

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People
Vol. 33—No. 23 Friday, June 6, 1969 Price 15c

*A revolutionary campaign
for the French presidency*

-- see pages 7-10 --

Berkeley occupation draws wide protest

--Story page 13

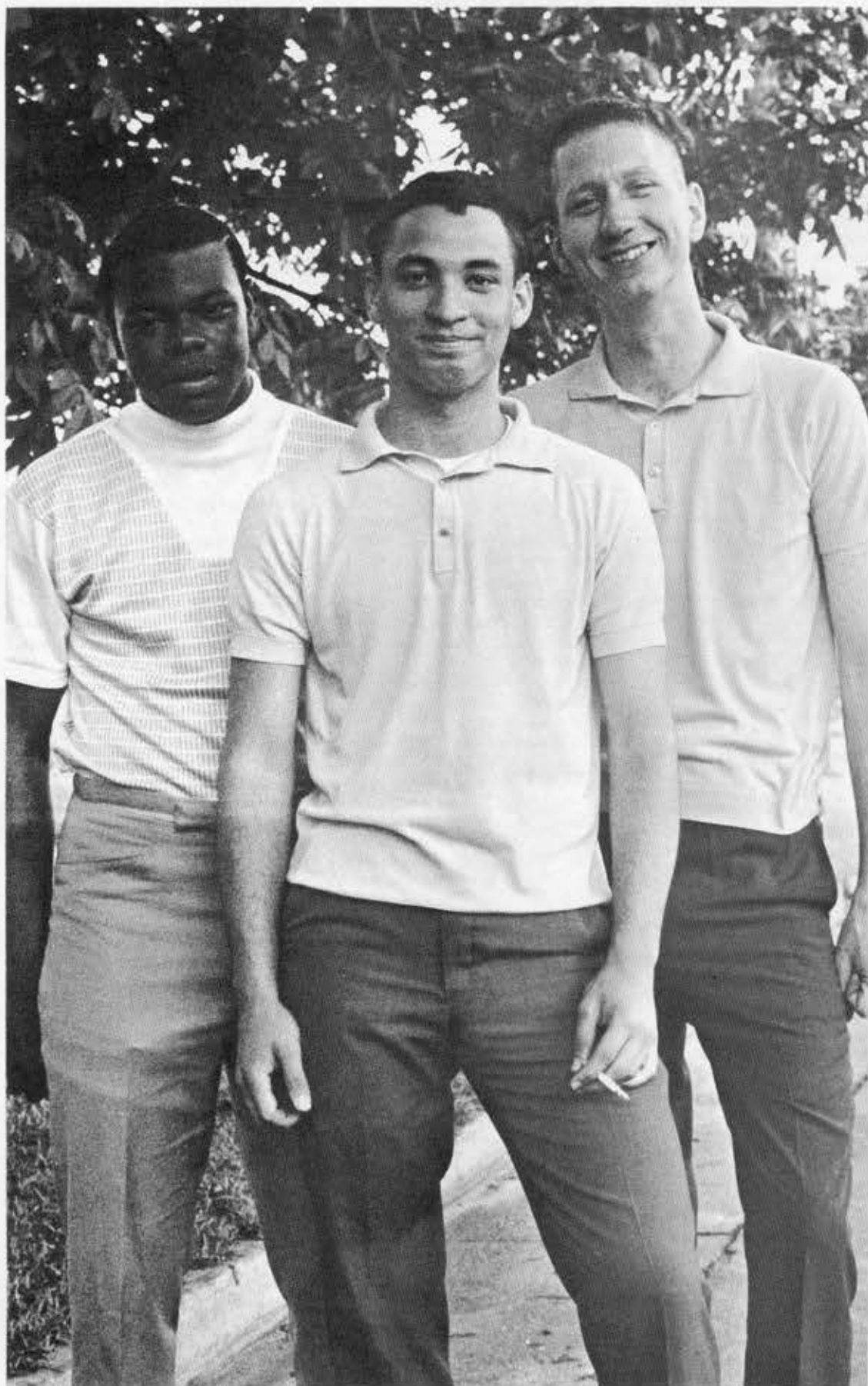


Photo by Fred Halstead

A RELATIONSHIP. There's a relationship between the three smiling young men above and the California National Guardsman to the right. The three are (left to right) Pvts. Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder and Joe Cole. The picture was taken shortly after they emerged from a two-month stretch in the Ft. Jackson, N. C., stockade. They were among the Ft. Jackson 8, the servicemen attacked by the Army be-



Photo by Ron Payne

cause of their activities in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Under heavy pressure the brass backed down and these last three of the eight were freed. (See interview with them p. 4) Meanwhile Berkeley students were distributing antiwar literature to occupying guard force, including material on the Ft. Jackson 8.

From a political prisoner in Texas

SNCC worker fights frame-up

Austin, Texas

You may be somewhat aware that I am engaged in a difficult struggle to obtain justice and regain my liberty. I'm a political prisoner, victimized for none other than organizing effective human rights activities to cure the conspicuous and detestable ills of this society.

During a six-month period I was arrested numerous times on trumped-up charges. I am now in jail, having been unjustly convicted of an alleged sale of marijuana. The conviction was based solely on the false evidence of one Houston city policeman who testified that I "gave him one marijuana cigarette." As a result of this conviction, I was sentenced to 30 years in the state penitentiary.

I am advised that it will take one or two years before the state court of appeals in Austin will hand down a decision in my case; meanwhile I remain in jail.

To this date the courts have failed to set bail, which would allow me to remain at liberty while my appeal is pending. I should be permitted to make bail in accord with the Eighth Amendment: "Excessive bail shall not be required; nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted."

A motion for impaneling a new jury had been filed during the trial, since the defense showed that 14 or more members of the panel from which my jury was chosen were by their own admission, prejudiced, and only 10 challenges were permitted. The motion was denied.

The jury heard only one direct accusation, made by Officer Billy Williams with no corroborating witness, that I gave him one marijuana cigarette.

On Oct. 10, 1968, at a hearing for a new trial, the defense submitted over 30 newspaper accounts and 12 TV film strips, all from the 16-month period preceding my trial, showing the biased atmosphere surrounding the trial. The judge sustained prosecution objections that the pretrial publicity was inadmissible as evidence in the motion for the new trial. The judge had previously denied a motion for change of venue.

Presently I am trying to mobilize an all-out effort to require the courts to set an appeal bond, but as matters now stand I am without funds to finance such an effort, which may require appeal

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.

to the U.S. Supreme Court after exhausting all remedies for relief in the state courts. All available funds have been exhausted in this case and the numerous other charges filed against me. If I am to continue the struggle for human rights and freedom, I must call on friends to aid me in this matter; otherwise the prospect of justice prevailing in the end is remote. Funds should be mailed and made payable to: Austin SNCC, P.O. Box 6272, Austin, Texas 78707.

Brother Lee Otis Johnson

[Letters to Lee Otis Johnson can be written to the following address: Wing 3-D-2, Cell #3, 2310 Atascopota Road, Humble, Texas.

Editor]

An Oscar for The Militant?

Brooklyn, N.Y.

This note is a request for a free copy of your newspaper, **The Militant**. I heard of this on a Barry Farber radio broadcast, and I am curious (not pink).

Miss J. G.

Arizonans hear YSA Cuba visitor

Phoenix, Ariz.

Joel Britton, a member of the Young Socialist delegation that spent a month in Cuba during January, had a busy visit to the Arizona State University campus May 15 and 16.

Outside, in 100-degree weather, Joel participated in a demonstration in solidarity with Fatah. He also gave a short talk about the role of Afro-Cubans in the revolution while at a display about the Afro-American struggle.

Inside, about 50 people attended a lecture with slides, visited several classes and led other rapsessions. Students here were generally interested in recent developments in

Cuba, and there was no hostility. During the two days, \$85 worth of literature was sold. A big seller was red flags with imprints of Che Guevara; these flags were a special attraction because 10 anti-ROTC demonstrators were arrested recently for displaying a seditious red flag.

Lindley Garner

Unbeatable argument is Arab revolution

Toronto, Ont.

Please send four copies of the May 9 issue of **The Militant**. Terrific! Because of the Middle East articles, which for argument's sake beats anything tendered by the opposition. These penetrating news articles and analyses I reserve especially for my Jewish "liberal" friends who still have Zionist illusions. (I'm Jewish too.)

M. S.

On women's liberation

Newton, Mass.

You publish a fine newspaper which I have found necessary to maintaining a true perspective on events; however, I do find one very large lack. I have found very little in your paper regarding female liberation.

Both Marx and Engels have drawn many connections between the oppression of women and other forms of oppression. Marx said, "Social progress can be measured by the social position of the female sex."

I hope to see your paper take a stand on this important subject too!

M. N.

[Throughout its history, **The Militant** has opposed the special oppression imposed on women in capitalist society and pointed to socialism as the goal that will offer final victory to the struggle for women's liberation. In addition to news articles, our issue of March 21 offered an analysis of the question by Mary-Alice Waters, and a report by Linda Jenness on the strides toward liberation being made by the women of Cuba since the revolution there. — Editor.]

The gasser and the zapper

New York, N.Y.

In protesting the murderous police assaults on Berkeley students, faculty and community residents, your readers might find the following information useful:

CS, the gas which was sprayed from a helicopter May 20 onto the campus during the funeral vigil for James Rector, murdered by police bullets, is not ordinary tear gas. It is one of the so-called "nonlethal" gases used by the U.S. in Vietnam, which are known to be frequently lethal to children, the infirm and the elderly.

According to Army Training Manual 3-215, CS is the Army's most powerful tear gas; the manual says that "physiological effects include extreme burning of the eyes, copious flow of tears, coughing, difficulty in breathing and chest tightness, stinging sensations on moist skin, runny nose and dizziness or swimming of the head. Heavy concentrations will cause nausea and vomiting in addition to the above effects."

A derivative of phosgene, one of the poison gases used in World War I and since outlawed by the Geneva Protocol, CS causes irreparable lesions at 20mg./cubic meter of air.

When such a storm of protest has stopped germ warfare research on many American campuses, do Gov. Reagan and Sheriff Madigan really think that they'll be more successful in rallying public support by conducting "counterinsurgency" warfare right

THE MILITANT

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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. 23Friday, June 6, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was May 30.

here on a U.S. campus than were Johnson and Westmoreland for their "counterinsurgency" effort 10,000 miles away?

I seems that certain people have a thing about spraying matter from helicopters; with General "Zapp-zapp" Hollingsworth it was "killin' Cong" that he loved; with Sheriff Maidgan, it's poisoning students and faculty. The Alameda County authorities will suffer the same ignominious defeats as the Ft. Jackson authorities. This helicopter thing is only a fad that we revolutionaries will put an end to. Boeing beware.

J. A.

Down with Darwin—back to the Bible

Berkeley, Calif.

Can God stop the hippie-sin-humanist-commie-drug take-over? This is the problem perplexing the California Board of Education. The Board is the official body appointed by Governor Reagan to set policy and guidelines for education in California. On May 9th they unanimously passed a massive, 81-page "Back to the Bible" report to be used as the basis for moral guidelines in the State's public schools.

Apparently America is faced with an enemy that is undermining the children's morality, encouraging drugs, weakening God's powers, and preaching Humanism as a prelude to taking over.

Dr. Hardin Jones, a professor at the U. of C. and member of the 10-man board, predicted that within the next few years, "half of our young people between the ages of 10 and 20 will be destroyed by drugs because of the absence of any moral character in our community."

The board's guidelines see "the humanist movement" as the biggest danger to children's morals. They warned that humanism is "entrenched in high places." Dr. John R. Ford, a Reagan appointee to the board, complained that the theory of evolution "has done much to take away the power of God." Ford explained, "It has been a great step in taking away from the sense of morality of our children by saying that God cannot do the things the Bible says he can do."

To cope with the decreasing power of God, the board also voted unanimously that Darwin's theory of evolution was to be

taught only as a theory, no longer as fact, and only equal in emphasis to the Bible's seven-day-God-did-it version.

Six of the board's 10 members who drafted the report warned that unless the report were placed into effect and thereby a return to morality started America would become a hedonistic society and thus vulnerable for a communist takeover.

The report will go into effect in all public schools in California after the board holds a public hearing. The report will require the inclusions of religious training for children from kindergarten on up. This will include slipping the message into all history and civics courses. Training sessions will be required for teachers of political science, history or social sciences, with the training for the teachers designed along the lines of the Navy and Marine Corps character-building booklets.

The board will be recommending to the state legislature a law making it illegal to teach humanism as a religion or the moral values of humanism in the schools.

Heavy emphasis is placed on God, the Bible, J. Edgar Hoover, William Buckley Jr., two 100-year-old books on morality and the founding fathers of America.

The board's position is summarized in the following quote from its report: "This moral crisis is reflected in the increased use of drugs at colleges as well as of sexual promiscuity, of illegitimate births, and incredible increases in crimes of violence, especially among teenagers."

"The staff feels they have developed the proper yardstick by which to measure the valid and invalid, the moral and the immoral, the alien and the unalienable."


One indication of a dying ruling class is when it begins to get separated from reality in its view of events and begins to lean on mysticism. This new plan for straightening out America's youth rebellion is one clear symptom of the total inability, not only to deal with the social problems which are giving rise to the new generation, but even to understand it, on the part of the ruling circles in California.

The report seems rather humorous until you stop and realize that the people who drafted this report actually control education in California.

Peter Camejo

If you support:

- The antiwar movement
- Black power
- The Cuban Revolution
- Revolutionary socialist candidates



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



CAUSE FOR CONCERN. California school authorities are concerned that dangerous agitation about common origins of ape and man may lead students to a loss of respect for their superiors currently ensconced in the limbs of the tree of knowledge.

Seattle black youths fight off cop attack

By Josephine Short

SEATTLE, May 27—The black community here defended itself against police violence which erupted as the Black Student Union of Seattle Community College defied an injunction in four days of demonstrations to back their demand for a black representative on the board of trustees. Demonstrations spread to the streets of Seattle's central district black community.

After the Black Student Union had called a series of demonstrations to build a strike momentum at SCC, the city tactical squad was called in May 26. Over 1,000 cops mobilized to inundate the central area. The Seattle Community College itself was cut off and occupied by the police. In the fighting that ensued, three policemen were shot, six others injured and 34 people arrested in a foray which began at the college and ended in the central area near Garfield High School late last night.

Battle-clad police wearing gas masks attacked and tear-gassed demonstrators at Seattle Community College, Garfield High School, junior high schools and a number of restaurants in the middle of the central district that are frequented by black youth.

As a result of the police attack, bricks, rocks and other objects were thrown at policemen patrolling through the central district. The central district was patrolled by over 250 cops, four to a car, and 680 others who were dispersed in a ring around the central district. By midnight, most of the action had stopped.

The struggle grew out of the failure of the Seattle Community College to respond to the needs of the black community. When the college was originally developed and planned, the black community was promised that the first of the new buildings and additions to the curricula would be in the central district campus, near to where the majority of students live and close to the central district black community. They were promised that there would be 60 percent college-credit courses and only 40 percent technical-training courses.

But the administration of Seattle Community College broke its promises to the black community. They arbitrarily started building on two other campuses, both with small student populations, and both adjacent to the main Boeing plant, which primarily serves the technical training needs of the Boeing company.

The curricula have been changed so that now the courses are only 20 percent college-credit and 80 percent technical-training. The Black Student Union demanded a black representative on the board of trustees in an effort to insure that the earlier promises were kept.

Hooligan attack on Seattle H.Q.

SEATTLE — On Tuesday evening, May 27, the window of the Militant Bookstore in Seattle was shattered by large rocks and unknown projectiles, possibly bullets or pellets. There was no one in the store at the time.

This action follows a large number of hate calls received by the Militant Bookstore because of the support given by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to the black students at Seattle Community College. One of the calls threatened "a hanging party for the YSA and SWP" if they continued to support the black students.

The SWP and YSA issued the following joint reply to the attack: "If anything, this attack will cause us to intensify our support of black students and the Black Student Union at Seattle Community College. Further, it makes us more aware of the necessity of accelerating our struggle for a decent and humane society; that is, a socialist America."

The board of trustees rejected the offer as "unreasonable." But it did not foresee the courage and determination of the Black Student Union and the leadership of A. Frank Williams, an elected member of the Central District Advisory School Council. Williams reaffirmed the BSU demands.

Williams knows that the school boards have a way of deferring their promises into wasted tokenism and he and the Black Student Union are determined that this will not happen at Seattle Community College.

S.F. students get first-hand look at majesty of law

By David Salner

SAN FRANCISCO—On May 13, nine of the 437 San Francisco State mass bust defendants were acquitted of disturbing the peace. After two days of deliberation the jury hung on the other two charges: unlawful assembly and failure to disperse. Since the prosecution's whole case is built around the disturbance charge, it is considered unlikely that the group will be retried on the two charges that remain unsolved.

The mass bust occurred at a Jan. 23 rally held at the speakers' platform (the traditional free speech area) of San Francisco State. The group of around 500 students and community members who had gathered to support the Third World Liberation Front strike was suddenly surrounded and arrested by the San Francisco tactical squad.

A good indication of the flimsiness of the charges against the San Francisco State students has been the extreme irregularity of the verdicts reached so far. Although the same evidence is being presented against all 437, so far 27 of the defendants have been found innocent, 25 guilty, and one jury was hung on a group of eight.

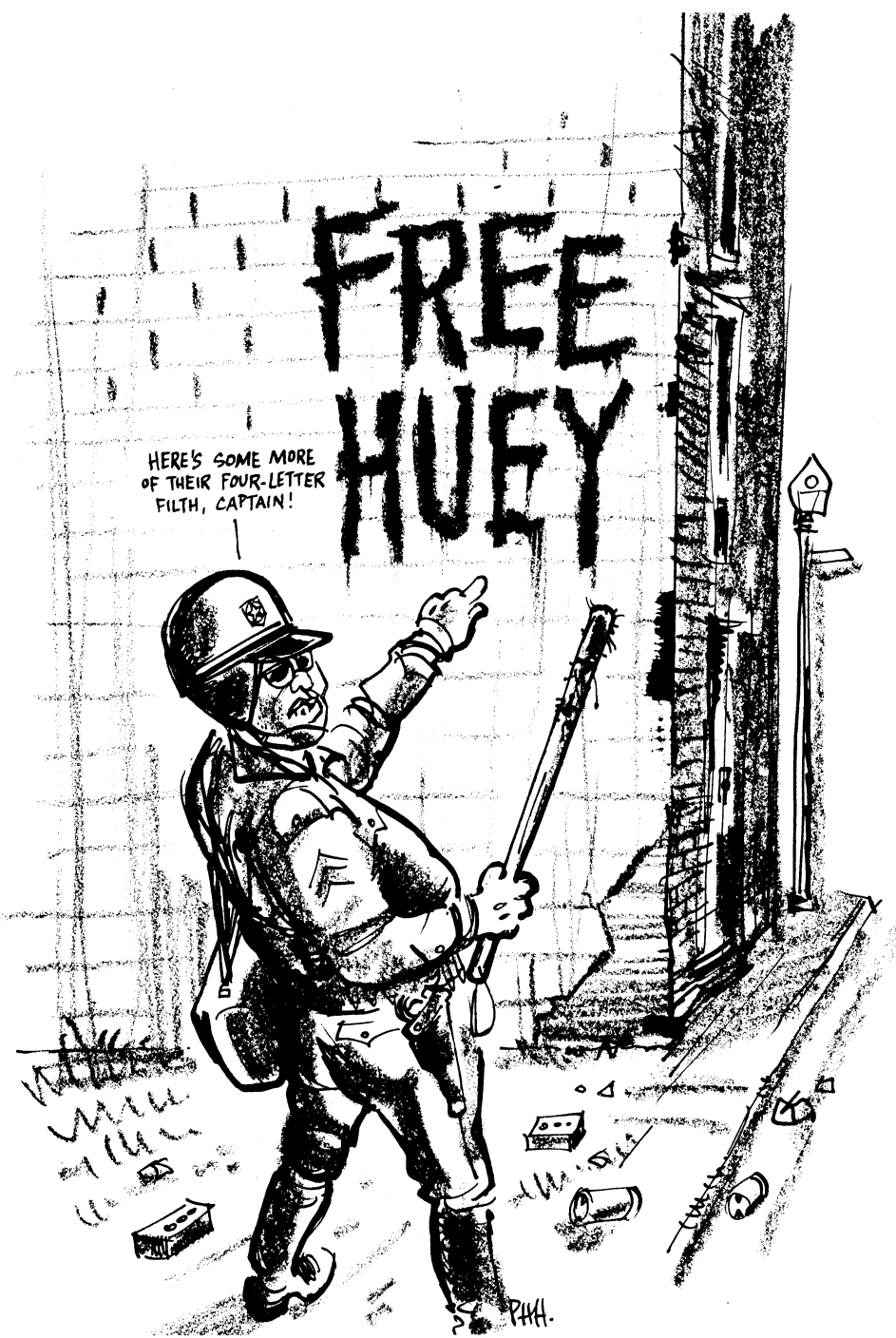
The judges' sentencing has been extremely harsh for misdemeanor cases. One group including strike leader Roger Alvarado was sentenced to 40 days served, or 15 days served with 75 suspended, and a two-year probation period. Those on probation are prohibited from attending any demonstrations, legal or illegal, and must live with "moral" people. Alvarado had been jailed immediately upon reading of the guilty verdict (an unprecedented step in misdemeanor cases here) so he has served 21 days of his sentence already.

The second group was sentenced to 90 days suspended sentence, two years probation and \$250 fine, except for one person in the group, John Hansen, a YSA activist, who was denied suspension of sentence.

As has been pointed out by all the defense attorneys working on behalf of the State students, the prosecution's charge that classes in session at State were disturbed by the rally has not been substantiated by a single witness. In fact, all of the evidence presented during the course of the mass bust trial points to the conclusion that the police department, in consultation with the administration, decided beforehand that a violation would occur. When faced with a successful movement for social change (the strike was, according to attendance figures, 80 percent effective) the power structure responded with a mass bust.

The appeal bonds for everyone convicted will be in the range of \$2,000. Legal Defense needs money to fight the convictions as well as to conduct a defense for the over 100 State activists framed up on felony charges.

Send the urgently needed funds to: San Francisco State Legal Defense, 546 Fillmore St., San Francisco 94117.



S.F. black community hit by more police attacks

By Antonio Camejo

SAN FRANCISCO—Police chief Cahill and Mayor Alioto have launched a vindictive campaign against the Latin American and Chicano communities here, after a San Francisco policeman was shot to death.

On May 1, according to the police, two cops, Joseph Brodnik and Paul McGoran saw a group of young men unloading a TV set from a car to carry it into the home of Jose Rios. They began questioning them. Brodnik was killed and McGoran wounded in the resultant scuffle. Six youths were arrested and a warrant is expected for a seventh at any moment.

In reality, Brodnik and McGoran were unaccustomed even to using a pretext for "interrogating." They had both become notorious in the Mission District of San Francisco for their racist attitudes and actions against brown people. One youth in the district described them as the type of cops "who come up to you and pull marijuana out of one of your empty pockets and then bust you." The two cops, dressed in plainclothes at the time, just came up to the youths and began hitting them and calling them names. In the scuffle, Brodnik was killed and McGoran wounded with Brodnik's own gun.

McGoran's account of what happened has revealed glaring discrepancies, putting into serious question the validity of his testimony against the six young men. McGoran "positively identified" Nelson Rodriguez as one of those on the scene of the shooting. Yet there are scores of witnesses who saw Rodriguez on the campus of the College of San Mateo at the time.

In addition, close to the time of the shooting, Rodriguez was given a ticket by the California Highway Patrol in the vicinity of San Mateo, corroborating the statement of the other witnesses.

The incident touched off a massive assault on the Mission District community. Cops have broken into numerous homes at gun point and searched without warrants. Well over 150 people were arrested the first night, which saw police patrolling the streets with machine guns and manning road blocks.

The cops broke into the home of Oscar Rios (he is the brother of Jose Rios, one of the defendants) finding only Rios' eleven-year-old sister present. While they were questioning her, a barrage of bullets hit the house. The little girl fell to the floor while the cops exchanged gunfire with those who had fired upon the house. These "others" turned out to be more San Francisco cops who thought they would harass the Rios family on their own. The Rios girl narrowly escaped death, receiving a flesh wound in her leg.

Since this incident, all the furniture was removed from the Rios home on the pretext that they didn't have receipts to prove it was theirs. Mrs. Rios has also been fired from her job. San Francisco police lieutenant Charles Ellis reportedly threatened Oscar Rios, saying that "if it was the last thing I do," it would be to put Rios away for five years.

The press has done everything possible to portray the six arrested youths as drug addicts and thieves. The truth is that two of them, the Martinez brothers, were students at the College of San Mateo and that another, Nelson Rodriguez, had been active in the TWLF strike as a student at San Francisco State College. All three were involved in trying to recruit youth from the "barrio" into the College of San Mateo through the College Readiness Program. Rodolfo Antonio Martinez, as chairman of the Confederation of Brown Race for Action (COBRA), had done much to convince other youth Latinos of the importance of getting an education and attending college. The other three defendants, Daniel Jose Mendez, Gary Lee Lescallet, and Jose Rios, all had applications in at the College of San Mateo at the time of the arrest.

Charles Garry, who is Huey Newton's lawyer, has agreed to defend the young men accused of killing Brodnik.

Funds are urgently needed for the defense of "Los Siete de la Raza" (The Seven of Our People). Donations may be sent to Los Siete de la Raza Defense Committee; c/o Horizons Unlimited; 1249 Alabama St.; San Francisco, California.

INTERVIEW WITH FT. JACKSON GIs

Three fighting men tell their story

Fred Halstead was in Columbia, S.C., May 22, the night after charges against the last three of the Fort Jackson Eight were dropped. It was the first evening the three were able to get off base. They had been released the day before after 61 days in the stockade. The following is a conversation between Halstead and the three privates: Andrew Pulley, 18, of Cleveland; Jose Rudder, 20, of New York; and Joe Cole, 24 of Atlanta.

Halstead: Who brought you the news that you were going to get out of the stockade?

Rudder: Michael brought it to us [Attorney Michael Smith]. Everybody was very sympathetic and they were very happy. They congratulated us.

Halstead: What did the guards say?

Pulley: They thought it was splendid.

Rudder: Most of the guards we had were very sympathetic and they were very happy. They congratulated us.

Halstead: And how about the other prisoners?

Rudder: A cheer went up in the cell block. We'd done our thing to the Army and everybody got very happy.

Halstead: So tonight you got off the base for the first time in over two months and had a nice steak dinner and a few beers and now tell us how it began, that you started to exercise your rights to speak out against the war and so on?

Pulley: It started when Joe Miles suggested to some of us in the barracks at B-14-4 that we listen to some Malcolm X tapes. It started as all-black and Puerto Rican, just listening to the tapes and talk-

ing about it afterward. The first night about 15 GIs came. The second night it built up to 35. We saw the momentum growing and the enthusiasm among the black GIs in the building to the tapes. Because Malcolm X laid his rap so clear and so plain that anyone could understand it, whether he was a racist or whether he was an Uncle Tom, he could dig what the man was talking about.

And listening to the Malcolm X tapes we took it this way: that not only were the black people oppressed but so were the Puerto Ricans, so were the poor whites, so were the Indians. We realized that the working class, period, was being oppressed and exploited by the ruling class. As GIs, we were being oppressed and exploited more so than any other group of people in the country because we are asked to risk our lives for something we don't believe in. And by realizing this we suggested that the meetings would be open to any person who dug what we dug.

We explained to the white GIs that if they wanted to come they had to accept black power, the demolishing of racism, they had to believe in equality and self-determination for all people, including black people, Puerto Ricans, and the other minority peoples in the country. And the majority of all the people in the barracks, they agreed. It was not complicated to get over, you know. The younger generation is capable of seeing things that the older generation seldom sees. The first meeting that white GIs attended we had over 80 GIs. It was right outside the barracks.

Rudder: We made it clear to the white GIs that in order to become active in this new GI struggle they would have to understand and accept our position as blacks and Puerto Ricans, that our commitment was to our people, and our second commitment was, of course, to the struggle. But like we were first committed to instilling pride and integrity amongst the ranks of our brothers, and at the same time we were committing ourselves to the antiwar struggle and that as white GIs they would have to understand and accept this as white men, and they did.

Halstead: Were you at the first meeting when whites attended Joe?

Cole: I was there. The meetings were tremendously impressive. There was profound respect. Although most of the people in the meetings, either white or black, had had no organizational experience, no one spoke out of turn. When anybody had anything to say it was germane to the point and profound. Even when there were disagreements it was always "brother this" and "brother that." Everything was just perfect. It was an experience I'll always remember. And all the other meetings were just like that.

Halstead: What happened at the next meeting?

Rudder: At that point we were launching a support Rudy Bell drive—Brother Bell from Ft. Hood, one of the Ft. Hood 43, was facing court martial. We circulated a petition supporting him. At that meeting also, the first inklings of a post-wide petition drive were born. And at subsequent meetings this idea gained momentum and finally was launched into our very famous petition drive on post, where we petitioned the commanding general at Fort Jackson, Jimmy Hollingsworth—better known as the "Zap Zap" general—to provide facilities for an open discussion on the legal and moral questions relating to the war in Vietnam.

Halstead: How did you get this petition around?

Cole: What we did was organize truth squads to go out and spread the petitions around. The main vehicle was people like Jose and Pulley going around and talking to people. Others caught on to their example and started going around circulating petitions also. We circulated petitions in the mess halls, just any place GIs were, and the word got around all over the post. It kept leapfrogging and in two days time we had over 200 signatures. After that, though, it got pretty hard because the whole company was restricted when the brass caught on.

Rudder: The most common reaction of GIs was they would sign. Huffman [an Army informer] even testified later that

two out of three of those approached signed. The problem with those who wouldn't sign was mostly intimidation. They were afraid they'd get in trouble, go to jail, or something. We explained that the right to petition was a constitutional right.

Pulley: A good 80 or 90 percent were antiwar. But there were some afraid. And one GI who signed was given a direct order to remove his name, which he did. The order was given by his commanding officer.

Rudder: That was the night we got arrested the first time. We were arrested by the MPs, taken to 12th Battalion Headquarters, lined up against the wall, had our ID cards taken and our petitions snatched out of our hands. MPs were all over the place. They didn't charge us, though, just released us in the custody of our company commander.

Pulley: But we made affidavits about all these acts of interference with our rights. The first reaction by the brass to our petitioning was harassment. Like extensive KP. Jose and me were on KP almost steadily. This is something like a 15-hour-a-day-job. And it's tough to take day after day. And this continued up until the time we got arrested the last time.

Halstead: What was the reaction of the GIs to your taking harassment for petitioning. Did they think you were crazy for taking it, or did they admire you for it, or what?

Rudder: They thought it was about time somebody stood up.

Pulley: Well, you see, although we were being harassed, we fought back, constantly. This constant petitioning, and the constant meetings that we had—this was also a way of fighting back. They felt harassed themselves because they could not understand it, they could not fight it politically because they didn't know about politics.

Cole: The next big move on the brass's part was to transfer Miles.

Rudder: On Feb. 14 the first class in B-14-4 graduated from the supply school. Less than an hour after the class graduated Joe Miles was given three hours to get his stuff together and he was evicted from Ft. Jackson and sent to Ft. Bragg. This turned out to be a bad error by the brass because the movement started up at Ft. Bragg.

[At this point the three GIs described their attempt to present petitions to the base commander, who refused to accept them.]

Halstead: What was the effect of this refusal on the GIs?

Cole: They thought they'd been robbed. And support for us mushroomed. We kept having meetings.

Halstead: All right. So you carried on these meetings, and the suit was filed and they hadn't accepted the petition. Then what happened?

Rudder: What really set the brass off was that the Huntley-Brinkley TV News show sent a whole crew, complete with cameras, lights and reporters, the whole bit, to Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to interview GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. And this was on national television. It was the first time the whole country learned about GIs United, and the whole world, for that matter. Guys here on base got mail from their parents asking what was going on. It really got around, and that must have worried the brass. It wasn't but about four or five days later that we had our March 20 meeting where they swooped down upon us.

Halstead: What happened on March 20?

Rudder: Well, we were wrestling on the grass outside the barracks in the evening. It was a beautiful evening weatherwise and guys were hanging out the windows. I was in good spirits and I said "This is a good time to rap to people." So we started rapping. At first it was just a game, nobody thought it would develop into anything serious. We just started rapping about the war, about the army, in a funny kind of way, cracking a few little jokes. But guys were listening and I began to get serious, and Pulley got serious. And before we knew it we had a full-scale GIs United meeting going on except that this time there were maybe 200 guys standing around, looking out the windows, coming in from the surrounding area.

Some officers and sergeants came by and



Photo by Fred Halstead

Released from stockade, Jose Rudder greeted by Linda Davis.

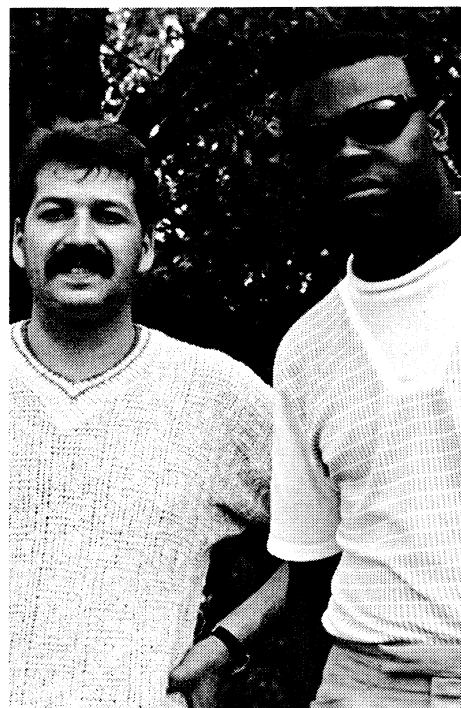


Photo by Fred Halstead

Attorney Michael Smith and Andrew Pulley

told Pulley to tuck in his shirt, and me to get a haircut and things like that, but no orders were given to disperse. The meeting just wound up eventually and we went back to barracks. But that night some of us were put on restriction and the next day, four of us were put in the stockade, charged with having an "illegal demonstration," disrespect and breach of the peace.

Halstead: What had you said at the meeting?

Pulley: I said the war in Vietnam and the Korean war were the result of capitalism and imperialism, and that as long as we live under a capitalist system we must have imperialism, and that we were going to have wars like Vietnam and Korea. And that the only way to be safe, is to get rid of it. And people dug it.

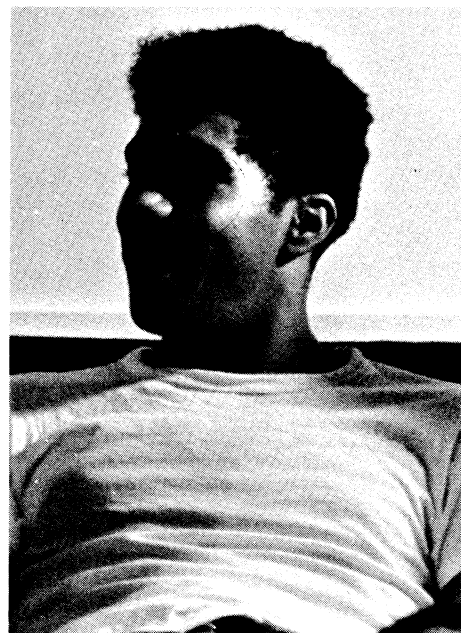
Halstead: In the latest issue of *Life* magazine there's an article on dissent in the armed forces, and one part is an interview with a Marine general who claims dissent can't be allowed because it would interfere with military discipline and cause unnecessary deaths on the battlefield. What about that?

Cole: For one thing you can't convince somebody to defend anything, to fight, to kill, to accept the possibility that he might be killed, unless he knows what he is fighting for. Guys would pack an M-16 and go



Photo by Fred Halstead

Andy and Meg Rose



Attorneys for GIs United at Ft. Bragg, N. C. are seeking a federal injunction against the punitive transfer of Pvt. Joe Miles to an Army post in the Arctic Circle.

Since his three-hour transfer out of Ft. Jackson in late February, Miles has been active in organizing anti-war sentiment among enlisted men at Ft. Bragg. A month ago the Army attempted to isolate him by moving him to a Military Police unit at the other end of the 57,000-man post from most members of GIs United. Apparently they have now decided that a post some hundreds of miles north of Fairbanks, Alaska is safer.

A special dispensation will have to be made, since Alaska is normally an 18-month assignment and Miles has only a year left in the service.

The Army apparently hopes that the opposition to the war among American servicemen will be stemmed by cooling one GI's heels at the North Pole.

out in the paddy in good discipline if there were a reason for them to do it. But there's not. It doesn't make any sense. Their enemy is not the Vietnamese peasant. Their enemy is those who sent them out there. The colonel or general sits back in his goddamned bunker, his officer's bunker, and doesn't even let the enlisted man come into his bunker during a mortar attack when it's the enlisted man who built that bunker.

Rudder: I want to speak from experience there.

Halstead: Have you been to Vietnam, in combat?

Rudder: Yes. In combat. In my experience the majority of GIs in Vietnam don't like the war. They don't know what they are fighting for. In previous wars in history they did—my father is a veteran of World War II, a lieutenant in the Marine Corps and fought the same type of warfare that I did, jungle warfare in the Pacific. I used to ask him what it was like when he was pinned down. He said as a commander first he was thinking about how to get his men positioned to strike back at the enemy, or how he as an individual soldier could strike back at the enemy. But in Vietnam that feeling isn't shared by anybody except maybe a few lifers.

My feeling, and guys I talked to over there, our feeling was: What are we doing here to begin with? Why are we pinned down? Why are they shooting at us? Why are we here shooting at them? Why are we fighting this war? And you can't come up with any answers. So the consequence is that the reason you fight is to simply stay alive.

Halstead: OK. So the rest of your story is from inside the stockade.

Rudder: Yes. Except that when they were taking me away, a friend of mine in the barracks had a Dylan album and he had a song on: "The Times They Are A'Changin'." As I was packing and being walked away, that song was playing. The significance was lost, I guess, on the people who were taking me away, but it wasn't lost on the other guys, and it wasn't lost

on me.

In the stockade, we were in what is known as administrative segregation, that is in cells all day long, not allowed outside our cells except for an hour a day for exercise—basketball. We complained about it to our lawyer, Michael Smith, who in turn complained to the correction officer at the stockade and he then ordered that prisoners in maximum custody be allowed outside the cell for two hours on weekdays and all afternoon Saturdays and Sundays.

It was quite an improvement. It was great. The other prisoners attributed the sudden change in exercise time to us and they felt we had a lot of power. And in a way this was true, we did have a lot of power even though we were in jail because of the brilliant defense campaign that was being conducted on the outside. The brass was scared of us, but at the same time everybody inside the stockade benefited from it. The guys would tell us: "This is a whole new type of cell block now that you're here." And: "I wish I had a lawyer like you've got coming to see you every day," and things like that.

Halstead: Did you get visitors?

Rudder: Yes. Mostly the lawyer, Mike and his wife, Helen, who was on the defense committee, and others from the defense committee also. My parents came once too. And my girl friend goes to school here in Columbia, and she came too. I told her not to at first, but she came anyway on her own later on.

That's something else that improved. We met visitors in a hallway, there was no privacy. And there's a rule, only one initial embrace. But when I first went up there to see Linda, I hadn't seen her in a long time, and I gave her a big kiss. It shocked the guards. We blew their minds for several reasons. But they didn't stop us. I think it's because they knew we had lawyers on the job, and we'd make a complaint.

So what happened was after we started kissing and nobody stopped us, everybody else started kissing their girl friend or their wife. It was a real beautiful thing everyone showing their affections for one another. It was a new atmosphere.

Halstead: What about the guards? What was the attitude of the guards?

Rudder: Well, first of all, there are two types of prisoners down there; not only the AS, but there are people there under disciplinary subjugation. These people are placed in a four by eight room, yellow room, with a 175 watt bulb. On all day long. Not only does it hurt the man, but it makes the yellow room real bright.

And these were really great guys. They really were politically together. We could talk to them through the bars. We could have political discussions; not only political discussions, but about whether God existed, and so on. Violent discussions—all day long, philosophy, science, medicine, politics, economics, the whole bit. And these people were supposed to be the most dangerous people in the whole stockade. But they weren't—well, they were to the Army. But not for us. The guards—I must say we were pretty lucky in terms of guards. When we first got there there were a couple who were really bad. They'd purposely spoil the food on you. But most of the guards were OK. Some were Vietnam veterans and we got along with them really well.

Halstead: When did you first find out about Huffman, the spy?

Rudder: Mike Smith came into the stockade and told us: "Huffman's an agent." Just like that. Wow! We had to be shocked.

Pulley: I had to be shocked all right. But I never dug him. When I heard the news, the hatred built up. But we really didn't have to worry about that.

Cole: We were always above board legally. We realized very quickly that if we didn't operate that way it would be a quick trip to the stockade for no good cause. So we had gotten our heads together and decided that our best bet was not to operate underground but to let as many people know about us as possible.

We knew there were a lot of agents around anyway. So we decided we wouldn't fall for the normal GI escape of using drugs and so forth. Huffman was always trying to convince us to use LSD and so forth. We told him it was illegal.

Halstead: Was he using it?

Cole: Definitely.

Halstead: And he was trying to get you to use it?

Cole: Yes. And he also tried to get us to cold cock a barracks sergeant. That is, hit him in the head with a boot when he was asleep. We told him that was illegal too. At that point we had questions about Huffman because he didn't seem to understand what GI's United was all about. We weren't after any individual sergeant or anything like that. We weren't after any products of the system. We were after the system, after the war that was killing

us, and killing Vietnamese. So we had our doubts about Huffman, but it was still a shock when he turned out to be a spy.

Halstead: What happened next?

Cole: They started putting pressure on us to take Chapter 10, that is sign to accept an undesirable discharge, in lieu of trial. They said within 10 minutes they'd have us out of the stockade and within a day and a half out of the army. They had some real masterminds in snakery, in viperishness, including one Army lawyer who was appointed defense counsel—some of them were OK, but not this one—who would come and tell us we were going to do long terms. And they'd say the only way we could avoid five or nine years in prison was to sign the Chapter 10. It was real strong pressure. We decided it was up to the individual to make this choice, and Chapparro took it, because he had personal problems and had to get home. But these kinds of undesirable discharges, under this pressure, ought to be fought in court.

Halstead: What did you think this meant?

Pulley: We thought it was a good sign in our defense. If they were so anxious to get us out, offering us discharges day after day, which they don't normally do, they must be feeling pressure. This one lieutenant would come by and talk about the good times we could be having back on the block, in only a few days, if we'd just sign. I thought about that.

Halstead: That's a natural thought.

Pulley: Right. Cole was strong though. He kept drumming to us about Malcolm X serving time and Eldridge Cleaver serving time. But the thought was still there, and eventually I did sign a Chapter 10. That was just before they dropped the charges.

Halstead: Why do you think they dropped the charges?

Rudder: Well, in the hearing to decide on whether to court martial us or not, our lawyers just demolished them. It was brilliant. And the world was watching. They couldn't move without looking bad.

Pulley: The key for revealing to the audience how innocent we were was that their own prosecuting witnesses were confused, kept contradicting themselves; one guy saying the order to disperse was given, another saying it wasn't. And Huffman, the pig, was the main witness and he had to admit we did everything above board.

Cole: Nobody can say enough about Mike, who came every day, and all the other attorneys. When I first saw Boudin, I thought I was looking at a movie. And the solidarity we received—like messages from the Harvard Strike Committee, the San Francisco State Black Student Union, and all that. It was all that that meant a hell of a lot.

And those students that came out in Columbia for the habeas corpus hearing. You know, the army told us when we were taken into town for that "If anyone tries to mob you or assassinate you, we'll protect you." But when we got there, we had a demonstration on our behalf, opposing the racist war in Vietnam, by South Carolina University students. It was beyond words.

Halstead: Let's wind up with this one point. Where does the movement stand now? And what will happen with you guys discharged?

Pulley: The seed has already been planted. The tree will continue to grow, whether there's a "ringleader" or not. They can't stamp out a thought.

Rudder: GI's United was an answer to the call of history. When people are oppressed, they're going to rise up against that oppression. We were only a reaction to the system, rather than an initiating factor. And its already caught on at posts elsewhere in the country, including Ft. Bragg, where Brother Miles is rapping along. In the stockade we received letters from Vietnam, from guys who'd been in GI's United here, asking for literature. Our release from the army will strengthen the movement.

Halstead: What was the reaction from GIs you've seen since you got out of the stockade?

Cole: The reaction, even from lifers, was that we had a right to speak out against the war and that the Army had no right to put us in jail. And down to the next level of ordinary GIs those guys say not only do we have the right to do what we did, but what we did was right, and they want to do it too.

Pulley: I was talking to a GI today, and he was curious, so I ran it down to him. He said: "Damn it, this is what the Constitution's all about, this is what America was founded on. This is why people came over from England because they were denied their freedom, they were denied to speak, denied freedom of religion." He was angry. And he congratulated us for the job that had been done.



Joe Cole

Army moves to discharge antiwar GI

COLUMBIA, S. C., May 27 — Pvt. Stephen Dash today appeared before a field board hearing at Fort Jackson to determine whether his continued presence in the Army was "clearly consistent with the interest of national security." The Army charged the soldier with four "offenses," all of which he readily admitted. They then put forth testimony and documents concerning various activities by Dash, all perfectly legal, all admitted by the GI and all totally unrelated to the four charges.

Dash was charged with being a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and with failure to complete Army security forms DD 98 and DD 398. Civilian defense counsel Dorian Bowman pointed out at the outset of the hearing that the political affiliations were perfectly legal and demonstrably known to the Army when they inducted Dash in January 1968, and that the Army itself acknowledged at the top of each of the above-mentioned security forms that the inductee had a right under the Constitution to leave any or all questions unanswered.

Perhaps the Army thought these "crimes" too serious to tackle head on. In any case, they wasted very little time on the charges themselves. Instead they introduced much testimony and documentary evidence concerning Dash's antiwar activity and association with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Witnesses claimed that the soldier had taken part in the attempt to present the GIs United petition at post headquarters, that he had attended GIs United meetings, that he went to Atlanta with other members of GIs United for an open meeting to plan the April 6 peace demonstration, that he received **Vietnam GI** and **The Militant** in the mail, that he helped draft and distribute in town a leaflet entitled "Free the Ft. Jackson Four," and that he expressed his opposition to the war in conversations with other GIs.

The defense was forced to object at every turn to the complete and absolute irrelevancy of all of this testimony, which clearly had nothing to do either with the allegations or with Dash's military record. All objections were overruled with reference to a large stack of classified documents introduced into evidence at the beginning of the hearing. Defense was not allowed to see these documents or to know anything about the nature of their content. Their secret evidence was apparently more interesting than the open evidence, since the colonels on the board tended to leaf through these papers whenever the proceedings became especially tedious.

Throughout the hearing, the defense pointed out and the government admitted that Dash's record as a soldier was absolutely unblemished: In 18 months of service he has not even received an administrative reprimand. According to Army regulations, any type of discharge must be based on a soldier's military record alone.

The government's only response to this was to point out that the discharge a soldier receives is a kind of "report card." The implication was clear: No admitted socialist and antiwar activist is going to take home better than a C plus from Fort Jackson.

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

Development of a union black caucus

By Derrick Morrison and Paul Davidson

NEW YORK — Stan Hill is vice president in charge of organization for the Social Service Employees Union, which represents Department of Welfare case workers, case aides, children's counselors and homemakers. Hill is also one of the leaders of the black caucus which functions within the union. In an interview with *The Militant*, Hill described the development and perspectives of the SSEU black caucus.

The caucus originated after a 42-day strike of the SSEU in summer 1967. Hill pointed out that "a lot of black and white workers were going in, so we felt that there was a definite need for black people to get not only organized in the union, but more black people to be part of the policy decisions in the SSEU. And the absence of black people as officers, the small number of people who were black on the executive board, caused us not only concern, but we had to do something about it."

"Now, out of seven officers, there are three black officers, and there are several black people on full time staff. Out of a 30 percent black casework staff, approximately half the executive board is black. Before the black caucus, the union only had one black officer."

One of the problems confronting the black caucus is the insensitivity of many white members of the union to the need for such a caucus. Hill described a recent clash on the executive board, concerning a black individual who was in charge of the union's Community Relations program.

"Some SSEU people on the executive board decided, or tried, to politically prevent a certain black individual from being elected as an officer. He was the candidate of the black caucus, and the people who opposed him didn't put up any alternative candidate. Statements were made like 'black caucuses shouldn't be functioning in the SSEU or other labor organizations'; 'the black caucus does not represent a true trade union concept'; or 'it will divide and separate white and black workers.'"

"In my opinion, these people were very historically naive; they did not understand the existence, or the reasons why a black

caucus was formed, not only in the SSEU, but the reasons why other black caucuses across the country are forming."

Job problems

Discussing some of the problems blacks meet in the Welfare Department, Hill criticized the fact that few black workers were employed in the Department's Bureau of Child Welfare. This division doesn't deal with finances, but rather with services to Child Welfare families. The caucus is trying to get more black workers into this area, and also trying to make the BCW address itself more to some of the problems in the black community relating to child welfare.

Hill also discussed problems of the Homemakers and Children's Counselors in the Welfare Department. These workers are 99 percent black, and often have late working hours, which makes it more difficult for them to participate in the union.

The caucus has also done broader work. Hill emphasized the role the caucus played in the racist UFT strike last fall, when the UFT brass was attempting to destroy the concept of the black community controlling their schools. The caucus played an important role in influencing the SSEU to support community control. They also joined the Black, Hispanic and Puerto Rican caucus, which was formed by black union leaders in District 65, Retail and Wholesale Workers, and Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers.

First, they visited Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and told leaders of the demonstration district that they were with them and that the SSEU was supporting community control. Then, as the strike wore on, the Black, Hispanic and Puerto Rican caucus went to see Harry Van Arsdale, leader of the powerful New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. Van Arsdale refused to meet with any of them, so about 80 black and Puerto Rican trade union leaders sat in, in his office, waiting for him. When he finally met with them, they told him that the continuation of that strike was an insult to black and Puerto Rican trade unionists whose dues money the Central Labor Council was using to help Shanker. Van Arsdale replied that he, himself couldn't end the strike, and that anyway, Shanker had some "positive ideas."

Wider contact

Hill believes that as a result of the teachers' strike, the SSEU black caucus has established ongoing contacts with other black union caucuses, and also, that the strike has brought black caseworkers closer to the black community as a whole. The caucus also has the position that the leadership of the UFT, as well as that of the Central Labor Council should be changed.

Contrasting the UFT's behavior with that of the SSEU, Hill said, "We have better contact with the community, not only from a union point of view, but we go out directly and see the clients, speak to the clients; we try to have a working relationship with the clients."

Hill denounced the recent city and state budget cuts, and Van Arsdale's position on the issue. "Seventy-five percent of all welfare recipients will have their pre-added allowances lowered anywhere from \$1 to \$1,000 annually. A family of four, for example, with the oldest child at 16, receives \$3,064 annually; that same family will now receive \$2,500 annually. There will be stiffer residency requirements for welfare, and the Department estimates that 85,000 people will be forced from the medicaid rolls because of the changes in the medicaid eligibility standard. Transportation expenses, moving expenses, employment expenses, restaurant allowances, etc. are all now eliminated.

"I haven't seen Van Arsdale's name in the papers condemning this. I see no political support on his part trying to prevent this, and his attitude to me is that he doesn't want to change the status quo in organized labor."

The black caucus is deeply concerned with the war in Vietnam. "This war is affecting not only the black caucus, but also the welfare cuts. As long as the war keeps going, the welfare problems, the educational problems, will be affected drastically. And, of course, the longer the war goes, the more black and Puerto Rican workers will get killed because this is where they've taken the bulk of the workers, the black and Puerto Rican people, and shipped them to Vietnam."

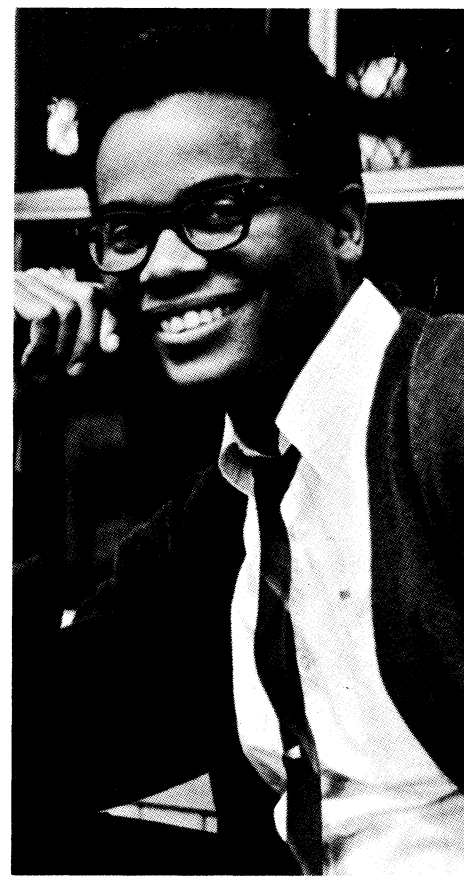
Hill pointed out that several black caucus members are also students, who are participating very vigorously in the struggles now going on at the City Colleges. During the crisis with the hospital budget cuts, the black caucus helped organize black and white workers from several of the nearby centers and demonstrated at Harlem Hospital.

Hill considers that the caucus' major gain up till now has been its ability to get black people involved supporting black issues relating to the community, trying to educate black caseworkers in the Department, trying to present perspectives from a black point of view, and trying to make the black man, both in the union and in the community, more visible. The caucus has a high amount of participation from black caseworkers. Practically every center in the Department is represented and comes to meetings, and they have good turnouts to decide questions of policy.

Need consolidation

In discussing the possible linkup of the SSEU black caucus with other union black caucuses, Hill said that it was important for the SSEU black caucus to first consolidate its own organization. He stressed the obligation of the caucus to decide upon a program, which black workers can support.

"The beauty of the whole structure of the black caucus is in developing leadership, and keeping the black workers aware of what's happening and how to politically use their base not only in terms of the labor movement, but in terms of the community where they serve, and where they live, and how they can change some of the conditions in the community. Once again, we have quite a bit of work to do, but the task is there. I think we can do it, especially when we get more people involved, not only in terms of just activists, but in terms of the total memberships in the unions."



Stan Hill

pecially when we get more people involved, not only in terms of just activists, but in terms of the total memberships in the unions.

"The SSEU is affiliated with the National Federation of Social Service Employees nationwide, and we have a black coordinator who is a product of the SSEU black caucus. He's working very diligently in Washington now, communicating with social workers and political leaders across the nation about welfare issues such as the food stamps and welfare cuts. I think, based on observation, that we're a little bit ahead of the black caucuses in social welfare unions nationwide. We're taking a much more active stand on public issues. We constantly discuss them, make contacts, get involved politically, trying to do something positive."

That inflationary balloon just keeps on expanding

By Dick Roberts

The cost of living took another big leap in April, the Labor Department reported. Consumer prices rose 0.6 percent last month, confirming a faster rate of inflation this year than last.

Taking February, March and April together, prices are rising at an annual rate of 7.6 percent.

The Labor Department also reported a sharp increase in unemployment among black workers, especially women, in April, while the jobless rate for white workers remained low and unchanged.

Unemployment of black women moved from six to 7.2 percent—what would be considered a recessionary level for white male workers. Unemployment for all black workers was at 6.9 percent. Unemployment for white workers was at 3.1 percent.

New York City suffered the greatest increase in living costs for any U.S. city in April. New York prices advanced at an annual rate of 8.4 percent.

The cost of medical care continued to lead other price rises, jumping ahead at an annual rate of 13.2 percent nationally and 18 percent in New York City.

There are signs, including the April unemployment figures just cited, that government measures to reduce inflation may be beginning to take effect. But prices of consumer goods would not be influenced for some time to come. And those who are hoping for an actual drop in consumer prices better forget about it.

The last time a recession of the U.S. economy caused a substantial drop in prices was at the bottom of the great depression in 1933.

One of the American capitalists' main concerns at this point is to bring price increases down to a rate that is competitive with other countries.

The fundamental mechanisms causing this global inflation in the capitalist system cannot be explained briefly. An excellent treatment of it is to be found in Ernest Mandel's *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*.

U.S. prices, inflated by the Vietnam war above all, have been going up much faster in the last few years than prices in most European countries and Japan.

This has resulted in an influx of foreign goods into the U.S. market and a loss of certain foreign markets for U.S. products. That is one reason why the capitalist rulers of this country are anxious to slow down the rate of inflation and why the government has adopted fairly strong anti-inflationary policies.

The fact that unemployment is leveling off among white workers and is increasing among black workers is, among other things, an "advanced indicator" of a slowdown in the economy. Black workers are "last hired and first fired" because the low skill-low pay jobs they are forced to take are the most expendable from the capitalists' viewpoint as capitalists begin to feel the pinch of federal "tight money" policies.

And this results in a glaring case of the superexploitation of black labor: In the uneven start of an economic slowdown, black workers will be the first to lose jobs at a time when prices are still rising rapidly.

Marxist Economic Theory

By Ernest Mandel

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.

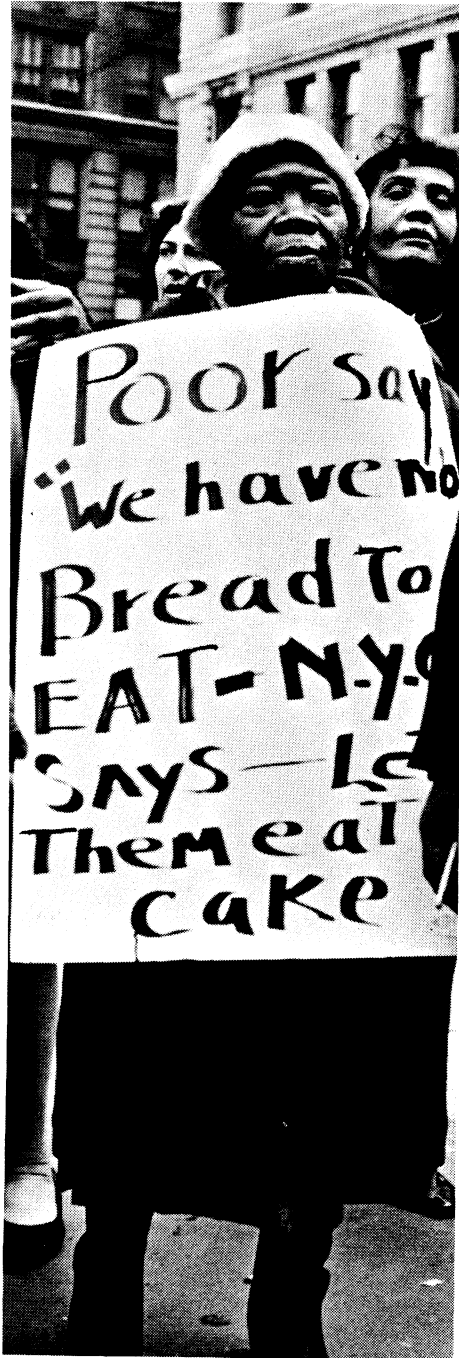
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New York protestor

"... the Communist League could hardly have chosen a more symbolic candidate"

[The success of the Communist League in mobilizing wide support for Alain Krivine, whom it is running for president of France, has forced the bourgeois press to pay special attention to the Trotskyist campaign. Political commentators of the established parties and journals seemed particularly surprised at the ability of the Communist League to secure 230 signatures of mayors and councilors—more than double the required number—to place Krivine on the ballot.

[Le Monde, one of the most influential Paris dailies, assigned one of its leading writers, Jean Lacouture, to provide a sketch of Krivine and the French Trotskyist movement. His article, which is translated below, appeared in the May 17 issue of Le Monde under the title "Alain Krivine—from One May to Another." Jean Lacouture is the author of Vietnam: Between Two Truces. He has also written a biography of Ho Chi Minh.

The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

The political history of the French army is rich in episodes. From the soldiers of the Year II [The second year after the adoption of the revolutionary constitution of 1791.—I.P.] to the transistors of Algiers [The French command in Algeria made extensive use of radio propaganda in their campaign against the National Liberation Front.—I.P.] from the marshals of the empire to Captain Dreyfus, this Great Silent Force [The French army has been called this because soldiers were denied the vote until recently.—I.P.] has been able to participate in public life in an infinite variety of ways. Soldiers have often been called on as providential political leaders—but rarely privates. Never before has a candidate for the presidency of the republic come from this lowest rank in the army. But that is what has happened now.

Leaving the barracks of the 150th Infantry Regiment in Verdun on a "special" furlough, a 27-year-old ordinary soldier is going to compete with Pompidou, Poher, and company for the votes of 27 million electors. For about an hour and a half between May 15 and June 1, television viewers will see a new face—new at any rate to official French television—the face of Alain Krivine, a graduate student in history, a revolutionary militant, and the "red" candidate of the Communist League (the "red" comes from the organ of this movement, which is called precisely Rouge [Red] and whose slogan is "For a Red Campaign"). Camouflage is not the fashion among the Trotskyists.



THE SPIRIT OF MAY. "Continue the strike, capital is dying."

But let no one make any mistake. It is not provocation or empty agitation that Alain Krivine and his comrades are preparing for. The campaign which the Communist League kicked off Thursday [May 15] will be highly "political." Rouge's editorials do not concentrate solely on denouncing "parliamentary cretinism" and "electoralism." They also blast "the reverse side of this cretinism, ultraleftism, the infantile and naive doctrine that dismisses and sweepingly condemns all use of the parliamentary possibilities offered by the bourgeois-democratic system."

Krivine is going to exploit these "possibilities" by stressing themes, which might, it is said, he summed up as follows. If de Gaulle fell, it was because the May movement broke him. And what was the the May movement? It was not the seething up of a hairy populace of automobile burners. It was a powerful expression of political will which would not have made such an impact, nor had so many reverberations if it had not reflected something very strong and deep in the country. It is this something that the "red" candidate proposes to give voice to. May will figure prominently in the Trotskyist candidate's declarations. But the May he talks about will not be the May of superficial journalists but the May of the militants.

A nonconformist militant

For such a program, the Communist League could hardly have chosen a more symbolic candidate. Krivine's short career offers a kind of summary of the history of the young French far left over a period of what will soon be ten years. Although his culture, his eloquence, and even his physical appearance are typically those of a "left-wing intellectual"—and although official television naturally chose to show a picture of him on Monday night most likely to alarm bourgeois viewers—these qualities will certainly "come across well on TV" and hold the attention of voters more accustomed to the appearances of Monsieur Le Theule. [Le Theule is the French minister of information and as such rules the radio and television of the country with an iron hand. French broadcasting is noted for its tendentious and stuffy character.—I.P.]

Before giving headaches to ministers of education, and then ministers of the interior, the army, and to the Constitutional Council [the highest judicial body for constitutional questions], Alain Krivine also caused the French Communist Party apparatus some trouble. Joining the Communist Youth at seventeen—where his four brothers had been active before him—he expressed his disagreement with the party "line" in the Algerian business.

In 1962, as the secretary of the history section of the UEC [Union of Communist Students], he founded the Antifascist Student Front which confronted the OAS groups [Secret Army Organization—a right-wing terrorist organization opposing Algerian independence] in the Latin Quarter and elsewhere. As a result of this activity, the home of his father, a famous gastroenterologist, was bombed.

In 1963 a meeting in Paris with the Belgian Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel brought him definitively under Trotskyist influence. Mandel is the intellectual leader of the tendency in the Fourth International which in France includes in particular the militants trained by Pierre Frank. But it was not until two years later that Krivine was expelled from the Communist Party. After having "submerged" himself, along with his comrades, in the left wing of the UEC for two years and conducting a fight at the 1965 UEC congress for the "right of tendencies" and "real de-Stalinization of the French CP," he was expelled from the party in January 1966.

Among many other apparently more serious accusations, the Rue de Chateaubriand leadership attacked him especially for denouncing the support offered by the PCF [French Communist Party] to Mitterrand's candidacy. [Francois Mitterrand,

Continued on page 8.



Alain Krivine

A LETTER FROM PARIS

Krivine campaign having wide impact

The following letter was received by The Militant from a supporter of Alain Krivine's presidential campaign in France. The excerpts that follow suggest some of the flavor of this exciting campaign.

* * *

The Communist League is now in the middle of the largest Trotskyist campaign ever conducted. Besides the official national radio and television appearances of Krivine and the leaders of the Communist League, they have also made innumerable appearances on the radio and TV networks outside France, and given countless press interviews, all of which reach not only the French people, but millions of Europeans as well. Over and over they explain what Trotskyism is, contrasting it to the so-called communism of western Communist parties or the politics of the workers states.

Hundreds of people are campaigning full-time on a national basis. Two small private planes with a capacity of five occupants have been rented to carry the candidate and other campaign spokesmen around the country for public meetings. Jean-Luc Godard, the famous French movie director, has donated his film equipment to be used by the campaign for television appearances.

In addition to the first mass meeting at the famed Mutualite hall in Paris on May 21, which officially opened the campaign, the most important public meetings have been those before factories in Billancourt, Nantes, Dijon, Besancon, Le Havre, Toulon, Rouen and other cities. When Krivine spoke in front of the Renault plant at Billancourt on May 19 despite CP harassment, more than 1,000 workers came to listen, some of whom even left their shifts.

The high point of the first days of the campaign was the mass meeting at the Mutualite. Five thousand people, and at least a quarter of them of the "older generation" crammed the hall, and hundreds could not enter. Under the large banners, "Communist League, French Section of the Fourth International," and "Against the Electoral Farce—For the Resurgence of the Class Struggle," some of the leaders of the League spoke, including Alain Krivine, Daniel Bensaid and Charles Michaloux.

Around the hall was a huge banner carrying the words of Lenin: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism . . ." Besides these banners, the hall was full of pictures of Lenin, Trotsky, Che and innumerable red flags.

In their speeches the leaders of the Communist League answered the three questions that are asked them over and over again these days: the problem of violence; the differences between Trotskyism and the Communist parties around the world; and the question asked by Cohn-Bendit in a radio interview—why participate in elections?

During the discussion period, a Paris worker, who had been a member of the French CP for 20 years, announced that he had quit the CP two days ago and called on all the CP militants to do the same, recognizing that it is Trotskyism which today holds high the red flag of the May revolution.

The meeting ended by the singing of the International, followed by several minutes of the entire audience chanting, "Power to the workers."

By the way, the latest public opinion polls in France indicate that Krivine may receive about two percent of the vote; for a candidate running on a clear-cut revolutionary program, that figure is astounding everyone.

An exchange with 'Danny the Red'

(IP) The announcement of the Communist League May 5 that it was running Alain Krivine for president had considerable impact among the circles that were most involved in the actions leading up to the revolutionary crisis in France a year ago. It became a central topic of discussion, the comment in general being favorable.

The current known as "spontaneism," which is strongly influenced by the anarchist outlook, appeared to have somewhat mixed emotions about the campaign. Repelled by capitalist society, but also by communism (which they equate with Stalinism), the spontaneists are opposed to constructing a revolutionary combat party in the Leninist tradition. Decrying the role of leadership, they count on spontaneous action by the masses to overturn capitalism and do away with the exploitation of man by man.

The spontaneists, who were very prominent on the barricades in Paris last year, conduct themselves in the spirit of the old-time anarchists. They are especially good at scandalizing the bourgeoisie with irreverent exposures of the hypocrisies of capitalism.

They incline toward ultraleft actions, but it remains to be seen whether they will succeed in avoiding the path taken by leading anarchists in Spain during the revolutionary crisis of the thirties. These forerunners of the spontaneists, despite all their opposition to the state in general, accepted posts in a bourgeois government and thus helped save capitalism when it was on its last legs in Spain.

A typical gesture from this current toward the campaign of Alain Krivine came from Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the student leader of greatest international renown last year. On May 7, he sent a telegram to Alain Krivine, announcing his readiness to serve as prime minister in the event the candidate of the Communist League should win the election.

Krivine had not yet been granted the furlough from the army which he needed to campaign for the presidency and so he

was absent at his first press conference. Three leaders of the Communist League spoke for him.

Mentioning the telegram, Charles Michaloux expressed astonishment at Daniel Cohn-Bendit's "bourgeois" concept of politics. He explained that if the candidate of the Communist League were to win, the post of prime minister would hardly be available in view of what could be expected to occur to the structure of the state as the Communist League carried out the teachings of Marx and Engels on this point. He agreed, however, that Daniel Cohn-Bendit might well fill one of the posts of people's commissar that would be created.

On May 20 Radio Europe 1 featured Alain Krivine taking questions by telephone from listeners. Daniel Cohn-Bendit



Daniel Cohn-Bendit

put in a call from Frankfurt.

The candidate of the Communist League, said Cohn-Bendit, was "the only one able to talk about the May movement from the inside." This was good.

But in order to make a demonstration that "electoralism doesn't get you anywhere and you don't fight the class struggle by dropping paper ballots in a box," he suggested that Krivine withdraw at the very last moment.

Krivine agreed about continuing to oppose electoral politics but held that the revolutionary movement should not make it a principle to boycott elections. "I am well aware that the number of votes we may get will not correspond to our possible influence in the country, if only because tens upon tens of thousands of youth who were on the barricades and who participated in the May movement cannot vote. Besides which, tens of thousands of soldiers can't vote. But the elections can help to indicate our political influence somewhat. In counting up votes, we utilize the elections—to use Lenin's expression—something like a thermometer."

Cohn-Bendit raised some additional questions, among them the following: "The workers or minority of workers who may agree with us on revolutionary perspectives or needs in France don't know the differences we have among ourselves—and with good reason, because they don't give a damn. Wouldn't it be possible to have a debate with Duclos or one of the others?"

Krivine said he was not the candidate of the May movement as a whole but of a definite political organization, "the Communist League, which has a whole series of differences with you, as you know, and with other groups."

It would sow confusion to cover up these differences. "The meetings we are organizing throughout France will all be debates in this sense, and we always invite discussion. . . . Just the same, I am the candidate of a political organization and I think it is necessary to make this clear in order to avoid confusion."

. . . Le Monde: a significant campaign

Continued from page 7
a liberal, ran against de Gaulle as a "united left" candidate in 1965.—I.P.] We have already come to a presidential election. . . . But it would require an unusually subtle perception to see this as the first move in his present campaign.

From the JCR to the Sante Prison

Alain Krivine and the militants of the "Sorbonne-Liberal Arts" section then founded the JCR [Revolutionary Communist Youth], which was to become the most extensive of the "splinter groups." This organization was to compete with the FER [Federation of Revolutionary Students], which originated from the so-called Lambertist faction, for the right to represent the Trotskyist movement. The Lambert faction accuses Ernest Mandel of indulging in "modernism" and "economism." [Followers of Pierre Lambert split from the Fourth International in 1963 and are presently connected with the sectarian Socialist Labour League of Britain—I.P.]

The JCR devoted itself especially to the struggle against the Vietnam war. Alain Krivine—whose brother Dr. Jean-Michel Krivine, participated in two medical inquiry commissions in North Vietnam—was one of the founders of the National Vietnam Committee, along with Laurent Schwartz. But he also developed ties with several revolutionary leaders in Europe—with Rudi Dutschke in Germany and Tariq Ali in England.

Then came May 1968. We saw less of Krivine than Sauvageot, Geismar, [Sauvageot was the leader of UNEF, National Union of French Students. Geismar was the leader of SNESup, National University Teachers Union.—I.P.] or Cohn-Bendit. But the JCR, which had the most cadres, played an organizational and guiding role which students of the events consider to have been decisive. It was the JCR, for example, that provided UNEF with its monitors for the principal demonstrations. Whether at the time the barricades went up on the Rue Gay-Lussac, at the time of the attempt to link up the students and the workers on May 17, at the Renault plant, or at the Charlety meeting, [A meeting of 50,000 persons in the Charlety Stadium on May 27. The meeting followed

a demonstration of 100,000 which was condemned by the CP. It marked the high point of attempts to develop a political alternative to the left of the CP during the May-June upsurge.—I.P.] we find Krivine, with his comrades, in the forefront, megaphone in hand.

On June 12 the JCR was banned along with the other revolutionary "splinter groups". Two weeks later, Alain Krivine denounced this "illegal" measure in a news conference. On July 16 he was arrested in a restaurant near Saint-Lazare in the company of his wife (who is the daughter of Gilles Martinet, the former assistant general secretary of the PSU [United Socialist party—a left Social Democratic formation]). He was charged with "maintaining and reconstituting a banned organization." He denied the accusation, saying that he had not taken part in any attempt to shift to underground activity.

After five weeks of detention at the Sante prison, he was released at the urging of Edgar Faure, [The Gaullist minister of education.] who was trying to prepare a resumption of classes free from the aftermath of May. As soon as he was released, Krivine, a 27-year-old student with an academic deferment, was inducted into the army at Verdun. He was assigned to the clerical staff of the regiment and was not subjected to any discriminatory treatment.

Electoral obstacles overcome

In April 1969, Private Krivine participated with several other former JCR members in forming the Communist League. One of the first acts of this organization was to place his name in nomination before the voters "in order to dissipate the electoralist and parliamentary illusions of the CP" and after the PSU refused to make common cause with the Trotskyists.

There were two kinds of problems among those raised by the Krivine candidacy. Could a "revolutionary" and "antielectoralist" candidate gather the 100 signatures of notables required by law? Was the candidate's military status an insurmountable obstacle? Krivine did not have to depend on government complicity to get his signatures, and, so, did not fulfill the

prophecy ungenerously suggested by Georges Machais. [A member of the Political Bureau of the French CP who gained a certain notoriety in the period leading up to the May explosion by baiting Cohn-Bendit, in an article in the CP organ *l'Humanite*, as a "German anarchist" at a time when the student leader was under violent attack by the government and reactionary press. When Krivine's candidacy was announced, Marchais wrote that if the young revolutionist had any difficulty getting the required signatures, Marcellin, the red-baiting French minister of the interior, who commands the country's police, would be happy to provide them.—I.P.] The elected bodies include more nonconformists than was supposed and a good number of May militants were able to pressure a father who was a town councilor or an uncle who was a mayor into providing one of the precious signatures. In a word, the Krivine candidacy received more than double the required endorsements.

As for the military regulations, they provide that a candidate in the armed services is entitled to a special furlough, leave without pay, and freedom from military discipline in speaking and writing as soon as he leaves his base. Could Private Krivine be considered to have "met the requirements of the draft laws" upon rejoining his regiment? [According to French law, a candidate for president must have satisfied his "military obligation." The constitutional problem on which the French authorities had to rule was whether a private who was still serving his time had satisfied this legal requirement.—I.P.] The minister of the army let it be known that he did not think so. Two appeals to the Constitutional Council and then to the interim president of the republic by Krivine's comrades made it possible to clear away the last obstacles.

With his special leave—without pay—and 230 signatures of notables, Alain Krivine inaugurated his "presidential" campaign Thursday [May 15]—it will culminate on May 28, with a mass meeting in the Palais des Sports. Here at least is a splinter group that has grown up.

continuez le combat votez Krivine



candidat de la ligue communiste

• la ligue communiste

(section Française de la IV^e Internationale) fondée en avril 1968 rassemble des militants des groupes dissous, des anciens m.e. du P.C.F. et du P.S.U. et des jeunes révolutionnaires venus à la politique mai 1968; elle est l'expression organisée, dans la voie de Lénine et de y, en France, des nouvelles avant-gardes qui se développent à l'échelle internationale.

• la ligue communiste

(avec l'hebdomadaire ROUGE)
organise en France les luttes de classe
laissées à l'abandon par la gauche traditionnelle,
en proposant un programme d'action communiste;
elle œuvre pour la construction du Parti Révolutionnaire,
premier pas vers le Pouvoir des Travailleurs.

• la ligue communiste

soutient activement les luttes
anti-imperialistes des peuples du Tiers-Monde
et les luttes des peuples
de l'U.R.S.S. et des démocraties populaires
contre la bureaucratie et pour le socialisme

• la ligue communiste

mène en France le combat pour la Révolution Socialiste Mondiale



Vu le candidat
Alain KRIVINE

CONTINUE THE FIGHT—VOTE KRIVINE. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the above poster are plastered on billboards every city and town of France, calling on voters to support the candidate of the Communist League. A portion of the poster that is not shown summarizes the platform of the Communist League.

The text beneath the picture reads: "The Communist League (French section of the Fourth International), founded in April 1968 regroups members of banned organizations, former members of the French CP and PSU and young revolutionaries politicized during May 1968; in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, it is the organized expression in France of the new vanguard which is growing on a world scale.

"The Communist League (along with the weekly Rouge) is organizing in France the class struggles which have been abandoned by the traditional left; it is working to build the revolutionary party, first step toward workers' power.

"The Communist League actively supports anti-imperialist struggles of the people of the Third World and the struggles of the people of the USSR and the peoples' democracies against bureaucracy and for socialism.

"The Communist League is carrying on the struggle in France for the World Socialist Revolution."

Alain Krivine on TV: power does not come from the ballot

[The following is the text of Alain Krivine's first speech over France's national television network, given May 17. His appearance was part of the 100 minutes of television time he is entitled to as the presidential candidate of the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For the first time a revolutionary militant has an opportunity to present his ideas to you. This opportunity is not the result of any election. Nor is it a result of the generosity of the government propaganda office which the ORTF [French Radio and Television Office] represents today. If I can speak to you, it is because of the extraordinary mobilization of the ten million workers that developed in May 1968.

Recently Monsieur Marcellin, the Minister of the Interior, told you that power comes from the ballot. In fact, when we think how Monsieur Marcellin became the minister of the interior, how the Gaullist regime was established as the result of a military coup, we might ask Monsieur Marcellin very simply whether he got his power from the ballot. We might ask him if he did not use force to become the minister of the interior.

It is clear to us that the socialist left can never look forward to taking power and imposing its solutions by means of elections or any kind of an electoral consultation. Experience in both France and other countries shows conclusively that one of the two things can happen. If the left develops a right-wing program and then wins the votes of the right, it can, in fact, achieve a governmental majority.

Wilson did this in England and Guy Mollet and Mitterrand did it before him in France. But when the left develops a much more advanced program, a program which cannot win the approval of the bourgeoisie, then the capitalist class is prepared to violate its own legality and impose its solutions by military coups d'etat.

We are familiar with the example of Greece and the fascist regime that rules there today. We are familiar with the example of Indonesia. And we are familiar with the example of Republican Spain. In fact, we have absolutely no confidence in the ballot.

Working class struggle

We think—and May 1968 showed it—that the workers have their own methods of struggle. In May 1968, through demonstrations, through occupying the factories, the workers achieved something that no vote had ever been able to accomplish. They forced the "strong state," which the Gaullist regime was then, to back down. In a few weeks, the Gaullist state gave concessions which it had refused to give throughout its ten years in power.

But for us, May 1968 will not be the anniversary of a historical battle which we will commemorate like old soldiers. Nor will we bury it, as all the official left parties are trying to do now. For us, May was a great promise, and what we will strive to do through this campaign—which we want to make a revolutionary activist campaign above all—is to explain what happened in those days. We want to draw all the lessons and show all the failings of the May movement in order to arm the students and workers for the coming struggles, which will not and cannot be electoral ones.

The lessons are many. For years we were told that a working class no longer existed, that the capitalist, the neocapitalist, system had resolved all its contradictions, that today the standard of living could be continually raised.

Now, what do we see? And the workers saw this in May 1968. There are hundreds of thousands of unemployed. Today there are tens of thousands of young people without jobs. Or, when they find jobs in factories the jobs usually don't measure up to their skills. Today, the production-line tempos are being speeded up in the factories in pace with the opportunities for increasing profits.

In May 1968 the workers by the millions realized that the problem was not to fight for some reform, for a two or three percent raise that the bosses would immediately take back. They learned that they had to

win their broad demands, to transform society radically, and take the centers of production into their own hands.

This is what they started to do by the factory occupations and by starting up the factories in some areas without the bosses.

Anything was possible

A period of real freedom reigned in France during May, in that month of May 1968. At that time we said that anything was possible. And we were called "ultraleftists" and "wild men." But when you look at the situation closely, when you read all the books on this period that are coming out today, when you look at the panic that reigned in the government ministry offices—which were mostly deserted—when you consider how isolated the big bourgeoisie was, cut off from the students, from the intermediate strata, and the peasantry, you can understand that, in reality, if the workers parties had provided a real political alternative, a socialist alternative offering the perspective of a workers government and offering the workers the means to struggle for this goal, then everything would have been completely changed. If that had happened, we would not be deciding now in this election campaign whether we should have a Pompidou or a Poher as head of state.

Today, in the absence of workers' struggles, the bourgeoisie has been able to stabilize its system temporarily. It has even allowed itself the luxury of sending de Gaulle back to Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises. Clearly, de Gaulle made it possible to achieve a decisive change in the political institutions in May 1958 . . . But after May 1968 the instability of his regime became apparent. De Gaulle suffered an enormous loss of prestige and, faced with the possibility and predictability of new struggles, the bourgeoisie recognized that it had to get rid of de Gaulle in order to look toward a regime capable of confronting the working class in the months to come.

Where were you in May?

We are offered two candidates—Poher and Pompidou. There is a lot of difference between their programs, as you can judge for yourself. One is for progress with continuity; the other is for continuity with progress . . . That is the democracy, that is the real choice that is being foisted on us today. And it is because of the official left that this can happen. Their candidates offer no alternative.

A number of candidates have thrown their hats in the ring. But we might ask them all the question, "Where were you in May, when there wasn't any hustling for votes going on, when the workers were struggling and on strike? Where was Mollet? Where was Defferre? Where was Mitterrand?" This question deserves an answer, but I think everyone can give it . . . The left was unable to lead the May battle.

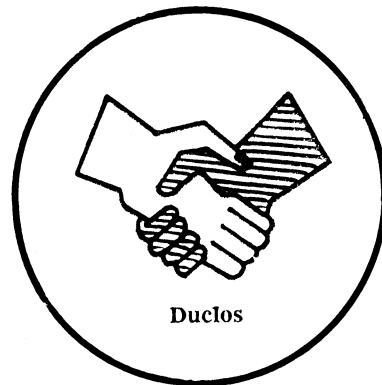
Today the left assumes a stance of opposition to the Fourth Republic [1946-1958] and against a return to the practices and ways that prevailed then. But tomorrow Defferre, Mitterrand, Mollet and the others will come and tell us, "We must object. We are against the practices and ways of the Fifth Republic [1958-?]." What we have to understand is how we could come to such a pass a year after May 1968. In fact, the left lives on two myths which paralyze it—its belief in the ballot and in this celebrated Unity of the Left. As for us, and we say it clearly, we are against this Unity of the Left, because this expression has absolutely no meaning today.

If "left" means a location in the chambers of parliament, that is, the section to the left of the chairman, all right then, it's a geographical definition. But if it refers to political program, then, we may venture to ask the question: "When Jules Moch [A right-wing Social Democratic politician most famous for his role in organizing the repressive forces to defend French capitalism from the postwar working-class radicalization. Among other things, he organized the CRS [Republican Security Companies], the elite security troops which gained a reputation for extreme brutality in the May-June days. — I.P.] was minister of the interior and called out the cops to club the miners, was he further to the left than Marcellin? Was Guy Mollet a man of the left when he sent the paratroopers to Suez? Was Mitterrand a man of the left when he talked about "French Algeria?"

We don't see any "left"; what we see is a working class. We see organizations that support the demands of the working class, but we can't go any further than that.

The unity that is needed now to achieve a radical transformation of society is unity of all the workers, which can then provide a basis for an alliance of the workers—united on a socialist program—with the

Continued on page 10

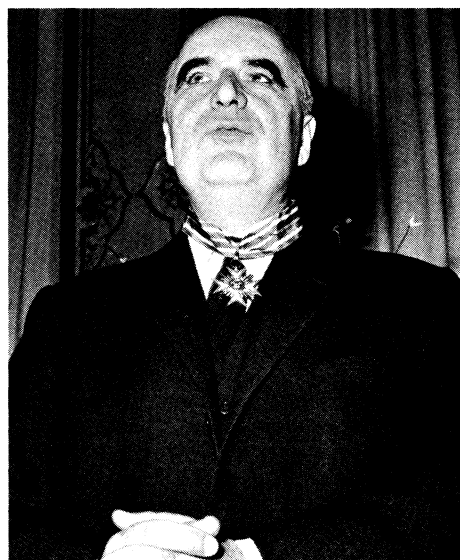


TWO SYMBOLS. Each candidate on the ballot in the presidential election in France will be designated by a symbol which is widely publicized in advance. The Communist League chose as its symbol the hammer and sickle, traditional emblem of working class revolutionaries.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, chose the symbol of two clasped hands, which they have reportedly described as representing "unity between metropolitan France and her overseas territories." In this country it would be like saying, "Long live the unity of the United States and its Puerto Rican subjects."

But the French Communist Party has had a long and infamous history on the question of supporting French imperialism's "unity" with its colonies. For example, the CP's first reaction to the launching of armed struggle by the Algerian NLF in 1954 was to criticize the NLF for being provocative, and urged them not to use violence in their struggle. In March 1956 the CP deputies of the National Assembly voted for the special powers requested by "socialist" Premier Mollet to step up military operations in Algeria and crush the liberation struggle.

The French CP's record on the struggle for Indochinese independence from France was equally perfidious. In 1947, Maurice Thorez, the Communist Vice Premier of France signed the military order supporting the war against the Vietnamese people. A few months earlier, on July 24, 1946, l'Humanite, the French Communist Party newspaper, had explained that the CP did not want to see France reduced to "its own small metropolitan territory . . ."



Georges Pompidou

...Telecast

Continued from page 9.

middle strata. As for us, we refuse to get entangled in this game of left politicians, no matter who they are.

A new communist current

May 1968 brought a new communist current to the fore in France, a current for which socialism is something totally different than the caricature that exists today in the Soviet Union. For us concentration camps are not socialism, for us a regime like the one in the Soviet Union which puts its intellectuals in prison, which stifles all workers democracy, which does not hesitate to reestablish what it calls law and order in a sister country, as was done in Czechoslovakia, for us such a regime cannot be socialism.

This new communism, this new vanguard does not exist in France alone. It exists today in a whole series of countries in Europe, Latin America, and even in the United States.

This socialism is not represented today by Brezhnev or Kosygin. It is personified much more by Che Guevara. And we think that May 1968 put Che Guevara's famous phrase squarely on the order of the day: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

When we see how many opportunities were missed in 1936, in 1946-47, and just recently in 1968, [all dates of revolutionary upsurges by the French working class], we can see—and it is clear today—that you don't win the right to call yourself a communist by paying dues. This name is not the monopoly of one party. This name must be won by participating in the actions of the working class. This name must be earned in the class struggle.

As for us, we see this campaign as a means for presenting the balance sheet of the struggle that ten million workers waged in May and offering a means for continuing it.

At 17 a militant Communist
—at 20 fighting the OAS
—at 24 expelled from the party
for his de-Stalinisation campaign
—at 27 . . .

President of France?

from PETER LENNON in Paris



Guardian May 23, 1969

'The bourgeois are amazed I am not a hairy beatnik with two guns . . . but they don't understand a word of what I am saying . . . the effect has been on the young workers'

Alain Krivine

THE Chiefs of Staff of the French Army must rate, as one of the most preposterous moments in their distinguished history, the day when Private Second Class Krivine was officially approved as candidate to Supreme Command of the French Armies—and incidentally to the Presidency of France. After all, Norman Mailer only wants to be mayor.

Somewhere there must be a colonel wondering worriedly whether that intellectual looking chap he put on latrine duty could, horrifyingly, have been M. Alain Krivine, presidential candidate.

But whatever the incongruities

surrounding M. Krivine's situation, he is no facetious candidate. In the weeks before the campaign hundreds of comrades in his Trotskyite Communist League scoured the French provinces in search of "notables" whose sense of the importance of freedom of speech might be greater than their political prejudice. In some cases young extremists cajoled their daddy, the mayor, or their uncle, a town councillor. They collected more than double the required one hundred signatures.

The Army dragged its feet—and so, according to M. Krivine, did M. Couve de Murville—but publicity, and an appeal to M. Poher, won the day and Krivine

was given equal television and radio time with M. Pompidou, Power, and the other candidates, to preach revolution.

It is generally accepted that his group, the JCR (Young Revolutionary Communists) played a decisive rôle in street demonstrations last May and June. His "groupuscule" was banned by the Government and he was imprisoned. Released after five weeks on the direct intervention of M. Edgar Faure, he was sent into the Army. Now he is up there with the best—or the worst—of them, and, extremely fluent without being frantic, energetic and not without humour, he is making a very good showing.

Krivine wants to internationalise his campaign. He is going to Germany and may arrive in London at the end of the month.

He is pulling no punches. His message is: power is in the factories and we will get it by revolutionary action, not through the sad masquerade of an election. The Right is corrupt and dangerous; the Left is rotten and foolish. To the barricades! (More than one loyal follower of Gaullist television must be shaking his hearing aid and wondering if he is going crazy these nights.)

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1969

The Trotskyite Line on French TV

Candidate Urges Revolution, May Get 1% of Vote

By James Goldsborough

PARIS, May 20.—When Trotskyite presidential candidate Alain Krivine took his message onto nationwide television last night viewers used to the usual line on the state-run network must have had a hard time believing what they were hearing.

The young intellectual didn't mince any words. He told viewers that the government was

cheating workers and students out of what they won during the revolt last May. He called the elections a fraud and the candidates (the others) fraudulent. He called on French workers to strike, occupy their plants and barricade the streets. He preached revolution.

He only used up ten minutes of his prime television time. Since each of the seven presidential candidates has 100 television minutes, young Mr. Krivine still has 90 to go.

At 27 years of age, Alain Krivine is the youngest of the candidates. There are five veteran politicians, plus two candidates

a bit on the *folklorique* side. One of the latter two is Louis Ducatel, the *foie de vivre* candidate. The other is Pvt. Krivine.

Since Robespierre

If Pvt. Krivine were elected, he would become the first Trotskyite president of France (unless Robespierre is counted as a kind of spiritual pre-Trotskyite). He would also be the first commander in chief of the armed forces to be also a private in the army.

(Mr. Ducatel, who is a millionaire, formally protested to the Conseil Constitutionnel about having a private ~~become~~ commander in chief, but his protest

was disallowed. The Conseil Constitutionnel ruled that the constitution does not preclude a private from heading the armed forces.)

Since last Thursday, when Pvt. Krivine's commanding officer obligingly granted him leave to campaign, the Krivine machine has been cranking up. Youthful Trotskyites have been scouring the provinces drumming up the estimated \$60,000 needed for the campaign. Weekly meetings at the Left Bank Mutualité Hall have been set up. The candidate has been making daily personal appearances.

The above excerpts from the Guardian, published in England, and the International Herald Tribune, are indica-

tive of the kind of coverage the Krivine campaign is receiving in the European press.

Argentine student-labor outbreak

By Gerry Foley

(IP)—Explosive confrontations between Argentinian students and workers and the police and army escalated to a new level May 23 when both of the country's major trade-union federations called a nationwide general strike in support of protests sweeping the country. One of the union federations, the CGT-Participacionista [the Participationist Confederation General de Trabajadores—General Confederation of Workers], had previously collaborated with the military dictatorship.

A general strike had already totally paralyzed Rosario, Argentina's second largest city, May 22. The local labor movement called the strike in defiance of the martial law established in the city early that morning when the army moved in to quell mass protests against police brutality.

The outbreak occurred when police shot and killed a 15-year-old youth on the night of May 21 in the course of demonstrations protesting police shootings of two students the preceding week.

Infuriated by this latest killing, the demonstrators seized a 50-block area in the central part of the city and sealed it off with barricades and bonfires. After about a dozen more students and young bystanders were seriously wounded by police bullets, the crowd besieged the police station. A group of students seized a radio station and tried to broadcast a revolutionary appeal.

An eyewitness report of the fighting was quoted in the May 23 *New York Times*, which described the situation this way: "It was open warfare. After the shootings the police locked themselves up inside headquarters for protection. The students were controlling the city center."

At 3:00 a.m., contingents of troops were

rushed into the city with orders to fire on groups who refused to disperse. Some 100 persons were injured and 25 arrested by the time the fighting died down.

Protests have been spreading in Argentina since April. In mid-May students and workers began battling the repressive forces in clashes that have broadened and grown more violent. The battle in Rosario May 21-22 marked the sixth straight night of militant actions sweeping most large cities throughout the country.

During the week of May 12-17, major flare-ups occurred in the cities of Cordoba, Corrientes, Resistencia, and Rosario.

In Corrientes, the police turned their guns on a student demonstration, killing the medical student Juan Jose Cabral. In Cordoba, the police touched off a battle lasting for hours when they tried to prevent automobile workers from meeting in their union hall. In Resistencia, student protests brought academic life to a standstill.

The student outbursts appear to have been touched off by a government decision to more than double the price of meals in student cafeterias. The student Juan Cabral was reportedly shot to death in the University of Corrientes cafeteria during the protest there.

However, unrest in the universities has been seething since the junta, led by General Juan Ongania, abolished university autonomy in 1966. The university rectors appointed by the military dictatorship are particularly hated by students and faculty alike. In the course of the recent protests, for example, 100 professors at the Universidad del Nordeste [University of the Northeast] sent a petition to the government calling for the removal of the rector and administrative officials

at their school. This protest was lodged in the face of recent government purges of opposition professors.

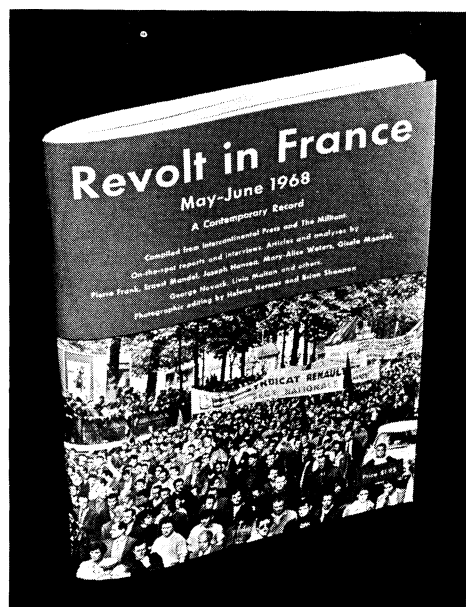
The workers and the general population also have new grievances against the dictatorship. The government has just raised the price of gasoline 20 percent, the cost of public transportation 25 percent, and has abolished the 9 percent weekly bonuses for overtime that were in effect in five provinces.

The unrest appeared to have spread far beyond the limits of previous opposition to the regime. Henri Janieres, the special correspondent for *Le Monde*, wrote May 17:

"It is not true as the authorities tend to suggest, that the unrest occurring since last month in several provinces is due to extreme left agitators. In all the demonstrations you see as many nationalists, who have traditionally been considered rightists, as you do Peronists, or far leftists."

On May 17, students in Rosario organized a demonstration in support of their comrades in Corrientes and in protest against the killing of Juan Jose Cabral. Once again the police fired on a student demonstration. Twenty-two-year-old economics student Ramon Bello was shot to death—not in the fighting, his fellow demonstrators say, but executed out of hand by the cops.

On May 23, according to a Reuters dispatch, "New student street violence was reported . . . in Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Tucuman, La Plata, and other cities." The sparks of conflagration seemed to be still spreading. On May 24, Buenos Aires was reported closed down and the government threatened to reimpose the death penalty—which was abolished in 1916—in Rosario.



168 pages, with photographs

Compiled from

Intercontinental Press

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The Militant

\$1.95

New York State residents, add 2% tax;
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Palestine Solidarity Campaign

United effort in Britain

(IP)—The following is the text of the initial declaration of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, recently founded in Britain. This founding statement of the united front committee was endorsed by a broad spectrum of organizations and publications, including:

International Socialism; General Union of Arab Students; General Union of Palestinian Students; International Marxist Group, affiliated to the Fourth International; **Black Dwarf**; **New Left Review**; **Arab Revolution**; **Free Palestine**; Friends of Palestine; Committees for Solidarity with the Palestine Revolution; Revolutionary Students Federation; Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation; British Vietnam Solidarity Front. Further information can be obtained by writing to the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, c/o **Free Palestine**, BCM Box 3275, London, WC1.

A permanent **Palestine Solidarity Campaign** (PSC) has been established to organize all solidarity activities in Britain with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation against Zionism and imperialism.

The Zionist state of Israel is, historically, the product of a European problem, anti-Semitism. Zionism and anti-Semitism are, in fact, two sides of the same medal. The latter shouts 'out with the Jews,' the former is only too glad to remove the Jews from Europe. But the removal of the Jews from where they are unwanted will never abolish minority persecution. Unable to solve the Jewish problem by striking at its very roots in the capitalist structure of European society, Zionism created, furthermore, a new problem of national persecution—Zionist persecution against the Palestinian Arabs. Zionism is a colonialist movement in its own right, bent on the occupation of land and the displacement of its original inhabitants—the Palestinian people. It is at the same time part of the world imperialist camp, through which the various imperialist powers (and notably the U.S.) have waged their aggressions by proxy, against the national liberation struggle of the Arab masses.

The present struggle of the Palestinian

Working women demonstrate in London

By Sue Pascoe
LONDON (IP)—Nearly 2,000 working-class women demonstrated in Trafalgar Square here May 18 demanding equal pay with men. The march and rally was organized by the National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Women's Equal Rights.

Posters included such slogans as "Equal Pay for Equal Work" and "Barbara's Got It—We Want It—Equal Pay Now!" The Barbara concerned was Labour MP Barbara Castle, ex-left-winger and ex-supporter of the equal rights campaign, now devoting her energy to promoting the government's antistrike legislation and opposing the equal-pay movement.

The demonstrators braved cold wind and rain to hear speeches by women trade unionists and MPs and a few left-wing men. Speakers made it plain that the employers, and not male workers, are responsible for the discriminatory wage rates for women. One speaker declared, "You have supported the employers for years by the difference between equal pay and the miserable wages you get."

The campaign's five-point charter was read. It called for the removal of sex discrimination against women in employment, education, social, and public life; and the inclusion of equal pay for equal work in all agreements between employers and the unions.

Amongst the unions represented were the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers; Society of Allied and Graphical Trades; Amalgamated Engineering Federation; and the Transport and General Workers Union.

Although the numbers of the demonstration were not large, this was the first national women's demonstration in Britain for nearly thirty years, and many of the participants came as representatives of factories.

people is a struggle to reclaim their rights and overthrow the Zionist, racist and expansionist state of Israel. The PSC will struggle in support of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, under Israeli occupation and in exile, along the lines of the following political platform:

1) PSC supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national liberation in a de-Zionized, democratic Palestine where Jews and Arabs enjoy equal rights. A de-Zionized, democratic Palestine will put an end to: I) Palestine as the state of all Jews in the world; II) Jewish majority rule; III) the sequestration of Arab land and property; IV) racial discrimination against Arabs and Oriental Jews; V) subservience to imperialism.

2) PSC considers that the armed struggle waged by the vanguards of the Palestinian people is the decisive means to force recognition of this people's rights to self-determination and national liberation. It, consequently, supports the activities of the Palestinian liberation fighters and the heroic civilian resistance in the occupied territories.

3) PSC rejects the UN resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, because it disregards the political existence of the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights. PSC is firmly opposed to the attempts made by the four Big Powers to impose on the Palestinian people and the Arab masses

Racist cops given assist by Mich. UAW local paper

A good example of the several faces of the UAW bureaucracy was reported from Detroit. While Walter Reuther marched in Charleston with 10,000 civil rights demonstrators and presented a UAW check to support the striking hospital workers there, back at home-base one of the myriad UAW local papers was circulating a vicious racist statement by the Detroit Police Officers Association.

The UAW paper in question is the monthly publication put out by the officers of UAW Local 160, a skilled trades local of the General Motors Technical Center in Warren, Mich.

The racist statement of the Detroit cops appears in the April issue of this UAW paper. It is the statement drafted by the cops after their March 29 attack on the New Bethel Baptist Church, where the first annual convention of the Republic of New Africa was convened. In it, they attempt to justify their attack on the church, the shooting of four and the arrest of all others attending the meeting, on the grounds that a white cop was killed outside the church. Their defense of the illegal raid, shooting and arrest takes the form of an attack on Detroit's top-ranking black jurist, George Crockett, who ordered the release of all those held illegally in jail.

The police ran their statement as a full page advertisement in the **Detroit News**. The other Detroit daily, the **Free Press**, refused to run the ad because of its inflammatory, racist character.

But now, when the police attack on Judge Crockett has fizzled and back-fired on them and appears to be leading to an investigation of the police, this little monthly paper of a UAW local in a racist suburb of Detroit belatedly carried the cops' statement in full as if it were a factual report of "crime" in the city of Detroit.

It is not likely that the appearance of the police statement escaped the attention of UAW regional director, George Merrelli, prior to its publication in the UAW paper, and that he had no knowledge of plans to print it.

Through these little-known acts, the union bureaucracy manages to reassure the most reactionary sectors of the union membership where the officialdom really stands, and in this way, they explain that Reuther's highly publicized support of civil rights is intended only as an empty good-will gesture.

From the Minneapolis Labor Review comes this very interesting information: "Washington — (PAI) U.S. employers during 1968 withheld \$339,428,000 from paychecks of their workers that they did

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VOL. 1 NO. 10 MARCH 1969 1/3d.

Editorial
A TRIBUTE TO KARAMAH

FUTURE generations are likely to look back at the battle of Karamah as a turning point in the annals of the struggle against Zionism in the Middle East.

Twelve months ago the Israeli Army and Air Force launched a massive attack against the Palestinian refugee town of Karamah. The

LONDON MARCHERS SUPPORT PALESTINE LIBERATION

By a Staff Reporter

OVER 3,600 people (according to a police estimate) took part in the march of 23rd February in support of the Palestinian people's armed struggle for liberation. The march had a twofold objective: to protest against Zionist oppression in the Middle East and to demon-

strate the march dispersed.

Contrary to widespread reports in the British press, the march was not organized by the Council for the Advancement of Arab British Understanding or any other single organization. The organizers were "The Ad Hoc Committee

their so-called 'peaceful solution'. The fate of the Arab peoples should be determined by the Arab peoples themselves.

4) PSC opposes the attempts made by any Arab government to liquidate, muzzle, control, or in any way interfere with the Palestinian people and its armed vanguards—the liberation fighters—and supports all resistance to such repressive measures.

5) PSC opposes all forms of racism. It will actively struggle against Zionism and anti-Jewish racism as rigorously as it will fight against anti-Arab racism, a legacy of imperialism fostered by Zionist propaganda. PSC joins the Palestinian liberation fighters in declaring its solidarity with all Jews inside and outside Israel who are fighting against the Zionist, racist and expansionist state of Israel. It calls upon all progressive anti-Zionist Jews in Britain to organize themselves for the defeat of Zionist propaganda and the liberation of the Jews from that aberration that has transformed many of them

into unabashed racists, subservient to imperialism.

6) The armed struggle of the Palestinian people forms an integral part of the Arab revolution—the combined anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist struggles of the Arab peoples. Anti-imperialism in the Arab world is presently waged against direct colonialist rule (in Zafar, Muscat and Oman), against foreign military bases, and neo-imperialist exploitation. PSC supports this struggle and its ultimate aim: the control by the peoples of the Arab world over their wealth and natural resources (especially oil).

7) The struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, like that of the Vietnamese people and all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, forms part of the historical process of liberating the oppressed peoples from under the yoke of imperialism.

From Palestine to Vietnam: One enemy, one fight! Victory to the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people!

Pro-liberation forces reported gaining here

The mass-circulation German liberal magazine *Der Spiegel* devoted a page May 19 to the growth of support in the U.S. for the Palestinian guerrillas. Although the German weekly follows a pro-Zionist line, it gave a thorough survey of the organizations supporting the Palestinian struggle. At the top of the list were the American Trotskyists. *Der Spiegel* wrote: "With films and lectures the Arabs are enlisting the American universities in their cause. They find sympathizers primarily on the left. Thus the Young Socialist Alliance (the Trotskyist youth) declared, 'For us the Arab freedom movement is part of the struggle of all people of the third world . . . against exploitation and oppression.'"

Venezuela outbreak

(IP)—Nearly all Venezuelan universities were shut down by a general strike May 17 while thousands of university and high school students demonstrated to protest the death of a student gunned down by the police in the provincial city of Merida two days before. Four other students were badly wounded May 15 at Los Andes University in Merida, 400 miles southwest of Caracas, when police fired on a demonstration in support of academic reform.

In the provincial towns of Maracay and Barquisimeto 16 demonstrators were wounded by police gunfire May 17. One student was shot in the back.

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The National Picketline



Reuther

not return to the U.S. Treasury as required by law."

These rather startling figures were a part of the "15th annual report on the inventory of delinquent taxpayer accounts" given the senate by Senator John Williams (R.-Del.). Williams said the total of illegal unpaid withholding taxes by employers is up 32 percent over 1967.

He went on: "It should be emphasized that the employment taxes are deducted from the pay envelopes of employees by the employers and that these monies do not belong to the employer.

Williams also suggested that tax monies withheld from wages be put into trust funds, unuseable by the employer. Some small firms do this, and maybe even some large corporations. But in the main, the money withheld is retained by the employers and used by them for whatever purpose they wish. Thus a part of each employee's earnings are illegally used by the bosses for three months at a time. And, as the report quoted above shows, sometimes they never are paid into the worker's tax and social security account.

—Marvel Scholl



After 20 months of imprisonment in Mexico City without formal charges and with no trial, Daniel Camejo has been 'tried' and sentenced to five years for "conspiracy, inciting rebellion, and damaging public property." Daniel Camejo was called out of his cell in Lecumberri prison May 14 to hear the decision of the judge after a "trial" he did not know was taking place. The socialist revolutionary called it a "farce, whose only purpose was to intimidate the Mexican people and those who struggle for their rights." The Diaz-Ordaz regime arrested Camejo July 19, 1967, in a series of raids against leftists on witch-hunt charges. His brother, Peter Camejo, one of the "Berkeley Three" facing a trespass charge frame-up, attempted to visit Daniel the week after the arrest and was deported from Mexico after seeing Daniel only once.

Peoples park east at Penn State

By Mareen Jasin

STATE COLLEGE, Pa. — The Old Main lawn, renamed People's Park East, has been the scene of several rallies in solidarity with the Berkeley students here at Penn State University in central Pennsylvania.

On May 21 the Penn State SDS chapter held a memorial for James Rector, the youth murdered by police bullets in Berkeley. The American flag was lowered to half-mast at the ceremony, resulting in the arrest of Penn State alumnus Barry Stein on complaints sworn out by the university administration and right-wing students.

The next day over 1,000 students showed up for a rally; right-wingers attacked the speakers and tried to break up the rally, spurred on by campus security guards and undercover agents.

On May 24 a pig roast was held on the lawn at People's Park East to raise funds for the defense of Barry Stein. The *Daily Collegian*, the campus newspaper, as well as many faculty members and thousands of students, is demanding that the charges against Barry Stein be dropped.

Additional demands put forth by SDS include immediate removal of all undercover agents posing as students from the campus and a statement by the administration condemning the repressive forces at Berkeley. Barry Stein commented, "We are confident of a victory here as well as in Berkeley."

Zionism and the Arab Revolution The Myth of Progressive Israel

by Peter Buch
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Spike ceremony draws Chinese ire

By Lew Jones

On May 10, 1869, a golden spike was driven at Promontory Point, Utah, uniting the Central Pacific Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad to form the transcontinental railway system. This ceremony came at the end of a prodigious human endeavor, and laid the basis for new advances in the American economy.

But the achievement was completed only through a heavy sacrifice of human labor,

and the entire operation was marked by the most outlandish graft and exploitation.

Congress, in commissioning the railway in the Pacific Railway Acts of 1862 and 1864 granted the two railroads 20 sections of public land for every mile of track laid, together with a long-term loan of \$16,000 to \$48,000 per mile, depending upon the terrain. Thus the two railroads starting from opposite ends of the "West" were spurred to get the most miles laid in the minimum amount of time.

The Central Pacific, starting from California, had to cross the mountains as its first step, and it fell steadily behind in the mileage race, as the Union Pacific raced across the Great Plains. The Central Pacific drove its crews unmercifully. Charles Crocker, one of its owners, promised to lay one mile of track every day for a year, and just missed doing it.

The Central Pacific laborers were almost entirely Chinese. Having recently arrived in the country, and denied citizenship, the Chinese workers were hired for a pittance and forced to work long, hard hours under the most unbearable conditions. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, lost their lives.

On May 10, 1969, a ceremony was held in Promontory Point to commemorate the centennial of this feat. Four U.S. Senators, seven Congressmen, the governor of Utah, Federal Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe, and John Wayne arrived to speak to the 20,000 who had gathered from all over the world.

Secretary Volpe set the tone for the proceedings by orating: "Who else but Americans could drill 10 tunnels in mountains 30 feet deep in snow?"

"Who else but Americans could chisel through miles of solid granite?"

"Who else but Americans could have laid ten miles of track in 12 hours?"

The reaction was not long in coming. Philip P. Choy, Chairman of the Chinese Historical Society, and others on the platform were outraged. The Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association, which claims to speak for 300,000 Chinese in the United States, lodged a formal complaint with President Nixon. They demanded an apology—but none has appeared.

Utah Governor Calvin L. Rampton managed to repeatedly refer to the original ceremony in "1896." It was his opinion that the golden spike "established Utah as the crossroads of the West," and topped that by saying the state now "is the crossroads of the Western Hemisphere."

In typical form, the ceremony also failed to take note of the Indians for whom the construction of the railroad was catastrophic. When the "official" celebration was over, the Indians conducted their own ceremony.

"We Indians are always getting kicked around," said Jennie Beagii, an instructional aide at the nearby Intermountain School for Navajos at Brigham City, Utah. "Maybe we ought to take the land back."

Chinese-Americans demand reparations

The May 9 Wall Street Journal hailed the 100th anniversary celebration of the driving of the legendary golden spike, for which government officials and railroad magnates flocked to the Utah site of the ceremony: "They are here to have a good time and to relive the wonders of the construction of the railroad. Just thinking of the glories of the bygone days of railroad building makes everyone friendly."

"Well, almost everyone. Some Chinese-Americans aren't in such a festive mood. They're taking the occasion to ask the Southern Pacific for \$300,000 to help educate Chinese-Americans as payment for the 'slave labor' employed by the 'robber barons' to build the railroad."

"Some American Indians are also upset, and they are asking the Southern Pacific for unspecified sums as payment for the Indians who were killed while trying to protect their tribal lands against the railroad."

Palestine week held at U of W

By Bill Purdue

SEATTLE, May 27—The Young Socialist Alliance and the Arab Students Association at the University of Washington recently sponsored a Palestine Week at the U of W campus to cut across the lies of the pro-Zionist press and to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian revolutionary movement.

On Monday, the Arab Students Association sponsored a well-attended meeting where Howard Koch spoke on the Palestine resistance movement. On Tuesday, the ASA sponsored the film, "Aftermath," produced by the United Nations, which shows the plight of the Palestinian refugees.

The YSA sponsored an open forum on Wednesday in front of the student union building. Speakers from the YSA and the Arab Students Association debated Israeli students under a large banner reading, "Defend the Palestinian Revolution" in both English and Arabic. On Thursday, the Young Socialist Alliance sponsored a large meeting where Will Reissner of the YSA spoke in support of the Arab revolution and explained the YSA position on the Israel-Arab conflict.

Demonstration backs students in Puerto Rico

By Mike Kelly

NEWCASTLE, N.H. — This quiet, out-of-the-way New Hampshire resort town was the scene of a quite unusual demonstration on May 13.

The occasion was a special banquet, sponsored by America's legal elite, at which the honored guest was Judge Cancio of Puerto Rico, the judge who has been presiding over the draft resisters' trials in Puerto Rico.

As the bejeweled, dinner-jacketed crowd gathered at Wentworth-by-the-Sea, a particularly elegant resort spot, they were greeted by a crowd of demonstrators chanting their support for the 96 Puerto Rican youths who have refused to serve in the U.S. Army—and also their support for the Cuban revolution, opposition to the Vietnam war, and support for the Panther 21 in New York City.

Numerous signs called for an end to colonial rule in Puerto Rico, an end to the drafting of Puerto Rican youth, and asked why Judge Cancio's son joined the National Guard rather than go to Vietnam.

Frantic attempts by men in the dining hall to block out the placards and chanting by closing the curtains only resulted in increasing the chaos as the curtains fell on guests and food-laden tables!

The demonstration, which went on until 11:30 in the evening also drew an encouraging response from the resort staff, who took the leaflets and promised to pass them on. The manager finally ordered the staff back into the building.

The demonstration had been called by the CEPA (Circulo de los Estudiantil Puertorriqueno Autentico) in Boston, a local group of Puerto Rican students fighting for an end to U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico. Other organizations that supported and participated in the demonstration included the Black Panther Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Committee on Latin American Solidarity, the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), Allston Housing Committee, and the Boston University SDS.

A modern Johnny Appleseed

The following column by Arthur Hoppe appeared in the May 21 San Francisco Chronicle.

* * *

ONE of the problems of educating our little ones is that the legends we parents cut our eye teeth on are sadly out of date. It's no wonder our children grow up with all sorts of useless, antiquated values.

Herewith, then, is the first in a series of "Up-to-Date Legends for Our Times." Its title: "Johnny Appleseed Meets the Tac Squad."

★ ★ ★

ONCE upon a time there was an idealistic young man named Johnny Appleseed. He loved apple trees, birds, apple blossoms, squirrels, apple juice, human beings and apples indiscriminately.

"You must make something of yourself, son," said his Father. "Why don't you become a real estate developer?"

"I shall pass this way only once Father," said Johnny. "And I have but one desire: that the world shall be a lovelier place for my having passed through. Therefore, I have decided to wander through life planting apple trees wherever I may go."

"What have I done," said his Father with a groan, "to deserve a hippie son?"

But Johnny was determined. And he left the Appleseed home in Megalopolis with a seedling, a shovel and five pounds of Ortho-Gro on his back.

But, of course, Megalopolis was all covered with concrete and asphalt and he wandered miles before he found some dirt. It was in a vacant lot. And the sign said, "Property of the University of Megalopolis."

"How fortunate," said Johnny, "for surely universities approve of spreading loveliness."

So he took off his pack and began digging a hole. A crowd of the curious gathered. "What are you doing?" asked one.

"I am planting an apple tree," said

Johnny happily. "It will grow and grow. In the spring it will be a cloud of blossoms to delight passers-by. In the summer, children will swing beneath its branches and lovers will lounge in its shade. And in the fall, people will come to pluck the fruit, bite through the sun-warmed skin and taste God."

The people thought this a marvelous idea. And they all pitched in to plant grass and flower beds and . . .

"Our plans call for building a Department of Thisology or Thatology on that vacant lot some day," said the University Chancellor. "And if it's got an apple tree on it, it will no longer be vacant." So he called out the campus police.

"Planting an apple tree without a permit shows you to what desperate measures these advocates of lawlessness and anarchy will go," said the Mayor. And he called out the Tac Squad.

"These mangy malcontents are destroying the sacred right of public officials to keep public property private," said the Governor. And he called out the National Guard.

So a helmeted officer uprooted Johnny's seedling for evidence. Two more blinded Johnny with tear gas. Three more filled his backside with birdshot as he fled. And four more carted him off to jail.

★ ★ ★

YOUNG Appleseed learned his lesson. He became an energetic real estate developer. In fact, he was credited with replacing 3268 acres of apple orchards with housing tracts. And he was awarded a scroll as "The Man Who Helped Build a Greater Megalopolis."

So he died rich in wealth and honors. Kind friends attributed to senility the mysterious phrase he sighed over and over on his death bed: "It was all so fruitless. It was all so . . ."

Berkeley occupation draws wide protest

By Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY, May 25—A massive action was slated for Memorial Day in Berkeley to pay tribute to the murdered James Rector, to protest the police violence, and to force the University to return People's Park to the community. Berkeley activists urged supporters from all over the state to converge on the city for the action.

Outrage at the imposition of martial law and the unprecedented police violence is galvanizing widespread public support for the People's Park protest.

For example, the May 20 issue of the *Daily Californian*, the campus newspaper, carried a letter to the editor in support of the park, signed by 37 heads and former heads of campus organizations, representing everything from Local 1570 of the American Federation of Teachers and the student government, to the Pom-Pom Girls and the president of the Interfraternity Council.

From May 20-22 the students voted 12,719 to 2,175—the largest turnout ever for a campus referendum—for a return of the park.

On May 23 the Berkeley professors, meeting in the Academic Senate, voted by a margin of 642 to 95 to call for immediate withdrawal of all outside forces and the tearing down of the fence around People's Park. Earlier more than 200 professors voted overwhelmingly not to teach or conduct research until the present crisis has ended.

Even the daily press has consistently condemned the actions of the police. Such a

normally conservative paper as the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* has questioned the excessive use of military force. KCBS radio has run editorials for several days condemning Reagan and the police. The *San Francisco Chronicle* has been waging a steady editorial campaign against the police tactics.

Local 6 of the longshoremen's union passed a resolution against the police actions.

Campuses throughout the state and the country have also responded. At UCLA 2,000 people sat-in at the administration building in support of the Berkeley students. A strike at Santa Cruz, with the faculty's endorsement, has been in effect for several days. A student strike at the San Diego campus has been successful. The chancellor of the Riverside campus has closed the school and declared a week of mourning for James Rector.

In the face of this mounting opposition, the Berkeley City Council was finally forced to call a special meeting May 24. It met for eight hours before an overflow audience of irate citizens, finally buckling under the pressure and calling upon Gov. Reagan to rescind his emergency regulations banning all marches, rallies, assemblies, and public meetings. The council was also prevailed upon to demand the withdrawal of the National Guard and the termination of the state of emergency.

Such massive opposition has been generated by the ongoing brutality of the cops and the continued occupation of the city by the National Guard. Following the initial police riot in which cops ran wild with shotguns and tear gas, murdering at least one youth, rampages by cops continued daily. On Tuesday, May 20, national guardsmen trapped thousands of students and faculty in Sproul Plaza at the university, then sprayed them with noxious gas from circling helicopters.

The gas was strongly felt even at Cowell Hospital and the Strawberry Canyon Recreation Area on the far end of the campus. There the fumes left professors' wives and children vomiting on the lawn and gasping for breath.

On Thursday, May 22, a march of 1,000 people through the streets of downtown Berkeley was begun. A total of 482 people were arrested and taken to the Santa Rita State Prison Farm where they were forced to lie, many in shirtsleeves, on the cold ground for up to five hours. Anyone who dared to move his head was immediately struck.

Following the savage treatment received by the hundreds of prisoners at Santa Rita, the Berkeley ACLU filed a suit enjoining Alameda County Sheriff Madigan and the prison guards from further brutality.

On the same day as the mass arrest, Berkeley cops and Alameda County sheriff's deputies drove a group of junior high school students off a lot near their school where they had planted seven potted plants, one tree and some sod, in an effort to build a new People's Park. The cops pulled up the plants. The outraged parents of the students announced plans to go to the state capital to demand the withdrawal of all outside police and military forces.

University Chancellor Heyns has announced "intentions to seek solutions which could end in the park's preservation at least until low-cost student housing is built on the site in about ten years."



Photo by Antonio Camejo



Photo by Antonio Camejo

MASS PROTEST. Students from all over California gathered 10,000 strong for a march and rally at state capitol in Sacramento to protest occupation of Berkeley. Action was called by University of California students at Davis. A featured speaker was the noted physicist, Dr. Linus Pauling. Terry Hillman (bottom left), of the Young Socialist Alliance, represented UCLA students.

CALENDAR

BERKELEY

BLACK CAUCUSES IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY. Speaker: Kenny Horston, head of Black Panther Caucus at Fremont Auto Plant. Sun. June 8, 8 p.m. 2519-A Telegraph. Donation \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

BOSTON

BOSTON SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Speaker: Dick Roberts. **THE ECONOMICS OF IMPERIALISM**, 6 classes. June 6, 8 p.m.; June 7, 2 p.m. and 8 p.m.; June 13, 8 p.m.; June 14, 2 p.m. and 8 p.m.

DETROIT

THE ROAD TO AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Henry Austin. Fri., June 6, 3737 Woodward Ave., 8 p.m. Donation: employed 75c, unemployed 35c. Aup. Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

PICNIC. Sun. June 8, Elysian Park Picnic Ground #1 (Scott Ave. & Stadium Way). For further info, call SWP or YSA at 269-4953.

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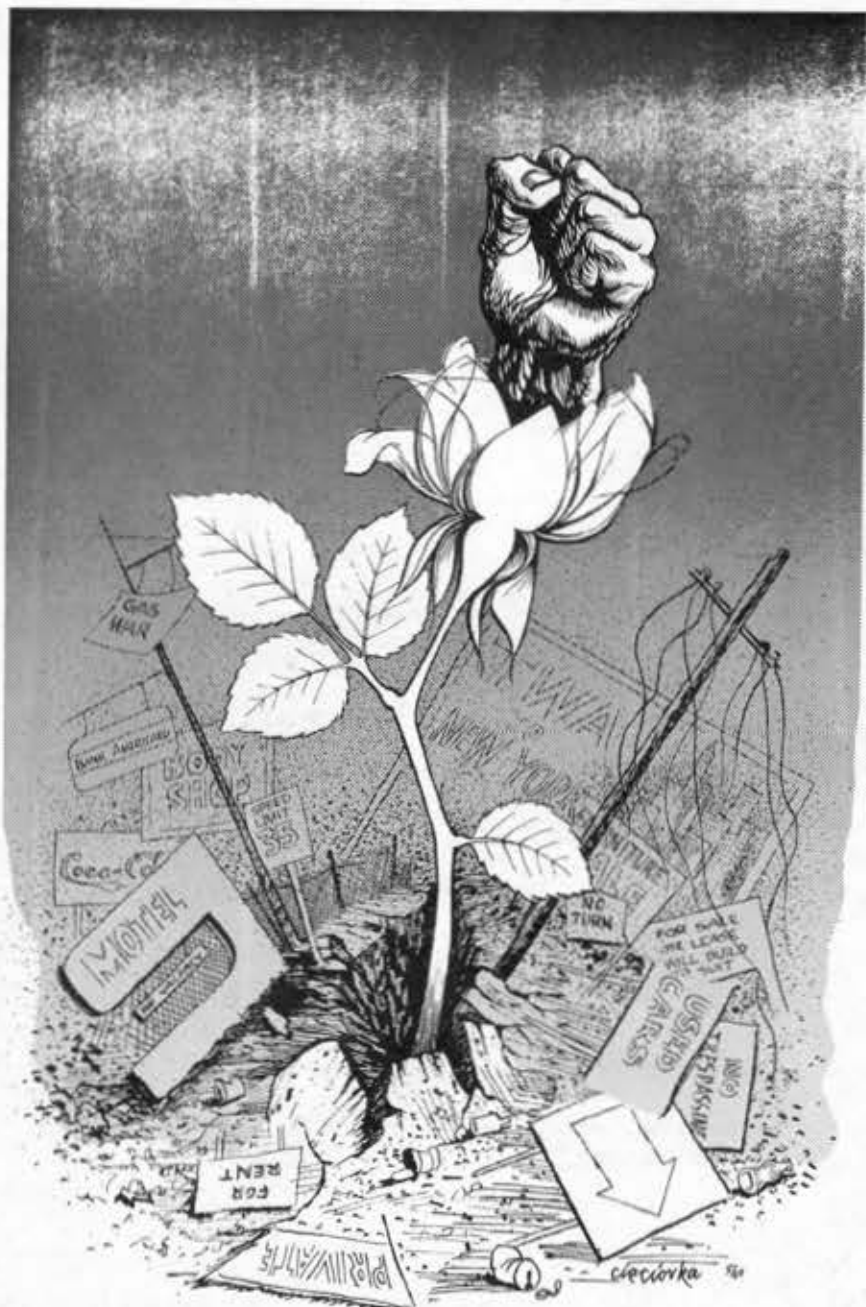
PANTHER 21 FRAME-UP. Speakers: Attorney William Kunstler and a Panther spokesman. Fri., June 6, 8:30 p.m., 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Contrib. \$1. H.S. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

CUBAN REVOLUTION PARTY. social hour 6 p.m. barbeque 7:30 p.m.; slides from Cuba 8:30 p.m.; party 9:30 p.m. 3409 Hamilton St. Adm. \$1.50 Aup. Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance.



Photo by Byron Ackerman



Let a thousand parks bloom...

BerkeleyOutcry

The continuing aggression in Vietnam

New light on attempts to dupe U.S. public

By Ed Smith

MAY 28—Is the Nixon administration following a different course from Johnson in Vietnam? Is the administration, as spokesmen claim, only fighting a "limited war" while pressing for negotiated peace in Paris? Are we any nearer the end of this war than we were when Johnson resigned over a year ago?

These questions were thrown at the White House last week as news reports carried the story of the battle of Apbia Mountain, a seemingly futile battle with heavy casualties for American troops.

Acquittal is won in Seattle case

By Bill Massey

SEATTLE—Seven persons facing trespass charges stemming from a University of Washington demonstration here March 13 were acquitted in the Justice Court May 16.

The March demonstration protested methods the university was using against five students who had protested the presence of a campus recruiter for the United Fruit Company. (See *The Militant*, April 4).

The seven persons acquitted were Bette Nieme, Mark Perry, Roger Lippman and Trim Bissell of SDS; Pat Rucker of Resistance; the Rev. Kenneth Smith, associate director of the University of Washington YMCA; and myself, of the SWP.

We had been charged with criminal trespass under a new state law that would, in effect, ban picketing of any kind, not only by students. The law was used against the seven for the first time.

Judge J. Edmond Quigley said "It was conceived in panic and born in haste." He further stated that though he didn't have the responsibility to rule on it, the law "is about as completely an unconstitutional jumble of words as I have seen."

The prosecutor continually attempted to red-bait the seven defendants. He charged me with being "a professional outside agitator" since I moved to Seattle from New York in January.

Meanwhile the university has moved against students involved in political protests by giving them probated suspensions. Members of SDS, YSA and the United Mexican American Students face such suspensions.

Charles Talbot, defense attorney in the case of the seven who were acquitted, is taking the cases of these students facing university disciplinary hearings.

The same week brought news reports of the second highest death toll in 1969—430 dead in the week ending May 17. This brought the total number of American combat deaths in the eight-year war to 35,265, and the number of GIs wounded to 255,710.

The answers to the searching questions are now becoming quite clear. The negotiations in Paris are not, as some have argued, intended to simply ease the departure of the U.S. from Vietnam. They are intended to do one thing—to lull outraged public opinion in the U.S. and the rest of the world, and buy time for the U.S. ruling class to continue its military devastation of Vietnam.

When Washington shifted its tactics in March of 1968 it did not give up hope of inflicting severe military blows against the Vietnamese revolution and possibly even defeating that revolution over the course of time on the battlefield.

But the imperialists realized that in order to carry out this aggressive policy it would be continually necessary to ward off and if possible neutralize the mounting opposition to the war in this country. Johnson's resignation, McCarthy's "peace campaign," Nixon's "secret peace plans" served the imperialists for a time.

For Washington, the talks in Paris are even more important for these ends. They are using the talks as a public cover of appearing to be seeking peace while they are actually pressing the war.

Yet to carry out this fraud, Washington is always under pressure to parry criticism, to appear to be coming up with something new.

An exceptionally revealing article on these questions appeared in the May 23 *New York Times*.

First of all, it recorded the fact that Nixon's military tactics are exactly the same ones followed by Johnson. Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, the U.S. military commander in Saigon, is still acting under orders which originated during Johnson's term of office:

"Washington's instructions were to maintain maximum pressure on enemy forces in South Vietnam to bolster American negotiating demands in Paris . . .

"After reviewing battlefield and negotiating strategy, President Nixon has decided to let the orders stand, apparently leaving it to General Abrams and his field commanders to interpret them."

More important than this, the *New York Times* article went into the question of the imperialists' room for maneuver. Referring to the Senatorial criticism of the battle of Apbia Mountain, it declared:

"High civilian officials fear that such criticism in Congress will grow unless battlefield commanders use more discretion . . .

"We are fighting a limited war," one official said. "Now clearly the greatest limi-



WHICH PAGE DO YOU READ? The one-column headline in the right corner appeared on the front page of the May 27 New York Times. The other head appeared on page 3.

tation is the reaction of the American public. They react to the casualty lists. I don't understand why the military doesn't get the picture. The military is defeating the very thing it most wants—more time to gain a stronger hand."

The last point should be underlined in red ink. Whoever this administration spokesman was, he deserves credit for stating the imperialists' policies with unusual bluntness: The job of the U.S. military is to press the war without raising the level of public opposition to the war.

The imperialists are fighting a "limited war." That limitation is the antiwar sentiment in this country.

How can the imperialists go on selling the "peace talks" in Paris, if the military keeps running up high casualty lists in Vietnam?

The *New York Times* underlined this point once again in its editorial columns May 28: "Mr. Nixon's security adviser, Prof. Henry Kissinger, called for a reduction in search-and-destroy operations in unpopulated areas. Current military operations in unpopulated Ashau Valley areas are the kind Dr. Kissinger criticized."

"The high casualty rate they produce is the one factor most likely to erode the nation's patience with both the military tactics and the negotiating strategy of the Nixon Administration."

It could not be stated more simply. The whole thing depends on duping the American people into believing the administration is slowing down the war when it is ac-

tually stepping it up. And this requires that X number of soldiers be killed, not Y.

With a good deal less candor than its officers on the battlefield, the administration has come up with the line that higher casualties are a result of "enemy attacks"—not U.S. military operations.

The headlines from the *New York Times* shown above answer this point. It could be added that the two U.S. operations mentioned began 11 and 18 days ago. Casualties incurred on them consequently contributed to the high death toll of the week ending May 17.

When pressed on the question of the battle of Apbia—where a mountain was attacked—Pentagon officials explained that in this case the attack was defensive: "If we pull back and we're quiet, the enemy will kill us in the night," stated Maj. Gen. Melvin Zais, commander of the 101st Airborne Division which conducted the brunt of the fighting at Apbia.

At the same time, a military official in Saigon gave a slightly different reasoning: "Sweeping is the way we fight this war. Just because an area is isolated and the enemy troops there haven't been bothering anybody lately is no reason for us to stay away" (*New York Times*, May 22).

Pittsburgh holds an antiwar rally of over 3,000

By Marc Bedner

PITTSBURGH—In the largest antiwar rally ever held in Western Pennsylvania, 3,000 people gathered in Point Park May 24 to hear speakers urge mass actions to end the war in Vietnam, and to support the struggle for decent living at home. The rally was organized by the Pittsburgh Spring Action Committee, a broad coalition of antiwar groups chaired by Msgr. Charles Owen Rice. The rally was preceded by a "march for peace and justice" of about 1,400 people.

Keith Donovan of Veterans for Peace said that although he had fought for this country before, he wasn't "going to slaughter for anybody." Rennie Davis, one of eight indicted for "inciting to riot" at the Democratic convention last August, urged the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace criticized the daily press for not opposing the Vietnam war and urged support for independent newspapers.

Other speakers urged action to correct domestic injustice. Albert Rojas of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee urged support for the national grape boycott organized by the grape pickers in Delano, California. Byrd Brown of the NAACP said that if politicians are representatives of the people, they should be coming to rallies.

The notion that only an activist minority opposes the war was dispelled by the diversity of the crowd, which included students and senior citizens, blacks and whites, ADA and SDS. The quantity of literature sold at the YSA table indicated that many in the crowd are becoming aware of the need for revolutionary change. The rally showed that the American public will not be silent while the Vietnamese war drags on.

250 protestors find Ft. Carson is "off limits"

By Mary F. Walter

DENVER—The Ft. Carson Army base was off-limits to 250 antiwar demonstrators on Saturday, May 17. It was Armed Forces Day Open House, which in past years has meant open gates to all visitors wishing to view the base. This year military police stopped automobiles at each of the five gates to the base.

Occupants who did not have military identification or an official visitor's pass were denied entry. One thousand passes had been distributed to Chamber of Commerce offices in the area. Apparently officials decided to tighten security after leaflets appeared on the post and in Colorado Springs announcing a protest.

Undaunted, the demonstrators set up their sound equipment in a field outside the gate and held their rally. Speakers included an antiwar GI stationed at Ft. Carson who had been discharged the day before and evicted from the base because of his antiwar views.

During the demonstration, Army intelligence agents placed a directional microphone outside the MP gatehouse and taped the speeches. Two helicopters circled overhead, three or four police cars were stationed downhill from the base, and numerous soldiers with bayonets stood inside the base. The soldiers had been ordered not to talk with the demonstrators.

The demonstration was sponsored by a coalition of radical and antiwar organizations.

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

this issue

ISR Debate on Workers Control
by Ernest Mandel

next issue

The International Youth Revolts
Documents of the Third World Congress
of the Fourth International

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The Great Society

Implementing law of supply and demand—The Albany, N.Y. Times Union reports that Warren County is keeping collectors busy by paying a bounty of \$5 for each rattlesnake turned in. Some of the pros, the paper reports, are careful to release pregnant females to ensure future crops.

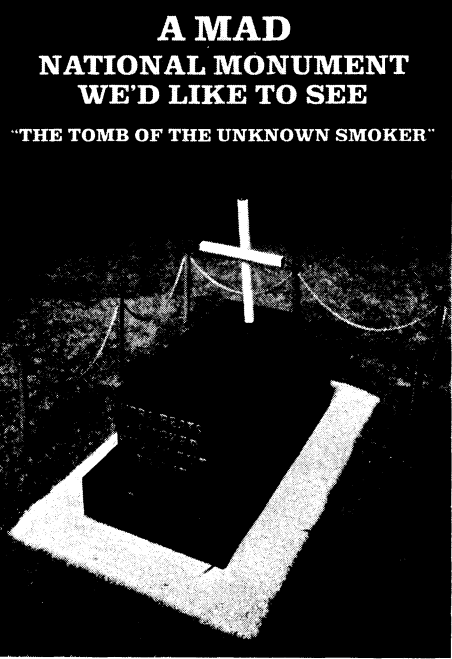
Just a plussier plus—It was fine with Congressmen when Lockheed gave them an estimate of \$4.348 billion (double the gross national product of Chile) for building 120 airplanes. The squawk came when Lockheed added another \$1.382-billion to the "cost-plus" bill. The Air Force said only a half billion of this could be attributed to inflation.

Consistent approach—Rep. Otis Pike of New York, received a threat on his life after poking into that Lockheed plane contract, according to WINS radio. A man who identified himself as a Lockheed stockholder reportedly threatened to shoot Pike, explaining, "All I'm interested in is Lockheed's profits." Which sounds as reasonable to us as why we're in Vietnam.

What else can you do?—There's the elderly joke about the two old Englishmen in their club. First one: "So sorry, old boy. Heard you buried your wife." Second old boy: "Yes, Had to. Dead, you know." We were, for some reason, reminded of this on learning that it cost the American taxpayers \$259,197 to bury the late Gen. Eisenhower.

Fine moral point—West Germany has imposed a 15-year statute of limitations on murders not committed for "base motives" such as race hatred. Hundreds of Nazi killers will be released under the ruling. Like they say, murder, shmurder, as long as you love the victim.

How independent can you get?—In finally admitting that its nerve gas killed 6,000 sheep in Skull Valley, Utah 14 months ago, the Army suggested that the probability of a repeat was slim since it has now set up an "independent" nonmilitary committee to oversee its safety procedures. Making the list of committee members available



to congressmen, all members were listed by occupation except the chairman. He, it was revealed under questioning, is with the Du Pont Company.

Getting sensitive—The Atomic Energy Commission turned down a Boston company's request to turn out cuff links made of depleted uranium. The AEC said the links would result in people getting added exposure to radiation, "without commensurate benefit." Like winning wars?

The public guardian—The Food and Drug Administration, militant watchdog of the people's welfare, refused to ban sales of Mace to the public, asserting it hasn't been proven dangerous. The FDA head said, he hadn't heard that the Army decided a year ago that the chemical apparently does permanent damage to the eyes.

The real issue—Four West Point cadets were "disciplined" after it was established that they ran a \$40,000 bill in long-distance phone calls on what purported to be an SDS credit card. Their story was that a friend told them it was OK to use it even though they weren't associated with or sympathetic to SDS. The head general at the academy assured: "I am convinced that the four cadets—though they believed that the credit card number belonged to SDS—have no sympathy with the organization." The FBI said they had checked the calls out and found them nonsubversive.

The equitable cost of dying—Coffin-nail manufacturers raised their price 35 cents a thousand. So New York wholesalers are raising their price two cents a pack, or \$2 a thousand.

Not in business for their health—A tobacco company official told the Federal Trade Commission that if the industry were compelled to include clearer warnings of the dangers of smoking in their ads they would simply stop advertising. The companies, he explained, would not spend money "for a self-defeating purpose."

Trojan wagon—Those welcome wagon ladies, it is now revealed, in the course of welcoming you to the neighborhood, are also checking you out credit-wise.

Our freedom-loving allies—In a continuing drive to assure that totalitarian communism will not destroy their cherished democracy, the Saigon regime has maintained an excellent score in the year since it abolished press censorship. During that time it suspended publication of 30 daily papers for undermining war for freedom through such invidious means as disagreeing with the government.

Decency doesn't pay?—A slated decency rally was cancelled in New York for lack of funds. The organizers, the Committee for Decency, said they had anticipated some corporation would pick up the check, but, "Unfortunately, there's no money or profit in decency."

News of the week—"City Finds Hamburgers Not Always 100% Beef."—Headline in the New York Times.

— Harry Ring

V.R. Dunne at 80: 'Active,' 'optimistic,' 'revolutionary'

In the early 1930s, in Minneapolis, a group of worker-revolutionaries began organizing coal yard truck drivers into a union. In 1934 they led the union in a strike that was one of the most fiercely fought of that entire period. The teamsters won and established a powerful union movement that spread throughout the Northwest. Their militant battles and victories in Minneapolis helped to spark the rise of labor militancy that swept the nation in the '30s.

A principle leader of the Minneapolis drivers was V.R. Dunne, already at that time a tested working class leader. Dunne became a radical in his teens as a member of the IWW in the woods of the Northwest. In 1919 he was a founding member of the Communist Party and in 1928 a founder of the Trotskyist movement of which he remains an active leader to this day.

Celebrating May Day this year, the Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance saluted Dunne on his 80th birthday. Banquet speakers included Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP who had come into the socialist movement as a young leader in the Minneapolis strikes, and Marvel Scholl, author of our column, the National Picket Line.

In extending our own birthday salute to V.R. Dunne, we are reprinting an interview with him by Molly Ivins which appeared in the May 11 Minneapolis Tribune.

* * *

Vince Dunne, who once gave the midnight horrors to local filthy Capitalist-Imperialists, regards today's New Left with a sympathetic but critically Marxist gaze.

Dunne, who turned 80 last week, put the New Left through a rigorous Marxist critique and found it wanting.

"You need three things to make a revolution," said the man who led the 1934 truckers' strikes in Minneapolis which finally made this a union town. "You have to have leaders, organization and theory. The New Left has no organization and no theory."

The New Left's lack of organization is notorious—a standing campus joke is that the FBI would bust up SDS completely, if they could only find it—but New Lefters do claim to have revolutionary theories. In fact, they spend quite a bit of time quarreling about them.

But Dunne, who was a charter member of the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World), thinks the new theories are a lot of foolishness.

"I've read Marcuse," he said. (Herbert Marcuse, a New Left hero, is a German-born California political theorist who believes revolution can be started by a vanguard coalition of students and blacks.)

"It's folly to believe the revolution can begin without the support of the working class," said Dunne. The working class will either be on the side of the revolution or there will be no revolution.

"It takes people with an understanding of how to fight, and that the trade unions have. That's your army: you'll get nowhere without it."

When the list of New Left charges against organized labor was brought up, Dunne broke in before it was fairly begun and recited them all himself: "I know, I know—the workers are materialistic, chauvinist, racist and reactionary."

"They're for Vietnam and color television and George Wallace and they've sold out. So what? You still can't move without them."

"Tell you something else," he continued, "it's not the workers who sold out; it's the union leaders. They're in house arrest in Washington."

"The president calls them down there and tells them what they can do and what they can't do. The young workers know that and they're going to revolt."

"I put my faith in the young people. The young workers, the students. They say they don't trust anyone over 30, but I'm too old to care about that."

Dunne at 80 is half-idealist, half-cynic and all radical. Old revolutionaries are honored while the young ones are still imprisoned, he noted ironically when speaking of his friend, the late Norman Thomas.

Dunne is an officer and very active member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). He lectures, attends meetings and conferences, helps SWP candidates run for office and continues to proselytize for socialism.

He lives in a cheerful basement apart-



V.R. Dunne

ment in south Minneapolis, has a grown son here and innumerable friends all over the country. He is very much in contact with radicals in other cities.

The party honored him on the occasion of his recent birthday and he has the honorary scroll from that event, with all its signatures displayed in his living room.

Has Dunne mellowed any?

Mulford Q. Sibley, University of Minnesota professor and a friend with whom Dunne has differed politically for decades, said recently he thought Dunne had mellowed.

Dunne roared with laughter when he heard the observation and said, "You can't get to be 80 without mellowing some, so Mulford is right about that. But you can tell him for me it's the only thing he's ever been right about."

Dunne is up on every facet of the movement for social change.

It might be assumed that the militant-black movement would be out of the bailiwick of a 1930s labor leader. But Dunne knew and admired both Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver.

"I never saw Malcolm put a foot wrong in any situation," he recalled.

"Lord, that man knew how to move a crowd. He could debate the best-educated intellectuals and very subtly poke fun at them. He was a real leader and that's why he was killed."

"Eldridge is also a fine leader but he's made mistakes. I helped him do some organizing in California and got to know him out there."

Dunne is optimistic about the chances for revolution today.

"They're better than they were during the Depression with 15 million people unemployed," he said.

"This country has gotten itself into something it can't handle—Vietnam. It's not as big as Minnesota and Wisconsin put together and we can't handle it."

"More than half the people in the world are hungry. There are Americans who go hungry. But there's no need for starvation in this world with the money and the power the U.S. has. And people know that."

"It's not just the children, not just the young who hate this country for what it's done. The world hates us. This country is on the ropes."

Dunne, a self-educated man who quotes Greek philosophers and German economists, has a patient, historical perspective on Americans.

"When the immigrants first came here from Europe," he said, "they came not only to a rich land but one where for the first time the working man had a voice in his government."

"Now that was a great step forward in the history of humanity and should not be denied."

"We took it in with our mother's milk that this was the most wonderful country in the world; fine and true and noble, and never mind what we did to the Indians and the blacks and Mexicans and Cubans and Filipinos. That's the perspective the average working man has."

"The most difficult thing is to unlearn that which is not true. Educating and organizing the working class is a long, long, hard process, but it must be done."

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

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N.Y. antiracist school plan draws fire of politicians

By Miguel Padilla

NEW YORK—A racist campaign has been launched by the New York City administration to whip up hysteria against agreements reached by black and Puerto Rican students and faculty negotiators at CCNY. Demagogic cries of "separatism," "quota systems" and "racism-in-reverse" have been splashed across the pages of the daily press.

After protracted hard-bargaining sessions, the black and Puerto Rican students at City College extracted from the faculty-administration negotiators significant concessions on all five of our demands. These included: establishment of a separate black and Puerto Rican school of studies; separate freshman orientation courses for black and Puerto Rican students; student voice in the setting of all guidelines for the SEEK program (a thus-far token program for enrollment of educationally disadvantaged students), including the hiring and firing of all SEEK personnel; required courses in Spanish and in black and Puerto Rican history for all education majors; that the racial composition of all future entering classes reflect the composition of the New York City public schools.

The smear campaign by the politicians and the daily press has focused on this last demand. A proposal submitted by the black and Puerto Rican students and approved by the faculty negotiators would establish a dual admissions policy at CCNY by which 50 percent of the entering class would be recruited from 13 specified high schools throughout the city located in various "poverty areas," to insure that nonwhite minority groups in the city be represented fairly in the city's public institutions of high education.

The attack has been publicly spearheaded by City Comptroller Mario Proccacino, who is making a bid to become the Democratic nominee for mayor in the 1969 election. Proccacino has been the most vocal in his attacks on the agreement, but he is not alone. Virtually every other candidate running in the Democratic and Republican mayoral primaries has come out against the proposals, including Herman Badillo, the Puerto Rican Bronx borough president who is courting the liberal and minority-group vote in the current Democratic primary race. Mayor Lindsay, the liberal Republican incumbent, advised the Board of High Education to veto the agreement.

The only major-party candidate who did not attack the proposal was Normal Mailer, who is seeking the Democratic mayoral nomination.

Paul Boutelle, the Socialist Workers Party mayoral nominee, is the only candidate who has given consistent and unqualified support to the struggle for black and Puerto Rican control of black and Puerto Rican education.

City College is located in the middle of Harlem, the largest black and Puerto Rican community in the United States; the college

is part of a New York City public school system, which, at the precollege level, is 52 percent black and Puerto Rican. City College has a day-session enrollment of approximately 9,100 white students and only 900 black and Puerto Rican students—a ratio of about 10 to 1!

The dual admissions program would open up the college to the residents of the surrounding community by removing the racist admissions requirements which are rigged to permit only a token quota of black and Puerto Rican students to obtain a higher education.

The most frequently repeated charge leveled against the dual admissions policy by the likes of Lindsay and Proccacino is that it is a "quota system" because it chooses entering students on the basis of race and not "merit." Quota systems are used to keep out members of minority groups from colleges and jobs; now a policy that would open up the schools to these minority groups is hypocritically called a "quota system."

Lindsay, who says that students should be admitted to the college on the basis of "merit," is putting the blame for the college's present racist inequities on the victims of those inequities. It is because of the present racist educational system that black and Puerto Rican students cannot receive adequate preparation for college in the public school system and cannot compete with students from middle-class backgrounds in tests favoring precisely those from the middle class.

Black and Puerto Rican students participating in the SEEK program have proved, however, that high school grades are not the only valid basis for admissions. Despite educational handicaps at the time of admissions, the overwhelming majority of the SEEK students graduate with baccalaureate degrees. The SEEK program itself, however, is totally inadequate. Last year it accepted only 13,000 of 23,000 applicants.

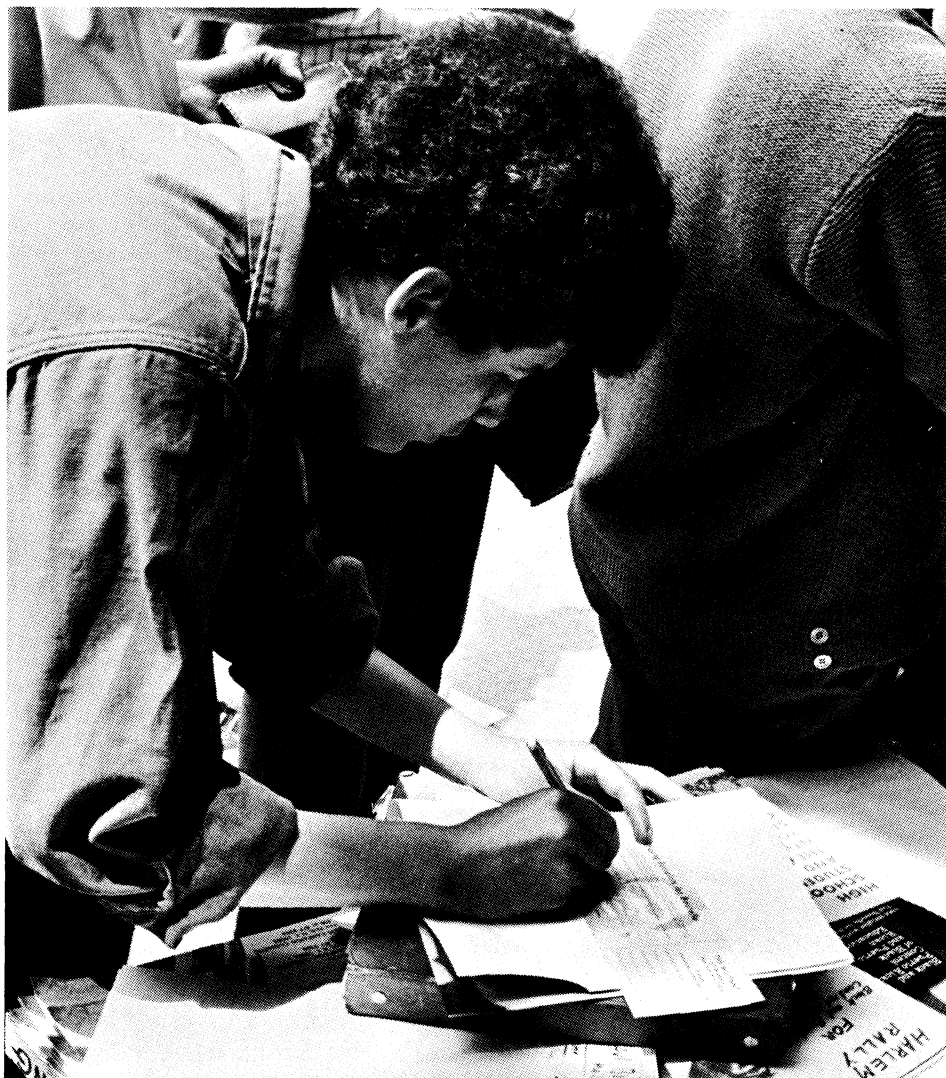


Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

ANOTHER SUPPORTER. A student at James Monroe High School in the Bronx signs a card endorsing Socialist Workers Party candidate Paul Boutelle for mayor of New York during a campaign street rally at the school.

The SWP candidates have been holding rallies at New York's high schools for the past two weeks and receiving an enthusiastic response.

The largest rally was held at Dewitt Clinton in the Bronx. Clinton has seen several student actions in the past months, many of them led by the black and Puerto Rican group AWAKE. Leaders of AWAKE volunteered to guard the campaign crew from attack by right-wing students who have engaged in violence several times at the school, but there were no incidents.

Boutelle's speech brought over 40 endorsers to the campaign, and about \$30 in literature was sold. Several students who had previously felt that the mayoral elections were meaningless changed their minds after hearing Boutelle, and offered to help build for the regional meeting of High School Students for Boutelle, to be held on Sat. June 7 at 3 p.m. at 873 Broadway (corner of 18th Street in New York).

Atlanta socialist joins mayoralty campaign

By Doug Jenness

ATLANTA — On Saturday, May 10, Linda Jenness announced that she is entering the race for mayor of Atlanta as the Socialist Workers Party candidate. This is the first time in many years—if ever—that a socialist has run for mayor in Atlanta and it may also be the first time that a woman has run.

The announcement of her campaign was made at the First Southwide Young Socialist Conference held at Emory University in Atlanta. The conference, attended by over 75 people from five Southern states, was an indication of the growing interest in socialist ideas among Southern youth.

Facing cameras from Atlanta's two major television stations, Linda Jenness gave a spirited explanation of what she would do if she were elected mayor. "I would organize a citywide referendum calling for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and I would call on all other city officials across the country to do likewise. I would provide free facilities for the use of the antiwar movement, including the use of city buses to transport demonstrators to antiwar actions. I would abolish ROTC in the Atlanta high schools and campaign for its removal from universities and colleges."

One of the reporters, looking at a written copy of Linda Jenness's platform, asked what was meant by "black control of the black communities." "I mean for example, that federal, state, and city funds allocated to the black community should be increased and should be controlled by the black community," she replied. "The black community should participate in the hiring and firing of teachers and the establishment of curricula. I am for the Atlanta Housing



Linda Jenness

Authority being composed of representatives from tenant committees instead of over-paid government bureaucrats."

One of the most popular planks in her platform has proved to be the demand for a progressive tax structure. She calls for abolishing all taxes that hit the poor the hardest, including gasoline and sales taxes, and is for raising corporate taxes. She would tax no income less than \$7,500 and tax 100 percent all incomes above \$25,000.

Linda Jenness, 28, has been active in the socialist and antiwar movements since 1966. She was secretary of the Washington Mobilization Committee, which hosted the massive October 21 antiwar action in Washington, D.C. in 1967. She moved to Atlanta in 1968 where she has been very active in the Young Socialist Alliance and the antiwar movement, especially in the preparations for the April 6 action held in Atlanta this Spring. She was a legal resident of Pembroke, Georgia, until she was 21.

In January of this year she spent a month in Cuba, and on her return has spoken to over 1,000 students at 10 campuses in the South and written articles for *The Great Speckled Bird*, Atlanta's underground newspaper, and for *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*.

Her campaign has received publicity on WSB-TV, WAGA-TV, WGST-Radio, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Atlanta Journal*, the *Emory Wheel*, and *The Great Speckled Bird*.

The May 22 *Emory Wheel* in an article with the caption "First Female Candidate for Mayor" quotes Linda Jenness as saying, "Women are becoming fed up with discrimination they face in our society. I call for an end to prejudice in the employment of women, for the legalization of abortion, and free nurseries for mothers."

On May 22, she addressed an open-air rally at traditionally conservative Georgia Institute of Technology. When she attacked the recent tuition hike for all state schools in Georgia and called for free university education for anyone who wants it, one student yelled out, "Who will pay for it?" She promptly replied, "If we took all the money that is currently being spent on the Vietnam war we could pay for a free college education for everybody who wants it two or three times over." Although there were many hostile hecklers in the audience, members of SDS and the Tech Action Committee applauded her remarks.

Mayor Ivan Allen, who defeated Lester Maddox in the Democratic Party primaries in 1965 and who boasts that Atlanta has been able to "resolve race relations peacefully", announced earlier this year that he will not run. Those who have publicly announced their candidacies are Aldermen Rodney Cook and Everett Millican, and Dr. Horace Tate, a black member of the Board of Education. More candidates are expected to enter the race before the election on October 7.

Boutelle stand

NEW YORK—Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party nominee for mayor, scored the major-party politicians who have ganged up to kill the agreement won by City College black and Puerto Rican students to end the "unspoken quota system" designed to keep them out of a college in the very center of their community.

"It is sickening hypocrisy," Boutelle said, "for capitalist politicians who have always looked the other way when real quota systems are being applied to minorities, to shriek with horror at what they know full well has nothing to do with quotas."

The entire present system, he said, is false and reactionary. "People don't have to pass an entrance exam to go to elementary or high school," he said. "Why should free, universal education end at the college gate?"

Boutelle noted that Cuba, a country with far less resources than the U.S., provides free university education to all those who wish it, with dedication to their studies after admission the only requirement.

"The fact that so reasonable a demand here in the U.S. provokes such a violent reaction from the capitalist politicians," Boutelle said, "makes clear what a rigged, racist educational system we have."