., 3737 Woodward. Contrib. Employed 75 c, unemployed and students 35c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

PALESTINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speaker: Dr. Fawwaz Tuqan, native Palestinian. Sat. April 19, 8:30 p.m., 704 Hennepin, #240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

RACISM AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. Speaker: Jeff Mackler, Exec. Bd., New Coalition, United Federation of Teachers. Fri., April 18, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. 51, H.S. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

50,000 at S. F. Presidio blast war, GI trials

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO—The antiwar movement, including both GIs and civilians, marched on the Presidio here Easter Sunday. The GI-Civilian Easter Peace March Committee estimated that 40,000 marched. Others estimated as high as 50,000. It was impossible to judge the number of GIs who took part; they were spread throughout the crowd. I saw over 200 in the last third of the 30-block-long march.

Easter Sunday had been chosen for the march to make it difficult for the brass to restrict GIs, but they gave extra duty to most of the Presidio GIs. Wide press coverage was given to this blatant attempt to limit the number of GI marchers. A Presidio spokesman denied there was anything unusual in Easter Sunday duty, but the **San Francisco Chronicle** said that seasoned military observers could recall nothing similar on Easter.

Themes of the demonstration were to bring the GIs home now, free the Presidio 27 and free the Ft. Jackson 9.

Speakers at the rally, which was held at the main Presidio gate, hit hard at the war and the Presidio and Ft. Jackson cases. Terence Hallinan, lawyer for 14 of the 27 Presidio "mutineers," ripped the Army's role in the case. He called for a standing ovation for the Presidio defendants, whose names he read.

There was another standing ovation for Ginger Bunch, mother of Richard Bunch, the GI whose murder at the Presidio stockade led to the sitdown the brass claims was mutinous. Mrs. Bunch said, "I'm just an American housewife who likes to sit home and mind my own business, but evidently, you have to do what you can. If this could happen to Rusty, it could happen to you."

Mrs. Bunch called her son's slaying murder and thanked the crowd "for what you are doing on my behalf and on behalf of those men in the Presidio."

G. T. (Jake) Jackobs, secretary-treasurer of Oil Workers Local 1-561, assailed the war and the system which breeds such wars.

A message from GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Jackson, S. C., was read by Ken Shilman, editor of the GI paper **Task Force** and chairman of the rally. Over 1,200 persons signed petitions to free the Ft. Jackson 9, and it was announced that over 8,000 persons had signed a petition for the Presidio 27 circulated earlier in the week by **Task Force**.

Dick Cray, from Beale Air Force Base, thanked the antiwar movement for working with him and the other GIs. He said, "This is one place where the people of this country are making some progress, if 50,000 people will march on the Presidio against the war."

A sailor from Treasure Island Naval Station said his base commander had offered 72 hours liberty for anyone apprehending persons putting up stickers announcing the march, but they didn't turn me or the others in.

Dave Kleinberg, a Vietnam vet who was a combat correspondent with the 4th Division, said Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird "added the finishing touch for me when he came back from Vietnam and said American troops can't be brought back for at least two more years."

Other speakers included Father Eugene Boyle, assemblyman Willie Brown, Third World Liberation Front spokesman Roger Alvarado and Terry Cannon of the Oakland 7. Malvina Reynolds sang.

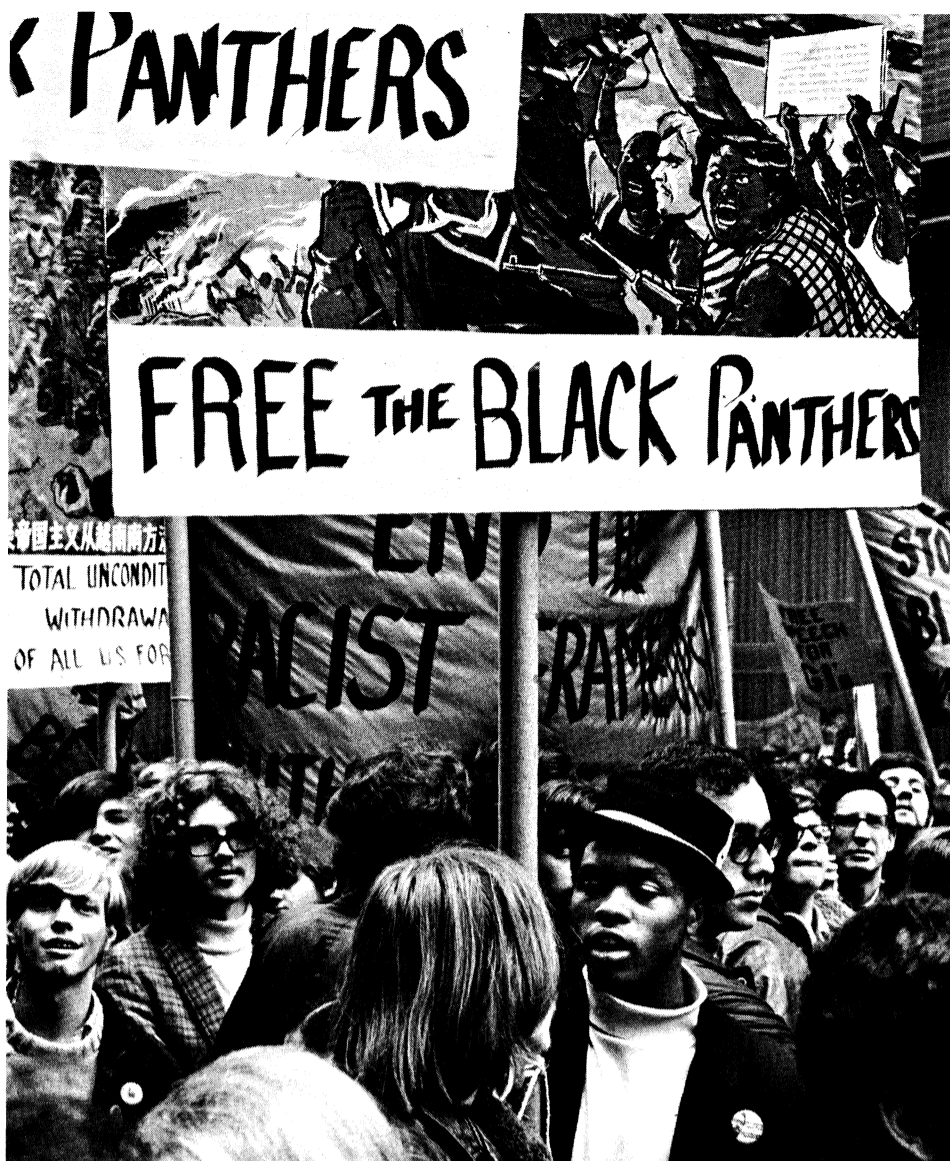


Photo by Alan Mercer

N. Y. marcher demands freedom for framed Panthers

Canadians in solidarity marches

TORONTO, Canada—Canada's largest anti-Vietnam war demonstration ever was held here on April 6 when thousands marched to a rally attended by 10,000.

Contingents in the march included trade unionists, high school and university students, members of the New Democratic [labor] Party and other political groups, church contingents and members of various nationality groups, including Italians, the United Jewish Peoples' Order, Black Canadians, Ukrainians, Australians and New Zealanders.

At the rally a message was read from the National Liberation Front charged d'affaires in Cuba, Huynh Van Ba, thanking the antiwar movement for demonstrating against U. S. aggression.

The rally was chaired by Joe Young, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee which organized the march. Featured speakers were Pierre Berton, a TV personality; Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg; and John Harney, Provincial Secretary of the Ontario New Democratic Party.

By Phil Courneyeur

VANCOUVER, Canada—An outdoor rally of 3,000 people climaxed Vancouver's Easter Sunday protest against the Vietnam war. The demonstration, which began with

a march of over 1,200, was organized under the themes: "Withdraw U. S. Troops Now!" "End Canadian Complicity!" "Vietnam for the Vietnamese!" and "Support Antiwar GIs!"

Both the Vancouver Labor Council and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, supported the rally. Chairman for the day was Bob Clair, 2nd vice-president of the Vancouver Local, International Woodworkers of America and editor of **The Barker**, a popular trade union paper.

Keynote speaker Grace MacInnis (NDP Member of Parliament from Vancouver) scored the criminal complicity of Canada in the Vietnam war. She called for an end to all military and defense industry ties with the United States and for Canadian withdrawal from military alliances such as NATO and NORAD.

The rally opened with a moving greeting from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam which solidarized with the April 6 demonstrations in North America.

A whole new layer of youth, including hundreds of high school students, turned out. They responded vigorously to the militant thrust of the demonstration and the march.

A correction

It was incorrectly reported in an article on Ft. Jackson in last week's **Militant** that Pvt. Joe Goodman from Queens had received orders for Vietnam, with only eight months left in the service and despite bad knees.

Joe Goodman is a Pfc. from Plainview, N.Y. who has 10 months more in the service. A post-surgical condition resulted in a pair of leg hernias. He had been put on alert for possible Vietnam duty for May.

Though the time of this Vietnam alert coincides with the present attacks on the Ft. Jackson GIs, there is no definite evidence that a typical bureaucratic foul-up was not the reason for the Army's failure to take Pfc. Goodman's physical condition into account.

There are unofficial reports of a medical reevaluation which will take Goodman off Vietnam alert.

Our apologies to Pfc. Goodman and our readers for the errors.

An important message to Militant readers about Ernest Mandel

The long-awaited English translation of Ernest Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* is at last available from Merit Publishers.

This is the most important work on Marxist economics written in this generation.

It is the best and most up-to-date introduction to the economic ideas of Marx and their application to contemporary problems.

The treatise is unequalled in the breadth of its treatment of the principal categories of political economy, from the first forms of commodity relations through the changes in capitalism to post-capitalist conditions. For this edition Ernest Mandel has provided additional material on the economies of the Common Market countries and Libermanism in the USSR.

Here are extracts from European reviews:

The Economist:

"[Mandel] is an independent thinker, combining an exceptionally wide erudition with a remarkable lucidity and fluency of expression. His treatise is by far the best popularization of Marx's economic theory that has appeared for forty or fifty years; and it is far more than that—an ambitious, and largely successful, attempt to bring the doctrine up to date.

L'Express:

"This is certainly a very important book. Well written, effortlessly readable, buttressed by repeated references to modern economic developments and economic theory. Without doubt the best introduction to date to the economic theory of Marx. And, still better, a work which analyzes in a relevant fashion a variety of new aspects of social development. . . .

This work is indispensable reading for every serious student of Marxism. I urge every Militant reader who can afford it to secure a copy for his personal library.

Merit Publishers has been assigned a very limited quantity of this edition of Mandel's work and it is already apparent from advance orders that the available supply will be quickly exhausted. Priority will be given to those orders received soonest which are accompanied by payment. (It should be noted that the publisher has no plans to come out with a paper edition in the near future).

If you buy only one or two books this entire year, *Marxist Economic Theory* should be among them.

Signed,
George Novack

Marxist Economic Theory

2 volumes 380 pp each volume
\$15.00 per set

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

Abortion reform group announces N. Y. forum

NEW YORK—Ivan Shapiro, a board member of the New York Civil Liberties Union, will talk about "Abortion as a Civil Right" on Monday, April 14, 8:30 p. m., at the Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th St. The meeting is sponsored by New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal as part of its program to educate the public regarding the social, psychiatric and legal questions surrounding abortions.

New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal has been campaigning in support of a bill before the state legislature which would repeal the criminal-abortion law and permit a licensed physician to perform an abortion for any reason. For more information on the activities of NYALR, write to them at the Society for Ethical Culture (address above) or call 267-3075.

Calif. oil unionists forced to give up Standard Oil boycott

On April 4, the Standard Oil Boycott Committee in San Francisco announced the end of its boycott effort. The action had been organized in support of two striking units of Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, AFL-CIO, which had been on strike against the Standard Oil refining plant in Richmond, Calif., and the nearby plant of the Chevron Chemical Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil.

The strike at the Richmond Standard plant was settled last month on terms generally favorable to the strikers. At the Chevron plant, however, the workers returned to work without a contract rather than sign one surrendering a union-shop clause requiring plant employees to be union members. The local union leaders and their supporters decided to continue the boycott of Standard Oil on the union-shop issue. The decision to discontinue the boycott was the result of insistence by the international officials of the oil workers' union. As in most U. S. unions, the international officers have a powerful bureaucratic control over the local unions. In this case the international officials reportedly threatened to put the local union into receivership if the boycott was not ended. This would mean that a representative of the international union would replace the elected officers of

the local and would run it with dictatorial powers.

The local union, a militant one whose political consciousness developed during its strike to the point of establishing an alliance with the Bay Area Third World campus strikes, decided it was not in a position to successfully defy the international on the boycott issue.

The local union's position was explained in a letter to the head of the three Bay Area AFL-CIO labor councils, all of which had voted to support the boycott. The text of the letter, by G. T. Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of the local, follows below.

* * *

Dear Sir and Brother:

Recently we applied for and received sanction from your council for a boycott of products of the Standard Oil Company of California and all of its wholly owned and controlled subsidiaries. At the time that we applied for such sanction, I, G. T. Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer of OCAW Local 1-561, had been informed that the President of OCAWIU, Brother Grospron, had received sanction for this boycott from the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Further, I was informed that President Grospron would officially announce the launching of this boycott action. This local union therefore proceeded with the boycott arrangements on this basis.



Photo by Dave Warren

G. T. Jacobs addressing April 6 San Francisco antiwar rally.

Subsequently, after a great deal of work and after setting up a number of offices, we were informed by the President of the International that because of legal questions and possible suits against the International that we must call off the boycott of Standard of California and must limit the boycott to Chevron Chemical products. As you know, the dispute with Standard is in connection with its wholly owned subsidiary, Chevron Chemical Co., which markets under the brand name Ortho.

This decision on the part of our International President is reported to be based on legal council in Denver and is in direct conflict with the legal opinion of our attorney, Victor Van Borg. It is the advice of Mr. Van Borg that such a boycott of the Standard Oil Company of California is completely legal and that any ramifications which might develop, as in any boycott action, could be avoided by using the precautions normally applied in any such action.

It is the measured opinion of this local and all concerned that a boycott limited to Chevron Chemical products, even if made effective as such, would not produce the desired results of forcing Standard Oil of California to change its position of demanding that this union surrender its union shop. Nor would it restrain the company in their efforts to gut the seniority provisions of our last agreement.

This narrowly based opinion and decision of our International is tantamount to consignment of the local to certain defeat.

The Standard Oil Company, as you know, recently made clear that the issue involved at Chevron is a "right to work" issue and it is also clear that this company is spearheading the "right to work" forces in the state of California. It is Standard Oil money and brains that is being thrown against this local at Chevron Chemical, and since they have made it a "right to work" issue it is directed against the entire labor movement in this state. It is therefore an issue on which all labor should unite and direct all of its forces against.

Despite these facts, our International does not feel that the legal risks are worth an all out effort against Standard and has ordered us to discontinue our boycott efforts against Standard Oil.

In the face of this, though we strongly disagree with the President's order, we have no choice but to comply.

We therefore at this time officially announce that this local is divorcing itself from any direct connections with a boycott against Standard Oil of California and request that sanction and support given by your Council to Local 1-561 be suspended and held status quo until further notice.

Further, we request an opportunity to address your next meeting to fully explain our position and situation.

We appreciate the great support you have given so far and are greatly indebted to you for it.

Thank you.

Fraternally,

G. T. Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer
OCAWIU Local 1-561

In passing . . . views and reviews

The imperialist designs of U.S. capitalism on Latin America go back to the early 19th century. Government policy has been shaped by the needs of imperialism for places to invest capital, extract raw materials, sell finished products to captive markets and to otherwise rake in a goodly profit. The need for Latin America to shape its own destiny and develop its own economy has always been subordinate and secondary so far as the U.S. or the governments it has allowed to exist have been concerned.

"For a hundred and fifty years," writes Alonso Aguilar in *Pan-Americanism From Monroe to the Present* (Monthly Review Press, 192 pp., \$6.95), "Latin America has lived under the domination of foreign interests, its sovereignty alienated, and its principal sources of wealth in foreign hands. Monroeism, territorial expansion, manifest destiny, dollar diplomacy, Point Four, hemispheric solidarity, the struggle against international Communism, and

the Alliance for Progress are not the expressions of fundamentally different policies but rather a series of names for the same old line of domination and plunder pursued on the continent to this day by the United States."

Aguilar's book is an analytic history of the policies that the U.S. has pursued towards Latin America, under the general rubric of Pan-Americanism. The most serious weakness of his book is his ambivalent attitude towards the policies pursued by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Aguilar is clear that Roosevelt was not in any way attacking anything fundamental about imperialism, but he allows himself to be confused by the "liberal" mode of carrying that imperialism out.

In any case, Aguilar points out that Latin American solidarity and revolutionary internationalism has, under the impetus of the Cuban revolution, become a more and more forceful challenger to Washington's Pan-Americanism for hemispheric hegemony.

Two important statements of position have been issued in pamphlet form by the League for Socialist Action /Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA/LSO), the Canadian counterpart of the Socialist Workers Party. They are *Vivre le Quebec Libre* and *The Status of Women in Canada* (25c and 10c, obtainable in this country from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003).

The first is an analysis of the French-Canadian struggle for self-determination, a struggle which is pretty much Canada's counterpart of the Afro-American struggle in the U.S. The French Canadians are the last hired and first fired, their history and culture is suppressed or distorted, their standard of living and rate of unemployment is markedly worse than English-speaking Canadians' and all of this stems from their oppression by English-speaking capitalism, which divides to rule.

The second is an analysis by the LSA/LSO of the oppression of Canadian women.

It includes a program for action. Since the situation vis-a-vis women in Canada is almost wholly analogous to the situation in the United States, this pamphlet is in some ways the more immediately useful of the two as far as the U. S. is concerned.

For instance, even women who graduate college are severely hampered by their sex in both Canada and the U.S. They are squeezed out of the professions. The pamphlet points out that in Canada, "with the exception of nursing, librarianship and teaching, women compose less than 10 percent (as low as three percent in some) of the main professions in Canada. Even in those professions where women are the majority, men hold nearly all the key positions."

In the United States the situation is practically the same. Sue Eanet and Anne Goodman write in the April issue of *The Movement*: "Three-fourths of all female college graduates who later become employed become school teachers, and another ten percent become social workers of various kinds."

In an article in the March 27 issue of New York City's *Village Voice* about a forum on the right of women to freely choose to have abortions, which was sponsored by Redstockings, a women's liberation group in New York, Susan Brownmiller reports:

"Last month, the Redstockings had stormed a hearing of a New York State legislative committee studying abortion law reform, and predictably, they had been rebuffed. The committee, they were told, was interested in the testimony of 'experts.' The 'experts' had been 14 men and one woman, a nun."

One girl at the forum told her story of getting a therapeutic (legal) abortion in New York. "She had applied to 11 hospitals before she had accomplished her mission. 'The tenth,' she said . . . 'offered me a deal. The deal was, they'd give me an abortion if I'd agree to get sterilized. I was 20 years old.'"

—Malachi Constant

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA

brief submitted to the
Royal Commission by the
League for Socialist Action
Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

10 cents



Zionism and the Arab Revolution The Myth of Progressive Israel

by Peter Buch
a young socialist pamphlet
30 cents

New York State residents, add 2% tax;
New York City, 5%.
Order from
MERIT PUBLISHERS
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Detroit police shooting

Controversy focuses on judge's firm stand

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, April 9—Heated protests and debates have developed here as a result of the March 29 police attack on a convention of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) held in the New Bethel Baptist Church. Controversies have centered on three aspects: the killing of one white policeman and the wounding of another outside of the church, the subsequent storming of the church by 40 police who raked the interior with gunfire for 20 minutes, wounding four New Africans, and the treatment of the 142 arrested blacks who were inside New Bethel.

According to a tape recording publicized by police, two young white patrolmen, cruising by the church at 11:42 p.m., radioed in, "We got guys with rifles out here, Linwood and Euclid." The wounded patrolman later said from his hospital bed that, when he and his partner walked up to the dozen men to investigate, one man suddenly fired at them. The officer stated that both his gun and partner's were still holstered.

Fellow officers who quickly appeared at the scene claimed they were fired on from inside the church.

The New Africans, meeting in their first annual convention, insist that no one inside the church fired on police. They were closing their session and starting to leave when police entered with pistols and shotguns blazing. RNA Minister of Culture, Oseijeman Adefunmi told reporters, "Somebody shouted, 'the police are coming.' The shooting started right away. I hit the floor . . . People became terrorized. I saw blood spreading under one of the pews. I looked up and saw a group of white faces, and there were pistols and shotguns shooting."

Additional police brutality was reported by RNA members. When the New Africans were lined up and searched, officers were "walking down the line, hitting us in the back with rifle butts," according to a member from Cleveland.

So far the police have not produced any physical evidence of shooting from inside the church. Homicide detectives admit that the only bullet shells found belonged to

police although everyone inside had been searched and the building had been immediately secured and searched. Detective Inspector Ricard explained that "someone grabbed all the rifle and pistol shells in an effort to thwart the investigation." He did not explain how "someone" was able to do this right under the noses of the police, nor how "someone" had been able to separate the New African shells from those of the police and leave only the latter.

At police station

When Recorder's Court Judge George W. Crockett arrived at the police station, he found that the constitutional rights of the New Africans were being violated. The black judge set up court at police headquarters and began processing prisoners. Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan and the police objected strongly when Crockett released some men who, police claimed, tested positively for nitrates (indicating they might have fired a weapon recently). Crockett ordered the releases because the men had not had attorneys present during the tests and had not even been advised of their right to counsel—facts the prosecutor had to admit were true.

Despite Crockett's court order, Cahalan rearrested one of the men. The black juror called Cahalan's action "a personal affront" with "racial overtones" because he had been white rather than black, "the prosecutor would not have dared act in that fashion."

Crockett branded the whole series of events as racist. "Can any of you," he asked at a press conference, "imagine the Detroit

in a diplomatic note delivered to the U. S. Secretary of State's office. RNA asked the U. S. government to open negotiations with the Republic and suggested paying black people a minimum of \$10,000 per person, a total of some \$200 billion. Land reparations sought by RNA include setting up a separate black nation in five southern states. Areas in the North and West where black people are in the majority are considered "subjugated areas," and RNA calls for special referendums, overseen by the United Nations, in these places to determine whether black people want to separate or not.

The RNA has called for such a referendum in New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. This referendum was to be one of the topics of discussion at the convention which was disrupted by shooting April 29, during the adjournment of the second day's session.

A "provisional government" of RNA was named at the first convention, which included a number of well-known individuals, some with varying political persuasions. These included: President Robert Williams, rights leader from Monroe, North Carolina, now in political exile in China; First Vice-President Milton Henry, the founder of the Malcolm X Society, which initiated the RNA; Second Vice-President Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X; Minister of Defense H. Rap Brown; Minister of State and Foreign Affairs Charles P. Howard; Minister of Information Richard Henry; and Minister of Education and Culture Oseijeman Adefunmi, chief priest of the Yoruba Temple in New York.



"LAW AND ORDER." Four of the 135 people seized after shooting attack on Republic of New Africa conference at Detroit church are brought into court handcuffed.

police invading an all-white church and rounding up everyone in sight to be bussed to a wholesale lockup in a police garage? . . . being held incognito for seven hours without being allowed to telephone relatives and without their constitutional rights to counsel?

"Can any of you justify the jailing of 32 women all night long when there was admittedly not the slightest evidence of their involvement in any crime? Can anyone explain in other than racist terms the shooting by police inside a closed and surrounded church?"

Many public officials (including Prosecutor Cahalan, Detroit Mayor Cavanagh and Michigan Governor Milliken) denounced Crockett's actions. The State Senate passed a resolution asking the Judicial Tenure Commission to investigate the judge's conduct.

At the same time, demonstrations and statements of support for Crockett are increasing every day. The largest of several supporting picket lines took place on April 3 when hundreds of high-school students, on strike to oppose the war in Vietnam and

commemorate the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., swelled a demonstration in front of Recorder's Court and the downtown police headquarters.

On April 1, a coalition of over 40 groups formed the Black United Front (BUF) to wage "a concerted drive against police oppression" and in support of Crockett, "who acted in accordance with the Constitution and sought to protect the rights of the people." BUF includes the Black Panther Party, Black Police Officers for Equal Justice, Wayne State U. Association of Black Students, South End, League of Revolutionary Workers, State Rep. James Del Rio and Congressman Charles Diggs.

Mayor Cavanagh has coupled his defense of the police "shoot first—talk later" policy with the announcement of a public fund drive to finance a large reward for the capture of the killer of Patrolman Czapski and for repairs to the heavily damaged New Bethel Baptist Church. There has been no announcement of a similar effort to compensate the wounded New Africans who were the victims of the policemen's storm-trooper tactics.

UAW tops switch on hours law

The United Auto Workers union bureaucracy has at last responded to pressure from the membership and endorsed a bill now before the Michigan state legislature to limit the number of hours of overtime which employers can arbitrarily impose on all workers. The bill would set a 40-hour week, 8-hour day, unless an employee voluntarily chooses to work longer.

The proposed bill would also allow employers to demand an additional 30 days work in excess of the maximum, if the worker does not volunteer. To be exempt from such overtime, the worker must present a "good cause."

According to the Detroit **Free Press**, "excessive overtime has long been a sore point with the union and its members . . . Many complain of the 10-hour day, six-day week in peak periods."

Myra Wolfgang, secretary-treasurer of Local 705 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, who heads an Ad Hoc Committee representing a dozen unions, civil rights organizations and church groups, lauded the UAW's "belated" reversal of its previous position and said, "We welcome the UAW aboard; it's about time."

There is still another issue before the legislature upon which the UAW has not as yet taken a definitive stand—the proposed repeal of a 60-year-old act which limits the number of hours women can work each week to 54. The UAW is also under pressure from its women membership, led by two stewards, Edith Fox and Stephani Prociuk of Dodge Local 3, to support the fight against the repeal. Mrs. Caroline Davis, director of the UAW Women's Division, has conceded that she would allow all women union members to vote in a poll on the issue, (a demand by the Local 3 insurgents). She said she "only wants to represent the majority."

The Big Three auto manufacturers have joined forces with other employers (including 40 mushroom growers) in a fight for the repeal of the limitation on hours women may work in a week, and against the general limitation on overtime for all workers. Representatives of both Ford and General Motors claim that unless they can

The National Picketline

demand and get overtime, especially from skilled workers, all parts of auto plants will fall into "chaos."

Mrs. Davis, speaking for the UAW on the new bill said: "Compulsion to work overtime [is a] crude and unnecessary remnant of a more primitive era in our industrial history."

On the repeal issue, the UAW issued a statement calling the overtime problem "one that cannot be solved by attempts to protect women workers as women rather than as workers."

(For a full story on the overtime issue, see **The Militant**, March 21.)

* * *

From Bakersfield, California, comes word that Superior Court Judge George Brown has issued a temporary injunction prohibiting the disclosure of reports accompanying applications of the factory farms to use pesticides. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has demanded such disclosure so that it could set up a cholinesterase testing program for field workers exposed to the poison.

According to the UFWO 94 cases of injuries to agricultural workers have been attributed to pesticides and other chemicals in Kern County during 1968.

In his ruling, Judge Brown said the chemical reports filed with the state agriculture department contained trade secrets. And of course, trade secrets are far more important than workers' lives.

The UFWO's court suit followed refusal by Kern County Agricultural Commissioner C. Seldon Morley to turn over his records. "Agricultural pesticides are a way of American life today," the commissioner said. "If it weren't for pesticides we would be having a lot of worms in our apples and everything else."

—Marvell Scholl

About Republic of New Africa

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—The Republic of New Africa (RNA), whose annual conference was disrupted by police here last week, is a separatist organization founded last spring in Detroit by a convention of around 200 black nationalists.

RNA leader Richard Henry (whose Swahili name is Brother Imari) explained at the time the ideas behind the group in a statement which appeared in the July 6, 1968, **Michigan Chronicle**. He pin-pointed the economic problems facing black people as: "1) economic power and control, as a people, and 2) jobs, full employment in creative tasks."

"The solution to these economic problems," he said, "lies in separation and creation of an independent, powerful, black nation: the route already embarked upon by those who join the Republic of New Africa. This, the Republic, throughout this land, is the present course of the Black Revolution. [It is] the only course . . .

"The push-off money for our people-owned business and industry must come from two sources: first, the tax money which black people pay into the Republic of New Africa (you don't have to be a citizen of the Republic to pay taxes) and second, from reparation.

"Reparations are simply a payment to which black people are entitled from the United States government for the free labor stolen from our ancestors during slavery and for the damage suffered by all of us, since slavery, by reason of racial discrimination and oppression."

The RNA later outlined their demands

The Great Society

That you can be sure of—Phillip Bobbit, a nephew of LBJ, was arrested at Princeton on charges of breaking into a liquor store and taking off with a suitcase of spirits. Bobbit's father, who is LBJ's brother-in-law and vice president of KTBC radio and Television in Austin, said the incident "was just a fraternity-type prank, hardly worthy of a news story." He added: "I'm in the media business too, and a story like this won't be on our television stations."

Note to the field—We thought the **New York Times** was really getting with it when we came on a head that stated: "8 HOUSE NEGROES WRITE PRESIDENT." It was about members of the House of Representatives concerned about the attacks on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

A future in his Ford—Henry Ford II received \$600,000 in wages and bonuses last year as compared to a mere \$200,000 in 1967. Clearly, he was worth a lot more than that but we're all practicing restraint to combat inflation.

The ultimate vision—Those of our critics who think we're visionaries should take a look at the resolution adoped by the Advertising Club of Westchester calling for ads "free from deception, permissible lies, half-truths, ridicule and anything that might defraud, delude, demean or insult the intelligence of the individual, or violate good taste."

Now hear this!—Arguing before the Supreme Court that the equal-time law be ended, a lawyer for the broadcasting industry said that if this weren't done radio and television coverage of public issues would become "bland and timid." No more of that provocative, crusading zeal that so typifies present broadcasting.

The lord giveth—Commenting on the rather affluent life style made possible by her husband's success as a theological huckster, Mrs. Norman Vincent Peale observed: "in a very unusual way, Norman Vincent Peale has been given certain abilities that are really a gift of God . . . In order to do all the things he does and accomplishes, certain material things were necessary. Personally, I think God has supplied him with certain blessings in this

life so he could do a bigger, better job . . . I figure the Lord wanted him to have something more."

They're almost like people — Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana, a long-time advocate of being prepared to nuke the Russians, is mellowing. After a recent visit to the USSR he concluded the U. S. should seek an accommodation with Moscow. He still has his criticisms of communism — "the toilet paper," he found, "is the same at all the hotels" — but he thought the people weren't bad at all. In fact, he said, if you put a hundred of them in the streets of New York or Chicago, "it would be most difficult to differentiate them from Americans."

Southern Gentleman—A Russian communist airplane pilot was impressed with Senator Ellender's spryness. The Senator told him exactly how he does it. "I explained," he says, "that my vitality was a result of the fact that I neither smoked nor drank and refrained from chasing women." The good senator is 78.

Small-timer—A letter-writer to the **San Francisco Chronicle** says: "Dictator Franco of Spain is getting \$300-million from Uncle Sam for opposing communism. I am firmly opposed to communism in San Francisco. Where do I apply for money in opposing it? I'm only asking for a hundred bucks."

Among the things that count—Explaining the growing corporation practice of giving executives titles that have little relation to their function, businessman King Whitney explained: "Among a man's peers a title can be like a new suit, sideburns or a perfect lawn. It sets him apart and gives him a sense of individual importance."

Thought for the week—"America has many clandestine and selfish reasons for entering the war. If the Communists take over the rice-productive Mekong Delta, they could feed all of Asia. What America has against feeding the hungry is simple. It wants to be the Asian grocer and choose its hungry. With enough food in the wrong bellies, American and free Asian interests might be threatened with aggression." — The March 27 Glenn Ellyn, Ill. News.

— Harry Ring

How Shanker & Co. aided state anti-labor forces

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK— The state legislature passed several amendments March 7 to the Taylor Law, which forbids public employees to strike.

These amendments are especially significant because they are aimed at the fastest growing body of organized workers in the state. There are well over 300,000 unionized public employees in the state, including 75,000 in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), 35,000 in the Transport Workers Union, 10,000 sanitation workers, and 50,000 teachers. AFSCME is currently organizing state employees for the first time in history, sparked by the strike in the New York state mental hospitals last November. This growth of unionism among public employees is a national phenomenon.

The Taylor Law amendments sharpen the penalties against striking union members. Fines against striking unions, previously set at a maximum of \$10,000 for each day of a strike, are now unlimited. Dues checkoff previously could be taken away only for 18 months; it can now be withheld for an unlimited period.

However, the most serious feature of the new amendments is the addition of harsh penalties against individual strikers. A striking employee can be fined an extra day's pay for each day on strike, and he can also be put on probation for a year, thereby losing any protection against arbitrary dismissal during that time. This proviso was undoubtedly a response to the growing tendency of the rank-and-file to reject sellout contracts negotiated by the union bureaucrats.

Passage of these new amendments was facilitated by the bureaucrats in control of the largest public employee unions in New York City, who failed to put up a fight against their passage. Albert Shanker, head of the giant United Federation of Teachers, has for the last year pitted the resources of his union squarely against the black and Puerto Rican communities, thereby earning the hatred of these communities, as well as of many whites repelled by the racist policies of

the union brass. Fifty-thousand teachers were mobilized for a two-and-a-half month shutdown against the movement for black control of the schools. But Shanker did not see fit to mobilize any of the resources of his union against the new union-busting amendments.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of the 75,000-member District Council 37 of AFSCME, does not seem particularly disturbed at the passage of the amendments. He is quoted in the March 31 **Public Employee Press** as saying, "First and foremost, we in District Council 37 weep no crocodile tears over this bill—if anything, it will further strengthen our union." He says that this new law will make his union more militant in its struggle to improve the lot of public workers.

Gotbaum states that the bill is aimed against smaller unions that have not yet established themselves and which do not have the strength to fight the bill effectively. He neglects to mention, however, that both he and Shanker failed to support such a union, the Social Service Employees Union, when it was forced to strike twice in 1967.

Gotbaum has also distinguished himself in the past month by pitting his own union members in the Department of Welfare against each other. Clerks, supervisors and caseworkers traditionally have had two-year contracts with common expiration dates, but Gotbaum has now recommended a two-and-a-half year contract for clerks, and two year contracts for case workers and supervisors, as well as acceptance of Lindsay's eliminating 7,200 jobs in the department.

The national implications of this stiffened Taylor Law are ominous. It will be an obstacle to organizing public employees, and it will inspire capitalist politicians all over the country who are seeking to thwart the growth and militancy of public employees' unions. The Illinois state legislature, for instance, is considering anti-strike legislation against public employees modeled on the Taylor amendments, and it is certain that other states, as well as the federal government, will watch closely the effectiveness of this harsh new law in attempting to combat public employees' unions.



Gov. Rockefeller

----- 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

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, 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) 626-9958.

San Diego: YSA, c/o Bill Williams, 897 Vista Grande, Apt. 4, El Cajon, Calif. 92020.

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

ILLINOIS: 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.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Marv Katter, 810 Kimberly #100, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

Peoria: YSA, c/o Mike Ghelfi, 1522 N. Bradley, Peoria, Ill. 61606.

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

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: 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, Michigan 48909.

Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Ed Mattos, 913 Washenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

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

MISSOURI: St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425

Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 17104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., 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 and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510.

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 Peter Graumann, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o Sudie Trippet, 412 West Euftaula, Norman, Oklahoma 73069. Tel: (405) 321-2594.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

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

Houston: YSA, c/o Fred Brade, 5420 Olana, Houston, Texas 77039.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA c/o Terrill Brumback, 18 Logan Circle N.W., Wash. D.C. 20005. Tel: (202) 387-5979.

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

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

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, Gruenhagen Hall, WSU, Oshkosh, Wisc. 54901.

Army undercover man uncovered in GIs United

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 10—The Army disclosed today, in a story that broke on the *New York Times* front page, that Pvt. John Huffman, one of the Ft. Jackson Nine, is an Army agent. All charges brought against him will be dropped.

Huffman was one of the nine antiwar GIs active in GIs United Against the War who have been confined, four in the barracks and five in the stockade, under maximum security. They were arrested March 20 and formally charged after a meeting on base of nearly 200 GIs which featured discussion of the Vietnam war.

Huffman had taken an active role in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, a predominantly black and Puerto Rican group, since its inception. He spoke at the March 20 meeting and reportedly denounced the Army for disregarding soldiers' lives, saying the Army was content merely to give \$10,000 to the widows of GIs who were killed.

GIs United has been completely open in its functioning, never advocating anything illegal or acting in an illegal manner. It has sought only to assert GIs' first amendment rights as citizens to discuss the war and racism. It is unlikely, therefore, that whatever information Huffman passed to the Army could be legally used to victimize the militant GIs.

The Army did not disclose Huffman's identity until after attorneys for the Ft. Jackson Nine had received written authorization from Huffman to represent him. Huffman was present at three meetings between the lawyers and three of the clients. The Army has thus compromised its case by denying the soldiers their sixth amendment right to counsel and by breaching the attorney-client relationship.

This latest police-state trick by the Army, in contrast to the openness of GIs United, can only damage the Army's case in the minds of the public. By its willingness to go so far as to have an informer infiltrate attorney-client conferences, the Army is implicitly admitting, despite its denials, that antiwar sentiment in the Army is great and growing.

New victimizing of Ft. Dix GI

The brass at Ft. Dix, N.J., are threatening to court-martial Sp/4 Allen Myers, a Young Socialist active in the GI antiwar movement, for allegedly pasting a sticker announcing the April 5 antiwar March in New York on a barracks wall.

On March 28, two MPs at Ft. Dix accused Myers of pasting up the sticker. Although a body search didn't reveal any of the incriminating objects on his person, they arrested him, confiscated several copies of *The Ultimate Weapon*—a Ft. Dix antiwar newspaper—he was carrying and turned him over to his company commander.

On April 1, Myers' CO charged him with violating a regulation governing the circulation of printed matter on the post and offered him a choice: a summary court-martial or company-level administrative punishment under Article 15 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

That evening, Myers appeared on a Philadelphia radio program and discussed the forthcoming antiwar march and the sticker incident.

The next morning, Myers' CO called him in and informed him that if he chose administrative punishment under Article 15, rather than a court-martial, he would have to face a field-grade hearing—which can result in confinement up to 60 days—rather than the milder company-grade action the CO had proposed the day before.

Myers refused the Article 15 proceeding: He is due to be discharged April 26, and if sentenced under Article 15, he could be held past his discharge date until he has served his time.

Where to send letters of support

Readers who wish to send letters of support to the five antiwar GIs in the stockade at Ft. Jackson may write to: Eugene J. Rudder, RA11-578476, Box A, Ft. Jackson, S. C. 29207; Delmar H. Thomas, RA11-681943, Box A, Ft. Jackson, S. C. 29207; Andrew C. Pulley, RA11-68193, Box A, Ft. Jackson S. C. 29207; Edilberto Chaparro, Box A, Ft. Jackson, S. C. 29207; Joseph F. Cole, Box A, Ft. Jackson, S. C. 29207.

Brass thwarted in harassment of socialist GI

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, April 9—Further attempts to harass socialist GI Don Pyle have been thwarted. Pyle's lawyer, Dennis Clifford, reported that moves to court-martial Pyle for missing reveille had been dropped, and Pyle now faces lesser disciplinary action.

A slated punishment of seven days at hard labor and cancelation of four week-end passes has been reduced to 14 hours of extra duty. Pyle is stationed at Camp Roberts, an isolated base. He was sent there as a punitive transfer from Ft. Ord for helping organize the Easter antiwar march here. He had been shipped to Ft. Ord from Ft. Benning, Ga., where he had been active in helping to prepare for the April 6 antiwar action in Atlanta.

3,000 students in protest march at Minnesota U

By Lee Smith

MINNEAPOLIS, April 3—Liberation Week, held to protest the indictment of three black University of Minnesota students, culminated today in a march of three thousand students from the campus to a rally on the downtown mall.

The three students, Rose Mary Freeman, Warren Tucker, Jr., and Horace Huntley, members of Afro-American Action Committee, were framed up on charges of unlawful assembly, inciting to riot and property damage for their role in the takeover of an administration building in January.

The indictments were handed down by the Hennepin County Grand Jury in March the week before winter quarter final exams. At that time student and community groups including AAAC, SDS, YSA, Resistance and Citizens' Community Center organized a march of one thousand to the courthouse and formed a Liberation Coalition. The Coalition organized Liberation Week, March 31 through April 3, with speakers from the Chicago Black Panthers and the Native Alliance for Red Power. The April 3 march was originally to have been aimed again at the courthouse because this was the day of the hearing at which the students were to make their plea.

However, a change of judges in response to a defense motion has set the hearing back three weeks. The Liberation Coalition is making plans to organize more activity at that time.

N.Y. frame-up of Panthers assailed by demonstrators

By Derrick Morrison

NEW YORK—Over 300 people demonstrated at the Criminal Courts Building here on April 3 and 4 to protest the indictment of 21 New York Black Panther Party members on trumped-up charges of trying to blow up department stores and kill policemen.

On April 3, Lonnie Epps, a 17-year-old Panther from Long Island City High School, was arraigned before Justice Charles Marks. Epps had turned himself in, bringing the number of jailed Panthers in the bizarre case to 13.

At the hearing, Attorney William Kunstler assailed the frame-up nature of the charges, pointing out that they constituted a political attack on the Black Panthers. He also scored the maliciously high bail of \$100,000 that had been set for each Panther. He called it "ransom" money.

While Kunstler spoke, Judge Marks responded in an arrogant and heavy-handed fashion, overruling him and declaring his arguments "irrelevant." Marks made it quite clear that this was "his court," and he would do as he pleased. In setting the bail at \$100,000 each the judge was doing his own thing, "irrespective of whatever you [Kunstler] may say."

The judge finally said that he would deny any reduction in bail, but would give Kunstler a hearing on bail reduction on April 11.

Organizations represented at the demonstrations were: Black Panther Party, SNCC, United Black and Latin Youth, black student organizations, Students for a Democratic Society, Movement for a Democratic Society, Youth Against War and Fascism, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Columbia teach-in to hear Syria envoy

NEW YORK—George Tomeh, Syrian ambassador to the United Nations, will participate in the teach-in, "Arab Liberation vs. Imperialism-Zionism," to be held at 7:00 p.m., April 18, at Harkness Theater, Butler Library, Columbia University. Ambassador Tomeh will speak on the historical framework of the Mideast conflict.

Other participants in the teach-in include Prof. Ilyas Shufani and Prof. Hisham Sharabi, both of Georgetown University; Prof. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod of Northwestern University; Prof. Larry Lochman of Eastern Michigan University; Mrs. Randa Khalidi El Fatta, editor, *The Arab World*; Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party; and Rita Freed, chairman, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation.

At present bail money is urgently needed. All contributions may be sent to: Legal Defense Fund, Black Panther Party, Box 1224, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11202.

Meeting backs Harlem Five

NEW YORK—About 300 brothers and sisters gathered together at I. S. 201 April 1 to pay tribute to, and raise support for the Harlem Five.

The five brothers involved were victims of a police round-up of leaders of the Harlem Youth Federation last spring. The HYF was founded in September of 1967 to change the deteriorating political, economic, and social conditions of Harlem. One of the organization's first projects was to move against the drug pushers in Harlem. In response, the white power structure, which reaps great profits from the pushing of narcotics onto the black community, began to conspire to destroy the Harlem Youth Federation.

The Police Bureau of Special Services, sent two Negro agents into HYF, a la 'Mod Squad.' These two agents attempted to provoke the organization into pulling off some actions which would jeopardize the organization. The agent provocateurs didn't succeed because the HYF was very open and communicative about its plans for the community. So last May 16, frustrated, they just proceeded to arrest five brothers, including leaders of the organization. The five were Hannibal Thomas, Wallace Marks, Lloyd Butler, Preston Lay and John Garrett.

The authorities and their pork chop agents concocted a story whereby the five were supposed to be planning to rob an up-state armory and then proceed to kill cops. When the story was released to the newspapers, the five were painted up as a bunch of terrorists who were plotting to kill-a-cop-a-week. The actual charges are conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to commit burglary, and others.

Four of the five spent five months in jail before they got out. One of the five, Lloyd 'Sayeed' Butler is still in jail. This brother has been held on the charge that he violated his juvenile parole.

At the rally, entertainment was provided by the Third World Revelations, The Last Poets, and the Milford Graves' New Music Ensemble. Speakers included Charles 37X Kenyatta, Wallace Marks, one of the five, Lumumba Shakur, captain of the Harlem Black Panther Party, Omar Ahmed and Herman Ferguson.

The Harlem Five needs a great deal of financial support. Your help is urgently needed. Send funds to Legal Defense of the Harlem Five, P. O. Box 486, New York, N. Y. 10027.



Photo by Dan Johnson

Mass march hits frame-up of Minnesota U student leaders