

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 24

Friday, June 13, 1969

Price 15c

Tens of thousands march in Berkeley

— page 4 —

AN ANALYSIS:

Is U.S. really on the eve of a major repression?

-- see page 5

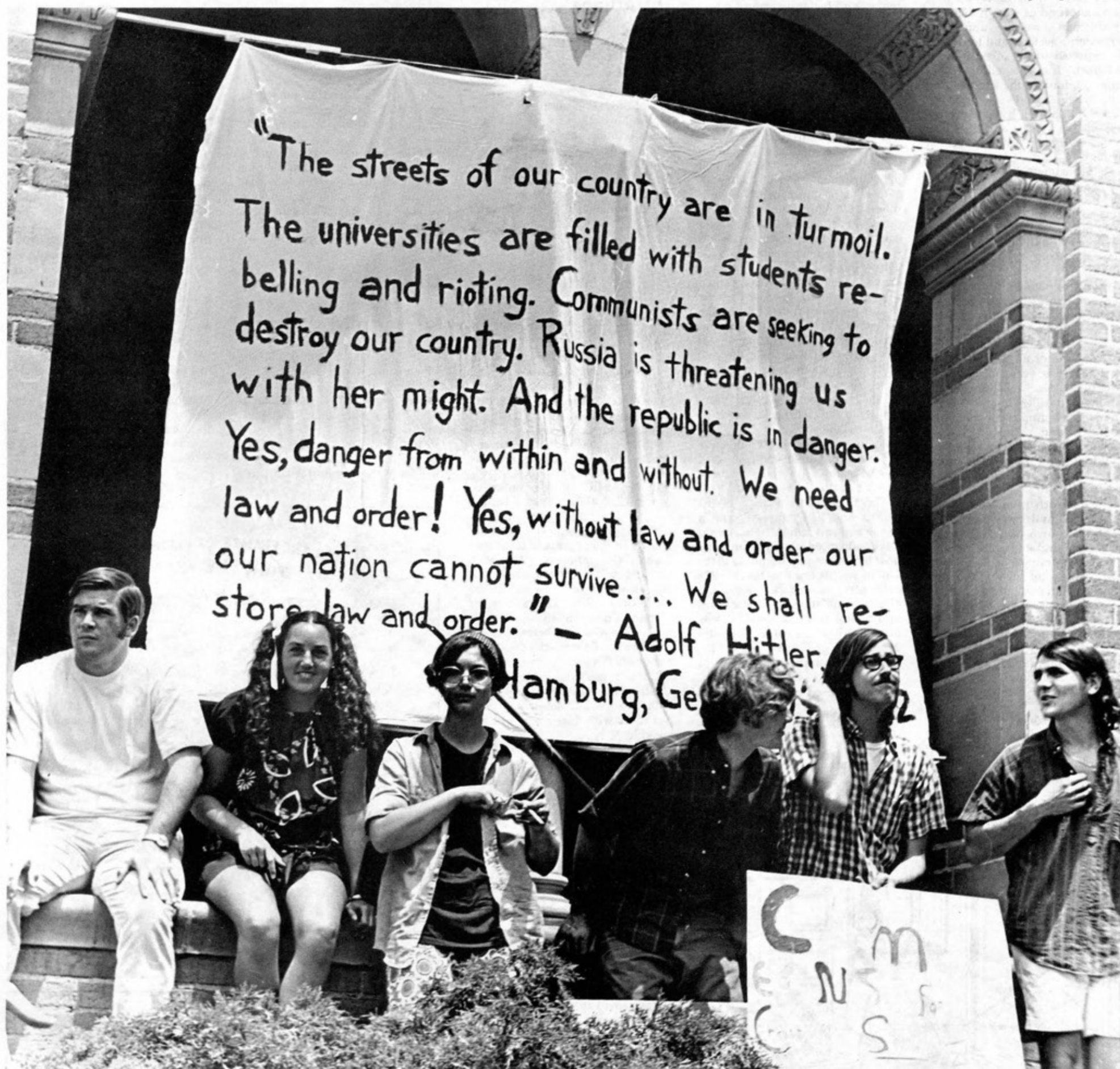


Photo by Angela Vinther

AN ECHO? A growing number of U. S. politicians are mouthing phrases similar to the famous quotation from Hitler depicted here. The problem of the U. S. politicians is that they are bogged down in Vietnam and facing mounting militancy of black, brown and other third world people, as well as a spreading youth radicalization. With all these difficulties, and more, they are hardly in a position to smash such forces plus a highly organized

labor movement as Hitler did before he began "restoring law and order." The scene here is from the University of California at Los Angeles where, May 26, 30 percent of the 32,000-member student body joined a strike in solidarity with embattled Berkeley students. It was an unprecedented action for UCLA which has lagged behind general campus militancy.

Berkeley under occupation

'Welcome to Prague'

Berkeley, Calif.

Our house is about 10 blocks down Telegraph Ave. from the perimeter of what became the "war zone". During the height of the occupation the contrast between areas was somewhat fantastic: in our area shoppers were going about doing their usual thing while just up the avenue troop carriers were careening, gas bombs going off and continuous battles between the cops and students going on. Driving into the campus area was like driving into a war zone with streets blocked off by the Guard and the fuzz and an eerie atmosphere of incongruity in the contrast between areas came through.

The National Guard call-up offered some significant insights into the attitude of the GIs in the army today: We would drive up to a barricade and as we got there the Guardsmen would approach, very stern, serious and tense and we expected to be asked for our passport. But the fellow would come up, look in the window and say, "Hello," and I would say something about having a business up the avenue and he would seem relieved and wave us through.

The apartment building above our headquarters has a large banner floating outside . . . "Welcome to Prague," a familiar sign throughout the city. One large apartment building has a banner floating outside saying, "Yankee Go Home."

When the Guard first arrived there was confusion and tenseness, but the students rapidly grasped the fact that the Guardsmen were primarily men who had joined to avoid the draft. Most of them were not the very model of a modern soldier . . . they would handle their rifles in a too-casual manner, swinging them about disdainfully, and usually, as soon as their officer left their area they would either lie down or sit down and schmooze around in an aimless sort of way.

KPFA reported that the Guardsmen printed and distributed a leaflet of their own objecting to the occupation and stating their desire to go back home. The first 2,500 were called up from the surrounding San Jose and Hayward area and many of them knew people in Berkeley. The "V" sign became so common, it became an accepted practise . . . Students would "V" Guardsmen, who would return the compliment.

One of the Guardsmen interviewed stated, "We don't expect to shoot anyone . . . I couldn't . . . it's very emotional; you tend to see the peoples' point of view."

Leaning out of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, which was in the battle zone, I yelled to some Guardsmen strolling below, "What do you think Buddy?" One of them yelled

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.

back, "Its unbelievable, absolutely unbelievable" in a shocked and frightened sort of way. Another Guardsman, who was a buddy of one of the Young Socialists, told him, "These cops have gone crazy. You better watch out. They are out to kill people!"

The authorities quickly became cognizant of the "fraternization" and its possibilities and attempted all sorts of devices and ruses to neutralize it. The Guardsmen were broken up into platoons with a Berkeley cop in charge of each. The press began printing "warning stories" about innocent Guardsmen who had taken brownies cooked with Alice B. Toklas stuff and oranges with other stuff injected into them and the Guardsmen had "turned on". And Guardsmen were warned to not take food from the students. These stories, when run down, proved false. The Guardsmen were not fed well; the Army trucks would go around distributing the renowned horse-stuff sandwiches, dry and insufficient, and I watched a Mess Wagon pull up and only one guy out of the over 50 went up to get his tray of the proverbial shingle fare, the remaining Guardsmen refusing to eat the stuff.

Almost every corner would have a platoon of Guardsmen engaged in discussion with many students and the dialogue was great.

The General in charge of the Guard had just returned from a command in Vietnam. That might have influenced his thinking in the now infamous gas bombing of the University. At one time the sheriff's helicopter landed to complain about some students flying kites and telling them to stop for fear of entangling the rotors. The students then organized mass kite-flying and many references to London under siege came forth.

One reporter cites his attempt to seek out the U.C. chancellor and finally found him, "alone, in a dark room quietly smoking a pipe." This was shortly after he had authorized a press release stating: "The fence was necessary to permit the kind of rational discussion and planning that wasn't possible before."

Paul Montauk



One in The Hand

Tribune photo by Robert Stineff

Episode in the bushes: a demonstrator thought he could sneak past National Guard security lines around the home of Chancellor Roger Heyns, but as he chose his spot and emerged, several soldiers were waiting. More pictures, Page 15.

Distortions of capitalist press

Berkeley, Calif.

According to the caption under this photograph on the front page of the May 22 issue of the *Oakland Tribune*, the YSAer pictured above was apprehended by National Guardsmen. However, they didn't figure on the training at sneaking through bushes he received as a soldier in Vietnam. HE GOT AWAY!.

R. F.

A question on Cuban trade . . .

Philadelphia, Pa.

It is enlightening to know that Mao and his followers can be class-collaborationists when it is politically expedient for them to do so (Sukarno, Ayub Khan, etc.) and this teaches us that politicians are politicians whether they are Maoists, Stalinists, or whatever "good" kind of Communists. Mary-Alice Waters does a beautiful job of exposing the collaborationist weaknesses of China and Russia in the process of defending Cuban Communism. (*The Militant*, May 30, 1969 issue.) But she clearly fails to mention the collaborationist weaknesses of Cuban Communism. Is Waters not aware of the ties between Cuba and Franco Spain—class collaborationists ties?

I'll never understand why Castro feels it necessary to trade with Franco and fascism. Collaboration with fascism is not excusable.

C. L.

. . . and a reply

New York, N. Y.

Revolutionary Marxists have never criticized the leadership of the Soviet Union, Cuba, or any of the workers states for having trade relations with the capitalist countries, even the most reactionary ones. For example, it is worth remembering that for roughly 40 years there was only one country in the world that abolished capitalist property relations—the USSR—and that country had no choice but to trade with capitalist countries.

Like Cuba, the USSR was blockaded and subjected to intense economic pressures. The Soviet leaders were totally justified in exploiting the divisions amongst the capitalist countries to the advantage of the revolution by trading with whatever countries would supply them with the goods they desperately needed.

The same is true with Cuba today, and that is why it is incorrect to characterize Cuba's

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. 24 Friday, June 13, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was June 6.

trade relations with Spain as class collaborationist.

The difference between Cuba and the Soviet Union and China is that the latter two are willing to provide special economic and technical aid to even the most reactionary regimes. As in Pakistan, the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies sometimes even provide military aid which is used against the revolutionaries of those countries.

Furthermore, the Soviet and Chinese leaderships are willing to subordinate support to revolutionary movements in other countries to their own trade or diplomatic interests. They place narrow national needs, as defined by the ruling bureaucratic caste, over and above the needs of the world revolution—a policy which in the long run can only weaken those workers states themselves.

Cuba has not carried out a similar policy, and that is one reason we do say there is a distinction between the line of the Cubans and that of Moscow and Peking.

Mary-Alice Waters

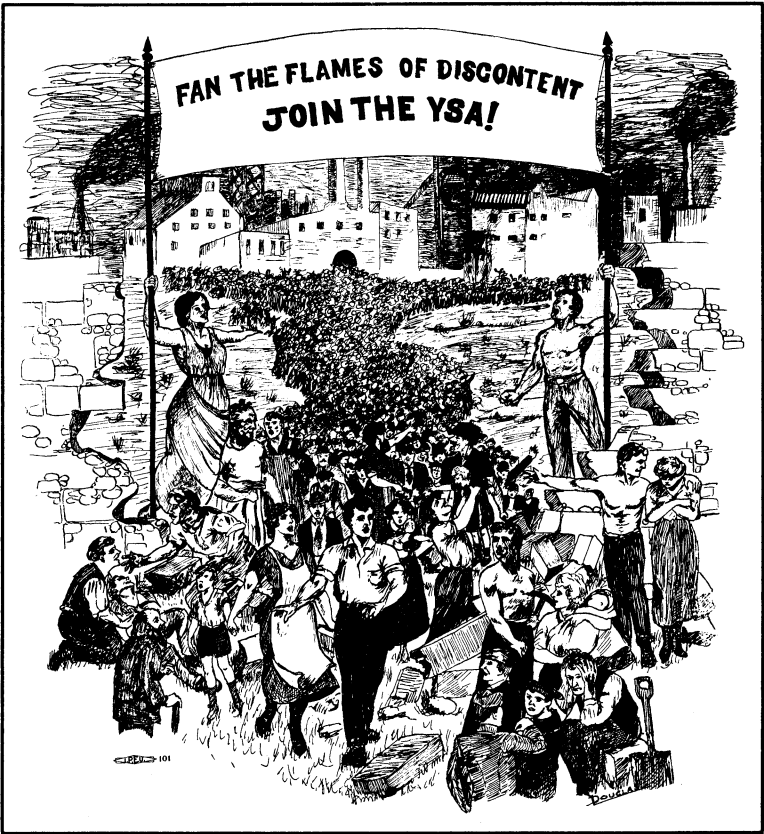
Our critic criticized for 'socialist realism'

Minneapolis, Minn.

Please allow me to make a few comments on Mr. Malachi Constant's review of Ingmar Bergman's film *Shame* in *The Militant* of May 16.

First of all Mr. Constant did not see the film carefully. This is evident from the very first paragraph

V. P.



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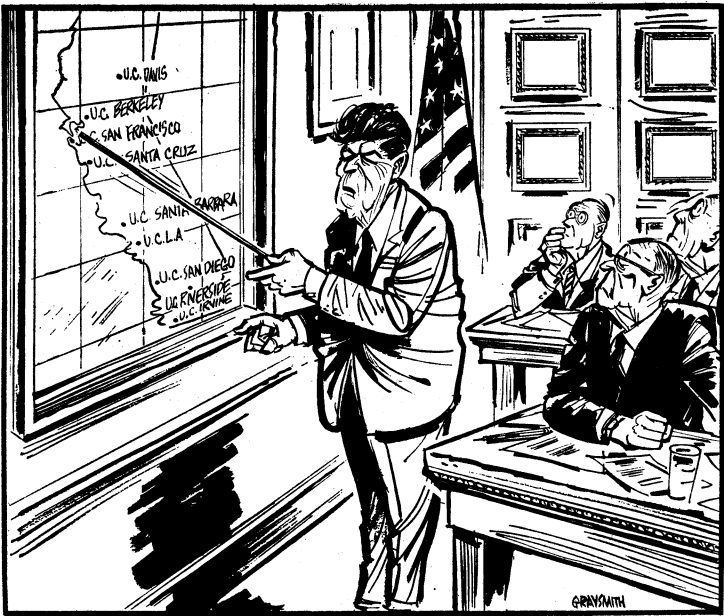
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Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

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"Imagine if you will, gentlemen, a row of dominoes"

San Francisco Chronicle

ROCKEFELLER TRIP
SETS OFF A CLASH

Honduran Student Killed by
Police Gunfire in Protest—
Governor Sees President

By United Press International
TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras,
May 14—The police shot and
killed one member of a pro-
Castro crowd of students
demonstrating outside the Pres-
idential Palace today when
Governor Rockefeller
side confer-
Osvald.

There were minor skirmishes
between the police and stu-
dents at the National Univer-
sity here as the Rockefeller
party arrived, but the Gov-
ernor's motorcade was routed
around the scene of the dis-
orders.

Peru Ousts U.S. Military Aides
And Bars Visit by Rockefeller

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

about 45 or 50 men, plus their
families.

Move Termed Understandable

ALBANY, May 23 (UPI)—
Governor Rockefeller said to-
night: "I regret the develop-
ment, but it was understand-
able under the circumstances."
The cancellation reduces his
trips to 22 countries—every
Latin-American nation except
Peru and Cuba.

Bolivian Snub for Governor

LA PAZ, Bolivia, May 23
(Reuters) — The rectors of
Bolivia's eight universities
not welcome Mr. Rocke-
feller.

GOVERNOR STARTS
2D LEG OF MISSION

In Bogota, Street Clashes
Precede His Arrival

By JUAN DE ONIS
Special to The New York Times

BOGOTA, Colombia, May 27
—Governor Rockefeller arrived
here today to resume his mis-
sion for President Nixon in
the "true thinking" about rela-

15 Injured in Disorders

BOGOTA, May 27 (UPI) —
At least 15 persons, including
eight policemen, were injured
in clashes arising from anti-
United States demonstrations
by students before Governor
Rockefeller's arrival today.

ROCKEFELLER MET
BY STRIFE IN QUITO

Students Battle Troops—
Two Newsmen Injured

By JUAN DE ONIS
Special to The New York Times

QUITO, Ecuador, May 29—
Student violence erupted here
today as Governor Rockefeller
arrived and met with Ecu-
adorian officials behind heavy
security guards.

A dynamite explosion
wrecked two vehicles of the
United States military advisory

ROCKEFELLER CUTS
HIS BOLIVIAN VISIT

Talks Are Held at Airport to
Avert Violence as Students
Demonstrate in Capital

By JUAN DE ONIS
Special to The New York Times

LA PAZ, Bolivia, May 31—
Governor Rockefeller drastically
shortened his visit to Bolivia
today to avoid a violent polit-
ical crisis as thousands of stu-
dent demonstrators marched in
this Andean capital to protest
his presence.

The Rockefeller mission's visit
was reduced from 22 hours to

ROCKEFELLER VISIT
TO VENEZUELA OFF
IN PROTEST THREAT

Caldera Asks Postponement
— Governor Says 'Forces'
Seek to Disrupt Tour

By JUAN DE ONIS
Special to The New York Times

under a
fusal to receive the
Mr. Rockefeller discussed this
setback with President Nixon
in Washington this morning.

UNAPPRECIATIVE. As these New York Times clippings indicate, students in Latin America apparently did not realize that Nelson Rockefeller is a "liberal" capitalist politician who really wanted to discuss their conditions with them. Instead, they received him with the welcome due any member of the Yankee ruling class; particularly one who

owns and controls imperialist monopolies throughout their continent. The payoff was refusing to let Rockefeller visit "his own" Venezuela. Rockefeller's reception marked a new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle of Latin Americans and signified that the lull which followed a series of right-wing military victories begin-

ning with the Brazil coup in 1964 is at an end. The struggles of workers and students in Argentina and Curacao coupled with Rockefeller's rebuff by nearly every country he planned to visit mark May-June 1969 as Latin America's response to France's May-June 1968.

Argentine students detonate labor revolt

By Gerry Foley
(IP)—The Argentinian military dictatorship headed by General Juan Ongania is in deep trouble. A series of student demonstrations were met with extreme police violence. This in turn engendered widespread sympathy for the students. The workers sought to demonstrate their solidarity through action. So powerful was this upsurge that the unions, in defiance of threats that they would be crushed by military force and strikers would be liable to the death penalty, staged a one-day general strike May 30 that shut down the entire country.

On May 29, Argentina was placed under martial law and special military tribunals were set up, empowered to hand down death sentences to those who refused to obey the dictates of the military regime. Large contingents of police and troops patrolled the major Argentinian cities.

The workers and their allies appear to have remained firm against the government assault.

Violent fighting swept the automobile center of Cordoba during the day and night of May 30-31. News of the battles there shocked the country. "At the height of the fighting in Cordoba last night," Malcolm Browne wrote in the *New York Times* June 1, "Buenos Aires residents watched dramatic sequences [on television] from the northern industrial city showing waves of policemen firing pistols at close range into an advancing crowd of rock-throwing workers."

Police shot their way into the headquarters of the auto workers union where the main labor leaders had gathered.

In the fighting in Cordoba, six persons were killed and more than 400 arrested, according to press reports. On June 1, the special military tribunals began passing harsh sentences on the jailed strikers and demonstrators.

Fierce fighting was also reported in the country's depressed northern province of Tucuman when unemployed sugar workers besieged a government-owned railroad repair shop on the day of the general strike.

In Buenos Aires, as well as the big provincial cities, buses and taxis were halted. The postal system was closed down. The textile mills were silenced. All of the schools were closed.

The railroads—the country's most vital transportation network—were also struck—despite the fact that they have been under direct military supervision since 1967 and harsh penalties can be imposed on strikers.

In many areas, shopkeepers closed down their businesses to demonstrate support for the workers and students.

The escalating protests that culminated in the May 30 general strike were touched off in mid-May by student opposition to higher-priced meals in the cafeteria of the Universidad del Nordeste [UNE] in Corrientes.

As a result of the government's decision to turn the student cafeteria over to a private catering firm, the price of meals was raised from 14 to 30 cents. This meant a greater hardship for the students than might appear at first glance. The UNE students are the poorest in Argentina and the cost of their education is a heavy burden for most of their parents. Thus even small extra expenses entail added sacrifices. Furthermore, under the new system the cafeteria would have been closed on weekends, forcing the students to eat at commercial restaurants where the lowest priced meals cost 200 pesos (56 cents).

Resentment already ran deep among the students. The dictatorship's purges of the country's faculties had deprived Argentina of a considerable proportion of its qualified scholars. Students feared that the level of education had been so debased that their diplomas would be worthless. New decrees increasingly limited access to higher education.

Banning of independent student organizations and repeated police invasions of the campus had produced a grim atmosphere of repression and reaction. Uniformed policemen were stationed in many classrooms. Government-appointed rectors ruled the universities like imperial proconsuls, oblivious to the needs of their schools and alien to academic life.

When the police suppressed a demonstration in the UNE cafeteria, gunning down the medical student Juan Jose Cabral, the simmering discontent boiled over into violent protests. The student struggles triggered popular opposition to the regime into actions of solidarity.

The poorer classes have suffered from the harsh austerity imposed by the regime. The middle classes have been alienated by the army's arbitrary and primitive methods of rule. The example of students fighting the police had a particularly compelling effect on the Argentinian workers, long demobilized by their vacillating trade-union bureaucracies.

"Now general labor support for the students seems to be developing rapidly," the *New York Times* wrote May 28. "One small indication of this was a sign posted on a shop window in Rosario after one of the demonstrations there. It read, 'Sorry. We should have helped you.'"

Massive fighting broke out May 21 in Rosario, the country's second largest city, when the cops shot and killed a 15-year-old youth.

The upsurge brought the divided Argentinian labor movement together in joint action and stiffened the backbones of a number of trade-union bureaucrats. After martial law was clamped down on Rosario May 22, the collaborationist faction of the CGT [Confederacion General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] led by Vandor, joined with the "rebel" faction led by Ongaro in issuing a call for a general strike.

The broad front that shaped up in solidarity with the UNE students in the initial confrontations provided one more example of how a local university struggle can develop into a national conflagration under conditions like those in Argentina.

The shooting of Juan Jose Cabral drew sharp protest. The provincial governor's administrative deputy Rafael Marchetti resigned along with two professors at the police school. Two hundred UNE professors tendered their resignation. The Corrientes medical federation and medical college issued a joint statement expressing their "total and forthright repudiation of the brutal police action."

The shopkeepers' organization, the Asociacion de Provisionistas y Comerciantes de Corrientes [Corrientes Association of Grocers and Tradesmen] closed their stores in protest against the government's treatment of the students. The priests in Resistencia across the river from Corrientes offered space in their cathedral for a student cafeteria.

The broad nature of this front showed that the vast majority of the people needed only a vanguard to lead them into a struggle against the junta. By the time of the general strike May 30 the generals were faced by a massive array of opposition.

The crisis of the Ongania regime shows what a hopeless perspective faces the military dictatorships in Latin America. They are incapable of solving the economic and social problems facing their countries. Instead they exacerbate them and make them more explosive.

Whether or not Ongania has decided to resign, as is rumored, it seems certain that his regime has outlived its usefulness. It is unlikely that a government will survive for

long that has shown its incapacity to assure the kind of order and stability the Argentinian capitalists and their imperialist patrons require.

It is hard to see, however, what alternative the bourgeoisie now has to the rule of naked force.

When the junta was installed, the revolutionary Marxists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [Revolutionary Workers party] predicted: "This is probably the last chance the bourgeoisie will have to establish a stable bourgeois government. After this regime, the situation can become openly prerevolutionary."

Browne, an observer more than sympathetic to the Argentine capitalists, does not offer a much brighter view for them:

"Seasoned Argentine political observers saw the Government facing two alternatives: to yield and liberalize the regime, or to apply the 'mano dura' (iron fist) and start erecting firing squad parapets. Either way, the country faced uncertainty, turmoil and possibly civil war. . . . The weeks that follow seem certain to bring major changes to Argentina with potentially sweeping effects on all of Latin America."

Boston offices of Unitarians hit by sit-in

By Roy and K. B. Inglee
BOSTON—On May 21 the Interdenominational Radical Caucus, a left caucus in the Unitarian Universalist Association, began occupying the first floor of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee office at 78 Beacon Street to protest UUSC complicity in the Vietnam war.

Investigation of UUSC files had produced letters showing that the committee's "social welfare" project in Cholon, Vietnam, is funded and controlled by the U.S. State Department Agency for International Development and that prospective welfare workers are screened by the FBI before their departure for Vietnam.

According to Jack Zylman, assistant minister of the Community Church, the Radical Caucus intends to escalate the struggle until the demands of the sit-in are met. The demands include "immediate withdrawal of the UUSC from Vietnam and all other AID programs" and "a massive program of reparations to the Vietnamese and North American victims of the war in Vietnam."

Despite a local news blackout, the occupation is gaining support among area church circles. Supporters of the Radical Caucus action include Florence Luscomb of Women Strike for Peace, the Rev. Robert Hohler, president of the UAA Ministers Association, the Massachusetts Bay District of the UAA and the social action committees of various churches.

Works by Rosa Luxemburg



Accumulation of Capital	\$4.50
Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism?	1.65
What is Economics	.95
Junius Pamphlet	1.25
Reform or Revolution	.95
Spartacus Program	.40
Merit Publishers 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003	

Giant Berkeley march demands return of park

By Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY — Tens of thousands from throughout the state converged on Berkeley May 30 to support the struggle for Peoples Park and to protest the police violence.

It was virtually impossible to estimate the size of the crowd, as it spread itself half-way across Berkeley. A consensus estimate would be 30,000. One television station reported that as many as 60,000 were present. It was clearly the largest demonstration in recent Berkeley history.

The turnout came in open defiance of a scare campaign conducted by the city, county, and state officials. Alameda County Sheriff Frank Madigan stated the day before the demonstration that he was prepared to order the use of shotguns once again. This comment made banner headlines in northern California for two days.

In contrast to violent threats, the demonstrators came in a festive mood. Rock bands, flowers, singing, cheering characterized the march. Even a "Peoples Participatory Marching Band" made an appearance. A new park near the embattled Peoples Park was constructed unmolested.

Not one hostile reaction was seen from onlookers as the march went through several different sections of Berkeley. At several points cool-ade was given away, and many residents turned on their garden hoses for the marchers to drink from or to cool themselves from the blazing sun.

The Berkeley City Council had agreed at midnight the night before to allow the march to go to the fenced-in Peoples Park. When the marchers reached this point they quickly put together street parks, laying sod on the barren concrete of the street. The fence was covered with thousands of flowers and hundreds of signs demanding a return of the park. A block-party atmosphere prevailed as demonstrators continued to converge on the park from farther than the eye could see.

The police, using Gov. Reagan's Vietnam-style pacification guidelines, had made plans for violence. Shotgun-carrying

police took up positions on the roofs of buildings throughout the city. Large groups of cops were "at the ready" only a few blocks from the march. Two thousand National Guardsmen were shipped into Berkeley.

But the protesters had won their point and forced the police to conduct themselves peaceably. In the days leading to the march, it had become clear that greater and greater public sympathy was on the side of the marchers.

In the face of the mounting pressure, authorities began last Sunday to back down. The Berkeley City Council voted to request Governor Reagan to lift the state of emergency, withdraw the outside police forces and National Guard, and to remove the ban on civil liberties. Reagan, though refusing to lift the state of emergency proclamation, quickly responded by greatly reducing the number of police and military forces and ending the ban on public gatherings. The University announced that it was looking for a way of turning the park over to the people. It appeared that a victory might be in sight.

As the march date approached and support continued to grow, the authorities began looking more and more frantically for a way out of what promised to be a mass political confrontation. No one holding a position of responsibility, however, wanted to be seen as capitulating to the pressure. Before long the people of California were beset by the spectacle of all "their" public officials desperately trying to pass the buck to each other in what might be described as a game of Musical Parks.

The University Regents granted Chancellor Heyns of the Berkeley campus the power to deal with the problem in virtually any way he saw fit. Heyns replied that the only solution was for the City of Berkeley to lease the land from the University and then for the City to turn it over to the people. And the City Council at its Tuesday night meeting refused to take the land,

What the People's Park indicated about socialism

BERKELEY — People's Park in Berkeley has been the focus of a fierce struggle, and the significance of this struggle is beyond question. There are, however, some important lessons to be drawn from the park itself, which the violent confrontations with the police have tended to obscure.

In one sense the park represents a form of escapism for people who have given up hope of changing American society. It is certainly incorrect to believe, as do some advocates of the park, that private property can be abolished by "ripping it off piece by piece."

However, the park does demonstrate very dramatically how it is possible for people to live and work together, giving everything they can for the benefit of the entire community. It provides a glimpse of what a truly free society has to offer.

Anyone who believes that socialism can never succeed because people will not work without some sort of profit motive need only to look at the park. One needs only to see what human beings are capable of when they are working for themselves rather than for some boss.

In capitalist society a man works at a single job eight hours a day, five days a week, year in and year out. He works not because he wants to but because he must sell his labor power to another human being if he is to continue to live. Thus this other human being comes to have absolute power over him and over the disposition of everything he creates. Frequently (and with increased specialization, to an ever greater degree) he is just one link on

a long production line and never even gets to see the finished product. Consequently he becomes alienated from the production process and from the object he produces. He finds it impossible to relate to his job in any human way. Work becomes a dull routine which he is coerced into performing and he has absolutely no interest in doing it well.

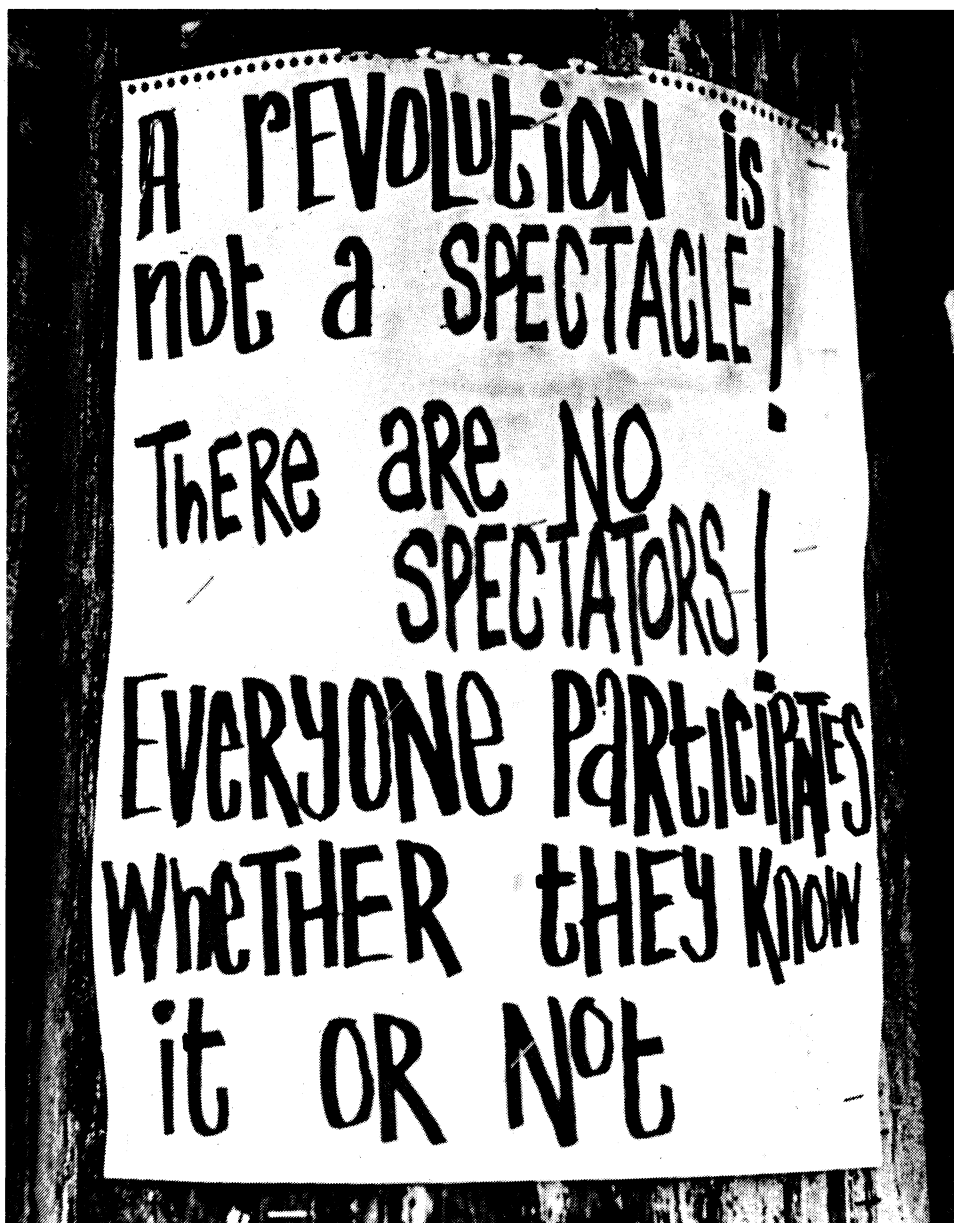
The situation in the park was quite different. No one was forced to work and the park developed spontaneously. People could do as much or as little as they chose, and each shared in the benefits of the entire community's labor. "Street people," including some who had probably never worked a day in their lives, were to be seen sweating under the hot sun. Even anarchists helped rope off areas and respected signs to keep out of sections being worked on. Coercion, far from being necessary, was never even contemplated because people realized that everyone would benefit from general adherence to a few simple rules—their rules.

But capitalist society, such as it is, cannot permit even the smallest island of freedom to exist for long in its midst. The university and the state swiftly moved in with incredible police terror in a desperate attempt to wrest the park from those who had built it.

In a way it is rather ironic that the university has felt compelled to prevent people from making a lot into a park when they had intended to make it into some kind of park anyway.

The fact that the land has been made into a park does not pose any threat to the university; it is the way the park was created which has them terrified. What frightens them is the fact that the people most directly affected by the fate of the lot—the residents of South Berkeley and the campus community—took it upon their own authority to decide what should be done with that piece of property. And when the people at the bottom begin to make the decisions which affect their own lives, those at the top become nervous.

— Rick Feinberg



BERKELEY MESSAGE. A page from an anonymous author's spiral notebook pasted on a tree on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue offered this message. Photographed by Tom Buchwalter and silk screened by the YSA it became a Granma Bookstore poster.

saying that the matter was a University problem and hence should be solved within the University system. This was the situation up to 17 hours before the march was scheduled to begin.

Finally, on Thursday, May 29, the City Council began to fold. They called a special emergency meeting; despite the strong protests of Mayor Wallace Johnson, who bitterly condemned the University for shirking its responsibility, they passed a motion to offer to lease the land from the Regents. The park was still far from won, but this was a major victory and its impact was strongly felt at the demonstration.

While the demonstration occurred on a victorious note, the struggle for the park is not over. The National Guard remains, police units from throughout the state are still here, the emergency law is still in effect, and the park is still fenced in.

For the moment the University of California Regents have the ball. They have an offer from the city to lease the land from them. What the Regents decide at their next meeting will further determine the struggle.

Berkeley 3 win delay on trial

BERKELEY — A postponement to August 13 has been granted in the trial of the Berkeley Three—Jack Bloom, Peter Camejo and Paul Glusman—for conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. The postponement was welcomed by the Berkeley Three Defense Committee, since it allows more time to reach people with the facts of the case. Their prosecution arose out of a UC sit-in protesting administration refusal to grant credits for a course taught by Eldridge Cleaver.

Meanwhile Alameda County District Attorney J. Frank Coakley has hinted ominously about possible conspiracy indictments in the recent People's Park controversy.

The San Francisco Medical Committee for Human Rights has officially endorsed the defense. Funds are being raised for the defense, but much more is needed; funds may be sent to Berkeley Three Defense Committee, 2158 Emerson St., Berkeley, Calif. 94705.

The Berkeley Three Defense Committee notes the special importance of fighting against conspiracy laws, under which the Dr. Spock case, the New York Panther 17, the Chicago 8 and Los Angeles Chicano 15 cases are all pending.

Draft resister convicted in Puerto Rico

By Robert Pearlman

BOSTON — The U.S. government's effort to smash the growing Puerto Rican independence movement escalated last month as a U.S. court convicted the first of 93 Puerto Rican draft resisters, according to a June 1 release from the Latin American News Service in Cambridge, Mass.

During the trial Puerto Rican colonial police arrested 10 leading Independistas for "terrorist" activity, and 200 Green Berets arrived in Puerto Rico to train National Guard and police forces in riot control and counterinsurgency techniques.

Edwin Feliciano Grafals was the first resister brought to trial. His conviction represents a trial balloon for the U.S. Justice Department's attempts to stem the mounting resistance in Puerto Rico. During the trial the U.S. Attorney said, "If Feliciano is set free, thousands of young people will defy the laws of the United States."

Puerto Ricans are subject to U.S. Selective Service regulations according to the Jones Act of 1917, which imposed U.S. citizenship on Puerto Ricans in order to draft them into the U.S. Army in World War I. In his defense, Feliciano contended that Puerto Rican colonial subjects owe their allegiance only to Puerto Rico, not to the United States.

Feliciano is a militant of MPI, the pro-independence movement, and FUPI, the Federation of University Students for Independence.

As in all trials in U.S. courts in Puerto Rico, it was required that the proceedings be conducted in English, restricting the jury almost exclusively to the rich, who are most tied to the United States and most hostile to Puerto Rican independence.

A different address for the summer?

Please notify us as early as possible of any change of address, including zip code. (And remember to include the old address.)

Business office
The Militant
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

By James P. Cannon
THE I.W.W.

Reminiscences of a participant

50c

Merit Publishers
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Does U.S. face major repression?

By Elizabeth Barnes

One of the serious questions facing the radical movement today is how to wage an effective defense against the growing numbers of attacks by federal and local officials. The scope of the problem can be seen by listing just some of those who have been victimized during the intensification of the struggle this spring. There have been the sentencing to death of Ahmed Evans in Cleveland, the raid on the national SDS headquarters and the arrests of SDS leaders in various parts of the country, the police attack on the national convention of the Republic of New Africa in Detroit, attacks on GIs United and other GI protesters, the hundreds of arrests as well as court injunctions and police assaults on campus activists, the use of guns for the first time against white student demonstrators in Berkeley and the continuation of the use of guns against black students in the South. Hardest hit has been the Black Panther Party, which has suffered numerous arrests on serious charges, as well as physical attacks by police.

As the numbers of court cases and assaults begin to pile up, the movement is faced with an important test. Will effective struggles be mounted to fight off the attacks? Or will the government be at least partially successful in its attempts to intimidate, isolate and victimize activists and vanguard elements.

In order to effectively combat any type of persecution—whether it be a witch-hunt, a physical assault or jailings and arrests—the movement must first begin with a serious, thought-out analysis of the true relationship of forces in this country. Do the victimizations represent, as many in the movement believe, the beginnings of a period of deepening repression and reaction? Do they, as both the SDS and Black Panther Party newspapers have indicated, represent the danger of impending fascism? Are the so-called "Mitchell raids" a reenactment of the Palmer raids of the 1920's, as has been suggested in the *Guardian*? Obviously a period of general repression requires a different response and tactics and strategy than does one of radical upsurge.

Not fascism

If we examine carefully the nature of fascism in the concrete instances when it has come to power, as in Germany and Italy, it can very easily be seen that what we are experiencing in this country is certainly not fascism, nor even a strong incipient fascist movement. Fascism means the complete smashing of all radical, revolutionary, working class or opposition movements, be they trade unions, black organizations or radical student groups.

Fascism means the end of any kind of democratic rights, not only for radicals and revolutionaries, but for the masses of American people as well. It means the end of free speech and the right of assembly, censorship of the press, the end of any kind of elections. It means concentration camps for minority groups and radicals or for anyone who disagrees or resists.

Incipient fascist movements start to pose a real danger when their demagoguery begins to have an appeal to masses of people and when they have the strength to organize gangs of fascist thugs who are given free reign to physically attack, break up and destroy all opposition organizations. Such is not the situation today. Literally hundreds of radical, black nationalist and union meetings, rallies and demonstrations take place every week in this country. Massive antiwar demonstrations are held throughout the country.

Reaction?

But, if we are not in a period of impending fascism, is it not a time of reaction similar to the repression after World War I or comparable to the deeper McCarthyite reaction of the 1950's? Again, looking carefully at both these periods, one can



ALL-POWERFUL? Smoke hovered over the Capitol dome April 1968 as Washington's black ghetto rose up following the murder of Rev. King. The scene epitomizes the spirit of revolt that permeates America's black communities today. This is combined with the blows being struck by the Vietnamese liberation forces, the unprecedented popular opposition to the war and the growing radicalization of the nation's youth. In sum, the rulers of this country are hardly in a position to decide they are simply going to put all of America's rebellious into concentration camps.

see that the situation today has quite obvious differences. During the early '20s, patriotic and anti-Communist hysteria was rampant in this country.

A massive witch-hunt was touched off by the government when Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer began a national series of raids in 1919-20, rounding up "subversive" foreign-born for detention and deportation.

The American Legion, a vicious red-baiting force, was powerful enough in this atmosphere to intimidate entire communities and even physically assault such things as union Labor Day parades. Racism was widespread and the black people virtually unorganized.

What we have in the U.S. today is a major trend in the opposite direction. Instead of war hysteria, we have for the first time in history the development of mass opposition to a war while it is actually going on. There is a mass nationalist radicalization of black people and an unprecedented rebellion among young people which is raising deep questions in the minds of hundreds of thousands about the basic nature of this capitalist system.

Fifteen years ago, the witch-hunt was so strong that even having a relative who was deemed a "communist" could cost you a teaching job or a job with the government. Now avowed revolutionaries are heads of departments in some universities.

Crude attempts

The repressions that we see today represent the attempts of the ruling class to beat back this radicalization. Clearly such attacks are to be expected. They have always accompanied any movement for social change which begins to challenge the system. This does not mean they are not a serious matter. A failure to deal effectively with these attacks today can pave the way for serious defeats in the future.

acies" of a few, or as being "violent" or "anti-democratic."

The first task in response to any repression is to expose these lies for what they are, and to make every effort to explain concretely how it is the ruling class which is undemocratic and which is using force to deny basic democratic rights.

This means rejecting the infantile notion held by some radicals today that civil liberties are something which revolutionaries are too busy to defend and even something to scorn.

This theme appears in the April 24 *New Left Notes* in a report on the situation at Kent State. "The repression at Kent State has clearly hurt us," wrote SDS regional organizers Terry Robbins and Lisa Meisel. "Over 60 of our people have been banned from campus, at least 11 face heavy charges with total bail exceeding \$12,000, and the administration has succeeded at least to some extent in scaring a lot of people and obfuscating our original demands, and allowing the civil liberties whiz kids to spring up."

"On the other hand, SDS has made several key advances. We have fought and fought hard, making it clear that we are serious and tough. We have constantly stressed the primacy of our four demands, maintaining that political repression is only an extension of the peoples' oppression, never getting hung up in the civil libertarian or pro-student-privilege defenses of our movement."

Nothing could be a more costly mistake. Any movement that seeks significant goals obviously is going to be attacked. To announce that you have no interest in defending yourself can only whet the appetite of the enemy and discourage potential supporters of your cause.

Part of struggle

The fight for democratic rights, for civil liberties, is an indissoluble part of the struggle for major demands and for the basic transformation of society.

Regardless of what false illusions they may have about the true nature of capitalist democracy, most Americans are genuinely concerned with democratic procedures—with justice and with fair play. In every struggle their sympathy and support will invariably go to those who they feel have justice on their side. That's precisely why the enemy always tries to depict the movement as an "undemocratic," "lawless" "minority" that is seeking to impose its views by force. The whole idea is to persuade potential supporters that it's wrong and/or dangerous to back the movement and its demands.

But if the movement utilizes every opportunity to prove who is truly the minority that seeks to impose its views on the majority by force it can win significant support. And if it appeals to people to defend its democratic rights, it will invariably win a response. Furthermore, in the course of involving people in the defense of its rights, the movement has the very best opportunity to educate them and win them to the issues it is fighting for.

Those who would reject a struggle for the defense of the movement against attack are really demonstrating a lack of confidence in the capacity of the movement to fight back or in the capacity of others to respond to an appeal for support to its democratic rights. Those who take this view must ask themselves how a movement that cannot accomplish even such limited aims is going to make a revolution.

What is really involved is a tremendously exaggerated notion of the strength of the ruling class and an equally serious underestimation of the present strength and future potential of the movement.

The reality is that radicalism is at long last on the rise in America. The counterattacks of the rulers are testimony to that. These assaults are deadly serious and must be combatted. But it should be understood that if properly and intelligently fought not only can they be beaten back, but these attacks can actually be used to build and advance the movement.

If the entire movement responds as one to every attack; if it combats the poisonous notion that you defend only those you agree with; if it stands unflinchingly by its goals and at the same time fights energetically for every single one of its rights, it can only go forward.

The movement in this country has indeed been through difficult days in the past. But this is already a different time, here and throughout the world. It's a time for revolutionary optimism and revolutionary audacity.

Fascism: What It Is How to Fight It

By Leon Trotsky

50 cents

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Why CCNY demand has politicians uptight

By Miguel Padilla

(A student at City College of New York, the author has been active in the fight to establish a dual admissions system at the college.)

The demand by the Black and Puerto Rican Student Community (BPRSC) that future City College entering classes reflect the racial composition of the city's high schools has touched off a storm among the capitalist politicians and educators. The dual admissions proposal would mean recruiting approximately 50 percent of the entering class from so-called "ghetto" schools. The present rigged admissions system, which discriminates against students who are victimized by inadequate instruction at substandard schools, would no longer be used as a barrier to higher education for Black and Puerto Rican students.

Attacking the dual admission proposal, the politicians and educators falsely claim that such a procedure would amount to a "quota" system. (They are apparently only concerned about "quota" systems which would bring people into the schools, not about the very real, if hidden, quota system which keeps people out.)

Mayor John Lindsay was quoted in the May 28 *New York Times* as saying very self-righteously, "I believe it is a quota system and I am opposed to it."

Lindsay went on to say, "The college system has long in our city of New York been a superb outlet for higher education for students in our city who have been eminently qualified for higher education. It is operated strictly on the basis of non-quota. It's operated on the basis of merit. It's operated on the basis of taking in students who have performed well in high school and that's a system that has worked terribly well."

The question is, for whom has this system worked so terribly well? Of the 1,200,000 students in the New York City school system, over 50 percent are Black and Puerto Rican. Yet only four percent are admitted into the municipal colleges.

Zero Mostel on CCNY plan

The *New York Times* asked several well-known CCNY alumni what they thought of the agreement on dual admissions. Most expressed the racist attitude that their alma mater would be ruined, but actor Zero Mostel, class of '35, had this to say: "I've always liked the idea of a free university for the poor. What do grades mean anyway? Who knows who the scholar will be? Albert Einstein never made it with good grades, did he?"

"City College is a free school and it should be open for all the poor. Maybe this plan will infuse something new. Who knows? Grades are an old-fashioned business, and what the hell does a grade mean now? The important questions are can a student learn something, is he bright, can he be a good rebel too?"

"I'm for this plan, absolutely. If they have good teachers it will not affect the quality of education one bit. The poor Puerto Rican or black student is just as susceptible to a good education as a kid with a 95 percent average from high school. That grade business is malarky."

"The tragedy here is that miserable politicians are involved in taking swats at the school. It's become a game of the politicians. Why the hell don't they give more money to the school to let more kids in? Why the hell don't they have enough room for all the poor, bright kids? These idiot politicians don't know anything."

In 1966 out of a day-session enrollment of over 10,000 students at CCNY, only 1.9 percent of these students were Black and Puerto Rican.

Today the percentage of Black and Puerto Rican students at CCNY is approximately 9 percent. This increase is due largely to the expansion of the SEEK program which is, nevertheless, utterly inadequate, with only 3,000 students participating in SEEK out of over 23,000 who filed applications.

The small number of Black and Puerto Rican students who are receiving a higher education is nothing but the logical outcome of a system which is geared to condition us for unemployment or for the worst jobs.

The system that Lindsay is so proud of has certainly not worked out too cool for Black and Puerto Rican people. Lindsay's argument that the admissions policies of the school remain based on the "merit" system, that is, taking in students who have performed well in high school, is nothing but an argument for the continued exclusion of Black and Puerto Rican students from the municipal colleges.

At present 76 percent of all Black and Puerto Rican high-school students are forced out of school before graduation! Racism in education, teachers who have no understanding and who are all too often hostile to the backgrounds and needs of Black and Puerto Rican students, inadequate facilities and overcrowded schools, are among the main factors which prevent students in "ghetto" schools from "performing well."

The argument that the merit system, based on competition, provides all students with an equal opportunity to compete for admission to CCNY is a piece of racist hypocrisy. Those who present it conveniently fail to take into account the deprivations which this racist society has inflicted upon Black and Puerto Rican people making it virtually impossible for most of them to compete for admissions on a truly equal basis.

Another argument presented against the dual admission proposal is that if students were admitted without regard to their high school grades, the standards of CCNY would suffer.

This is nothing but an attempt to make the victim the criminal and the criminal the victim. Furthermore, it deliberately confuses the question of educational background with inherent ability—two things that can be very much different.

For example, the SEEK students are admitted to college without regard to their high school grades. Yet despite this, and despite the handicaps of coming from inferior schools as well as the handicap of having to make their way in an institution of higher learning that reeks of racism, the overwhelming majority of the SEEK students have gone on to earn their baccalaureate degrees.

About the charge that opening the doors for so many Blacks and Puerto Ricans would deprive deserving whites of a free education: I would say that maybe if there's a shortage of schools for middle-class white students, maybe the city might get around to building some of the schools that are so badly needed.

For revolutionaries a question that arises is why the ruling class should get so uptight over this particular demand. The answer lies in an understanding of the role played by the educational system in the oppression of Black and Puerto Rican

Fayetteville SDSers hit by police raid

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark. — In a 3:30 a.m. dragnet, 16 persons, including seven members of the two-week-old Fayetteville SDS chapter, were arrested in simultaneous so-called narcotics raids and charged with possession of marijuana.

The arrested SDS members include Robert Speck, Stroud Kelley, Joyce Goree, John House, Jill Packard, Tom Agan and O. L. Scott, an antiwar sailor.

Assistant Chief of Police Wayne Stout boasted, "We pretty well cleaned out that SDS group," revealing the political nature of the arrests.

Funds for legal defense may be sent to the Fayetteville Defense Committee, 14 N. Duncan Ave., Fayetteville, Ark. 72701.



Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

BLAMED STUDENTS. The largest of a number of fires which broke out at City College during the struggle. The fires made juicy headlines as evidence of student "lawlessness" and "violence". Weeks later, a story buried on page 41 of the June 5 *New York Times* reported that a campus security guard had been arrested and charged with setting six of the fires.

people as well as in the dual character of that oppression.

The educational system surely is not geared to meeting the interests of white working-class students either. But there is a special national aspect to the oppressive nature of the school system, which takes the form of institutionalized racism and is manifested by the astronomical drop-out rate of Black and Puerto Rican students.

The demand for proportional representation in the entering classes addresses itself to the national aspect of the oppression.

The concept inherent in the dual admission proposal is that Black and Puerto Rican people are demanding something more than the formal, and illusory, "equality" of capitalism. We are saying in effect that the system must provide compensation for long-suffered deprivations. This is revolutionary in its implications.

To the formal bourgeois notion of equality it counterposes a real and meaningful, revolutionary concept of equality. At the same time, the completely progressive character of such a demand is that it will not only benefit minority peoples like Blacks and Puerto Ricans but will also prove of great benefit to poor whites as well. What the demand does is extend into the colleges the principle fought for and won by working people of a free elementary and high school education for all, not just those who pass "merit" tests.

These are some of the reasons why the capitalist politicians and educators so bitterly oppose the demand. They want the system of higher education to be used as they see fit to train those they decide they need to carry out the various tasks required by their system.

And the task they have assigned for the Black and Puerto Rican people doesn't require a higher education. In fact such an education on a mass scale would be a serious threat to this task.

The colleges and universities in this country provide the capitalist class with scientists, technicians, administrators, etc., who are able to conduct the day to day functioning of the society. Very few Black and Puerto Rican people, however, perform these functions in capitalist society. The overwhelming majority of Black and Puerto Rican People belong to the working class and are among the most exploited sectors of that class.

Black and Puerto Rican workers take up many of the lower-paid jobs in basic industry; 33 percent of the UAW membership is Black; we make up an even larger sector of the jobs in the service industry. These are indispensable components of the labor force. At the same time Black and Puerto Rican people comprise a significant sector of the unemployed, who provide the

capitalist class with a reserve pool of labor which can be called into action during periods of economic expansion and thrown out during periods of economic decline. At present the overall percentage of Black workers who are unemployed is up to 6.9 percent as compared to the 3.1 percent figure for white workers. The percentage of unemployed among Black and Puerto Rican youth is approximately double the 6.9 percent figure!

In addition Black and Puerto Rican youth provide cannon fodder for the Army to use in imperialist wars such as the war in Vietnam. It is obvious that a college degree is not needed to fulfill the crassest needs of the capitalist class. The misrulers of this country have assigned the vast majority of Black and Puerto Rican people to help fulfill these very functions. Lindsay says "... that's a system that has worked terribly well." The Black and Puerto Rican student community is answering "The jig is up."

YSA demands UC keep records from Senators

BERKELEY — Following a move by the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee to subpoena the confidential records of the University of California and other universities, the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement June 1 calling on the University of California to withhold its records from the Senate committee and repudiate this witchhunt tactic.

The San Francisco *Chronicle* revealed May 29 that subpoenas have already been issued to Stanford, the University of California at Berkeley, Harvard, CCNY, Columbia and Cornell and announced May 30 that the records of at least 10 other schools will be subpoenaed.

The subpoenas demand "records relating to the seizure of ... buildings" and "information about such organizations as SDS and black and Puerto Rican student groups."

In demanding that the Berkeley administration withhold such records from the committee, the Berkeley YSA statement said in part: "Instead of investigating the gassings, beatings, arrests and murder by the police in Berkeley during the last month, the Senate committee proposed to investigate the victims of that violence. This is a crude attempt to make the victim the perpetrator."

Israeli regime seeks to hold annexed land

By Joel Aber

The Israeli rulers plan to keep virtually every inch of Arab land occupied during the June 1967 war, and are quite brazen about their intentions. On May 28 Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban revealed that Israel does not intend to withdraw from Sharm el Sheik, at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, regardless of the outcome of proposed talks to "settle differences" with Nasser.

Eban's statement may be of special interest to apologists for Zionist expansion—in "self-defense" of course. At the time of the June war it was said that Israel might need to keep the West Bank of the Jordan River, and perhaps even a portion of the Syrian Golan Heights, as buffer zones against guerrilla attacks. But the Sinai desert? That could be returned to Egypt as soon as Nasser "learned his lesson."

Now we learn that a road covering the 125-mile stretch from Elath to Sharm el Sheik is already under construction. Colonel Zvi, commander of the Israeli occupying forces at Sharm, says that the area has enormous tourist potentialities, and that plans are underway for a hotel there.

Meanwhile a former Florida real estate developer is building a lavish ski resort in the Golan Heights of occupied Syria. New York Times reporter James Feron wrote last April 28 that "although the community is being built by private enterprise, it is receiving considerable assistance from the government because it is a development project and is in a security area." The resort settlement, piously dubbed "Hill of Peace" by the occupiers, apparently has all the excitement of the Wild West of the American frontier days, with the colonizers "warding off" Arabs instead of Indians.

Over 100,000 Syrians have become refugees in the wake of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and the city of Kuneitra, where Israel is already colonizing with Jewish settlers.

Moshe Dayan, Israeli defense minister, explained in an interview with the Toronto Telegram, May 3, "They want us to go back to the old map and then let all the refugees return to the small Israel of 1967. That for us is suicide and we will never accept it. . . . First of all, we shall create a new reality in those places from which we shall not withdraw."

Part of the "new reality" is ski resorts as well as "extensive Israeli capital investment, the establishment of the Israeli pound as the only legal currency, the

employment of Arab labor inside Israel's prewar frontiers, the extension of Israeli law to all areas," etc. Gen. Dayan told the Toronto Telegram that "these things do not constitute annexation. But they are essential if Israel is to undertake long-term rule of a million Arabs under an occupation regime."

Palestinian Arabs living on the West Bank of the Jordan have resisted attempts by Israeli authorities to force them out of their homes. Some of the crude methods used to uproot the Palestinians are brought to light in a series by John K. Cooley in the Christian Science Monitor (May 21-May 24). Cooley reveals that the police systematically prevent both Jewish and Arab lawyers from visiting or taking the cases of Arabs interned in Israeli prisons. He points out that Mrs. Felicia Langer, a Jewish lawyer who has taken cases of Palestinians accused of resistance activity, was once attacked by "a mob of Jewish settlers in the West Bank town of Hebron, who jeered her in court and threatened to lynch her."

Often no charges are preferred against Palestinian Arabs who are nevertheless deported to East Jordan and made to sign pledges never to return to occupied territory or to discuss their cases abroad.

Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, Cooley reports, "has announced plans to settle about 30,000 Israelis" in expropriated lands. "Bulldozing and construction work on new apartment blocks is already underway. Little by little, the Arab portion of Jerusalem is losing its most prominent and responsible citizens through deportation, usually swift and without warning and always without appeal, by the Israeli security forces. . . .

"Israeli newspapers have published the names of nearly 100 of the deportees. They include poets, former deputies and Cabinet ministers, physicians, school principals and teachers, journalists and women's leaders."

All Arab-owned businesses must register under Israeli company law; many refuse this compliance, which is regarded as collaborating with the occupying power. Cooley says that "Israel obviously expects most Arab companies to sell out" to Israeli owners rather than collaborate.

Meanwhile Arab resistance in occupied Palestine and along the frontiers continues to increase. Young people leave the refugee camps to join the guerrilla forces. "So you see," Cooley quotes a university graduate, "we aren't refugees any more. We are people, with an ideal and a country to fight for."

Something we're proud of



THE WINNERS. The Ft. Jackson 8 emerge from federal courthouse in Columbia, S. C. shortly before the Army dropped charges against them. A few days before they were jailed, one of them, Jose Rudder, had written to The Militant about the activity of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam and said: "One of the most beautiful things that has happened is the political maturity that has developed in our ranks. Men are beginning to see an enemy and an oppressor far beyond the lifers and the brass . . . It is your coverage of our struggle here at Ft. Jackson and all the other articles that appear in The Militant that has contributed to this political awakening."

From a purely practical point of view our publishing methods are as different from those of the capitalist press as are our ideologies. Nor does the difference simply lie in the fact that they're in business to make money and we're not (or that they do make money and we don't).

The essential difference is that even though we are compelled to function within the framework of a system that demands meeting your financial obligations if you are to publish regularly, we don't permit our financial situation to be the determining factor in what we do or don't do. If we regard something as politically important we do it, even if—as is usually the case—a dollars-and-cents yardstick would tell us we simply can't.

For example, last fall we expanded from an eight-page paper to 12 pages. Yet of the 40 issues we've published since that time, eight of them—including this one—have been 16-page issues. Next week's issue will also be 16 pages, making it nine out of 41.

These enlarged issues have been published, as we indicated at the outset, not because we could afford them but because they were politically necessary.

To be concrete, these were the principal features of the 16-page issues:

- Dec. 27: Mexican student uprising, San Francisco State College strike.
- Feb. 17: Special Young Socialist interview with South Vietnamese NLF representative in Havana.
- Feb. 28: Malcolm X memorial issue.
- March 21: The nationwide campus upsurge.
- April 4: The Army's move against the Ft. Jackson 8.
- May 30: The victory of the Ft. Jackson 8.
- June 6: The Berkeley police occupation.

This week: Interview with Vietnam GI; contribution to the discussion of repressions.

Next week: Text of a Socialist Workers Party resolution on a transitional program for the black liberation struggle.

But having said that we did what was politically necessary rather than financially feasible is, of course, only one side of the picture. We would not be able to do it if we could not count on the financial support of our readers. It's still a hard fact that bill collectors are impressed only by cash, not revolutionary necessity.

We hope that you will agree that our added expenditures were necessary and worthwhile and will want to contribute to easing the financial strain they have necessarily caused—and to make it possible for us to continue publishing expanded issues as needed. In the past we were often compelled to appeal to our supporters to help us keep going in difficult times. Now we are able to ask for your help so that we may continue and expand our efforts in relation to the many inspiring struggles now taking place.

Please contribute as generously as you are able. Send a check or money order to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

With thanks and revolutionary greetings,
The Staff



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Purple-heart Vietnam vet faced with court-martial

Why a combat vete



AUSTIN, Texas—The Army brass, its lesson still apparently unlearned from such debacles as Ft. Jackson, is trying again.

At Ft. Hood, the brass has initiated court-martial proceedings against Pfc. Robert H. Bower, a GI antiwar activist. Bower, a veteran of the Vietnam war, replete with two purple hearts, is charged under Article 31 with three counts of distributing unauthorized literature.

Evidently the brass felt obliged to move on veteran Bower because of a recent article in *Life* magazine in which he was pictured and quoted. Bower was informed of the court-martial only a week after the May 23 issue of *Life* appeared.

Bower, 20, joined the Army in December, 1966 a firm supporter of the United States policy in Vietnam. Arriving in Vietnam in May, 1967, he was assigned to an armored unit as a scout where he saw much combat and was twice wounded.

However, during his one-year stint in Vietnam Bower's position on U.S. involvement in the war changed. As Bower himself said, "I saw myself and my outfit kill women and children and burn and loot villages. I also saw that the NLF really had the support of the people in Vietnam."

Upon his return to the States in May, 1968 Bower was stationed at Ft. Benning Georgia where he came into contact with other antiwar GIs who helped build an antiwar march in Atlanta. Bower helped organize GI participation in the march which was held on Oct. 24, 1968. Soon thereafter, along with other GIs who opposed the war, Bower helped form the Ft. Benning Liberation Front. The Army moved quickly and transferred most of the organizers to other bases. In January, 1969 Bower found himself at Ft. Hood, Texas.

Here he began working with the GI paper which was being published, *The Fatigue Press*. Additionally, Bower was a major builder of the successful antiwar march in Austin on April 13 and spoke at the rally following the march. At the

same time Bower helped inaugurate a new GI paper, *The GI Organizer*.

The brass, noting well the energy and effectiveness of Bower, then began a systematic campaign of harassment which culminated in the Article 31 charge.

On April 26 MPs noticed handbills on the floor of the back seat of a car Bower had borrowed that night. The handbills were confiscated by the MPs and the hapless sergeant who owned the car was hustled off to the station. Hearing of this Bower was able to exonerate the sergeant by explaining that the leaflets, advertising a GI-civilian beer bust in Austin, were his (Bower's) personal property. The sergeant was released but the leaflets were held.

On May 13 the MPs greeted Bower upon his return from the field and hauled both him and his car to the MP station where both were thoroughly searched. From his car a box of antiwar newspapers were confiscated along with some personal effects from Bower himself.

At this point Bower requested a hand receipt for his personal property. The request was arbitrarily refused by the MP sergeant who then proceeded to curse the young Vietnam veteran. Bower was held at the MP station until 1:30 the following morning.

Subsequently on May 28 Bower was read Article 31 and informed that the Army was going to begin court-martial proceedings against him for unauthorized distribution of literature.

On May 30 Article 31 was again read to Bower and a copy of the formal charges was handed him.

The Legal Defense Committee of the Texas Coalition Against the War is mounting a defense of Pfc. Bower. Any financial assistance should be sent to TCAW; 2200 Guadalupe; Austin, Texas 78705. Petitions, telegrams, and letters in support of Bower should be directed to Lt. Gen. Powell; Commanding General; Ft. Hood, Texas.

By Fred Halstead

Readers of the May 23 *Life* Magazine story on GI dissent will recall a full-page picture of Spec/4 Robert Mall of the 82nd Airborne. While in North Carolina May 25 I met Mall, who is active with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Bragg, and obtained the following interview with him.

* * *

Q: When did you join the Army?
A: July, 1966.
Q: Why?
A: That's a good question to which I don't have a very good answer. I was just a young chump out of high school and I knew I'd have to go anyway sometime, so I thought it was to my best interests to volunteer and get it out of the way. I have now come to the different opinion that it was not, because volunteering I had to take three years.

I came into the Army as an airborne volunteer.

Q: Why?
A: The \$55 extra was the main reason. I went to Vietnam right out of jumb school to the 173rd Airborne Brigade. Their base camp was right out of Bien Hoa at the time. Later we moved north to Pleiku and into Dakto.

Q: When did you get to Vietnam?
A: May 22, 1967.
Q: Then what happened when you got up north?
A: We operated in Pleiku for about two weeks and then moved out to Dakto on the 22nd of June on the same day Alpha Company 2nd Battalion got wiped out. They ran into a small element of NVA and they chased 'em, and they chased 'em right into the middle of an ambush. Most of the company got wiped out.

Q: How many people in the company?
A: I'm not exactly sure. It wasn't my company. Since the brigade's almost never up to strength there were probably about 100 people in the company, and I think about 80 were killed.

Q: You weren't there at the time?
A: I wasn't in the 2nd Battalion. I was in Charlie Company, 4th Battalion. We went up there right as it was happening, and we were down in the valley watching the side of the mountain being blasted by artillery during the battle. Then the next day we went up into the mountains and policed up bodies and then moved out on our own operation.

Q: American bodies and North Vietnam-Army bodies?
A: Right. Mostly American bodies. We didn't find too many Vietnamese bodies. I think they reported a body count of about 475 enemy. But the colonel from the 1st Cavalry made a reconnaissance

of the area, found 13. I only saw three. Of course we're told they carry their bodies away. But there was only a regiment up there, which at the most would be six or eleven hundred men. So if they had 475 killed, that means the remaining 200 or so men carried away 470 bodies in the middle of artillery barrage. I found that kind of hard to believe.

Q: Do they report American casualties accurately?
A: I think you get a real good count of dead on the battlefield. But I'm sure they miss a lot who died of wounds, or accidental deaths. Probably the 35,000, or whatever it is right now, is a pretty close count. But as for enemy killed, the body count is ridiculous.

One reason is that in counting, a weapon captured is counted as five bodies. In other words if you shoot a guy who's got a gun you've shot six people. And it might be more for crew-served weapons. It's absurd.

Q: What did you think about this?
A: Well, the guys in Vietnam could give a damn. They just want to finish their time and get out. They know the reports are ridiculous. The only news you get over there is armed forces radio and *Stars and Stripes*, neither of which are anywhere near as good as even the press in the States. Sometimes you get letters from home with clippings. But even those—you get a clipping about something that you were in and you say: "Well I was there," and you know it's not true.

Q: What was your attitude at the time? Toward the war and so on?
A: Well at first I didn't know much about the war really, just what I read in the papers. At the time I figured it must be the right thing or else we wouldn't be here. But after staying in the country, by the time I left Vietnam I was completely against the war. I realized that the whole thing was a lie.

Q: Where did you go after Dakto?
A: I went on an operation that was a pretty bad farce. It was a top-secret, super-secret thing. They made us tear all our patches off our uniforms, paste up all the emblems on the choppers and so on, enclosed us in a certain area so we couldn't talk to any of the Vietnamese, and then we moved out on this huge helicopter operation. We made an assault on a landing zone and nothing happened. But the 17th Cavalry coming up the road got ambushed. It was all supposed to be a complete secret. But the VC had found out about it and laid the ambush.

Q: Well how do the Vietnamese get this information?
A: Well, the Vietnamese people get it from the GIs and they give it to the VC—well, they don't have to give it to the VC, they are the VC. The VC have vast major-

BLACK LIBERATION NOTES

How the CIA operates here and in Africa

In spite of the heinous frame-up of 21 New York Panthers, with bail that totals in excess of \$2 million, and given the press-inspired hysterical atmosphere surrounding the case, the Harlem branch of the New York Black Panther Party has been able to put together a Free Breakfast for Children program. The program was initiated on May 19, the birthdate of Brother Malcolm X, at the Friendship Baptist Church, 144 W. 131 St. Contributions to the program can be sent to: Free Breakfast, P.O. Box 1224, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

* * *

Amongst the many enlightening articles in the June *Ramparts*, there is a devastating piece entitled, "The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer." The article, by Dan Schechter, Michael Ansara, and David Kolodney, demonstrates the close relationship between imperialist tactics in Africa and North America.

It reveals how moves by U.S. imperialism to cool out or pacify the black liberation struggle at home are derived in part from the experience gained in cooling out or pacifying the struggle for independence upon the African continent.

In other words, Nixon's and the Ford Foundation's embracing of the reformist and sometimes openly pro-capitalist ambitions of certain individuals and organiza-

tions professing to be advocates of black power, is modeled on measures used by the CIA to disarm and co-opt the African nationalist movement that grew up in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Thus, it was no accident when Tom Mboya, one of the top government officials in Kenya, told a Harlem audience recently that black people in this country should entertain no ideas about coming back home, since Africa has no use for us. This statement, which brought forth very vocal condemnation from the audience, is consistent with Mboya's conduct ever since the latter half of the 1950s, when he began operating as an agent for the CIA, thus exemplifying that breed known as pigasus Africanus. In those days, Tom was head of the Kenyan Federation of Labor; now he is number-two man to Jomo Kenyatta.

Tom's rise to power under the watchful eye of U.S. imperialism is comparable to, but not the same as, his Afro-American counterpart, James Farmer, former head of the Congress of Racial Equality, CORE. Farmer, whose history the *Ramparts* article takes up in detail, is now a member of the Nixon administration. James never consciously worked directly or indirectly for the CIA. But his shared belief in the American Dream, whatever that is, brought him into contact with several CIA-funded organizations. One of them, the American

Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, ANLC, was created in 1962 by the American Society for African Culture, AMSAC. AMSAC, as the article explains, was created and financed by the CIA for the purpose of subverting the African freedom struggle. ANLC, of which James was a founding member, was a subsidiary of AMSAC.

Anyway, in 1964 when Brother Malcolm X was touring the African continent, enlightening all as to what the American Dream meant for the black man, AMSAC decided to launch a counter-tour to neutralize Malcolm's "propaganda." Along with an AMSAC representative, it was decided to take along someone from ANLC. And who do you think got the nudge? Why of course, James Farmer. This African tour was just one of the many ways in which James was unwittingly used by the CIA.

The cases of James and Tom go to show that racism, colonialism, and imperialism are indivisible, one and the same. But to get the whole picture, I suggest that you pick up the June edition of *Ramparts*.

* * *

In the May 24, 1969 edition of *Business Week* magazine, consideration is given to the fire—black fire—that is beginning to rage with uncontrollable fury throughout the gigantic industrial plantation that is

situated in the United States.

The article, entitled, "A plague on both your houses!," deals with the situation that besets both the capitalists (owners of the plantation), and the trade union bureaucrats (overseers in the pay of the owners). In commenting on the disruptions in production, the article deals principally with: United Black Brothers at Ford's Mahwah, N.J. plant; the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, DRUM, at Chrysler in Detroit; and the Afro-American Employees at the G.E. Hotpoint Electric plant in Chicago.

To get a sense of how hot the fire is, *Business Week* pointed out that "Marcellus Ivory, a Negro member of UAW's executive board, has acknowledged 'a polarization of extremist black and white positions' in the auto union. He said bluntly, 'I'm scared of it. I don't know where the hell this will lead us.'" *Business Week's* concern was indicated when it said, "... what worries businessmen so much is that even a small radical hard-core of activists can make big trouble—as they have on just as far-fetched [!] issues in ghettos and on university campuses across the country." And lastly, *Business Week's* sense of history is brought out in its statement that, "For auto managements, the black militants bring back uneasy memories of sit-down strikes in plants staged by UAW radicals in the 1930s."

Derrick Morrison

ran changed his mind about the war



Spec/4 Robert Mall (left) Pvt. Joe Miles (center) and ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

ity support from the Vietnamese people, by far.

Q: When did you become convinced of that?

A: Well, as I went along I found it out. And I understood completely why they would go over to the other side, if in fact they were ever with us in the beginning. I became very sympathetic with the Vietnamese in that the United States had almost destroyed their country. So just all the Vietnamese around, doing the laundry, bar girls, what have you, are sympathetic with the VC.

Q: And under those conditions it's almost impossible to keep secrets?

A: Right.

Q: OK. You were saying about the landing-zone assault.

A: Our information was that all the civilians had been cleared out of the entire valley and that it was 99 percent free-fire zone. In other words if they weren't standing with their hands above their heads, you were supposed to kill them. Well, we moved down into the valley and the first day we were there we moved out over 300 civilians. We killed a couple of dozen before we realized that there were still a hell of a lot of civilians there.

We moved down in the valley in a big helicopter assault and we'd been told that there were a lot of Charlie down here and no civilians and of course anything we saw that moved we fired at, because we thought it would fire at us. But turned out they were civilians. We were chasing kids around all day. They were chasing the cows and we were chasing the kids, trying to round them up and get them out of there. We did find a few VC there, but very few. We got into a good fire fight with Bravo Company though.

Q: What's Bravo Company?

A: Well that's another company in our battalion. They were Bravo, for B Company and we were Charlie, for C Company. They were on one side of a village and we were on the other side and somebody shot at something and the other guys shot back. Luckily nobody got killed.

Q: Well when you got into an area like that is anybody familiar with the area? Do you know where you are going?

A: Oh, we never know where we're going. Don't know where we are either. For instance, in the mountains at Dakto probably three times a day we'd have to call the battalion commander—who's got his own chopper and is always flying around. We'd call him our "squad leader in the sky." We'd have to call him about three times a day and then we'd pop smoke and he'd give us a fix. Now we were always told that the battalion commander couldn't read a map either and that his chopper pilot used to tell us where we were. We did have a Spec/4 in my platoon that usually knew where we were, but nobody listened to him.

As a rule all was confusion. Of course, the VC, they knew because they live there, but we didn't.

We were lucky once, though. They had an excellent opportunity to wipe out the

4th Battalion. We walked into a ravine that was about 75 feet straight up, rock on both sides, and in the bottom about a foot of water. The night before it took the battalion from three in the afternoon to one o'clock in the morning to climb a hill with this very slick, red clay. We had to use ropes tied together to make it, and most of the weapons were dirty and couldn't be fired. There probably weren't 10 M-16s in the company that would fire. The next morning we got up and, at seven o'clock, immediately moved out. Nobody had time to clean their weapons. Down the ridge-line into this ravine. They could have wiped us out with stones, they wouldn't have had to have guns. Everybody was pretty scared, except for the battalion commander, who was in his chopper.

Q: Why did they put you in a position like that and why didn't the guerrillas attack you?

A: Well the VC didn't attack us because they didn't know. For once they just weren't there. We were just lucky on that. Why they put us in a position like that, I have no idea.

Q: Where were you in February, 1968, during the Tet Offensive?

A: At Bien Hoa on long-range patrol. In February, our intelligence sources said there was going to be an offensive in the area and we were sent out about five miles to watch a trail, which intelligence said was heavily used. Fortunately this wasn't true. We found no traffic on the trail at all. In fact, the grass was about three feet high on it. So we just pulled off the side of the trail and waited for anything to come by. Nothing did. We were there watching that grass when we heard the mortars hitting Bien Hoa. That was the start of the Tet Offensive.

Q: Did you rush back into Bien Hoa?

A: No, we stayed out for a few days. I had no desire whatsoever to go back into Bien Hoa and get mortared when I could sit there and watch the grass on the trail.

Q: Is this a common attitude?

A: Definitely. The attitude of the American soldier in Vietnam is if you can stay the hell out of the way of the VC that's exactly what you want to do.

Q: Then what happened?

A: We finally went back into Bien Hoa. This was just before I left the long-range-patrol unit. I requested transfer to a leg unit. I had several reasons. I was getting kind of short, close to my rotation date. I was rather worried about my health. But the actual trigger for why I left long-range-patrol was an incident that happened around Feb. 5 or 6. After I came back.

Team 17 had killed a couple of VC, and G2 [intelligence] asked to have one brought back so they could look at the body. Well the chopper came down and they dragged the dead VC off—he was about 16 years old—and a lot of people in the company started getting their cameras and gathering around.

First Lieutenant McGuff, one of the platoon leaders in the company, then walked

up to the dead VC and cut an ear, right in front of half the company. Actually I didn't see this myself because I was in my barracks, but one of the guys that was out there came in and said "Hey, McGuff just cut an ear."

I immediately went to my platoon sergeant and said I wanted McGuff put in jail for about 10 years. But all he was given was maximum on an Article 15. He'll probably have a hard time getting promoted, though, with that on his record, and he's a West Point man.

But I immediately terminated my airborne status—which you're supposed to have a right to do anytime—and went to a leg unit, the 25th Infantry. I spent about a month after that in combat with the infantry and then I spent the rest of my time in the rear. I was on profile with an infection.

Q: So by this time had you made up your mind about the war?

A: By this time I realized the war was a complete farce. And in my opinion there was no way we could win the war.

Q: Did you think it was still desirable to win it if possible?

A: No. By that time I was completely sympathetic with the Vietnamese. If I were a Vietnamese I would definitely have been fighting for the Viet Cong.

Q: And what about the other GIs?

A: Well, most of them felt more or less the same way I did, that the United States could not win the war and that the United States was really messing over the Vietnamese people.

Q: Did you ever hear about the antiwar movement?

A: We got some information about it. My brother sent me **Ramparts** every month so I had a little bit better idea what was going on than a lot of people. We did hear about the peace movement on the radio. Everybody was for them. Anybody that wanted to bring us back home, we were all for them.

Q: You mean you weren't gnashing your teeth for the chance to get at those peace-nicks and work them over?

A: Oh no. Most of the guys were waiting for the chance when they can come home and let their hair grow and join them.

Q: When did you get back to the States?

A: On May 18, 1968.

Q: What was your rank?

A: Spec/4. I never got busted. The only trouble I had was one Article 15 for being four days AWOL in March of this year.

Q: When you got back to the States where did you go?

A: I got a 30-day leave and then went to the 82nd Airborne at Ft. Bragg. That was June, 1968, and I've been there ever since.

Q: When did you start exercising your rights to speak against the war?

A: Before I got back to the States, while I was in Vietnam, I was talking against the war. Naturally when I got back everybody at home and all the people I talked to were asking me what the situation is like in Vietnam, and ever since I came back I've been talking against it. But

actually the movement here at Bragg, the GIs United, didn't start until April. That's when I got involved. I think the first meeting was April 17. I wasn't at that meeting but the next morning I found out about it, somebody told me about it and I immediately got involved.

I went to a meeting in the service club and there was some literature there somebody had just put on a table, antiwar papers and so on, and I picked some up. I had some under my arm and walked out of the service club and went over to the snack truck for a coke when a bunch of MP vehicles converged on the scene simultaneously and it seemed like about 16 MPs jumped out and surrounded us, dragged us off to the Provost Marshall's office and detained us for about two hours, never told us what we were arrested for, confiscated our literature and called our commanding officers to come and pick us up.

My CO then took me outside and told me I was a sorry son-of-a-bitch for doing this and that no American should be caught with any literature like this.

Q: What did you say to your CO?

A: I didn't say anything much. The next day I went to the Inspector General and made a formal complaint. I called the IG later and they said we were arrested for our own safety. It seems that some antiwar people from the Raleigh-Durham area had allegedly been beaten up by some 82nd Airborne troopers. And they claimed they were protecting us from something like that. Of course the service club we were meeting in is in the 12th support group area, about five miles from the 82nd Airborne area and the only 82 troopers ever seen there were guys going to these meetings. Besides I'm in the 82nd Airborne. Everybody in my company and a lot of guys in the battalion and in other battalions know I'm involved in this.

Q: Do they beat you up every day?

A: They support me. They're mostly afraid to openly come out and join the movement. People in my company are told to stay away from me, not to talk to me, that if they do they'll get into trouble. They don't stay away from me, but if a senior NCO or an officer comes up while they're talking to me they'll immediately shut up and walk away until he's gone. I'd say 85 or 90 percent—almost 100 percent—support us in that they think GIs ought to have civil liberties, and at least 60 percent say that we shouldn't be in Vietnam.

Q: What do you think would happen if they actually recognized your rights and stopped harassing you?

A: If we could leaflet openly and have meetings on base, we could get a large number of people involved. I couldn't give you a figure now because we're not allowed to do it yet, but I'm sure we could get a majority involved in one way or another.

Q: A majority of the several thousand on base?

A: Yes. A majority of the 56,000 at Ft. Bragg.



Photo by Alan Mercer

New York Demonstrators

3,000 in Madison march in protest against war

MADISON—More than 3000 people wearing black armbands marched in a massive Memorial Day antiwar parade around the Wisconsin capitol building. It was one of the largest antiwar marches ever held in Madison.

The parade was called by the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam and received wide support from faculty and antiwar veterans' groups.

The marchers were led by a muffled drum and a contingent of Vietnam veterans. Veterans for Peace marched in the parade and also in an earlier observance organized by the generally prowar veterans' groups such as the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. In both marches the Vets for Peace group got large applause.

The parade was called after the Madison Veterans Council refused to allow the Committee to End the War in Vietnam to have a contingent in the city's semi-official Memorial Day services. Madison CEWV then ran into further difficulties when it tried to obtain a permit for a separate march. Police officials at first claimed they would not issue two parade permits in one day.

After the police chief had his mind changed on that issue, Wes Weinhold, chairman of the CEWV, tried again for a permit for an antiwar march to be held on the same route and shortly after the Veterans Council's parade. CEWV by this time had gained support from Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Veterans for Peace and Faculty for Peace. Chief Wilbur Emery, however, told the group they would have to wait until 1:00 p.m. to hold their demonstration, an hour and a half after the American Legion, VFW, et. al. parade was to end. He claimed that controlling traffic would be too difficult if the antiwar group got the permit it wanted.

CEWV then made an appointment with Mayor William "Bull" Dyke. Dyke, who remembered the Mifflin Street cop riot and the defense measures used against the police, held a conference with CEWV leaders and faculty members the day before the scheduled parade.

When the meeting proved fruitless, the CEWV notified the press that the march would take place anyway. Weinhold announced that if necessary, they would march on the sidewalk. Since no permit is needed for sidewalk marches, it would

Slate Philadelphia GI-civilian picnic

By Mimi Harary

PHILADELPHIA — Antiwar sentiment in Philadelphia will be taking the form of a GI-civilian antiwar picnic and teach-in on Flag Day, Sat., June 14, from 1 p.m. on, near Strawberry Mansion in Fairmount Park.

This event was called by **The Ultimate Weapon**, an antiwar GI newspaper at Ft. Dix and is co-sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee. Speakers include Robert Rosenblum, one of the lawyers for the Presidio 27, and Glenna Johnson, the National Executive Director of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Featured will be one of the Ft. Jackson 8. Besides speakers, there will be food, games and a rock band.

be perfectly legal; but far less traffic disruption would take place if the city issued the permit the CEWV had asked for.

That evening the CEWV picked up its permit.

The city's petty harassment of antiwar groups aroused so much press interest that the CEWV's Memorial Day parade was almost more widely publicized than the "official" observance.

Madison's Mayor Dyke has recently indicated that he is new to the problems of city government. The CEWV has given him a few lessons.

Evanston holds its first march

By Mario Vincolisi

EVANSTON, Ill. — The first antiwar march ever held in the North Chicago area drew 1,500 participants here May 24. They demonstrated as scheduled despite denial of a march permit by Evanston city officials.

At a rally following the march the main speaker was Eugenia Willett, mother of a black GI killed in Vietnam by a white lifer, who spoke of the racist attacks on black GIs in Vietnam. The rally was chaired by Carl Finamore, a Young Socialist and a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee.

In preparing for the demonstration, the Student Mobilization Committee had leafleted 13 high schools and five universities in the area.

The Young Patriots Organization, which is allied with the Young Lords Organization and the Chicago Black Panther Party, helped set the militant tone of the demonstration.

NROTC protest at Northwestern

By Mario Vincolisi

EVANSTON, Ill. — To protest the suspension of four Northwestern University students for disrupting a Naval ROTC drill, over 1,000 students confronted trustees, alumni and university officials attending a play on campus. The chancellor agreed to lift the suspensions.

Activists went ahead with plans to disrupt the May 29 NROTC graduation exercises. The university responded by moving the graduation from the traditional open field to the fortress-like Dyche football stadium, which was sealed off with barbed wire, greased picket fences and police. The 200 student demonstrators stormed past the barricades. When generals, admirals and high-ranking officers approached the entrance where the demonstrators were massed, they were greeted with the chant, "Let the brass fight the war!"

When the university cops proved unable to cope with the demonstrators, battle-equipped Evanston cops were called in and arrested one person, a reporter.

Active-duty GIs lead protest in New York

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK—Led by active-duty GIs and veterans, about 1,000 people marched down Fifth Avenue in the withering heat to a Memorial Day antiwar rally at Madison Square. Air Force Sgt. Mike Harbart, a Vietnam vet now stationed at McGuire Air Force Base, expressed the sentiments of the demonstrators in the opening words of his address:

"This Memorial Day has special meaning to me since I've seen the dehumanizing conditions in Vietnam. Unless we can mobilize civilian support behind the antiwar GIs, we're not going to stop this war."

The march and rally were organized by the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam. Ron Wolin, a coordinator of Vets for Peace, chaired the rally.

The high point of the demonstration was the really big ovation when Jose Rudder and Joe Cole of the Ft. Jackson Eight were introduced; it was their first weekend

off base after 61 days in the stockade. In unison the demonstrators gave the "V" sign to the two soldiers, who returned clenched-fist salutes and broad grins to the crowd.

Jose Rudder called the Ft. Jackson Eight victory "a victory for the whole antiwar movement." Responding to the Army's moves to give the Ft. Jackson Eight undesirable discharges, Rudder said, "As far as we're concerned, it's the Army that should be discharged as undesirable. . . . The Army has the stockade, but we have the truth."

Ex Pvt. Dalton James of Black Vietnam Veterans said, "My time in Vietnam has taught me that every river is a Vietcong river; every hamlet is a Vietcong hamlet; every city is a Vietcong city. The whole damn country is Vietcong. They must know what they're fighting for, so let's get out and let them fight for it."

Another Vietnam vet who spoke was Ex Sgt. Dennis Steel, formerly of the 101st Airborne, now with the West Coast GI antiwar newspaper, **Task Force**. Steel said, "American soldiers are radicalizing at a tremendous rate. Look at the radicalization—it's scaring the U.S. government and the U.S. military to death. . . . We get enough people in the streets and we'll end the war; these people who say we shouldn't stay in the streets and demonstrate, but should do something else instead, these people are

Demonstration draws 1,000 in Twin Cities

By Albion Urdank

MINNEAPOLIS—On Memorial Day 1,000 persons from Minneapolis and St. Paul demonstrated to bring all the GIs home from Vietnam now, and to defend the civil liberties of GIs, in what was the most successful antiwar demonstration organized here to date, with the endorsement of the broadest antiwar coalition yet assembled.

The demonstration, led by a contingent of veterans, consisted of a march from the University of Minnesota campus to Loring Park for a picnic and rally, with a brief pause at the Federal Building for a wreath-laying ceremony. The ceremony was accompanied by a speech given by Gordon Nelson, an antiwar Marine Vietnam veteran. The featured speakers at the rally were Sidney Lens, from the Chicago Peace Council and Howard Petrick from National SMC.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Minnesota Mobilization Committee and the University of Minnesota Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and was endorsed by the following groups: The U of Minn. Student Association (Student Government); the U of Minn. Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations; the New Democratic Coalition; the Mothers for Peace; the U of Minn. Students for a Democratic Society; The Young Socialist Alliance; the Socialist Workers Party; the Twin Cities Draft Information Center; Clergy and Laymen concerned about Vietnam; Augsburg College Student Democratic League; the Honeywell Project; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and the Minnesota Committee to Reorder our National Priorities.

The rally ended on an enthusiastic note. The vets who demonstrated announced they were going to form a veterans for peace group. With 3,000 veterans at the University of Minnesota, they'll have a lot of room to organize for the next antiwar action.

Ft. Jackson victory celebrated in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—A victory celebration for the Fort Jackson 8 was held here June 1. Diane Schuldters, associate of Leonard Boudin, counsel for the eight through the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, spoke, as did attorney Edward Keating, former publisher of **Ramparts** magazine.

Taped messages from Jose Rudder and Joe Cole, two of the Fort Jackson 8, were played.

Miss Schuldters, in her speech, gave credit for the victory to several factors:

The GI defendants, who, she said, "knew what the fight was about and hung together. . . . They wouldn't testify against each other."

The defense team (GI-CLDC) put the Army under the light of publicity and was crucial to the morale of the defendants, she said.

A reception for Miss Schuldters followed the meeting.



Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

Julie Miller

just wrong. Stay in touch with the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War and the Vets for Peace, and we'll be able to mobilize people until the war ends."

Julie Miller, a high school student active in the Student Mobilization Committee, which helped organize the action, presented a telegram to be sent to "our brothers and sisters at Berkeley" who were demonstrating this Memorial Day against the state of siege imposed on their city. She announced the SMC's plans for Vietnam Commencements at high schools and colleges around New York.

Marty Morgenstern, president of the Social Service Employees Union, spoke of the more than 2-1 vote for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in an SSEU referendum last year; he urged other unions to do the same and lashed out at George Meany's perfidious role in supporting the war. "It is the task of the working class, in whose interests this war is not, to end it," Morgenstern concluded.

Ruth Gage Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom said, "You can't make peace by bringing the lies on which the war in being fought to the peace table. I haven't heard any peace plan that made sense, except from the Vietnamese, who say, 'Leave our country.' That makes sense."

Often antiwar activists have come to demonstrations to make their presence felt, but have paid very little attention to the speeches. This rally was different. Almost everyone listened with unusual attention, old and young alike; it was the consensus that the speeches contained less nonsense and more truth than ever before. The speakers were all serious about mobilizing to bring the troops home now.

Large antiwar action is held in Cleveland

By Syd Stapleton

CLEVELAND — Declaring, "To hell with patience, Mr. Nixon, bring the troops home now!" Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, set the tone for one of Cleveland's largest antiwar demonstrations. Called to "mourn the GIs who have died in Vietnam and to bring the live ones home now," the May 31 march included a large contingent of young people organized by the Student Mobilization Committee; a section built by Cleveland area women's groups; and a contingent of trade unionists.

The six-mile march, which met with a universally friendly response from bystanders, culminated in a rally in downtown Cleveland that well represented the breadth of national and international outrage with the continuation of the war in Vietnam. Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson Eight described the struggle of the Ft. Jackson GIs and emphasized the importance of de-

fense of antiwar GIs.

In addition to Gordon and Pulley, other speakers were: Rev. Robert Bonthius, director of Clergy Internship Program, Case-Western Reserve University; Mrs. Marie Tuck, mother of a Vietnam veteran who now has another son in the Army; Hilbert Perry, director of the Metropolitan Affairs Commission of the Council of Churches; Sam Pollock, president of Local 427, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen of North America, AFL-CIO; Sherry Katz, a Young Socialist and antiwar leader at Cleveland Heights High School; Ryoshin Nakayoshi, managing directory of the Okinawa Prefecture Against A- and H-Bombs and chairman of the Government Employees Union of Okinawa; Shimpei Fujimaki, secretary of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Japan Socialist Party; Dr. Sidney Peck, national antiwar leader and professor of sociology at Case-Western Reserve; and Bishop David Hill, minister, House of Israel.



Cleveland antiwar demonstrators

Unionist points to changes in labor on Vietnam war

CLEVELAND — Speaking at the mass rally called by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council May 31, Sam Pollock, president of Meat Cutters District Union 427, said:

"I speak out today as a trade unionist, fully appreciative that this does not establish my popularity with those who have felt, and understandably so, that labor has been found wanting on the issue of peace in Vietnam.

"I regret that I cannot speak officially for the trade union movement. What I express I honestly believe is the way millions of fellow workers in the unions feel and needs to be said. One day, this feeling for getting out of Vietnam and bringing the men home will overwhelm the interventionists, and throw the full weight of the trade-union movement on the side of ending the disastrous intervention and overhauling of affairs at home . . ."

"It was not always this way in labor. A return to basic trade union policy in the international affairs arena is long overdue . . ."

Pollock briefly cited examples of anti-colonial and antiwar positions held by labor in the past, then returned to the contradictory situation in the trade unions today.

"Despite the ambivalent stance of the labor officialdom," he said, "there is a welling up of strong undercurrents among the ranks of labor which can no longer be ignored . . . It is currently related to the rampant rise in living costs which is destroying all sorts of wage gains and reducing living standards most rapidly among pensioners generally and union retirees particularly."

But in addition to concern with living costs, he said "There has never been a year that voices in the unions, rank and file up to and including top leadership in a number of international unions . . . have not spoken out calling for cessation of the fighting, calling for immediate negotiations, calling for a stop to the bombings, calling for withdrawal and letting the Vietnamese resolve their own differences and determine their own forms of government."

Pollock quoted from an address to a Pennsylvania central labor body given in May by Clifton Caldwell, international vice president of District 6 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen of North America:

"We who preach peace and teach war all in the same classroom—don't you wonder why an 18-year-old gets mixed up? We never objected to this warlike approach to peace, so our sons and daughters do it for us.

"The Establishment stands for war and we don't want war,' 'Peace, peace,' they cry.

"Can we fault them on this? Pearl Harbor and World War II, Korea and now Vietnam, and threats of other wars around the world. It appears that our generation hasn't been doing too good at the business of making peace. Is it wrong when a new generation of Americans want to find a new approach to solving the horrors of man's inhumanity to man? Maybe they aren't setting Communism as their big fear because their pipeline of information tells them the young in the Soviet Union aren't happy either.

"Right or wrong they are legion against war. I say—don't suppress them, for we know full well that if only those who make wars were to fight them, all wars would be quiet affairs."

Demonstration in Dayton was the very biggest yet

By Peter Graumann

DAYTON, Ohio — Dayton, Ohio joined the ranks of the revitalized antiwar movement on May 31, with the largest demonstration ever held in this region. The march, estimated at 500-700 people, was organized mainly by the Student Mobilization Committee, the GI-Civilian Coordinating Committee, and the Dayton Peace Committee. The major slogans of the march were "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Free Speech for GIs!" There was also a contingent from the national boycott movement against California table grapes.

Starting at Dayton's War Memorial Park, the demonstration went two miles through the downtown area to Cooper Park where a rally was held. Featured speakers at the rally were Ginger Bunch, mother of the murdered Presidio prisoner; Gordon Fox, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and leader of the high school antiwar strike in Detroit; and Howard Petrick, pioneer antiwar GI and a national staff member of the Student Mobilization Committee. The rally was chaired by Celia Stodola, a well-known local antiwar activist and chairman of the Antioch College SMC.

Mrs. Bunch solidified herself with the antiwar movement and said: "If that means I'm some sort of kook or subversive, I'm glad there are so many other 'kooks' here agreeing with me!" She received a huge ovation when she remarked, "They claim that shooting my son in the back was justifiable homicide, but I have a different opinion—I think it was murder!"

Gordon Fox, who came primarily to address the large number of area high school students who had been involved in building the march, was also interrupted

by applause when he proclaimed, "We need to keep on marching and organizing more and more people against the war, until every last soldier is brought home from Vietnam!" Ex-Pfc. Howard Petrick, who before and after the march gave advice to local GI participants being harassed at Wright-Patterson AFB for antiwar activities, gave a history of GIs United at Ft. Jackson.

Other rally speakers included Bill Chandler, regional Grape Boycott Organizer, who explained that grape growers are making up their boycott sales losses by shipping their product to Vietnam—"440,000 pounds last year, 7 million pounds this year." Lawrence Nelson, independent black candidate for Mayor of Dayton, emphasized that "the \$1-1/2-billion spent each month to colonize the Vietnamese could produce a cancer cure or an end to poverty here." Two members of the audience also spoke briefly: a recently discharged GI who had spent seven months in the stockade, and the mother of a GI who urged that mothers should "wake up" to the war which is taking their sons. The rally ended with a telegram of solidarity being sent to the Berkeley Peoples Park protesters, and an ovation for SMC Chairman Celia Stodola.

In addition to the previously mentioned groups, the demonstration and rally were also sponsored by the Ohio Resistance, Antioch Young Socialist Alliance, Springfield High School Students Against the War, the GI newspaper USAF, Concerned High School Students of Dayton, Wright State Students and Faculty Against the War, the Yellow Springs Peace and Freedom Council, Antioch SDS and Radical Studies Institute, and Dayton Citizens for a Democratic Society.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

BOSTON SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Speaker: Dick Roberts, THE ECONOMICS OF IMPERIALISM: three classes. June 13, 8 p.m.; June 14, 2 and 8 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., rm. 307.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL begins Sun., June 15, 4 p.m. Classes on History and Principles of the Socialist Workers Party; and: From the Russian to the Cuban Revolution. For info. write: LA Socialist Summer Schl., 1702 E. 4th St., LA 90033, or call 269-4953.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE ACTION CONFERENCE

JUNE 13-14, to discuss summer antiwar actions. Guest speakers to include: ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley of Ft. Jackson GIs United. For further info. on time and place: Peace Action Council, 462-8188.

NEW YORK

No forum June 13. Next forum: THE FALL OF DE GAULLE, THE RISE OF POMPIDOU AND THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE. Speaker: Caroline Lund, YSA National Committee, just returned from France. Fri., June 20, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

GI-civilian picnic held in Riverside

By Terry Hardy

LOS ANGELES — Between 150 and 200 people turned out May 24 at Fairmount Park in Riverside for the GI-civilian antiwar picnic which was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the GIs and Vietnam Vets Against the War. A good majority of the people present were high school and college students. A new dimension added to this antiwar picnic was the fact that about 30 GIs were present. There were GIs from Pendleton, March, Norton, El Toro and as far away as Ft. Irwin in the Bay Area.

The speakers were Airman David Mays from Norton Air Force Base, Airman 1/c Floyd Hof from March Air Force Base, Ron Motanak, a law student from UCLA, Henry Ramirez from the University of California-Riverside, United Mexican-American Students and Father Blaise Bonpane, the Maryknoll priest who was kicked out of Latin America and excommunicated from the church because of his work with the guerrillas in Guatemala. Also heard were vibrations from the "Bones," a local rock group.

Workshops on GI and student antiwar organizing were held.

Antiwar airman arrested for giving out leaflets

By Alan Wald

FAIRBORN, Ohio — Airman 1/c Larry Friedberg and Sgt. Rossaire Bisson were arrested on May 28 by Air Force Police for distributing leaflets publicizing the May 31 antiwar march in Dayton. Friedberg, an 18-year-old medic, claims that when arrested, "We were called communists, and one chief master-sergeant threatened to kick the shit out of me." He quoted the hospital squadron commander, Chief Warrant Officer R. O. Shoemaker, as saying: "If you want to be a martyr, we'll do it for you." So far charges have not been officially filed, but the two GIs have been ordered to report to the barracks area in their Class A uniforms on June 2.

Friedberg and Bisson plan to obtain a civilian attorney with the help of local representatives of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Since January antiwar activity at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base has been steadily increasing. The nature of the base, which

is a Strategic Air Command Center and top security, has made communication between civilian and GI activists difficult, although meetings have been regularly held in Yellow Springs and Dayton at least once a week for the past several months. Initial organizing efforts culminated in a highly successful "GI-Civilian Conference Against the War" held at Wright State University on March 1. Out of the conference grew the "GI-Civilian Coordinating Committee," which worked closely with the Yellow Springs Student Mobilization Committee in building the May 31 Dayton antiwar march of over 500 people.

Wright-Patterson GIs have already managed to put out several issues of USAF (United Servicemen's Actions for Freedom), an antiwar newspaper circulated on base. They are also developing a GI coffee house in Dayton. Previous to the arrest of Bisson and Friedberg, there had been only a few minor incidents of harassment.

An unvarnished history (VI)

PL's sorry record on the Vietnam war

By Mary-Alice Waters

Progressive Labor's record on the war in Vietnam constitutes one of the most shameful chapters in its entire history.

For several years the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the imperialist aggression of the United States government has been a focal point of the world revolution—an acid test for those who consider themselves revolutionaries the world over. If anything, this has been even more true here in the U.S., precisely because it is the homeland of the aggressor.

The political positions, and more importantly the actions, taken by various left-wing tendencies have had historic importance. A political tendency that has failed to come to the total and unconditional defense of the Vietnamese people, that has failed to build the largest possible and most effective, principled opposition to the war within the United States, has lost the right to consider itself revolutionary. In the early days of the Communist International under Lenin, any such party would have been barred from membership.

The Progressive Labor Party's position on Vietnam, like its position on Cuba, can be divided into two distinct periods—pro-North Vietnam and NLF, and anti-North Vietnam and NLF. But again, as with Cuba, their "pro" period was characterized not by an orientation toward building the broadest possible defense of the Vietnamese revolution, but an orientation toward making factional gains for PL. And their "anti" period was determined not by a basic change in the Vietnamese revolution, but by the needs of the Peking bureaucracy in its factional battle with Moscow. In both cases their most fundamental error was their flat rejection of the

Leninist concept of the united front.

This article will deal with several examples from the "pro-Vietnamese revolution" period, and a subsequent article will take up the later period.

The united front

The united front was a tactic developed by the Communist International and codified in a Comintern resolution in 1922. It had a two-fold purpose: 1) to demonstrate the willingness of the Bolsheviks to coordinate action, within certain limits and on specific issues, with reformist and other working-class organizations, which to a greater or lesser degree were compelled by the masses they led to oppose aspects of the policies of the ruling class; 2) to unite the broadest possible numbers in action around specific issues of key importance in order to create the most powerful force. The purpose was to win over in action those who were not yet convinced that their leaders did not act in their best interests.

As with other Leninist policies, the concept of the united front, and its utilization as a weapon of struggle against both the ruling class and the reformists was totally distorted by Stalinism. This reached its most tragic proportions in Germany when the Communist Party refused to build a united front with the Socialist Party to defeat fascism. In the guise of being "super-revolutionary," the CP characterized the Social Democracy as "social fascism," and abandoned the only policy which could have united the majority of the German working class behind the Communist Party and paved the way for a victorious revolution.

It is essentially this same ultraleft Stalinist policy toward the united front that PL applies today and invokes to justify its refusal to work together with other forces who are willing to struggle against the Vietnam war. Declaring they will form united fronts only with revolutionaries, they fail to grasp the fact that the united front tactic would be unnecessary to begin with were there not significant forces under the political influence of the reformists (or "revisionists" as PL refers to them).

May 2 Movement

In March 1964, a number of socialist tendencies, including the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and Progressive Labor participated in an east coast conference, sponsored by the Yale Socialist Union. Out of that conference came plans for demonstrations in several places around the country on May 2, calling for the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

A May 2 Committee was established, with Russell Stetler from Haverford College as chairman, and Peter Camejo (YSA) and Levi Laub (PL) as coordinators. Over 800 people participated in the New York demonstration, several hundred in San Francisco, and there were demonstrations in a number of other cities as well. Such numbers may sound small today, but at the time they represented a significant and encouraging first step toward a mass antiwar movement.

After the May 2 demonstration in New York, however, the PLers in the committee held a closed meeting which excluded other tendencies, particularly the YSA, and decided to continue the organization on a permanent basis as the May 2 Movement. While excluding other tendencies from participating, they still continued to use the original sponsorship list of the May 2 demonstration, falsely claiming everyone supported the new May 2 Movement.

From there PL went on to a really fatal error, one which led to the early death of the M2M. They mistakenly thought that the mass antiwar movement which was gestating could be controlled by one political tendency. They hoped that by proclaiming M2M to be the anti-Vietnam-war organization, it would become so, and since PL excluded other tendencies from M2M, the end result would be a mass antiwar organization with PL's line.

The antiwar movement, of course, did not develop according to the PL blueprint, but according to a totally different logic determined by the political level of the student movement in the U.S. at the time, and also determined by the fact



APRIL 27, 1968. This was the movement of hundreds of thousands that dumped Johnson and provided immeasurable help to the Vietnamese revolution. PL turned away from it.

that no political tendency was strong enough to gain hegemony. Thus, while M2M participated in some of the early antiwar actions they found themselves outside the basic organizations of the antiwar movement, the campus committees. They were even less able to influence the direction of the antiwar movement than if they had not attempted in a sectarian way to capture it in its infancy.

M2M also had other false policies. For example, they refused to build antiwar actions which did not from the very beginning have the line of withdrawal of troops—even if they could participate in them with a withdrawal line. They refused to build the broad antiwar coalitions that developed in virtually every city.

The contrary course was followed by the Socialist Workers Party, which went into the antiwar committees and participated in the broad coalitions, fighting for these organizations to adopt the line of withdrawal. If the SWP had followed the same line as PL, it would have meant abandoning the overwhelming majority of the antiwar movement to the reformist, pro-negotiations forces, rather than winning virtually the entire antiwar movement to the withdrawal position.

On the question of the Army, M2M adopted a position favoring individual draft refusal. They circulated a rather startling petition that stated, "We the undersigned are young Americans of draft age. We understand our obligations (!) to defend our country (!!) and to serve in the armed forces (!!!) but we object to being asked to support the war in South Vietnam." Such a position turned M2M into a most curious animal—a supposedly anti-imperialist organization which proclaimed the obligation of American men to defend the imperialist homeland. Who they were to defend "our" country against was never mentioned.

As the mass antiwar movement became larger and larger, PL decided that M2M had obviously failed. In February 1966, the east coast chapters of M2M held a conference and decided to dissolve. The *Free Student*, the M2M paper, announced that this was ratified by other regional meetings. M2M had decided to "build the existing radical organizations" and "throw all [its] energies into their development as the radical 'student movement' in America." (No. 7, *Free Student*.)

The Silberman campaign

Anyone who hoped that this meant PL had decided to participate in building broad united-front antiwar organizations was soon to be sadly disappointed. Their new orientation was to join the antiwar committees that existed and open up factional battles to convert those committees into organizations with PL's political line on a broad range of questions.

Perhaps the most striking example of this occurred in New York in the Queens Committee to End the War in Vietnam during the summer of 1966. The Queens committee, based primarily on students at Queens College, was one of the largest and strongest antiwar committees in the New York area, often drawing 50-70 people to the regular business meetings.

The PLers proposed that the committee run Leslie Silberman, who was one of the leaders of the Queens committee, for office in the 7th Congressional District in Queens, on an amorphous Independent Party ticket. YSAers and many others in the committee opposed the project. The committee was made up of very diverse forces politically, and all members of the committee agreed on only one point: withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

But in order to run a candidate, the committee would have to work out a full political program, and it was precluded that all members, or even a majority, of the committee could agree on any common program. The end result could only be to split the committee and destroy it as an effective force for mobilizing people against the war in Vietnam.

The prediction could not have been more accurate. For weeks the committee argued over the political platform, and the membership dwindled further with each discussion. In the end, all that was left of the Queens committee was a small campaign committee for Leslie Silberman who was running on a program of radical capitalist reform. PL had succeeded in capturing the Queens Committee, but ended up capturing little more than itself.

The episode also casts light on PL's unprincipled approach to electoral politics. The PL "communists," who are so disdainful of the reformism of the American Communist Party, received their political training in the same school of Stalinism. The CP considers it a tactical question whether or not "communists" cross class lines in elections. For more than three decades the CP has supported Democratic Party candidates and liberal capitalist third party candidates. PL, which did not break with the CP until one decade ago, also considers it a tactical question. In addition to supporting campaigns like Leslie Silberman's, and the Peace and Freedom Party, PL has also indicated that even support to some campaigns inside the Democratic Party—such as one run by Robert Scheer in Oakland in 1966—is permissible.

While they opposed the Scheer campaign at the time, in a later self-criticism, one of the PL leaders, Jeff Gordon, stated that PL's boycott of the Scheer campaign had given undue weight to the "moderate and revisionist forces who do not want to see a radical movement built in Oakland and Berkeley." He stated that radicals must participate in the struggle to transform organizations like Scheer's into independent groups. (PL, Vol. 5, No. 5, Oct.-Nov. 1966, "Elections, A Method of Struggle") PL's various attempts to impose its political program on the broad antiwar forces brought them little success, and did even less to help build the broadest possible defense of the Vietnamese revolution, to create a mass movement of opposition to the war within the United States.

Bad as their early policies may have been, however, they almost look good by comparison to what happened later.

(This serial history of the Progressive Labor Party is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will be in the issue dated June 27.)

Phila. students: 'It's Malcolm X, not Franklin High'

By Jon Rothschild

PHILADELPHIA—About seven weeks ago 1,000 students at the 99-percent-black "Benjamin Franklin High School" here voted to change the name of their school to Malcolm X High School. The principal was suspicious about the validity of a public vote, so a secret-ballot election was held. The name Malcolm won by well over a 2-1 margin.

Inside the school, the name has been changed. Students, faculty and administrators refer to the school as Malcolm X High. Last week the students, with the support of the principal, petitioned the city school board for an official name change. Said Ronald White, president of the student association, "We here in the community and the school don't feel that we have to stand here and wait for you to dictate to us what the name of our school should be. We decided to change the name of our school to Malcolm X."

The school board president then asked White why he came to the hearing, and he replied, "Because we need an official change; we've already changed it spiritually. You see, in essence that's what we're dealing with—spirit. We don't want to get into a physical thing like tearing Franklin's name down."

Responding to the fact that research by a Malcolm X teacher had shown that Benjamin Franklin was a slave trader, Henry Nichols, Negro member of the school board, said, "The man should be judged in total, not just for the bad things." He advised the students to go home, study hard and make a name for themselves in their school.

Despite the callous phoniness of the school board, the students have pressed ahead. The senior class presented the school with a life-size bust of Malcolm X. At a special assembly, Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, spoke at ceremonies dedicating the bust. Mrs. Shabazz was given a five-minute-long standing ovation.

Free-Evans movement at Case Western Reserve

A defense effort offers some lessons

By Roger Rudenstein

CLEVELAND, May 28—On May 13, an all-white jury in Cleveland sentenced Ahmed Evans to the gas chamber for the alleged murder of three cops on July 23 of last year.

Students at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland began to react immediately, and the actions that have occurred over the last two weeks have involved a significant number of students. Most importantly, the students' actions, and the university's reactions, have opened the eyes of thousands of students to the university's complicity in the repression of the black community.

Many students have learned first-hand how a so-called "liberal" university administration attempts to manipulate the student body and prevent any democratic discussion or decision-making.

The student actions began the day after the sentencing when 75 students met and drew up a list of demands to present to university president Morse. The central demand was for the release of the "Masotti Report," drafted by CWRU professor Lewis H. Massotti, dealing with police violence in the Glenville incidents last summer for which Evans has been tried and convicted. According to *Newsweek*, the report, prepared for the Eisenhower Commission on Violence, contains "a scalding indictment of the police."

Morse's first reaction was to curtly reject all the demands, but 10 minutes after he rejected them, he sent a messenger to the students who were discussing what to do next and told them that the Masotti report would be released.

Having won their first demand, the students carefully formulated their other demands and decided to continue to press for them.

They demanded: 1) that the university publicly support the immediate release of Ahmed Evans and that it use its resources to secure that release; 2) that the university shall not permit the military, the National Guard, or the Cleveland police to come on campus for repressive purposes; 3) that the Civil Violence Research Center be abolished; and 4) that the university adopt a policy against participation in any form of research to be used for the repression of the black movement or similar social movements, and against all secret research not available for scrutiny by the community.

The students also occupied Haydn Hall as an organizing center, and it was around the acceptance or rejection of these demands that campus debate and action centered during the following 10 days.

There were essentially two different aspects to this debate. First was the debate within the loose coalition of students organizing the actions—including YSA, SDS, Youth Against War and Fascism, liberals and independents. The second was the debate with the university officials and their supporters.

Young Socialist, CP spokesman on Penn State panel

STATE COLLEGE, Pa.—At a colloquy sponsored by the Penn State University student government May 24-25, Mareen Jasinski of the Young Socialist Alliance spoke on a panel titled, "Right and Left: Magnetism at the Poles," along with Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party, and two ultra-right speakers.

Discussing the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia, Arnold Johnson asserted that "you have to understand the totality of the picture to understand the justified actions of the Soviet government, especially in Czechoslovakia."

Mareen Jasinski scored the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as "completely un-Leninist and unrelated to Lenin's concept of democracy." She was able to draw upon her recent visit to Cuba with a delegation of 13 other Young Socialists to explain workers' control and how to prevent the kind of bureaucratic degeneration which has occurred in the Soviet Union.

A number of students expressed surprise that revolutionary socialism as espoused by the Young Socialist Alliance "sounded so reasonable." Many in the audience bought books by Lenin and Trotsky and other revolutionary literature.



Ahmed Evans

The debate within the movement supporting Evans was over a rally called by the Cleveland Black Panthers, but opposed by the July 23 Committee, a black defense group for Evans. Mae Mallory of the July

23 Committee had attacked the Panthers, comparing their nationalism with Chiang Kai-shek's.

Many students were overwhelmed by the evidence of such political disputes among black militants and a long discussion took place over whether or not students should support the demonstration. YAWF, which is close to Mae Mallory, argued that the students' struggle was on the campus, not in the community at large. Therefore, the students shouldn't support the Panther demonstration. However, the dispute between the Panthers and the July 23 Committee was the real reason for this formulation and this became abundantly clear in the course of the discussion. The overwhelming majority voted to support the rally, but a heavy downpour prevented it from taking place as scheduled.

The second main debate among the radical students concerned whether or not the tactics being used were "militant enough." SDS, YAWF and some unaffiliated Maoists decided they weren't. This dispute took its most concrete form when the administration agreed to hold a university-wide meeting to discuss the issues.

In a subcommittee meeting, YSAers proposed that a demonstration in support of Evans be built out of the university-wide meeting. SDS leaders proposed that a "people's army" be organized to go into the university-wide meeting—squirting water pistols. The former proposal was adopted and the SDSers and YAWFers walked out of the subcommittee meeting threatening to call a "militant action."

As it turned out the only thing they did was issue another SDS leaflet the next day entitled "I ain't marching anymore," which attempted to explain why they were dropping out of the movement to defend Evans.

The other aspect of the fight was the competition between the university administration and the students supporting Evans to see who would win over the bulk of the uncommitted students.

After granting the demand that the Masotti report be released, President Morse tried to take the offensive by going to the students to discuss their demands, rather than waiting for them to come to him. The administration also decided not to have students arrested when they first occupied Haydn Hall. However, the liberal facade of the university began to crack rather rapidly, and students soon learned how thin it was.

Three people, including Professor Zilsel,

decided to sit in at Morse's office until the president agreed to the first demand—that the university take a public stand for Evans' freedom. When the professor and more than 100 students marched to the president's office, the university issued a temporary restraining order against Prof. Zilsel et al threatening anyone who disrupted the normal functioning of the university with contempt of court. Sheriff Krieger and six county cops came on the campus to serve the injunctions.

In a leaflet, the students stated, "This injunction was petitioned for on Monday May 19, that is prior to the action of the movement, not in reaction to the action taken. Morse has stated 'this university has not and will not invite anyone on campus for repressive purposes.' He has quite clearly and publicly lied to the university."

Under threat of arrest, Prof. Zilsel and the others left the building after the administration agreed to negotiate and to hold a university-wide meeting.

This meeting revealed the administration's true colors. It was decided that there would be speakers for and against the demands but questions and discussion were not to be allowed, and strict time limits were to be enforced. The movement for Evans drew up a petition demanding an open meeting and over 1,000 signatures were gathered in one night.

Over 2,000 came to the meeting on Friday, May 23. The first speaker to take the floor after Morse proposed that discussion and questions be allowed. The next speaker reiterated the proposal and presented the petition. Finally one of the speakers managed to take a vote on the proposal, and the moderator cut off the microphone before a nay vote could be taken.

Over half the audience then walked out. It was announced that the movement had an open microphone in front of the administration building and half an hour later the university-wide meeting was deserted except for some pro-Morse professors who were left talking to themselves.

Although finals are now taking place and the school year is virtually over, the struggle to free Ahmed Evans will go on in the summer in the community as a whole, and will be taken up again when school begins in the fall. The lessons the students have learned this spring about the nature of the university and its complicity in the repression of the black community will mean that the struggle can begin on a higher level next year.

Fight for mine union post develops

The National Picketline

at his side. Both the candidate and his lawyer stated that they may ask the Labor Department to supervise the forthcoming election.

Among other things, Yablonski calls for an increase in the 40-cents-per-ton royalty the industry now pays into the welfare and retirement fund, greater militancy in contract negotiations, for large outlays by the industry for mine safety equipment, and for state and local taxes in the Appalachian coal fields to finance sweeping reforms in education and other government services.

All candidates who have thus far declared themselves in the running face almost insurmountable obstacles—the major one, the union constitutional provision making it necessary that each candidate to an international post be nominated by 50 local unions. Neither of the two rank-and-filers who want to run have either the time or the money to mount a campaign to obtain such support.

Yablonski, however, claims important support outside the union as well as "strong rank and file endorsement."

Part of that "outside support" Yablonski claims was represented at the news conference—Ralph Nader. Nader recently wrote John L. Lewis a letter asking Lewis to depose W.A. Boyle for his dictatorial methods within the union. If Nader knows anything about the history of the United Mine Workers at all, he knows that Lewis him-

self is the father of that dictatorship, the originator of the brutal methods under which the UMW rank and file have been held captive for many years. And, in addition, Boyle was a protege of Lewis and his hand-picked candidate for the presidency.

Nader has a way with himself. One must credit him with knowing a good publicity gimmick when he sees one. Recently he revealed that Boyle has his daughter, an attorney, on the union payroll for something like \$40,000 a year, and a brother heading up a paper union organization in Montana at \$32,000. He also came up with the following information which must make coal miners who have been refused union pensions on one technicality or another see blood. A special union pension fund of over \$1 million has been set up in a union-owned bank in Washington, D.C., with just four beneficiaries—Boyle and his heirs, Lewis and his heirs, and two union vice-presidents and theirs!

It is true that among the high echelon of the union bureaucracy there is graft and corruption, as Nader charges. But one must question the motives of a man like Nader and look closely into his reasons. "Good Samaritans" who come along with their expose campaigns are not usually out to build the labor movement, but usually to promote tightened government controls over the unions.

The top union bureaucracy must be cleaned out, replaced by honest officers under the direct control and discipline of the union memberships.

But that housecleaning job is one that the labor movement must do itself.

—Marvel Scholl

10,000 at Paris windup rally for Alain Krivine

By Richard Wood

PARIS, May 29—Ten thousand people attended a spirited international rally here in support of Alain Krivine, candidate of the Communist League in the French presidential elections, at the Palais des Sports last night. The Communist League is the French section of the Fourth International.

The large auditorium was decorated with huge red banners and portraits of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Che, Hugo Blanco, and the Black Panther symbol. Every one of the 8,000 seats in the hall was filled, and hundreds sat or stood in the aisles and on the stairways, while well over 1,000 people who could not get into the hall listened outside.

The chairman, Henri Weber, opened the meeting by recalling that it was exactly one year ago that the May events reached their peak and "the power of the bourgeoisie was at its lowest ebb." The spirit of the May revolutionary upsurge and of proletarian internationalism dominated the meeting. With applause and shouts of "The NLF will win!" the crowd approved Weber's proposal that the meeting be dedicated to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Cuban revolution.

Two scheduled speakers from other countries were prevented by the police from addressing the meeting. Berndt Rabehl of the German Socialist Students Union (SDS) was stopped at the border. Tariq Ali, British antiwar leader and representative of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), had been in France for a few days. He spoke with Krivine at a campaign meeting of 5,000 people in Toulouse on May 27. However, when he took the plane back to Paris to attend the Palais des Sports meeting, he was met at the airport by police and expelled from France.

French vote results

In the first round of the French presidential elections on June 1, Alain Krivine, the revolutionary socialist candidate won a significant vote. Running on the platform of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, Krivine polled 239,078 in the first unofficial tally released by the government. The vote amounted to 1.06 percent of the total vote cast.

Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate won 44.46 percent of the vote, while Alain Poher, considered his strongest rival, came in second with 23.31 percent. Pompidou's vote was roughly comparable to that received by de Gaulle in the 1965 presidential election.

Jacques Duclos, Communist Party candidate, was a close third with 21.28 percent. This was more than the polls had predicted, but consistent with the Communist Party vote for the last 20 years.

The biggest setback was suffered by Gaston Defferre, the right-wing Social Democratic candidate, who polled only 5.01 percent. The Socialist Party was at one time one of the most powerful parties in France. Michel Rocard, the left-wing Social Democratic candidate, won 3.61 percent, and Louis Ducatel, the right-wing "free enterprise" candidate received 1.27 percent.

In the United States, a vote comparable to Krivine's would be approximately one million. By way of comparison, in the 1968 presidential election, the combined vote of all five left-wing presidential candidates was only 178,445.



Scene at Krivine rally in Paris Sports Palace

The first speaker at the meeting, Daniel Bensaid of the Communist League, read from a directive of the Ministry of the Interior, the second page of which found its way into the hands of the League. This page was a continuation of a list of people who were to be barred from entering the country, and included the student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Livio Maitan, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, who was scheduled to speak at the meeting. Maitan, however, was not stopped at the border, and was present at the rally. Later, he was seized by the authorities at Orly airport, and expelled from the country.

Bensaid analyzed the meaning of the election campaign waged by the League. He said that the campaign had helped demonstrate to many workers that there is a force to the left of the CP which is challenging the CP more and more.

For example, he said, at the Renault factory in Billancourt the CP has been able to intimidate many workers, even making it difficult for them to read revolutionary newspapers. But the Krivine campaign opened with a meeting in front of the factory, a CP stronghold, and in spite of harassment by a CP goon squad, the meeting was held and many workers stayed to listen to the revolutionary candidate. "We established the precedent of being able to hold meetings at the factories in spite of the CP," he said, "and we showed the CP and the workers that we are here and going to stay here."

He also pointed to the many successful meetings the League held in provincial cities, some of which were larger than CP election meetings in the same cities. One example was the meeting in Toulouse.

Alain Krivine directed his opening re-

marks to the many journalists present (there was also a battery of TV newsmen and photographers). He attacked the way the capitalist press has covered his campaign, pointing to their reporting of the Renault meeting as an example. The press had picked up on the harassment by the CP goon squad to "demonstrate" that the workers were opposed to Krivine. "Why didn't you report that the Action Committee at Renault supports our campaign?" he asked. "Why didn't you report that yesterday the Renault Action Committee held another meeting at the factory for representatives of the Communist League which was attended by hundreds of workers?"

He dealt ironically with the reformist campaigns of the two social-democratic candidates and the CP candidate.

"The Communist Party," Krivine said, "calls for higher living standards for workers and for limiting the power of the monopolies. A question for the CP: What kind of state would implement such a program? Does the CP think it can just tell the monopolists, 'Look how many votes we got—you had better give up some of your power'?" Concerning the CP slogan to "purify" the police, Krivine pointed out that the whole apparatus of the capitalist state will have to be destroyed, not "purified," and replaced by the armed power of the workers.

The press, he said, "reported that at our campaign meetings there were people with long hair, blue jeans and foreign accents. We say we'd rather have people with long hair and blue jeans than old reactionaries, OAS generals, cops, administrators and bureaucrats!"

He also blasted the CP's failure in the campaign to solidarize with the Vietnamese and the Palestinian struggles. "We salute

the heroic people of Vietnam and Palestine. We are linked with their struggles, and that is the difference between our communism and the CP'."

He ended by saying, "We will take up again—and we are ready to—the battle of May 1968 and fight it through to the end." The applause of the crowd ended in a thunderous chanting in unison as the entire audience rose to its feet shouting one of the slogans of last May: "This is only the beginning, continue the fight!"

Livio Maitan discussed the necessity for building the Fourth International. He explained the international character of the struggle for socialism, and the interconnected and complimentary character of the struggles in the colonial countries, in the advanced capitalist countries and in the deformed workers states.

Jane Garner of the British International Marxist Group read a message from the IMG in lieu of the speech scheduled by Tariq Ali. Messages were also read from the Brazilian Communist Workers Party; the Belgian Young Socialist Guards; GONG, a revolutionary organization in Guadeloupe; the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States; and the Democratic and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

There was one incident during the meeting. A bomb exploded in a car in front of the Palais des Sports. The bomb did damage to cars in the vicinity, but no one was hurt. The well-organized defense guard, which kept order in the hall, also quickly took care of the fire which resulted from the explosion.

The meeting ended with the singing of "The International."

Rally hears Japan peace fighters

CLEVELAND—Two representatives of the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs (Gensuikin) brought greetings to the Clevelanders who rallied May 31 to demand an immediate end to the war in Vietnam. They were Ryoshin Nakayoshi, chairman of the Government Employees' Union of Okinawa, managing director of the Okinawa Prefecture Council Against A- and H-Bombs, and co-chairman of the Council of Joint Struggle to Save Human Lives in Okinawa; and Shimpei Fujimaki, secretary of the foreign policy committee of the Japan Socialist Party.

Mr. Nakayoshi told the outdoor mass meeting in downtown Cleveland:

"I came here from an island beyond the Pacific, where we are struggling against the colonial system imposed by the Americans, and fighting for the reversion of Okinawa and against the nuclear arms stockpile in Okinawa.

"We Okinawans cannot be patient with this colonial system, just as you Americans cannot be patient with the war policy of Mr. Nixon.

"We are convinced that this is the most fundamental right of a human being, to be against war and for peace. We are also convinced that the struggle against war and for peace should be fought more energetically than the struggle for raising our standard of living.

"We are struggling in Okinawa, which was utilized for the purpose of pursuing the war in Korea and now the war in Vietnam. We are also very anxious to have close cooperation with those people in the United States who are against the Vietnam War.

"Now, toward 1970 when the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty will be up for review, the Nixon administration and the Sato government are pursuing the policy of reviving Japanese militarism.

"We have already conducted a series of campaigns and also a struggle in the form of strikes and demonstrations against the American presence in Okinawa by blocking the traffic in the military road near the American bases. We are planning to stage a general strike this coming November, which is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the trade unions, and by doing so will try to demonstrate our determination to get rid of the Americans from Okinawa.

"We ask you for support of our struggle—you who are against the Vietnam war and against ABM. We want to keep our tie closer than ever."

Mr. Nakayoshi said that the demands of the Okinawans are:

- For reversion of Okinawa to Japan.
- For removal of American military bases from Okinawa.

- Against the Vietnam war; against stationing of B-52 bombers at Okinawa.

- Against visits of nuclear submarines to Okinawa.

He called for Japanese and Americans to "unite against the Vietnam war and Japanese militarism."

In a press interview before the rally Mr. Nakayoshi and Mr. Fujimaki explained that they are touring the United States on behalf of the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs to inform the American people about the situation in Okinawa and to extend an invitation to American peace organizations and trade unionists to participate in the 24th Atomic Bomb Disaster Anniversary World Conference to be held in August 1969 in Japan at Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Kyushu, and at Naha, Okinawa.

Ryoshin Nakayoshi, the Okinawan trade union leader, will speak in New York City at a public meeting Monday, June 9. Shimpei Fujimaki, of the Japan Socialist Party will also speak. Both are on a tour of the United States on behalf of the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs. The meeting, which is widely sponsored by New York antiwar groups will be at 8pm at the Metropolitan Duane Church, 201 W. 13th St., Manhattan.

The Great Society

The bubble king—Dr. Aristide V. Grosse, the scientist who insists you can best disperse rioters by immersing them in plastic bubbles, was the subject of a feature piece in the May 29 **Wall Street Journal**. The man's "no nut," the papers assured, pointing out he worked on the Manhattan Project which developed the bomb. There is, however, an admitted flaw in the bubble project. Like how do you get rid of them? Doc Grosse says you can puncture them with your finger, but after a few jabs your finger get so slippery it slips off the remaining bubbles. He thinks a rake-like device on a truck would do the trick.

Sane as they come—Perhaps as further evidence that Dr. Grosse is "no nut," the **WSJ** reported that he "is trying to interest the government in a plan to surround pacified South Vietnamese hamlets with bubble barricades, with hidden entrances for friendly forces and villagers."

Too close for comforts?—The Berkeley Board of Education opened its doors to high school students who got tired of dodging buckshot and tear gas in the occupied area of the city where their school is located. Later a Board of Education spokesman said, "It's been quite an experience for our people [the administrators] too. Some of them have never been that close to children before."

Knows his place—Gov. Reagan of California told a student delegation: "I would be happy to meet on any campus with any group at any time. But at the moment you know and I know that I could precipitate a riot simply by showing up."

Seeks damages—A damage suit against God was filed by an Oakland, Calif., woman whose home was struck by lightning. Noting that He is responsible for the maintenance and orderly operation of the universe, the suit alleged that He, in a "careless and negligent manner . . . caused lightning to strike the plaintiff's home," doing damage to her home and nerves. Her attorney said he would seek to collect damages by attaching an Arizona ranch that folksinger Lou Gottlieb recently deeded to the deity because local authorities were giving him a hard time about his alleged hippy friends.

High as a kitten—Scientists are studying

the possibility that catnip may have hallucinogenic qualities like marijuana and LSD.

Intelligence Dep't—To assure it will recruit high types, the CIA offers "low pay and high motivation," the **New York Times** was advised. Also, the spooks get to play with gadgets. Like a match-box-size device that vibrates noiselessly in the agent's pocket when they want him to phone the office. It would be embarrassing, a "source" explained about the silent shaker, "for a top CIA official at church, or a party, if he suddenly began beeping." But what if he's in the position that agents have occasionally found themselves, that is, with their pants down?

Sounds reasonable—A study showed that the widely used powdered vegetable oil substitutes for whipped and coffee cream have a higher level of cholesterol-including fats than the dairy cream they replace. One company, Reddi Whip, explained however that their product reduced cholesterol because it contains twice as much air as the cream that would be used in its place.

The difference—Proponents of the "lesser evil" thesis that there's enough difference between the two capitalist parties to make one of them worth supporting now have a weighty argument. The Johnson administration had been considering a proposal to set a 30 percent limit on the fat content of hot dogs (presently, the casing's the limit). Now the Nixon team is recommending that the proposed limit be upped to 33 percent.

It figures—"Tax Official Raises \$6,000 for Lindsay."—Headline on page 1 of the May 29 **New York Times**. "Lindsay Points to Economic Gains." —Headline on page 48 of the same issue.

Denial of rights—The Board of Selectmen of Middleton, Mass. voted regulations requiring that policemen on duty not be grouchy, keep their feet off desk tops and stay out of houses of ill repute. The chief of police was so shook up he immediately went to court for a permanent injunction, charging the new rules are "illegal, unconstitutional and unreasonable." He says there are no sporting houses in Middleton. The police station is in his house.

— Harry Ring

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3518 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. #3 Tel: (202) 362-0037.

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

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

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

READINGS FOR REVOLUTIONARIES

Lenin's view of ultraleftism

By Milton Alvin

"LEFT WING" COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER by V.I. Lenin.

In the years immediately following the Russian revolution of 1917, the best socialist militants were attracted to the Communist International organized under the auspices of the Soviet leaders. However, many well-meaning people in a number of countries sought to repeat the experience of Russia without taking into account the particular conditions in their own countries and how they differed from those in Russia.

In this way an ultra-left tendency developed in the international movement and among groups moving towards communism but not yet organized in a Communist Party.

In our own time we have seen somewhat similar attempts to duplicate what the Cubans and Chinese have done, also without taking into real consideration differences in conditions that exist from one country to another.

In order to educate the ultra-leftists of his time, Lenin wrote this pamphlet directed against "Left Wing" Communism, as it was then called. In it he deals concretely with questions of tactics and strategy for communists in a number of countries. Although American communism of that time is not specifically discussed, this pamphlet had a strong influence upon the then young Communist Party in this country and helped it to get rid of much of its ultra-leftist and sectarian baggage.

Among the subjects Lenin treats, are: the international significance of the Russian revolution; the basic requisites of the success of the Bolsheviks; the history of Bolshevism; revolutionaries and trade unions; the Marxist attitude towards capitalist parliaments and the question of what constitutes permissible compromises.

This pamphlet would make valuable reading for all members of SDS and particularly for members of Progressive Labor Party. Both groups make the same errors in turning their backs upon electoral and parliamentary activity that the "Left Wing" communists did almost half a century ago. And, it may be added, they do so for the same sectarian reasons.

Lenin develops a sharp polemic against the Dutch and German communists who turned their backs on parliamentary activity, and their assertion that such activity is "obsolete." He says, "It is evident that the "Lefts" in Germany have mistaken their desire, their ideological-political attitude, for objective reality. This is the most dan-

gerous mistake revolutionaries can make." It would be difficult to find more accurate words to apply to the ultra-leftism of today.

The result of Lenin's work on this question was to help the communists in many countries acquire a better objective appreciation of their tasks. At the same time the incorrigible sectarians were isolated and eventually left the movement. These latter vegetated around for a longer or shorter period of time and eventually all of them disappeared from the political scene.

Merit announces new publications

NEW YORK—Merit Publishers announces that a new book and three new pamphlets will be published in mid-June.

The book is **Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)**, paperback, 128 large-size pages, equivalent to the usual book of more than 300 pages, \$2.45. This volume, which covers the last year of Trotsky's life, is the first in a series that will reprint everything by Trotsky translated into English during his third exile (1939-40) that is not otherwise available in permanent books and pamphlets. Merit plans to publish two of these volumes every year in the most inexpensive form possible.

The present volume is divided into five parts: World War II, Imperialism and Stalinism; American Problems; For an Independent Soviet Ukraine; The Assassination Attempt (of May 24, 1940), Last Articles and Letters. It begins with the announcement of the Stalin-Hitler Pact on Aug. 22, 1939, and ends with the article Trotsky was preparing on "Bonapartism, Fascism and War" on the day he was struck down by an assassin sent by Stalin, Aug. 20, 1940.

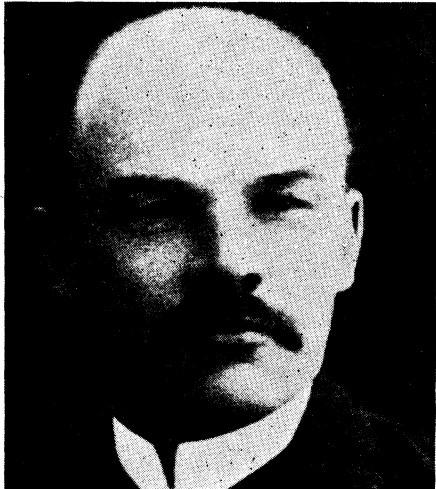
The three pamphlets are:

The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society by Jose Revueltas, 36 pages, 35 cents. Revueltas, an outstanding Mexican novelist, is now in a Mexican prison as the "inspirer" of the militant student struggle which the Mexican government put down in blood last year. It is his answer to the attack on the youth movement made by the pro-Moscow labor bureaucrat, Lombardo Toledano, shortly before the latter's death.

Rebels and Bureaucrats: Soviet Conflicts As Seen In Solzhenitsyn's 'Cancer Ward' by George Saunders, 60 pages, 50 cents. In an analysis of the characters presented in Solzhenitsyn's brilliant novel, the author draws an absorbing picture of class relations in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death.

Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis by Peter Buch, 32 pages, 40 cents. In this fact-crammed study the author traces the development of Zionism from its origins to its conflicts in 1969 with the Palestine liberation movement. Along the way he explodes many of the stock propaganda themes of the Zionists.

For a new catalog of books and pamphlets published or distributed by Merit Publishers, write 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Lenin in 1915

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

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Brass stumbles again in move to victimize GI

JUNE 5—In a further attempt to victimize Pvt. Joe Miles for his antiwar activity in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Bragg and Ft. Jackson, the Army brass has tripped over itself again.

Last week the brass at Ft. Bragg, N.C., decided they could rid themselves of Miles by transferring him to a base in the Arctic region, several hundred miles north of Fairbanks, Alaska. Now it appears that Gen. Tolson, the Ft. Bragg commander, will be graced by Miles' company for a while longer as a result of an attempt to frame him on an AWOL charge.

The brass outmaneuvered themselves on June 3, when Miles received a notice of pending disciplinary action for allegedly being AWOL Memorial Day weekend. Miles' commanding officer, Capt. Schatz, who had told Miles he could leave the base for the weekend, now claims he had said Miles could not leave for the weekend. Faced with a choice of accepting an uncontested minor punishment or being able to plead not guilty at a court-martial, Miles requested the court-martial. The resultant proceedings will take several weeks, thereby delaying the port call to Alaska, which would come up while the court-martial is pending.

The brass will have a hard time making the AWOL charge stick. Miles has what is known as a permanent-party pass which allows him to signout whenever he is off

duty. When he signed out for the weekend his name was not on the weekend duty roster.

At a press conference in Washington yesterday, called before the news of the postponement of the Alaska assignment, Mrs. Agnes Lowe, Miles' mother, said that she has written to Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor demanding protection of her son's constitutional rights and scoring the Alaska assignment as an attempt to punish him for exercising those rights. "Could one man be such a threat to the U.S. Army," Mrs. Lowe's letter asked, "that he must be exiled rather than the U.S. Army standing up to his accusations?"

"I do not wish to express any opinion on the Vietnam war," Mrs. Lowe's appeal said; "I cannot condemn or condone a world situation about which I have not learned enough. . . . Nevertheless, I do feel that these young men who have to go to battle, who for the past 20 years have known nothing but war and confusion, should have a right to question what they are fighting for."

Ruth Blackstock of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee announced at the Washington press conference that lawyers for Miles had filed against the Army a "show cause" order in the federal court for the Eastern District of North Carolina at Fayetteville. At a preliminary hearing set for June 9, the federal judge will begin hearing arguments to decide whether the Army must show cause why they should not be restrained from shipping Joe Miles to Alaska.

A statement by Congressman Charles E. Goodell (Rep. — N.Y.) read at the press conference said in part: "The case of Pvt. Joseph D. Miles, who is being assigned to Alaska under other than 'regular procedures' again raises the issue of reassignment by the Army as its reaction to members of the military who actively express their disagreement with military policy and procedure, particularly with regard to the war in Vietnam."

Among the "other than 'regular procedures'" referred to in the Goodell statement are: the fact that the reassignment is a one-man levy while enlisted men are normally assigned in groups; the waiver, in Miles' case, of the Army's normal 18-month requirement for an Alaska levy, so that he can be sent to Alaska although he has only 11 months left in his tour of duty; and his assignment to a base to which only lifers are normally sent.

Miles' younger brother, Keith Miles, stated at the news conference that "there are many people in this country, both prominent and ordinary, who agree with my brother in his views, and I am one of them." Both Joe Miles' mother and his brother stressed that he had never disobeyed an order or violated any Army regulation, but that the attempted victimization stems solely from his exercising his right of free speech.



Pvt. Joe Miles

Nine indicted in frame-up at U of Indiana

By Rick Congress

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — Nine persons at the University of Indiana, including Professor Orlando Taylor, have been indicted on charges of participating in the May 8 "lock-in" in Ballantine Hall on the IU campus. Included in the indictment were SDS leader Joel Allen and black student spokesman Rollo Turner.

The incident occurred during the student strike against the increase in tuition, when 120 black students took positions at the doors of a student-faculty-administration negotiating session and announced that nobody would leave until the administration brought the trustees to the meeting to bargain in good faith. No one was physically prevented from leaving, and an agreement was reached after a few hours and the meeting ended.

The IU trustees, town Birchers and local right-wing press clamored for legal action against the blacks. The result was the grand-jury investigation and indictments which were handed down today.

Taylor and Allen are charged with "riot," while Turner and six other black students are charged with "riot" and "riotous conspiracy." "Riot" (riot) is a misdemeanor carrying a maximum fine of \$100 and 60 days in jail; "riotous conspiracy" carries a 2- to 10-year sentence and a \$2,000 maximum fine. Both laws were put on the books in Indiana to deal with the Ku Klux Klan, which was a power in the state in the '20s. The IU administration and town officials, however, seem more concerned with victimizing student activists than dealing with the recent upsurge of Ku Klux Klan activities in Monroe County.

Badly shaken by the massive strike and resultant radicalization of the student body, the administration is hoping the indictments will demoralize the students. The result, however, promises to be the opposite. In anticipation of the indictments, a defense committee has been functioning for several weeks with broad support.

On the day the indictments were announced, a YSA press release denouncing the witchhunt and pledging national YSA support to the defense committee received wide coverage on the local news media.

To make a contribution to the defense fund, make checks payable to: Students Legal Aid Fund, c/o Prof. Alex Rabonovich, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

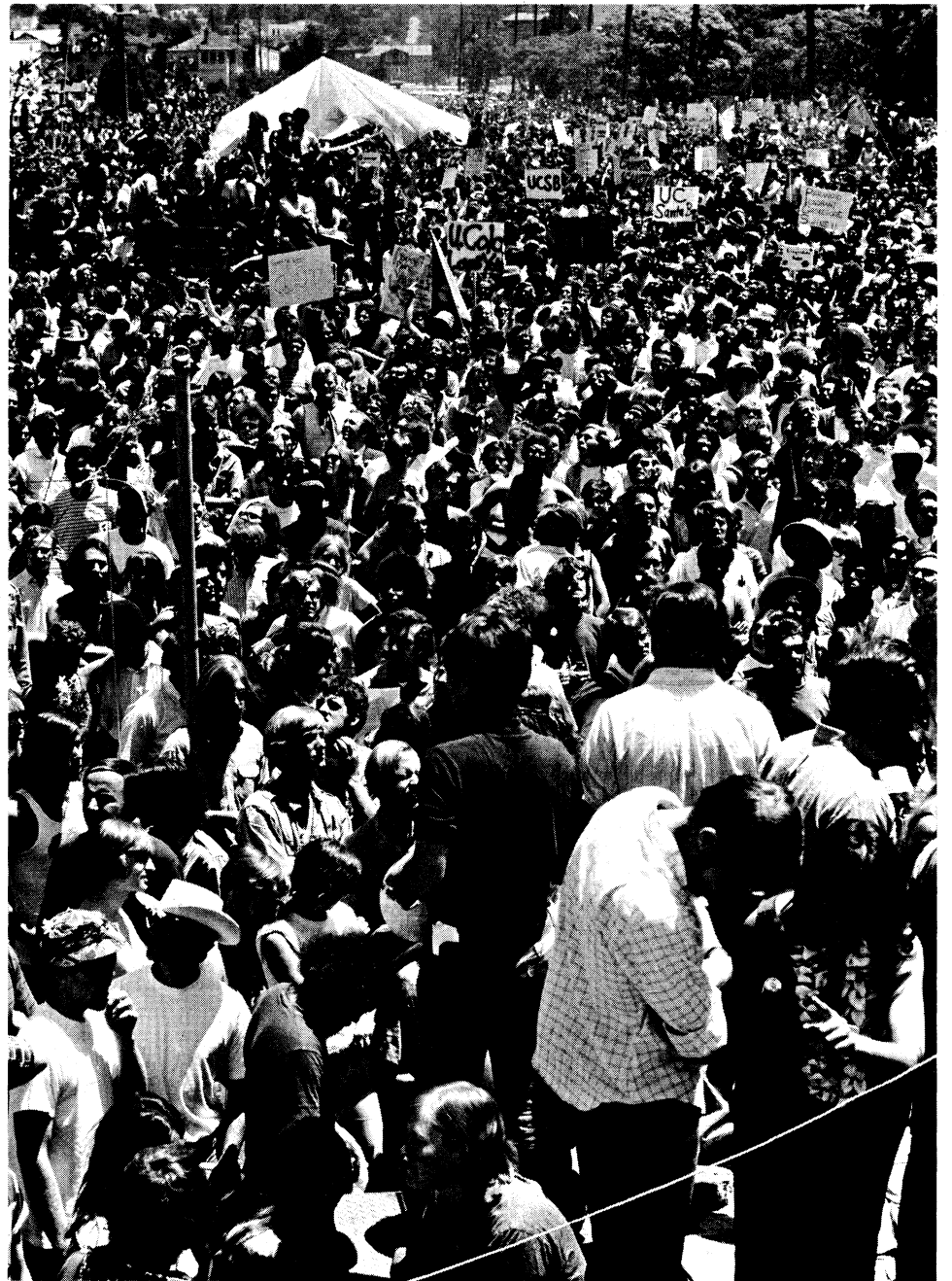


Photo by Ron Payne

Mass action at Berkeley (story page 4)

For Army needless deaths mainly a press problem

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 6 — Sixty GIs were killed, 25 were missing, presumably dead and 308 wounded, in the May 10-May 20 U.S. attack on Appia Mountain—"Hamburger Hill"—Senator Stephen Young disclosed May 29.

Recalling the statement of one Pentagon spokesman that "Hamburger Hill was strategically important. It dominated the supply route from Laos to Ashau Valley," the Ohio Democrat asked why U.S. troops were withdrawn from the mountain immediately after the battle.

He revealed that 20 or 30 GIs have now been sent back to Appia Mountain, "immediately following" Senator Kennedy's criticism of the battle. There were 10,000 troops of the 101st Airborne Division involved in the initial attack.

The concern of those running the war, however, is not that young men were cruelly sacrificed but only about the impact of the revelations on the American people. Young cited a "high State Department official":

"With the Paris talks going on, we don't need gory stories in the papers."

This same theme was picked up by New York Times Washington correspondent Hedrick Smith, in the "News of the Week in Review" June 1:

"Some high officials would like to see the President pass the word down the military chain of command to apply 'the pressure strategy' with more discretion—in other words, taking greater account of the sensitivities on the home front to continuing casualties."

It is blunt and cynical reasoning on the part of the imperialists. They want to maintain "maximum battlefield pressure" in order to carve away at the revolutionary forces. But they want to do this, at least for now, at some level of GI deaths that doesn't attract too much attention.

Another grisly aspect of the military-public relations war is discussed by B. Drummond Ayres Jr. in a Saigon dispatch to the June 2 Times. He describes the virtual phobia the Army has developed in its quest for a "kill ratio" and "body count" which will supposedly persuade the

Vietnamese to throw in the towel.

While this effort has not been very effective from that standpoint, it has helped whet the military appetite for blood.

"There are American and South Vietnamese commanders, who, like the statisticians, put great stock in the 'body counts' and therefore urge their units to compete for 'kills,' Ayres reports.

"How many did you get?" is a question frequently heard over field radios. Some units keep elaborate kill charts. During morning and evening briefings, they are displayed with considerable pride."

But remember, it's a war to save our civilized way of life.

Colonel wants money's worth

The following battle account is from an Associated Press dispatch datelined Ashau Valley, South Vietnam, May 19: "The paratroops came down from the mountain, their green shirts dark with sweat, their weapons gone, their bandages stained with mud and blood. "Many cursed Col. Honeycutt, who sent three companies to take the mountain. They failed.

"That damn blackjack won't stop until he kills every damn one of us," said one of the 40 or 50 members of the division who were wounded. 'Blackjack' is Col. Honeycutt's radio code name. . . .

"At one point, Col. Honeycutt shouted over his radio to a company commander moving his men up the ridge: 'Damn it, Cyclone Six, get those men spread out. They're all clustered up. You're getting paid to fight this war, not discuss it.'"