

THE MILITANT

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Why Progressive Labor turned against the Vietnamese revolution

—See page 6—

A Marxist viewpoint:

How to relate defense of democratic rights to the struggle for the abolition of capitalism

—page 7—



Photo by Ron Payne/cartoon by Cieciorka

CLASS OF '69. "War machine off campus, U.S. out of Nam," was theme of armbands worn by thousands of graduating seniors on dozens of campuses in the New York area. At June 15 Berkeley commencement, pictured above, graduates left the main gate wearing macabre reminder of the gas warfare used to "pacify" their campus as well as Vietnam.

Throughout the country, trustees and administrators couldn't stop the protests against the war in Vietnam, racial oppression at home and campus complicity with both racism and the war from taking the spotlight at one ceremony after another.

Even the proverbially dull commencement speakers were forced to take stands on the two major issues which are convulsing their universities. At Hunter College, President Cross thought it wise to call for a quick end to the Vietnam war; the majority of Hunter's 1,100 graduating seniors and many of its faculty wore antiwar, anticomplicity armbands as part of the New York Student Mobilization Committee's "Vietnam Commencements."

The City College president was less tactful than Cross. Speaking after a protracted struggle for dual admissions by the Black and

Puerto Rican Student Community at CCNY, President Copeland charged that the objective of "unwitting and unholy alliance between the Ku Klux Klan, the black separatists and the new or old left is the tearing down of society and the imposition of their own brand of dictatorial control and oppression." The speech was greeted by hissing, boos and a spontaneous walk-out by nearly every third-world student and sympathetic whites.

Harvard's president, Nathan Pusey, cleverly permitted a Pler to give an ultraleft speech which was roundly booed, but this move didn't stop Pusey from being greeted with protest "V"-sign and clenched-fist salutes by about half the class, despite giving what newmen called a "conciliatory" speech. And neither Nixon or Agnew dared show his face at any prominent commencement.

Protests and antiwar speeches were evident at the Case-Western Reserve, St. Olaf's in Minnesota, Yale, U of Chicago, Pratt, even staid Rockefeller University and dozens of other commencements around the country. The message is clear: students don't relish graduating into capitalist America. An entire generation of America's "thinkers" are being lost to the ruling class.

From a black GI in Vietnam

Supports antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson

Vietnam

The struggle that the GIs are confronting themselves with at Ft. Jackson is really worthwhile, not only for themselves but for the enlisted men as a whole.

The U.S. government claims that they can't help stopping the Vietnamese because they promised that they would help them in time of war. The U.S. doesn't want to break that promise.

Perhaps they never thought of the promises they made to the black man, as far as freedom, and broke them. The U.S. should think more of the racial problems and a way to solve them rather than spending the millions of dollars here in Vietnam.

After all, the black man is more useful and constructive to the USA than what the South Vietnamese could ever be.

No soldier wants to return home just to meet racial problems after fighting for the country he thought was living without problems of racism. No one wants to face this type of problem after returning from a combat area.

Pfc. Paul Crank

PL on Che; helpful criticism?

Lebanon, New Hampshire

I know you won't publish this letter but thought you would want to know what some folks thought of your paper. We read the **World Revolution** article on Cuba and Che. It was a criticism that was designed to help the people (we thought) understand certain mistakes that could be made in struggles; i.e., Fidel trusting the CP and leading to Che's death.

It's funny that your paper, which we read (second hand) has some good things in it. But a lot of folks here thought it was pretty funny that you said PL was a "Stalinist" outfit. Mao sure is a good person, and red-baiting racism isn't the way to win people over. I guess this is why you folks never got anywhere.



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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

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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.

I'd heard a lot of gossip about the YSA turned people off. I didn't know until now that you folks have to lie to get people to hate PL. PL seems to be growing, slow and sure. Folks near to PL know what is up.

Do you folks have an ideology that can combat the bourgeoisie's ideology? If so, why do you attack ideological criticism? We make mistakes, all of us. But if there is no one to criticize them and analyze them, how will they grow? Do you folks ever make mistakes? One would never know. I guess this is why you can't grow.

Well, keep the "unvarnished" up. It is winning a hell of a lot of people to supporting the student-worker alliance.

E.J.

[We would suggest that anyone who might be inclined to take the above letter seriously read Che's diary and the two articles in the May 1969 issue of **Progressive Labor**, which comment on the Cuban leadership, Che's assassination and his diary.

We will cite here only a few examples of PL's villification of Fidel and Che. Under the title, "Strike a Pose, Companeros: Guevara's Great Adventure," Eric Johnson, presents Che as a man of "intense self-indulgence under the guise of revolutionism."

In Fidel's memorial tribute to

Che delivered to the Cuban people, Fidel said: "This type of struggle gives us the opportunity not only to turn ourselves into revolutionaries, the highest level of the human species, but it also allows us to graduate as men . . ." (emphasis added). This sentence of tribute to the struggle in which Che died is parlayed into an example of "infantile male supremacy" and an assertion that Fidel was saying "that those who organize a revolution are supermen."

Responding to Fidel's mention of the difficulties faced by Che's guerrillas in a hostile jungle environment, Johnson says, "One can find such heroism among the exploits of the early explorers, who faced the angry elements . . . and also had their troubles with their natives. In fact the whole tone of [Che's] diary makes it sound like an extended hunting expedition."

The second article, "Why Che Had to Fail: On 'Super-Revolutionaries,'" by Jim Dann, says of the Cuban leadership: "They and all other right-wingers have rendered yeoman's service to opportunists, while hiding behind false militancy. In fact, by this act they have put themselves in the revisionist camp."

Just comradely criticism to help people learn from some mistakes? We would suggest that E.J. give some further thought to his charges about people lying.

— Editor]

Atlanta election plank changes suggested

Washington, D.C.

In the current issue of **The Militant** stood an article on Mrs. Jenness' mayoralty campaign in Atlanta, giving excerpts from her platform, in particular mentioning the figures \$7,500 and \$25,000 as the maximum tax-free income and the income above which one would keep nothing, respectively.

In our local new-left underground paper, the **Washington Free Press**, stood an article some time ago giving the figures \$3,000 and \$15,000 as the minimum and maximum after-tax incomes respectively for that author's proposed plan.

Do the figures used by Mrs. Jenness represent the settled opinion of the party, or are they trial balloons, subject to downward adjustment? Personally, I feel that \$25,000 is too high a figure.

K. E. N.

Junior high blacks win demands

Providence, R.I.

On Monday, May 16 the black students at Nathan Bishop Junior High organized a Black Student Committee which presented a list of demands to the school's principal, Dr. David H. McCarthy. Upon presenting the demands, the black students made it clear that if the demands were not met they would walk out. The students reiterated their demands, which were as follows:

- 1) Additional black teachers; black personnel in the school office, library and cafeteria.
- 2) New books in all subjects.
- 3) Black history taught in all social studies classes to all students.
- 4) A report on expenditures made from the school budget fund, a fund partially sustained by voluntary student contributions.

In addition to these demands, the students also discussed what they considered to be incompetent and unprofessional conduct on the part of certain teachers. After considerable discussion the school agreed to meet the demands in the following manner:

- 1) Immediate incorporation of black studies into the social studies curriculum.
- 2) The principal will request that the school department pro-

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The closing news date for this issue was June 20.

vide for the services of a black person to assist in the school library.

3) A request will be made for the addition of black personnel to the school staff, including faculty, office and cafeteria work.

4) A review of the 1969-70 textbook requests will be made to determine the "adequacy" of such requests.

5) An accounting of the expenditures made from the school fund will be made available.

I believe that this was a great victory for the black students at Nathan Bishop and for the black liberation struggle.

Ronald L. Marshall

Spontaneism vs. Leninism

New Haven, Conn.

In your June 6 issue you presented "An exchange with 'Danny the Red,'" and stated that the spontaneists equate communism with Stalinism. This seems to me a distortion in view of the fact that Cohn-Bendit's book, **Obsolete Communism: the Left-Wing Alternative**, makes it quite clear that the authoritarian role played by the Bolsheviks in the USSR had its beginning not in the policies of Stalin but in those of Lenin.

D. K.

[It is true that Cohn-Bendit devotes a great deal of space in his book to "proving" that any kind of revolutionary leadership is inevitably counterrevolutionary. In other words, according to him, Leninism equals Stalinism, and leads inexorably to the grotesque caricature of communism which exists in the Soviet Union and other workers' states today. Thus he does equate Stalinism and communism.

However, Cohn-Bendit thinks that Lenin himself was a revolutionary and has to admit that Lenin was a **leader** of the Russian Revolution. How do you get out of the contradiction that Lenin was a revolutionary, but that Leninism is counterrevolutionary? Cohn-Bendit has no recourse but to attempt to show that Lenin himself was really an **anarchist** between the months of April and October 1917 — i.e. that he repudiated the party he had built at the precise time it was leading the Russian proletariat to victory!

Poor Lenin. If he knew he had such "friends" as Cohn-Bendit, he would do the proverbial turn in the grave. — Editor]

Norman Mailer on sincerity

Jackson Heights, N.Y.

On June 10, 1969, Norman Mailer, candidate for the Democratic Party's nomination for mayor, and his running mate for city council president, columnist Jimmy Breslin, took their campaign "to the people". They spoke at a lunch-hour rally in a busy section of midtown Manhattan. A moderate crowd of supporters and the curious attended.

Both candidates began the rally by making short speeches. The speakers expressed contempt for the other candidates in the race and stressed the point that they were the only honest and sincere candidates in the race, the only ones who offered any real alternative.

After the speeches, questions were invited from the audience.

In many cases, Mr. Mailer refused to answer the people's questions, relying on sarcasm to save face. On several occasions, Mr. Mailer attacked working men in the crowd. In an attempt to understand just where Mr. Mailer's "sincerity" began and where it ended, I asked the candidate, "The war in Vietnam is draining billions of dollars away from New York and cities all across the nation; billions which are urgently needed. Therefore, if you are sincerely interested in the welfare of the people of New York, you would demand, as part of your platform, an immediate cessation of hostilities in Vietnam and the withdrawal of all American troops." Mr. Mailer's reply was "Sincere? I'm too old to be sincere!" He then asked me how old I was!

For those who have been deluded by the press into believing that the Mailer-Breslin ticket offers a real alternative, look closer. For those who have thought that the Democratic Party is capable of putting up a radical candidate, think again.

Robert Feirsen

Democratic hack union boss

Chicago, Ill.

I recently received a letter which may be of interest to readers of **The Militant**. It appears below:

"On Thursday, June 5, at 5 p.m., the New York AFL-CIO Council held an emergency meeting, called by Van Arsdale, allegedly to fight the increase in Blue Cross insurance rates. The guys in my local asked me to represent them.

"The whole affair is a classic example of the role of the present-day trade union leadership.

"First, the AFL-CIO has a number of representatives in the Blue Cross board of directors. When the question of raising rates came up for decision, the 'labor representatives' abstained from voting!

"But at the council meeting, they said that they 'voted unanimously' against the motion to increase the rates!

"Second, they presented a resolution and discussion oriented away from fighting the increase, and directed at having a committee meet with state officials to study the problem of using Blue Cross to help control hospital costs (thus, by omission, waiving opposition to the rate increase per se.)

"Third, no sooner did the meeting get underway, than in marched Robert Wagner — for a contrived political ploy with all the functionary hacks rising and applauding while Van Arsdale sat back smugly having demonstrated to the Democratic Party how he can 'mobilize' political support! The whole show was a disgrace."

Naomi Allen

Against U.S.-Japan 'security' pact

Philadelphia, Pa.

I am leaving this country on June 23. I am enclosing a check for a three-year renewal of my subscription, and I hope you will send **The Militant** to my address in Japan.

I hope you will keep your eyes on the movement in Japan against the military pact between U.S. and Japan, now and in 1970 particularly.

H.S.

SMC slates nat'l parley in Cleveland

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the major antiwar youth organization, will hold a national student antiwar conference in Cleveland July 6. The conference, called to map plans for the summer and fall, will follow the general antiwar conference to be held in Cleveland July 4-5, which will be hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC).

Demanding the "Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops from Vietnam Now!" the SMC has called upon all high school and college antiwar activists to come and discuss how to escalate the student antiwar struggle against the "continued escalation of the war by the double-talking Nixon administration."

The CAPAC-hosted conference, the SMC has stated, "is a recongition that all American peace forces must come together to plan out united action that will have real national impact—especially through mass demonstrations this fall. The SMC conference is an opportunity for all antiwar students to gear into the plans of the movement as a whole and to outline a program of action for the summer and fall that will take the student antiwar movement onto a higher level of activity than our successful spring offensive."

Proposed points of discussion at the SMC conference are:

- A possible nationwide student strike against the war tied into the fall action.
- Mass student participation in the fall demonstration.
- War machine off campus: ROTC, war-related research, military recruiting.
- High school rights to organize against the war in the schools.
- The fight for free speech for antiwar GIs.
- Political freedom on campus: no cops, no gag-law injunctions.

In preparation for a rounded discussion on campus antiwar perspectives, the SMC is calling for area reports, position papers, etc. to supplement the SMC's suggested topics.

Registration for the SMC conference begins at 10 a.m., Sunday, July 6. The conference will be held at the Hatch Auditorium, Newton D. Baker Building, Case-Western Reserve University, Cleveland. For further information, write: Cleveland SMC; 13101 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Phone: (216) 761-5574. Or write the national SMC office, 857 Broadway, Room 307, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 675-8465. New Yorkers can obtain transportation by getting in touch with the New York office.

Registration for the national antiwar conference hosted by CAPAC begins at noon on Friday, July 4, at Strosacker Auditorium, Case-Western Reserve University. Observers are welcome to attend. Groups requesting delegate status should write CAPAC, 13101 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Phone: (216) 761-5574 or (216) 249-6834.

A message to SDS activists :

Why revolutionaries belong in YSA

By Charles Bolduc
Nat'l Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

The growing factional struggle within SDS has shown that the notion of a politically all-inclusive, new-left formation is not viable. As new radicals grapple with the major issues of the day, they tend to define their positions more clearly and divide into different and, therefore, competing views. This is a natural fact of political life and a positive development, for political differentiation is the first step to a clear understanding of how this society must be changed.

This political differentiation shows that there is no future for SDS as it presently exists. SDS will remain a warring factional battleground while inevitably losing its character as an organization inclusive of the general youth radicalization. Moreover, in this situation the political positions that SDS adopts will not be clearcut, but hybrid amalgams born of compromise between opposing factions (and there are more in SDS than just the PL and anti-PL factions). Thus SDS' political education will remain limited to the generalities of compromise, even if these generalities be those of a more radical language than in earlier years. SDS will be unable to build and educate a revolutionary cadre around a consistent political program.

What type of organization is needed to organize for a socialist revolution? The YSA believes that this task will require a revolutionary socialist party, whose determining feature is its political program. That is what the party stands for and fights for.

The United States is not yet in a prerevolutionary situation which would enable the socialist vanguard to build a mass organization. But work to build the revolutionary party and educate a conscious socialist cadre in its program must proceed now. As a revolutionary socialist youth organization, in political agreement with the Socialist Workers Party, that is what the YSA is attempting to do. Those who are in agreement with the YSA's political program should join and help in the struggle.

The YSA's political program can be indicated in a few fundamental points, certainly not complete in themselves, but sufficient to define the YSA's basic position and demarcate it from that of the other main socialist tendencies in the world. These points are as follows:

- The YSA supports the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions which are justifiably the main inspirations for the world socialist revolution. Cuba has shown that revolutions in the colonial world are able to achieve national liberation only to the extent that they lead uninterruptedly into a socialist revolution against both foreign imperialism and domestic capitalism. The Vietnamese revolution is showing that a small colonial people, fighting for national liberation, can stand up in years of struggle against the most powerful imperialist power on earth.

- The YSA supports the struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, the rest of Eastern Europe and China. These workers' states have abolished capitalism and should be supported for it, but they are dominated by privileged bureaucratic groupings which must be removed before socialism can become a reality. Socialism means not only the abolition of capitalism, but the full flowering of workers' democracy, the elimination of special privileges for the few, and a society of abundance for all. The YSA condemns the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslo-

vakia, which trampled on that country's right to self-determination and put a temporary halt to the development of political democratization there.

- The YSA holds the perspective of a working-class revolution for socialism in the United States and the other advanced capitalist countries. The mass upsurge in France last May-June shows that his goal is not only theoretically desirable but practically possible. The working class, black and white, will lead the struggle for the American socialist revolution.

The YSA is an internationalist organization first and foremost—its program, an internationalist program.

In the United States there are three central aspects to the YSA's program:

- The YSA supports the antiwar movement, a mass movement of action against the war in Vietnam. YSA calls for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The YSA works in antiwar coalitions on a principled revolutionary basis, uniting with other groups not on the basis of common program, but on the basis of specifically agreed-on joint action.

- The YSA supports the black liberation struggle and the revolutionary nature of black nationalism. Black and brown people, the most exploited section of the American population, suffer a dual class and national oppression. Fighting that dual oppression, they will be the vanguard of the American socialist revolution. The YSA believes that a key development in the next major stage of the black struggle will be the formation of an independent black political party which can fight for the interests of black people independently of, and in opposition to, the ruling class parties and institutions. The YSA defends all black victims of ruling-class repression.

- The YSA supports revolutionary socialist candidates in elections. This is a means of explaining socialist ideas to the majority of the people who still have illusions about the bourgeois electoral system. The working class movement has been repeatedly beheaded through support to the Democratic, Republican and other procapitalist parties. The YSA calls for an independent labor party which can break with the ruling class on the electoral arena and pose the issue of politics on a class basis. It opposes support to any capitalist party or candidate as a matter of Marxist principle.

As a revolutionary organization the YSA participates in all the immediate struggles of the day. For that reason, the YSA is not simply a student organization, but a general organization of revolutionary youth: white, black and third world; student, GI and working class. Most of YSA's activities are presently on high school and college campuses, where the opportunities to participate in and lead mass actions are the greatest and where the most people can be won over to revolutionary ideas.

The YSA's concept of a revolutionary program is that of a transitional program. There should be no artificial separation between the struggle for immediate demands and the struggle for the socialist revolution. The YSA organizes around a series of transitional demands which can be effective in winning immediate struggles while raising mass political consciousness by pointing to the next steps in the fight against capitalism. In all struggles the YSA tries to win people to the ideas of the American socialist revolution and to itself as the organization which, together with the Socialist Workers Party, can lead it.

If you agree with the ideas of the YSA—then join!

Santa Ana Panthers fight fake murder rap

By Bill Lindner

SANTA ANA, Calif., June 12—Three members of the Black Panther Party have been charged with the murder of a policeman in this Orange County city near Los Angeles.

There is no evidence that the Panthers were involved. The charges apparently are part of a nationwide effort to destroy the Panther Party. Santa Ana police chief Edward Allen is quoted as saying, "It is high time those in responsible posts in all three branches of government and throughout our higher educational system return to the rule of reason with respect to law and to lawful authority. . . . No matter how it is sugar-coated with such terminology as civil rights and academic freedom, it all comes out the same thing."

The accused are Michael Lynem, 22, Panther lieutenant of communications and the father of two; Odis Grimes, 21, lieutenant of information; and Arthur League, 20. All three are charged with murder and conspiracy to commit murder.

Lynem has been arrested, arraigned, and denied the right to release under bail. Friends report that he was beaten at the time of his arrest and in jail, and that he is being denied water. Grimes and League have not been found.

Under cover of searching for Grimes and League, the police are conducting a terror campaign in the Santa Ana black community. They have broken into homes and ransacked them, beaten children, and confiscated belongings without warrant or receipt. People have been forced at gunpoint to lie on the floor while their homes were searched.

In response to this situation, a defense meeting was held June 11. It was attended by 250 persons, an unusually large group for Orange County. Friends, relatives, and comrades of the three men related the facts of the case. The meeting formed the Panther Defense Committee to solicit funds for legal defense and national publicity of the case. A fund-raising picnic will be held June 22 at Prentice Park in Santa Ana.

Help is needed in the form of letters and telegrams to Mayor Loren Griset and Police Chief Edward Allen of Santa Ana, letters to the **Santa Ana Register** and the **Los Angeles Times**, publicity about the case in every section of the country, and financial contributions. The Panther Defense Committee address is P. O. Box 2441, El Modeno, California 92667. Phone: (714) 836-8669.

Sacramento cop shoot-out

Cops invaded the Oak Park black ghetto of Sacramento, Calif., June 16 and singled out the Oak Park Black Panther headquarters for gunfire, tear gas and plunder. The wanton destruction of the Panther headquarters was so blatant that, according to the June 18 **New York Times**, "the mayor of Sacramento walked through the bullet-riddled offices of the Black Panther Party today and said that he was 'shocked and horrified' at the evidence of police misconduct."

The police rampage began with an invasion of a city park in the ghetto community; the excuse for the police invasion, said Capt. John Guthrie, according to the **Times**, was that "they've created an unlawful situation where they have just taken over the area." The law officer discretely neglected to mention who "they" are.

Cops claim that 13 of their number were wounded by gunfire, but Charles Brunson, Panther defense minister, asked

the mayor to examine the buildings across the street from the Panther headquarters to prove that the only bullet holes were in the Panther headquarters, from guns fired by the police, while buildings across the street were intact.

The mayor, Richard Marriott and city councilmen had visited the Panther headquarters after attempting to negotiate with angry blacks to cool things down; the mayor and councilmen were told to see for themselves the damage their cops had inflicted.

According to the **Times**, "the mayor was shown bullet holes, broken typewriters and a room full of damaged food. 'It was for our breakfast program,' Mr. Brunson explained to the mayor.

"There was a heavy odor of tear gas in the room at the rear of the Black Panther offices. Mayor Marriott shook his head as his eyes slid across the damaged room. I am shocked and horrified," he said. 'This just cannot continue.'"

At the urging of young militants, the mayor, councilmen and community leaders also visited the city jail to witness the brutality inflicted on some of the 37 Afro-Americans arrested during the cop riot.

SDS and the antiwar movement

By Gus Horowitz

The national convention of SDS is being held just a few weeks prior to the July 4-5 national conference of the antiwar movement to be held in Cleveland. That conference will very likely call another mass demonstration against the war in Vietnam, posing once again to SDS the responsibility and opportunity of getting involved.

For all the internal factionalism in SDS and for all the understandable concern of SDSers to argue out internal differences, the central question facing SDS as a national organization remains that of action against the war in Vietnam. Even the *Guardian*, a generally uncritical supporter, felt compelled to chide SDS in an editorial on June 14: "National SDS's indifference to serious involvement in the antiwar struggle is no longer even cute. At this stage it's reckless . . . SDS is derelict in not recognizing the necessity to contribute heavily toward organizing a mass movement of opposition to the war in Vietnam."

At its last national council meeting, SDS failed even to discuss the antiwar demonstrations scheduled for April 5-6. The present convention faces the same kind of test in the Cleveland antiwar conference. Will SDS participate in it?

The art of revolutionary politics is the ability to recognize the major issues in world and national politics and to act accordingly, both to mobilize masses into action and to raise revolutionary ideas in the process. Those who do not attempt to intervene in these important world events hardly deserve to call themselves revolutionaries.

The most important issue in world politics today is the war in Vietnam, the central confrontation on a world scale between the socialist revolution and the counterrevolutionary power of American imperialism. For revolutionaries in the United States, the oppressor-aggressor country, opposition to the war takes on added urgency, for it is our obligation to do our utmost to defend the Vietnamese revolution. And that means, first of all, in actions, not merely in resolutions.

The mass movement that has developed in the United States against the war in Vietnam is unique in American history. It has grown and intensified in the midst of the shooting war itself, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people in the streets in actions independent of the ruling class. One has only to compare the political situation in the U.S. today with that during the Korean War or the two world wars to see the historic importance of the antiwar struggle.

So powerful has the antiwar movement become that it is now an important factor in limiting the ability of the capitalist class to conduct the war—not an unimportant consideration for those interested in aiding the Vietnamese revolution. Moreover, so long as the antiwar protests continue and grow, they are a vital inspiration for social struggle in this country, affecting large numbers of youth, GIs, workers and oppressed third-world peoples.

There is growing awareness in the radi-



GETTING INVOLVED. Members of United Electrical Workers from Philadelphia marching in the April 5 New York demonstration against the Vietnam war. Labor participation in such actions, while still modest, has been steadily increasing. Antiwar sentiment is strong among rank-and-

file workers and union officialdom is beginning to feel pressure to speak out on the issue. Activity of antiwar movement is helping significantly in furthering this progressive development in the trade union movement.

cal student movement of the necessity of reaching out to the working class, which is the major force for social change. While radicalization within the working class is still in an embryonic stage, there are nevertheless growing opportunities which did not exist before. At this time the war in Vietnam is the issue which is generating the greatest political ferment in the working class, a development that the antiwar movement should do all it can to encourage.

A small, but growing section of the trade-union officialdom has been taking a stand against the war. This reflects the antiwar attitudes of the majority of workers and opens the door to reaching the ranks much more easily, especially young workers who are affected by the general process of radicalization and protest that is developing among the youth of this country. The tremendous sentiment against the war within the Army and in the high schools is another indication of antiwar feeling among young workers. Anyone who is serious about reaching the working class would be derelict in neglecting the central importance of the war.

Another failure of SDS has been its inability to see the importance of the antiwar movement in helping generate the radicalization taking place in the U.S. Most SDSers, in fact, like most other student radicals in the U.S. today, are products of the antiwar movement. This is so because the war has laid bare the real nature of American capitalism and caused many to reject it. But to think that this process is completed, that the antiwar movement no longer radicalizes people, is so shortsighted as to border on the foolish. New layers of people, and ever larger numbers, will continue to radicalize around the issue of the war, which makes it all the more imperative to build the antiwar movement and help facilitate the process.

Carl Davidson, a former SDS leader, makes a cogent point in criticizing SDS on yet another count in relation to the antiwar movement. Writing in the June 7 *Guardian*, Davidson says, "SDS' weakness in this area is based on its inability to understand or practice the politics of a united front . . . SDS has remained on the sidelines of these struggles for fear of co-optation by liberals . . . In part, SDS' noninvolvement in mass antiwar mobilizations has been because of the influence of PLP, which has always fought against any SDS effort to work in principled coalitions with the mobilization committees 'revisionist, Trotskyist and pacifist' leadership."

The antiwar coalitions that exists unite divergent groups for common action, while not committing them to a common political program. This makes it entirely principled to participate in such coalitions along with anyone else who wants to demonstrate

against the war. No group is required to compromise its own political ideas, but only agree to act together at a certain time and place. That is the only realistic way to mobilize masses of people in action against the war, which in itself is a major aim of serious revolutionaries, as sitting on the sidelines is not. Within these broad coalitions and on the mass demonstrations every group is free to raise its own ideas and attempt to convince others.

The Nixon administration is playing for desperately needed time in an effort to crush the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam. Its major fear is the mobilization of mass antiwar sentiment in the U.S., which it must prevent from getting "out of hand." This makes it all the more imperative

for the antiwar movement to escalate its protests, to prevent the ruling class from gaining the time that it so urgently needs.

The Cleveland antiwar conference July 4-5 and the Student Mobilization Committee conference on July 6 will be the scenes of important political decisions by the antiwar movement, most likely calling for the next major mass antiwar demonstrations, which can be larger than any that have been held before.

At its convention SDS has the opportunity once again to get involved on the ground floor. If not, then SDS' inaction on the war will say much more than all the resolutions that the convention may pass, for the only resolutions that count are those which are acted upon.

Revolutionary government formed for South Vietnam

(IP)—On June 10, two days after Nixon announced a token withdrawal of 25,000 of the 540,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, the Vietnamese freedom fighters announced the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The move constituted a serious political blow to the Saigon dictatorship. The new revolutionary regime has appealed to all governments for diplomatic recognition as the only legal government of South Vietnam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government represents a broad coalition opposed to the Thieu-Ky regime. Its major component, of course, is the National Liberation Front, which includes the most courageous opponents of the U.S. aggressors and their puppet supporters.

Of the other components the most important is the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

This formation was set up in February 1968 during the Tet offensive. It has maintained close ties with the National Liberation Front since then.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government was mandated by an All-South Vietnam Congress of People's Representatives which met in a liberated area near Saigon June 6-8.

The congress adopted a "Program of Action" which pledged the Provisional Revolutionary Government "to mobilize the South Vietnam armed forces and people in order to push forward the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to total victory and to successfully accomplish the lofty tasks laid down" by the congress.

The program stated that the new government would enter into negotiations with other political forces in South Vietnam with the aim of "setting up a provisional

coalition government on the principles of equality, democracy and mutual respect. The provisional coalition government will organize general elections in order to elect a constituent assembly, work out a democratic constitution fully reflecting the interests and aspirations of the entire people, and set up a coalition government reflecting national concord and a broad union of all social strata."

Huynh Tan Phat, 56, was name chairman of the provisional government. Three deputy chairmen were named: Dr. Phung Van Cung, who is also minister of the interior; Prof. Nguyen Van Kiet, who is also minister of education and youth; and Nguyen Do. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh was designated minister of foreign affairs and representative of the new regime to the Paris talks. Tran Buu Kiem, who had been heading the Paris delegation, is to be minister to the chairman's office. Tran Nam Trung was named minister of defense.

By June 13, 13 countries had given full recognition to the new government. Algeria, which was the first, was followed by North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Syria, the Congo, Rumania, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

Washington and Saigon were quick to denounce the new regime and to deny any importance to the development. Robert J. McCloskey, speaking for the State Department June 11 called it "the same old wine in a new bottle." Thieu declared it was merely a "propaganda trick of the Hanoi Communists." The *New York Times*, however, commented June 12, "The allied dismissal of the latest move by the other side was not shared by some diplomats friendly to the United States. They saw it as the first step in a program to establish the equality of the new regime with President Thieu's Government."

From a Mexican Prison

The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society

by Jose Revueltas

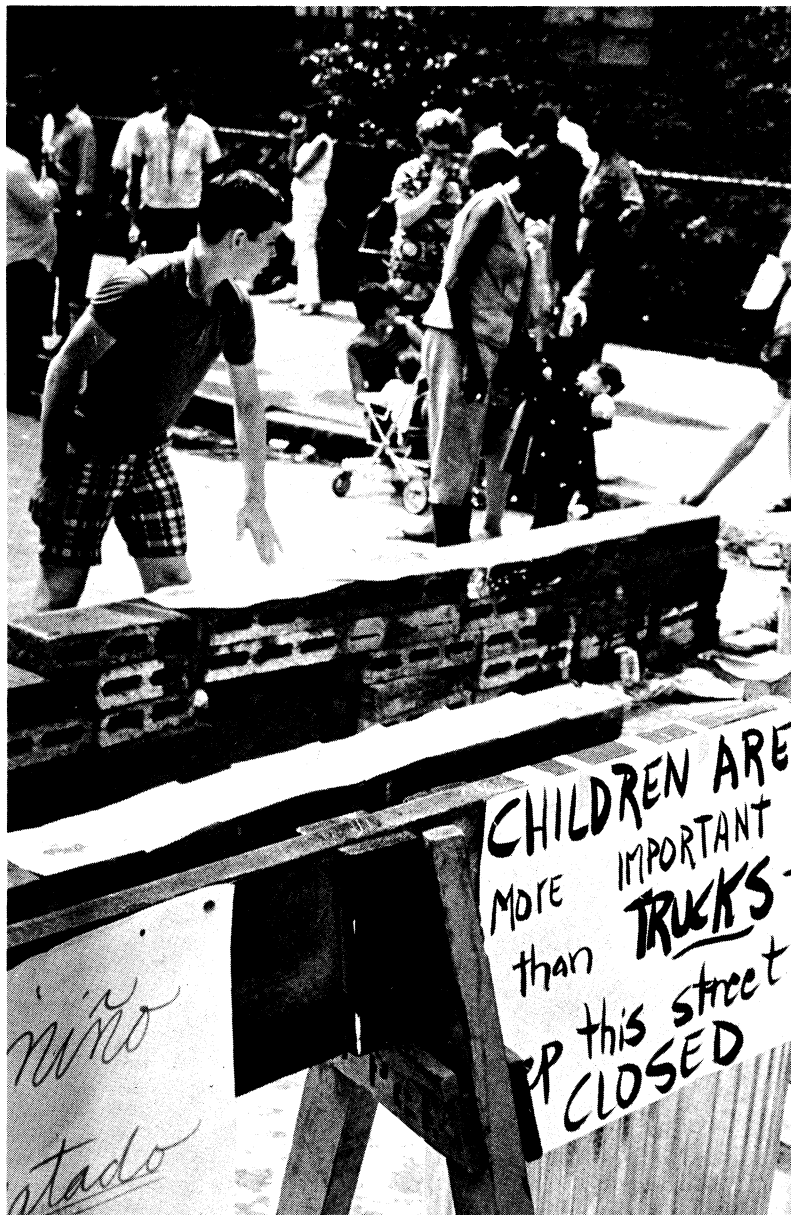
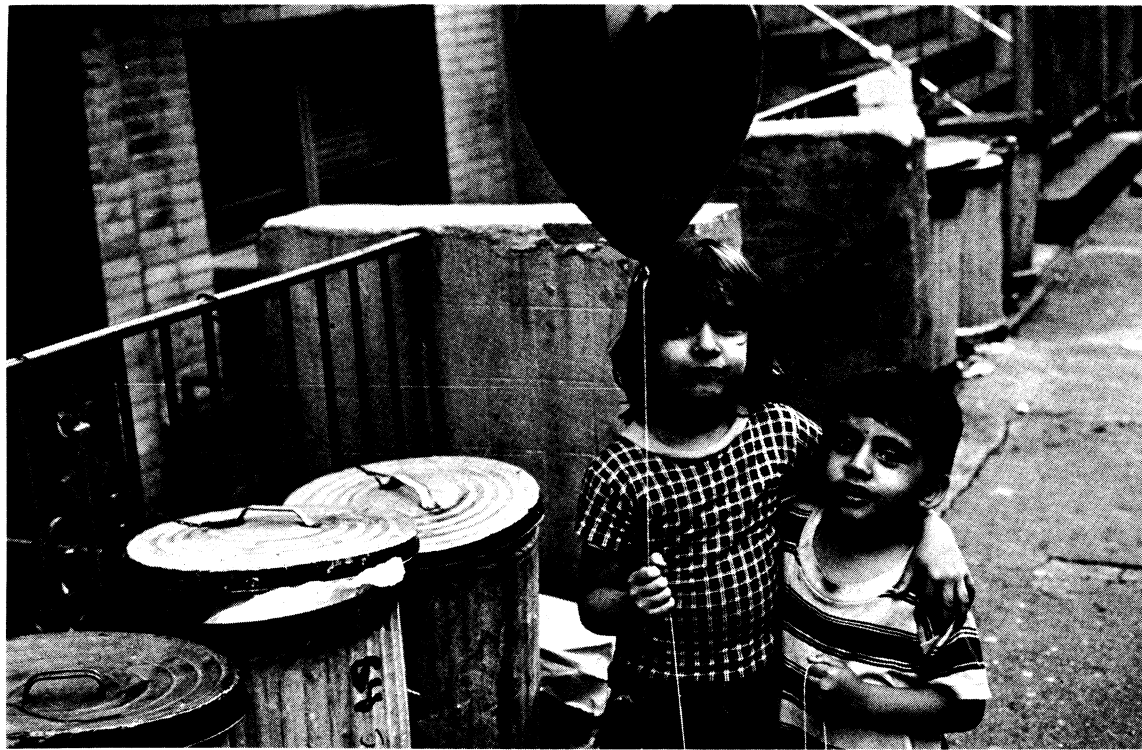
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Jose Revueltas is one of the outstanding writers of Latin America. His novel, *El Luto Humano* ("Human Sorrow"), won a Mexican National Prize for Literature.

In October 1968, at the height of the repressions against the student movement, Revueltas was arrested as a "subversive." This pamphlet, written in prison, represents his interpretation of the student rebellion and its implications for Marxists.

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Photos by Alan Mercer



Community victory: street stays closed

Third World Liberation Notes

Chicanos fight murder frame-up

Recently, 23 suspended students from Lincoln University in Oxford, Pa., issued a news release about their case.

The case arose out of a fire set in the student union building during a campus demonstration. In the aftermath of the demonstration, 23 students were suspended. As a result of the university's inability to uncover evidence that might lead to the arrest of the perpetrators of the fire action, the 23 suspended students have been used as scapegoats.

To make things even worse, the university officials conducted the hearings in kangaroo-court fashion. The hearings were closed to the public and no reporters were allowed. The hearings were conducted by the Student Personnel Service Committee, upon which sat not one single student. The students had one hour to defend themselves against hearsay evidence submitted by two deans. And no cross-examination of the deans was permitted. The students were allowed a counselor for advice, but he was barred from the hearings!

This whole procedure goes up against all the so-called values transmitted by academe, like "democracy," "justice," "fair-play," "objectivity," and other nonsensical terms. But maybe these terms are flung around to camouflage its real nature, which comes forth in cases like that of the 23 students.

Out on the West Coast, the Brown Berets, a revolutionary Chicano organization, has begun to put out a newspaper entitled, **La Causa**. With Brown Beret units across the country, **La Causa** will be distributed nationally. Subscriptions are \$4 per year. Individual copies cost 15 cents. For copies and/or subscriptions, send funds to: **La Causa**, 4715 E. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90022.

One of the articles in **La Causa** refers to an incident on May 1, in the Mission District of San Francisco, in which seven Chicano brothers were accosted and set

upon by two unidentified men claiming they were police. The brothers, all Brown Berets, were attacked while carrying a TV set into the home of Jose Rios, one of the seven. During the attack, one of the plainclothes cops was killed and the other wounded. The only one who had a gun on the scene was the injured cop. Yet, the seven Chicano brothers are being charged with murder and attempted murder. Six of the seven now sit in San Francisco county prison awaiting a death sentence. The seven are: Jose Rios, Mario Martinez, Jose Melendez, Gary Lescallet, Nelson Rodriguez, Tony Martinez, and Gio Lopez.

The brothers were caught during five days of one of the biggest police hunts in Northern California. Immediately after the incident, the seven having fled the scene, 150-200 cops surrounded the area with rifles, tear gas, and dogs. The Rios home was filled with rounds of ammunition and tear gas. A 14-year-old Rios girl inside the house at the time was skinned by a bullet and tear gassed.

At present, the Mission District is heavily patrolled. People are stopped at random. Persons known to be friends of the seven (of the seven) have been visited by the police and FBI agents. Senora Rios has lost her job as a laundry worker in Mary's Help Hospital. The reason given by the hospital is that they do not want their name involved in the case. And the harassment goes on.

Publicity and funds are badly needed. Contributions can be sent to: **Los Siete de la Raza**, c/o Atty. Charles R. Garry, 341 Market St., San Francisco 94105; or, **Comite Para Defender Los Siete de la Raza**, P.O. Box 2217, San Francisco, California 94110.

The African-American Teachers Association on June 17 protested and publicized the June 16 dismissal of seven teachers from the New York City public school system.

The seven, all members of the ATA,

include Clarence Eastmond, Rudolph Clarke, Floyd Sparrow, Leslie Campbell, and Albert Vann of JHS 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and Helen Smith and Paul Anthony of JHS 258 in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

A press statement by the African-American Teachers Association charged: "These teachers are being dismissed as the beginning of a purge of militant Black teachers who have worked hard in behalf of and sacrificed much to the concept of 'Community Control.'"

"The new interim Board of Education has begun to promise Black District Board lucrative money packages if the Community Boards and their present administration will act against the so-called 'Community Control - Extremist.' For the entire year, the UFT, CSA, Board of Education, mayor's office, and other similarly inclined groups, have attempted to secure the dismissals of Black teachers; specifically, Messrs. Anthony, Campbell, and Vann.

"The continued unity and solidarity of the Black community has, so far, protected us from the vultures screaming for our blood. But the power of the dollar is winning. Once again, Black people are betraying Black people for the promise of additional money, programs, and guaranteed positions. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board and Mr. Rhody McCoy have effectively acted as hatchet-men for the power structure and its agents.

"We believe in the principle of Community Control. Should the people of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant no longer desire our services, because of our inability to educate our children, then, we will leave and seek employment elsewhere. However, if we are to be used as pawns in a game to enable a few selfish people to gather crumbs from the master's table, we will not be party to such an unscrupulous plot."

—Derrick Morrison

By Fred Halstead
NEW YORK—The neighbors who live in the public housing projects housing projects which line 26th St. between Ninth and 10th Avenues in Manhattan built a cement block wall across the street June 13 to block the traffic. The reason was explained as follows in a leaflet they distributed:

"On Wednesday, June 11, a child was killed by an automobile on 26th St. between Ninth and 10th Avenues. His name was Julio Diaz. He was a student at P.S. 33 and was on his lunch period when he crossed the street and was hit by a taxi.

"There are several play areas, a school and a nursery on 26th St. between Ninth and 10th Avenues. Many of the parents in this area have had close calls with their children on this street. Twenty years ago, in 1949, parents closed the street with a picket line after several children had been hurt by cars. But after the picket line was over, nothing was done. For the last five years the PTA and other neighborhood groups have again and again appealed to the authorities for action about this street. Nothing was done.

"Now a child has been killed. It could have been any one of ours. It could have been yours. Never again.

"We have built a wall to close the street to traffic. Please come to the corner to help other parents keep the street closed until the city authorities agree to close the street to traffic permanently."

The wall was actually torn down twice by police before the mortar could dry, but was rebuilt by parents immediately. Eleven of the parents were arrested for sitting on the wall to prevent the police from knocking it down. Shortly after this, and as crowds began to gather, city authorities negotiated an agreement with the parents to close the street permanently to through traffic. Then the parents took the wall down and swept up the debris.

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



An unvarnished history (VII)

PL would not get far trying to convince these heroic fighters it is counterrevolutionary to accept Soviet weapons.

PL and the Vietnamese Revolution

By Mary-Alice Waters

As the factional battle between Moscow and Peking continued to intensify, and as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brought increasing political strife within China, a shift occurred in Progressive Labor's attitude toward the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front. Around the beginning of 1967, PL's publications began to strongly criticize the Vietnamese.

The criticism focused on the military and economic assistance to the Vietnamese from the Soviet Union, the "Trojan Horse" aid as PL labeled it. Secondly, the Vietnamese came under increasing fire for refusing to line up with China in the factional attacks on the leadership of the Soviet Union. In PL's view, by remaining publicly non-committed, the Vietnamese had placed themselves on the side of imperialism, had joined the antirevolutionary camp. (PL, May 1969).

Thirdly, as the war progressed and the Vietnamese and U.S. governments decided to open negotiations, PL came to the conclusion that the Vietnamese had definitively adopted a "revisionist" political line.

Soviet aid

One of PL's clearest statements on accepting Soviet aid appeared in the March-April 1968 issue of PL.

"We believe that revolutionaries must agree on this crucial point: under no circumstances should aid be taken from revisionism. We believe that anyone who takes 'aid' from the revisionists will eventually lose their struggle, no matter how heroic the forces involved. We believe this to be a life and death question for the international revolutionary movement."

PL is so wrong on so many points in such a short paragraph that it is hard to know where to even begin! It is absolutely true that Soviet aid is not given for the purpose of promoting revolution, or sustaining revolutionary activity around the globe. On the contrary, the Soviet bureaucracy has one central concern—to maintain itself in power—and that central concern has not changed for more than 40 years.

Yet the Maoists make one of the most fundamental errors possible for a tendency that presents itself as Marxist. They are wrong on the class nature of the Soviet Union, and despite Mao's supposedly bril-

liant contributions to Marxist philosophy, they are totally oblivious to the contradictory aspects of the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Soviet Union was established on the basis of a successful socialist revolution which abolished private ownership of the means of production, instituted a planned economy, established a monopoly over foreign trade, and carried out a whole series of other basic reforms which transformed the class nature of Russia. From a capitalist country, with even a few remnants of feudalism, the Soviet Union was transformed into a workers state—a dictatorship of the proletariat in transition between capitalism and socialism.

Despite the bureaucratic degeneration, this basic class character of the Soviet Union has never been reversed. And the bureaucratic caste that controls the economic, political, cultural and social life of the Soviet Union must defend those basic conquests of the Russian working class if it is to retain its privileged position. If capitalism were restored in the Soviet Union, either by invasion, civil war or some combination of reactionary forces, the current ruling bureaucracy would be among the first to go. Thus, when forced to do so, the bureaucratic caste will defend the revolution as they did when Russia was invaded by Hitler's armies and as they did during the post-World War II period, when the Soviet Union was threatened by the victorious capitalist "allies." The Soviet-oriented Communist parties, supported by the Red Army, even took power and abolished capitalism in Eastern Europe, establishing a whole new series of workers states.

In other words, Soviet policies reflect the antagonistic class forces underlying the world revolutionary process. The Soviet bureaucracy must preserve the foundations of the workers state, and no matter how reluctantly, even extend the revolution when those foundations are threatened. But the basic interest of the bureaucracy is to maintain the status quo both nationally and internationally. Because such peaceful coexistence with imperialism is historically impossible, given the inherent needs of the capitalist system to expand, the world revolutionary process cannot be suppressed, and the Kremlin bureaucrats are sometimes forced to aid that process.

Why is this important? Any political tendency that fails to understand these contradictory aspects of the policies of the Soviet Union will make fundamental errors in political judgment, as does PL when it claims that the Soviet Union is now a capitalist, imperialist country. Somehow, overnight, without any struggle, the economic foundations of the Soviet Union were overthrown. As Paul Sweezy and the late Leo Huberman once observed, the Maoists correctly score as un-Marxist the Khrushchevist notion of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. Yet at the same time they speak of peaceful evolution back to capitalism in the USSR. Such a position has nothing in common with Marxism.

To take a position that it is unprincipled

for the Vietnamese to accept aid from the "capitalist" Soviet Union only hurts the world revolution. The Vietnamese are fighting the mightiest military colossus the world has ever seen and they need every bit of help they can get. Rather, the Soviet Union—and China—must be condemned for giving so little aid! Even together they give less than a quarter of the aid the U.S. supplies to the dictatorship of Saigon. If someday that limited but far from insignificant aid is withdrawn and the Vietnamese have to struggle without it, it is tendencies like PL which will bear much of the blame. The failure of the Maoists to follow policies designed to force the Soviet bureaucrats into extending unconditional and maximum aid to the Vietnamese is a historic crime of the first magnitude.

One final word on the aid question. Even if the Soviet Union were capitalist, the Vietnamese would be totally justified in accepting whatever aid they needed. It might not be a wise tactical decision, if there were some alternate source of needed supplies, but it would certainly not be counterrevolutionary. It was Lenin himself who stated he would accept the aid of the devil if necessary to further the revolution.

United front

The Maoists' policy of refusing to help build a united-front defense of the Vietnamese revolution here in the U.S. has been repeated on a world scale with even more serious consequences.

The Maoists state categorically, "there can be no unity in action with revisionists." But what the Vietnamese need more than anything else is precisely this unity in action by the world working class against every form of overt or covert support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Maoists' line, far from exposing the inaction of the Communist parties around the world, simply lets them off the hook, giving them one further excuse to do nothing.

If the Maoists' policy were a revolutionary one, it would begin from the need for unity of action, and develop a strategy to force the Moscow-orientated Communist parties into joint activities. But the Maoists' policy does not reflect a revolutionary line. It is based on the needs of the Peking bureaucracy in its factional struggle with Moscow. This, more than anything else, underlies PL's unbridled attacks on the Vietnamese for remaining publicly non-committed in the Sino-Soviet dispute. As was the case with PL's attitude toward Cuba, PL is far more concerned with this interbureaucratic battle than with the objective needs of the world revolution.

Negotiations

PL's position on negotiations between the United States and the Vietnamese is summed up in the statement, "Though People's War has beaten the U.S. military machine in Vietnam, the negotiations process is turning this victory into a defeat for the revolutionary forces in Vietnam and in the world." (PL, June 1968). More succinctly, this was spelled out in the statement that negotiations is a "revisionist political line." (PL, May 1969).

First of all, to state that the Vietnamese have already militarily defeated the U.S.

is rather unreal. They have dealt almost unbelievably stunning blows to the imperialist colossus, but the continuing presence of half-a-million U.S. troops testifies to the reality that the struggle continues.

If power resided solely in the barrel of a gun, as the Maoists are fond of suggesting, the Vietnamese would have been defeated already by the unequalled U.S. arsenal, including its atomic arsenal. The very significance of the revolutionary gains in Vietnam is the political fact that it has been able to strike such blows despite the enemy's military superiority, proving once again the Marxist thesis that social forces are more powerful than any weapon.

It has been the power of the Vietnamese social revolution, coupled with the power of the U.S. antiwar movement and buttressed by world revolution, that has proved mightier than the most powerful military force history has ever known.

This reality is not only a matter of inspiration—itself important for the many independence movements, which have seen that a small people can resist imperialism; it is decisive in developing a political strategy that can effectively aid the Vietnamese revolution.

Secondly, are negotiations with an imperialist enemy in and of themselves "counterrevolutionary," as PL implies? If so, the logical conclusion would be that the Bolsheviks were also counterrevolutionary when they negotiated the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Is it inconceivable that revolutionaries sometimes have to compromise, even retreat? Only a fool would say so.

If you admit that it is permissible in principle to negotiate, is it true that the Vietnamese will turn a victory into defeat by negotiating? It is not out of the question that they may give away more than necessary. But PL does not offer one shred of evidence to back up this contention. PL is inevitably reduced to the simplistic and false categorical statement that negotiations can only aid the imperialists, therefore negotiations equal betrayal.

The Vietnamese have decided, for whatever reasons, to negotiate. What the outcome of those negotiations will be is as yet undetermined. But that in no way changes the responsibilities of revolutionaries within the United States to continue the fight for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, the responsibility to continue to build the broadest and largest mass actions possible to fight, not for negotiations, not for a coalition government, or anything else the Vietnamese may propose in the course of negotiations, but for the withdrawal of troops.

Far from building the April 5-6 mass demonstrations for withdrawal of troops, PL refused to even participate on the day of the demonstration itself. Their refusal to act in defense of the Vietnamese revolution makes very clear that despite some revolutionary sounding verbiage, PL stands guilty of sabotaging the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

(This serial history of the Progressive Labor Party is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will be in the issue dated July 11.)

**Writings of
Leon Trotsky
(1939-1940)**

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Bourgeois democracy and the struggle for socialism

By Elizabeth Barnes

In *The Militant* last week, we argued against the idea that there is any imminent danger of a fascist takeover in this country. We tried to show that the present form of capitalist rule in this country, despite its undemocratic and repressive nature, has some very important characteristics which differentiate it from fascism, characteristics which the movement must take into consideration if we are to effectively fight capitalism in all its forms.

The system under which we now live in this country is capitalist, or bourgeois democracy. The differences between bourgeois democracy and fascism are great, and while the seeds of fascism are spawned under bourgeois democracy, the transition from the one to the other is not quick or easy.

Fascism, as we indicated last week, is the most barbaric form of capitalist rule. Under fascism all freedoms are wiped out. All organizations through which the masses of people might resist oppression are destroyed, including the labor unions, minority organizations, dissident political parties and, often even, social and religious groups. Oppression is total.

Bourgeois democracy, on the other hand, permits and concedes certain rights to the masses. Some are real. Others are a fraud. The Bill of Rights, a part of the Constitution won by popular insistence, formally assures freedom of speech, press and assembly. The rights to organize unions, to strike, to organize political parties and minority movements are formally guaranteed, and to the extent that masses of people insist on exercising their rights, they can assume a very real content, both in terms of improving conditions in an immediate sense and in terms of working for fundamental change.

To note these positive features of bourgeois democracy, as opposed to fascism, does not in any way constitute a testimonial to bourgeois democracy or suggest that it is a "lesser evil" that we should learn to live with. The very contrary is true.

What is decisive about bourgeois democracy is not its democratic aspect, but its bourgeois aspect. Regardless of its form of rule, capitalism today is a reactionary and socially bankrupt system that threatens the very future of mankind. It must be abolished if there is to be meaningful social progress. A correct understanding of the nature of bourgeois democracy, as opposed to fascism or other forms of capitalist rule, is important precisely in order to facilitate the struggle against capitalism.

Under bourgeois democracy, capitalism has committed unspeakable crimes. At home we see the oppression of black people and other minority peoples, the trampling on human dignity, the oppression of workers, hypocrisy and the drive toward stultifying conformity.

Abroad, we see a government that speaks in sickening terms of leading the "free world" raining bombs and napalm on the people of Vietnam and making common cause with the worst dictators.

And there is today, clearly a significant erosion of democratic rights. When an attorney general can claim the legal right to tap the phone of anyone he deems a threat to "national security," we have a token of the extent of that erosion.

But, the big decisive fact about what is happening in this country today is not

only that there is a move to the right among the capitalist rulers. There is at the same time, a move to the left among the people. And that's what's decisive.

A change is taking place in the consciousness of the American people that has been unmatched since the 1930s, and in some ways it goes even deeper.

Today, increasing numbers of people—mostly but by no means all young—are beginning to see the fraudulent and undemocratic nature of bourgeois democracy. They are beginning to see that even the least repressive form of capitalist rule cannot be genuinely democratic because its very nature is determined by its role as defender of an oppressive, basically irrational and morally worthless system.

Think of all the young people who, just a few years ago, really believed the Vietnam war was the result of a mistaken policy and who now understand that it's nothing but conscious imperialist aggression. Think of all the black youth who just a few years ago looked to Martin Luther King's doctrine of nonviolence, and compare this with the ghetto explosions. Think of the thousands and thousands of young people who not only are not concerned about making it under this system but have come realize that doing so is just about the worst thing that could happen to them.

From that viewpoint alone, it's important not to confuse bourgeois democracy or the policies being carried out by bourgeois liberals with fascism. Just at the time significant numbers of people are beginning to realize there's something basically wrong with bourgeois democracy, it doesn't help to muddy the issue. Such confusion can lead to damaging results. If people begin identifying all oppressive acts with "fascism," it takes the heat off the liberal capitalist politicians and even opens the door for people supporting them as "lesser evils."

The lesson that socialists must hammer home is that brutality, oppression and injustice are inherent in capitalism and every serious attempt to win a better life under this system will meet with them. That's why capitalism must be abolished and why a clear socialist alternative to it must be developed.

The other important thing is that if we have a clear, sober understanding of bourgeois democracy and its basically rigged character, we are in a position to utilize more effectively those rights to which we are legally entitled under the system. Those who have illusions about the system, for example, will have faith in bourgeois courts, or "progressive" capitalist politicians, to assure their rights. Marxists, who understand the nature of the system, know the only way to assure your rights is by mobilizing significant forces to fight for them. That's why so many gains under bourgeois democracy are often won by radicals who are out to change the entire system.

Furthermore, it is important to realize that under bourgeois democracy, in addition to sheer force, the capitalists use other, equally lethal weapons. They will use their control of the mass propaganda media to falsify the true aims and activities of the movement.

President Nixon, for example, will do his utmost to convince the people that the rebel students, or black or brown people, are a "minority" trying to force their will on the majority without concern for the democratic process. He talks this way because he knows the American people regard democracy as something that benefits them. He doesn't just go in and repress the students or black radicals. First he tries to isolate them from the people by building up the lie that they're the enemies of democracy and justice.

Another important fact to keep clear about in fighting repression is that even though sometimes it may look that way, the ruling class really isn't all-powerful. And one of the reasons they're not is because the democracy to which they are publicly committed, and which the masses genuinely favor, can often be used against them with terrific effect.



NEW YORK ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS. The Vietnam war and the black liberation struggle have proven an explosive radicalizing combination.

There have been many cases where the rulers have carried through repressions. But there have also been a lot of others where they started out to carry through a repression, and have then been forced to back off. The case of the Presidio 27 is an example.

What happened there couldn't have happened a few years ago. Just the fact that a group of GIs staged a demonstration in that stockade was itself a sign of the times.

The speed and ruthlessness with which the Army moved against these GIs made clear that they had decided as a matter of policy that they were going to make an example of these men. And the first 20-year sentences underlined the fact.

But what happened? In a county where mass anti-Vietnam-war sentiment is spilling over into generalized antimilitary sentiment, there was a big public outcry against this travesty of democracy. Publicity, mass demonstrations, helped expose what was going on. The brass realized that instead of silencing people, the Presidio case was arousing them, inside and outside the Army. Instead of dampening the radicalism, it was adding to it. They decided to back down, and they reduced the heavy sentences on the first men and gave light ones to the rest.

Or consider the case of the Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The brass set out to put those militant GIs away for a long time. They wound up dropping charges against every last one of them in order to stop the public outcry and the growing dissidence within the Army. Until the present, such things were unheard of in the United States Army.

It didn't just happen either. GIs United was organized by courageous militants, black and white. And equally important, it had among its leaders some Marxist GIs who had a theoretical understanding of the class nature of the Army. It can be said that it was precisely because they had no illusions about the nature of bourgeois democracy that they were able to utilize it so effectively.

They knew there would be a crackdown when they began to exercise their right of free speech to oppose the war and to support self-determination for third-world people.

But they also understood that the brass is not all-powerful and that in the present political climate, if they organized a clear-cut struggle to defend their constitutional rights as citizens they could get a lot of people, inside and outside the Army, to support them. With a broad, united defense organized behind them, their approach proved correct, and the brass was forced into a really humiliating retreat.

Capitalism has derived many benefits

from the swindle inherent in bourgeois democracy. But it has also paid a certain significant price too. Over the years, belief in democratic procedures has become so deeply ingrained in the American people that huge struggles can erupt over such rights. This is part of what's happening today. And because capitalism is in a period of historical decline, in which its growing contradictions compel it to grant ever fewer concessions, these struggles over democratic rights tend to extend beyond themselves to challenge the very bases of the system.

Nothing is more simply democratic than the demand of black and other third-world people for control of their own institutions. To say that people have the inalienable right to determine their own destiny is as American as apple pie. But when black people act upon it and concretize it by demanding black control of black schools and black control of all other institutions in the black community, it has an explosive revolutionary content.

Such seemingly simple demands, history shows, are in fact the stuff of which revolutions are made. Throughout the history of capitalism, mass struggles have been fought to win and extend the rights of the people, and they have had enormous social consequences. Just consider that the present stage of the black liberation struggle, with all its deep revolutionary significance, began back in 1960, when some courageous black students in the South decided they were ready to go to jail for the right to drink a cup of coffee at a lunch counter of their choosing.

But again, the problem is a dual one. People of differing political beliefs must unite to utilize every opening provided by bourgeois democracy to defend and extend their rights. But equally crucial, they must learn to understand the fact that the struggle for such rights must be inseparably linked to the struggle to abolish this reactionary society and build a new social order. We don't have fascism today. But, if we don't get them, they'll eventually get us. And the only way we'll get them is by building a mass revolutionary socialist party capable of leading the movement for the abolition of capitalism.

**Fascism: What It Is
How to Fight It**

By Leon Trotsky

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Justice Department claims wiretap right

By Robert Langston

"For the first time in American history, a member of the President's Cabinet has publicly—and proudly—stated that he has, in open violation of his oath of office, taken the law into his own hands." This was the comment of the attorneys for the Chicago 8 on a Justice Department memorandum submitted to a Chicago federal court June 13, in which Attorney General John N. Mitchell sought to justify the use of illegal electronic snooping against opponents of the Vietnam war and militant black leaders.

According to the Justice Department brief, law enforcement officials have a right to eavesdrop on anyone the President—or, one may suppose, J. Edgar Hoover or any red-hunting gumshoe—de-

in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

Rather, the brief argues that "... any President who takes seriously his oath to 'preserve protect and defend the Constitution' will no doubt determine that it is not 'unreasonable' to utilize electronic surveillance to gather intelligence information. . ."

The argument is the ancient favorite of defenders of injustice and oppression throughout the ages whenever a "hal-lowed institution" happens to conflict with the immediate needs of power: Undermine a democratic institution in the name of defending it. To "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," the President has a duty to trample on it.

The Attorney General said in an affidavit attached to the brief that private conversations of Jerry Rubin, Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden and Bobby Seale had been picked up and recorded without any kind of court authorization. The Justice Department filed the memorandum to support its request that the wiretap recordings be admitted as evidence in the forthcoming frame-up trial of eight organizers of last summer's demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic national convention. The trial of the eight is now scheduled to take place sometime this fall.

The Mitchell brief came just a week after FBI agents testified in a Houston court hearing on Muhammad Ali's appeal of his conviction for draft refusal that they had tapped Martin Luther King's (a threat to "national security"?) telephone and bugged Elijah Muhammad's telephone and house—after then-President Johnson announced he had ordered the suspension of all federal wiretapping not specifically authorized by the Attorney General in "national security" cases.

Attorneys for the Chicago 8 called Mitchell's memorandum "one of the most shocking, lawless statements ever made by the highest law enforcement officer in the nation." They are demanding that Mitchell "resign his high office at once and, should he fail to do so, we call upon the House of Representatives to fulfill its duty under the Constitution and institute immediate impeachment proceedings against him."

William Kunstler, one of the lawyers for the eight, said he would move for dismissal of the charges against the defendants on the basis of Mitchell's statement.



Martin Luther King. A threat to national security?

cides may be involved in activities inimical to "national security"—without bothering about the formality of obtaining a warrant or submitting to a court hearing of any sort. The memorandum claims specifically that under the 1968 Crime Control Act, in "national security" cases, the use of electronic surveillance is exempt from the procedures required in other cases.

The memorandum does not explain how either the Crime Control Act or Attorney General Mitchell's interpretation of it can be squared with the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that "the right of the people to be secure

Radicals win elections at Cal State, Hayward

By Gerald Clark

HAYWARD, Calif.—Cal State College, Hayward, has joined in the growing list of colleges that have gone left in their choice of student government representatives.

The student body elected a slate of third-world and white progressive students to be their next student government last month. Among the 12 positions available, nine were won by the Coalition slate, including all five of the executive positions.

Of the nine Coalition candidates elected, two were YSAers: Caryl Towner won the vice-presidency and Marc Rich took over the duties of secretary. (I think it is significant that we were able to overcome the tradition of having a male V.P. and a female secretary.)

Another significant Coalition accomplishment was the election of the chairman of the Black Student Union as president. This was done despite the fact that third-world people make up less than 10 percent of the student body, and even though three white students ran against him. He outpolled his nearest rival by over 150 votes in an upset vote.

The Coalition, which was formed about a year ago but never really got off the ground, includes all third-world groups plus SDS and YSA. The other Coalition candidates came from the Mexican-American Student Confederation, of which three got elected. All told, three members of BSU, two members of YSA, three members

of MASC, and one white independent were elected on the Coalition slate.

The campaign and election was, for the YSA, very significant, because it solidified our relations with third-world students to a much greater extent than ever before, and it helped raise the level (which is quite low) of political consciousness of the general student body. Because of our extensive campaigning (we spoke in classes) we were able to motivate enough students to vote to make it the largest election turnout in Cal State's history.

Bostonians form Puerto Rican 96 support group

BOSTON—A "Puerto Rican 96 Support Committee" has been formed here to help the 96 Puerto Rican draft resisters currently facing trial in Puerto Rico. The committee was established at a meeting sponsored by CEPA, a Puerto Rican student group fighting for that nation's freedom from U.S. rule.

Help is urgently needed. Further details can be gotten from Puerto Rican 96 Support Committee, c/o CEPA, Box 349, Boston University Station, Boston 92115.

Opposition material spread clandestinely by Czechs

Opposition to the stifling of democratic procedures in Czechoslovakia is being manifested in the clandestine circulation of speeches and a massive letter writing campaign.

On June 12 **Rude Pravo**, organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, reported that the text of a speech by Frantisek Kriegel was being circulated and discussed at workers' meetings in Kladno and Ostrava. Kriegel, a leading figure in the Dubcek period, had been a Communist Party central committee member. He was expelled from the party at the central committee meeting of May 29-30, accused of having voted against the Soviet-Czechoslovak accords on the stationing of Soviet troops in the country. His speech in his defense, condemning the invasion and the antidemocratic measures of the present Communist Party leadership, is one of those that is being circulated and discussed.

According to **Rude Pravo** a delegation from the Ostrava union of foundry workers attended the meeting in Kladno and then later saw Kriegel.

A Czechoslovak radio broadcast, taking note of the distribution of Kriegel's speech, condemned its circulation as illegal. "If today rightist forces spread illegally the antiparty and antistate speech of Dr. F. Kriegel and want to attack the interests

of our state on such a platform, they must be aware that they are in contradiction with the Constitution and laws of this country."

On June 16 **Rude Pravo** took note of a large volume of anonymous mail which it claimed was "full of antisocialist poison and anger," predicting a return to the worst features of Stalinist rule in Czechoslovakia. Many of the letters, according to the **New York Times** of June 17, reproduce opposition speeches by Communists which are not printed in the censored press. According to correspondent Paul Hofman, "It is hard to determine how widely this semi-clandestine literature is being circulated, but longtime residents with a large circle of acquaintances affirm that it is reaching the majority of the active population, especially young people."

"To speak of the underground press at this stage would be an exaggeration. Most of the opposition material in circulation is typewritten with many carbon copies on onion-skin paper, some mimeographed. Very little is printed."

According to Hofman, "Trustworthy informants report that the political letters are being openly read and discussed by groups of workers in factory canteens during lunch or beer breaks."

Historic peak reached by prime interest rates

By Ed Smith

On June 9 prime interest rates reached the historic peak of 8.5 percent. The full-point increase from 7.5 percent marked the sharpest jump in prime rates since 1945.

The prime interest rate is the one at which banks lend funds to major corporations—their best customers. All other commercial interest rates tend to pyramid upwards from the prime rate.

Never have U.S. interest rates been so high (the previous peak was in 1929) and never has there been such unanimity among businessmen, bankers and the government that what they need right now is an end to the spiraling inflation.

But high interest rates drive prices up. Higher prices mean further inflation and further inflation is just what the capitalists say they do not want.

The underlying logic of this paradoxical conjuncture must be traced to the frequent differences between the needs of the capitalist class as a whole and the needs of its individual sectors or members.

There is general agreement in the U.S. ruling class that the present rate of inflation is too high. The high price of U.S. goods has resulted in a surge of imports of lower-priced foreign goods into the U.S. market and a loss of foreign markets to U.S. goods.

This worsening of U.S. trade relations makes all the more serious the recurrent balance-of-payments deficits incurred by the United States and exacerbates international monetary tensions which have already provoked a series of world crises.

While agreeing that the rate of inflation is too high, however, U.S. imperialism insists on pursuing a course which intensifies its dollar difficulties—its aggression in Vietnam and the billions in military expenditures which ignite the inflationary fire in the first place.

The Nixon administration and the Federal Reserve Board are following a policy of restricting the money supply. This limits the amount of money banks can lend businesses and consequently drives up the cost of business investment.

As interest rates are increased, it is hoped that it eventually will become too expensive for certain corporations to continue production at current levels. They will be forced to curtail production, and lay off workers, and this will work its way back through the economy, eventually precipitating an economic slowdown.

But this is precisely where the needs of individual corporations have—so far—largely been running counter to the financial policies of the government.

In actual fact, many corporations have been expanding their investment plans, not cutting them back. This increased demand for funds when there is already a shortage has accelerated the increase of interest rates and threatens to bring on a "credit crunch."

The situation reflects the anarchistic character of capitalism. While the over-all long-range interest of the capitalist class call for restraint, many individual capitalists and groups of capitalists see a quick profit in current expansion moves as well as opportunities to strengthen their particular immediate competitive position. So they simply act on the bases of their particular interests.

The dizzying upward spiral of interest rates is a consequence of these contradictory tendencies. How soon and how deep its toll on industrial production will be is hard to predict. **Business Week**, which correctly predicted last March 22 that the prime rate of 7.5 percent would not slow business loans down, stated in the same issue:

"If business and consumers keep on borrowing as they have been, still more restraint—monetary and perhaps fiscal as well—will be needed. Then the financial markets could wind up in trouble, with the economy pushed into a tailspin."

Antiwar action set in New Rochelle

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y.—Residents of the community will sponsor a demonstration against the Vietnam war here on Sunday, June 29 on the steps of the City Hall. There will be a reading of the complete list of U.S. war dead. Mitchell Hammer will be the reader.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM. Speaker: Robert Langston, Sat., June 28, 2 & 8 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Two classes in Boston Socialist Summer School series.

LOS ANGELES

Premier showing: CHE IN BOLIVIA (not starring Omar Sharif). And a lecture on CHE: THE MAN AND THE MYTH. Speaker, Peter Seidman, L.A. organizer and Nat'l Committee member, YSA. Fri., June 27, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

POLITICAL BATTLE INSIDE SDS—A report from the convention by a Young Socialist leader. Fri., June 27, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (near 18th St.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Medical care in embattled N. Vietnam

By Joel Aber

Those who argue against socialization of the economy point to medicine as a field that would especially suffer with the elimination of material incentives to produce. From the time of Hippocrates to the era of artificial organs, the private practitioner has held a sanctified position in society. And the physician's privilege of extracting from the ill hundreds of dollars for each "consultation" or deft maneuver of a knife is supposedly essential to the very progress of science. Even the mildest forms of state planning—"socialized" medicine and Medicare—are viewed by some as grave threats to medical science.

The myth that scientific achievement is stifled in the workers states received a shattering blow in 1957 when, only 40 years after eliminating feudal conditions, the Soviet Union launched man's first earth satellite. But the myth has persisted in the field of medicine; after all, medicine is not only a science, but an "art."

Those who see merit in this argument will find much food for thought in the observations on medical science in North Vietnam made by a recent visitor there, Dr. Henrik Beer, secretary general of the International League of Red Cross Societies.

If there is any place in the world that harsh physical conditions might impede the development of medicine or any other highly technical field, that place is North Vietnam—a country in the underdeveloped world that faces almost total blockade and has seen more bombs rained on its territory daily for two-and-half years than were dropped on Italy and Germany during World War II.

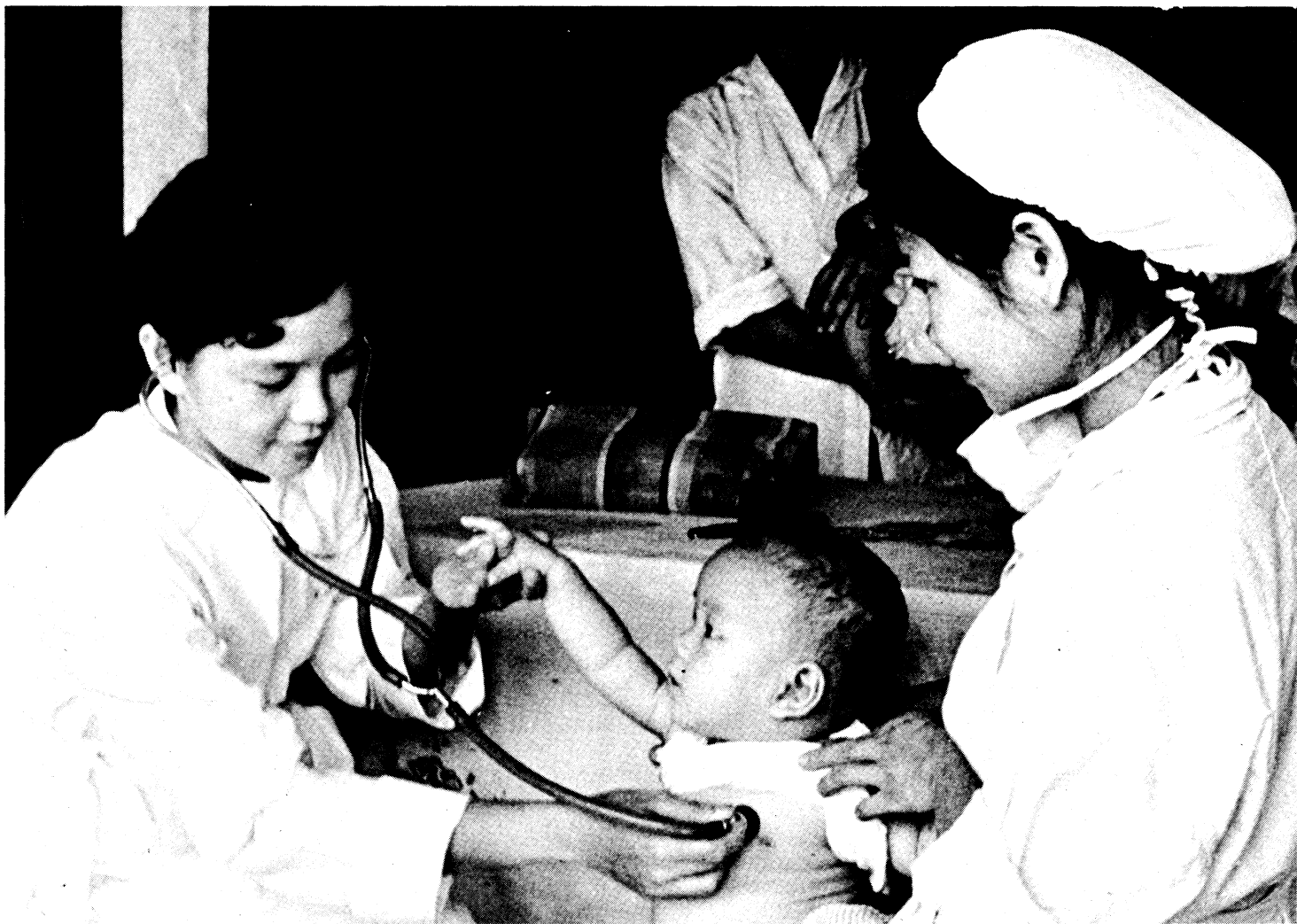
Even such things as surgical instruments, which we take for granted, are not easy for North Vietnam to obtain, to say nothing of the sophisticated and expensive medical hardware used in any modern U.S. hospital: heart-lung machines, electron microscopes, electrocardiographs, etc. And during the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, the limited hospital facilities were frequent targets, some of which were bombed and rebuilt many, many times.

And, of course, the "individual incentives" of capitalism do not exist in North Vietnam.

Dr. Beer told a *New York Times* reporter on June 7 that the strongest impression he brought back from Hanoi "was of the efficiency and 'make-do' capacity of doctors and social workers there . . . making it possible to improve citizens' health despite wartime shortages." Dr. Beer's finding stands in sharp contrast to the abominable state of health and medical science in the rest of Southeast Asia.

Dr. Beer reported that, despite all the difficulties, the North Vietnamese are producing their own Sabin-type polio vaccine, as well as their own vaccines against smallpox, tuberculosis, cholera, typhus, diphtheria and tetanus, with which they plan to immunize the entire population. Their polio vaccination program has been so successful that there wasn't a single new case reported last year!

Dr. Beer reported that the North Viet-



Despite barbaric U. S. assault, N. Vietnamese medical care continues to advance.

namese have managed to produce enough food to "maintain rationing at the same level as at the start of the war."

To get the highest food production out of the crowded Asian soil without readily available chemical fertilizer, Asians use human waste as fertilizer; in North Vietnam a simple method for producing a completely germ-free powder from human waste for use as fertilizer has been developed. Dr. Beer concludes that this technique would be of great value to other Asian countries. As a result of this technique, he said, it is safe to eat foods without the cooking and purification that would

otherwise be necessary.

The dried milk normally requested of the Red Cross by underdeveloped countries is not needed in North Vietnam, Dr. Beer said, because the Vietnamese have produced a substitute from soybeans which has the same nutritional value as milk.

One request made of the International Red Cross by the Vietnamese was for thousands of first-aid kits, since the government plans to train at least one member of every family in first aid and supply him with a kit.

From Dr. Beer's report, it is quite ap-

parent that North Vietnam has been successful in uniting and mobilizing the people for a war on disease and hunger—an achievement not possible in wealthy, advanced "free-enterprise" America, where hundreds of thousands of children in the rural South are infected with worms and thousands of coal miners in Appalachia die from black lung.

The current medical progress in North Vietnam is a striking testimonial to what can be accomplished in a state that has eliminated capitalist production and profit—even under the harshest imaginable conditions.

A continuing plunder

Calif. Indians fight new land grab

By Rick Feinberg and Roger Filene

Plans by the state and federal governments to construct a series of dams in the mountain valleys of Northern California are threatening to flood many of the area's Indians out of their homes and drive them from what little land has not already been stolen from them by the white man.

The first of these projects, for which preparations have already begun, will be located at Dos Rios in Mendocino County and if completed will totally inundate the Round Valley Indian Reservation, forcing evacuation of the 350 Native American residents. This, however, is but the latest in a series of injustices which these people have had to suffer, dating back to the 1850s when the United States Army rounded up 2,000 Indians from throughout the surrounding area and herded them into the valley in order to make room for prospectors and settlers during the famous California Gold Rush.

In 1858 part of the valley was made into an Indian Reservation by President Buchanan, but this did not prevent white squatters from settling there illegally. Congress then authorized the allocation of funds with which to buy out these trespassers, and the settlers gladly accepted the money but still refused to leave.

They took advantage of a California law permitting whites to indenture Indians, and as a result many Native Americans lost their lives. In 1861 the settlers conjured up the "Mendocino Indian War" which even the government recognized and condemned as nothing more than an excuse to kill Indians, but nothing was done to stop it. Incidents like the ambush of a group of Indians and murder of 22 of them by a band of whites in August 1862 became a common occurrence.

In 1870 President Grant declared the entire valley and surrounding hills to be the Round Valley Indian Reservation, and the government made a couple of half-hearted attempts to remove the settlers by force, but nothing ever came of this. Then, in 1873 Congress officially opened up the southern two-thirds of the valley to settlement.

In 1887 the Dawes Act was passed, permitting allocation of reservation land to individual Indian families and "surplus" land to white settlement. This constant encroachment on the Indians' territory has resulted in the reduction of tribal land in Round Valley from over 102,000 acres in the 1870s to 12,000 acres today, plus about 7,000 acres owned by individual Indian families. And now the government wants to flood the Indians out of even that.

The dam was first proposed for the purpose of flood control. However, it was pointed out that only 17 percent of the Eel River lies above the proposed site and that the main source of the flood waters would thus be unaffected. Proponents of the project then decided that its major purpose is to create a recreation area and to provide water for Southern California.

Yet, according to Norman Whipple, president of the Round Valley Indian Tribal Council who gave an informal interview to reporters, the channeling of water from the lake in sufficiently large quantities to make it worthwhile from the point of view of the people in Southern California would probably create vast mud flats around the entire shore line which would be very ugly and make the area rather unattractive as a recreation area. Moreover, the area is one of the best places in the country for deer and bear hunting and fishing for steelhead and salmon. The Eel is one of the few untamed rivers going through wilderness and semi-wilderness areas left in the country, and with the dam all this would be lost to sportsmen.

The government—concerned as ever about the welfare of the Indians who will be displaced—has offered in its infinite magnanimity to relocate the town of Covelo and give the Tribal Council two acres of mountain land for each acre of valley land lost. However, as Mr. Whipple was quick to point out, most of this land had already been available to the Indians, but they chose to settle in the valley because the mountain land could not provide them with a livelihood.

The situation is perhaps best summed up by the Tribal Council's own position paper

which says, "The U. S. Army brought more than 20 tribal groups to Round Valley between 1850-1875, speaking different languages and sometimes historic enemies. The Indians didn't ask to come there, but now, a century later, the survivors of those desperate early years have adjusted to a new Indian community. Round Valley is the only home they have known and the last tiny piece of California left to the people who once enjoyed plentiful lands. Its flooding would disperse them forever."

Blacks in Phila. unimpressed by token withdrawal

PHILADELPHIA—"Unimpressed" is the word for it. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, a black newspaper published twice weekly, reported typical on-the-street reactions to Nixon's announcement of a 25,000 man troop withdrawal from Vietnam:

Young woman: "It's not enough. We still have half a million soldiers there and we do not have any right to have even one."

Twenty-nine-year-old sheetmetal worker: "It ain't no big thing. They'll just send the soldiers to bother some other small country."

Reverend: "It's not enough. We should pull them all out and this is only about four percent. The least they could do is see to it that all of the 25,000 are black since black men have died in such great numbers . . ."

Young housewife: "I think they should get them all the hell out. Nixon says we can't because we'll lose 'honor.' What honor has there been in what we've been doing? That's what I want to know."

"And they say if we pull out, there will be a bloodbath. Well, what would you call the thing that's been going on, with thousands killed every week? Would not you call that a bloodbath?"

New from Merit

Rebels and Bureaucrats

By George Saunders

Soviet Conflicts As Seen In
Solzhenitsyn's 'Cancer Ward'

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YSA nat'l meeting maps major campus intervention

By David Thorstad and Susan La Mont

The current wave of campus rebellions is only the beginning. Next fall will see a dramatic increase and intensification in these struggles. In many of them, the Young Socialist Alliance will step up its participation and take the initiative, consciously orienting them in the direction of mass confrontation with the racist, anti-democratic American educational system, both in the high schools and on college campuses.

This was the perspective outlined at the full plenary meeting of the national committee of the YSA, which met in New York June 13-15.

This national committee meeting was as large as the first national convention of the YSA, which was held in April 1960. Its size and the serious, enthusiastic discussion of the participants symbolized the progress the YSA has registered through its leading role in building the movement against the Vietnam war and its support to the 1968 election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

Since the national committee meeting of a year ago, the YSA has recruited 13 new locals in places like Logan, Utah; Chapel Hill, N. C.; Austin, Texas; Phoenix, Arizona and St. Louis, Missouri. YSA organizational secretary Larry Seigle reported the significant gains made in recruiting black and third world youth to the organization, as well as high school and junior high school students. With 50 percent of its total membership students, the YSA is in a good position to effectively and decisively intervene in the campus struggles next fall.

Seigle also outlined an ambitious pro-

Revolutionaries condemned by junta in Greece

ATHENS (IP)—A group of Trotskyist militants were condemned to long prison terms by a military tribunal here following their "trial" May 19-20. The defendants, arrested in September 1968, were members of the Internationalist Communist Organization of Greece, which supports the Fourth International. The ICO publishes the monthly journal *Spartacus* and distributes leaflets opposing the dictatorship.

During the trial the defendants declared their opposition to the military regime, denounced the tortures they had been subjected to, and courageously upheld their political convictions against the dictatorship and the capitalist state. They called for a socialist revolution, as partisans of Trotsky and the Fourth International.

The tribunal handed down the following savage sentences against the accused:

Theodossis Thomadaxis, machinist, prison for life; Panayotis Doumas, waterworks employee, prison for life; Sofronis Papadopoulos, building worker, prison for life; and Helene Doumas, printer, 18 years in prison.

Three other defendants were also sentenced: Elie Corovessis, student, eight years in prison; Dimitri Frangoulanis, house painter, eight years; and Anna Karouta, printer, two years.

The prosecutor in his indictment during the trial described the defendants as "stateless persons" and "traitors to their country" in the service of . . . Moscow!

During the same week, 39 members of the Patriotic Front were put on trial in Salonika. In Athens, six intellectuals were tried for having set up a network for the centrist organization Democratic Defense (Papandreou's group).

Also in Athens, an independent left-wing group was tried for having set up a resistance network.

In Greece today there is no large, mass-resistance movement. But there are always illegal activities against the dictatorship led by the vanguard political tendencies.

gram of education for the summer and fall months. Twenty-three of the 36 YSA locals will be holding socialist summer schools, the purpose of which will be to educate the hundreds of recent recruits in the history and principles of the world working-class movement and to prepare them for aggressive fall campaigns against the war and the capitalist university.

In the fall, every major local of the YSA will be carrying out a program of regular revolutionary trailblazes to surrounding campuses. The purpose is to recruit new revolutionists out of the thousands of young radicals who are waiting to be reached with a genuine Marxist-Leninist program for youth and to build new locals of the YSA on as many campuses as possible.

These trailblazes will also help build support for antiwar actions in the fall and for large, regional socialist educational conferences. Of all the radical organizations in the United States, the YSA is the



Photo by Hermes
Pvt. Joe Miles

only one which is currently carrying on systematic trailblazes. The plenum decided to expand this activity considerably and to begin immediately by assigning two national field secretaries to devote themselves to this work nationally.

YSA national secretary Carol Lipman stressed in her antiwar report to the plenum that one of the major tasks of the YSA will be to continue to build even more aggressively and imaginatively the militant student wing of the antiwar movement. This means helping to build the Student Mobilization Committee through militant antiwar action both by mobilizing students for mass national demonstrations and by initiating struggles against campus complicity with the war machine.

Analyzing the political situation in relation to the war, she pointed to the mounting evidence of U. S. determination to maintain military forces in Vietnam despite the heavy setbacks dealt it by the liberation forces and despite the pressures of antiwar sentiment at home. The attempts to gull the American people with token troops withdrawals and stalling in Paris, she said, must be combatted by a stepped-up drive for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The YSA, she emphasized, will also continue to support the activities of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in de-

fending victimized GIs who are fighting against the war from within the armed forces.

The political report was presented by the national chairman of the YSA, Charles Bolduc. The major thrust of the report was an analysis of the wave of revolts which swept the campuses during the spring, as well as an appreciation of the role of the YSA and other political tendencies in these struggles. The report emphasized the necessity of the YSA's entire organization being oriented to seriously taking the initiative in these struggles and leading them to victories.

Since the YSA Convention in November, Bolduc stated, there have been two major political shifts in the United States. The first of these was the upswing in antiwar sentiment.

The second is the spectacular campus revolt, underlying which are the issues of the war and racial oppression. These struggles are the biggest, most important political battles in the United States since the ghetto uprisings. Most of them have been spearheaded by black students and have tended to concretize the demand for black control of the black community around the issue of education. This has been accomplished by putting forward transitional-type demands for courses in black history, black studies departments, and universities which relate to the problems and needs of the black community. Third world YSAers were actively involved in advancing these struggles this spring in such places as Berkeley and at the City College of New York.

These campus struggles are also the most politically advanced in recent years. When they are correctly organized and led, and when they involve the masses of the community, they can lead to significant victories by forcing important concessions from the ruling class.

The very fruitful discussion on the report reflected the considerable experience gained in the past few months by the YSA from its participation in the campus revolts. In some of them, as at the University of Minnesota, Arizona State University and Indiana University, the YSA has played a leadership role. In the Arizona struggle, for example, the YSA gave the local laundry workers' union help in mobilizing support for its strike. The movement which the YSA initiated and led succeeded in forcing the university to cancel its contract with the company, and led to complete victory for the union.

Bolduc explained that the YSA intervenes in these struggles in three ways:

1) It joins, supports and leads them through united fronts and mass decision-making meetings. Unlike SDS's approach in many cases, it does not attempt to impose its political program on the struggle or elevate tactics like occupying a building to the level of political principle. Nor does it try to replace the demands of black students with its own demands. It does seek to make the demands of any struggle clear and—to win broad support—defensively formulated.

2) It intervenes on the ideological level by showing the relation between campus struggles and the larger struggle to replace capitalism with socialism. It does this through advancing the concept of the "red" or "revolutionary university," by which the capitalist university can be used as an organizing base for broader community struggles against the capitalist system.

3) The YSA also avails itself of the educational opportunity provided by these struggles for widescale distribution of its revolutionary socialist literature.

The major task of the YSA in the coming

months will be to methodically organize its intervention on the campus and to take the initiative. Properly led, these struggles can be an enormous boost to building the YSA.

Under correct leadership, they can also be victorious, and will help to dispel the mistaken notion that we are entering a period of full-scale repression. Under incorrect, adventurist leadership, they can lead to unnecessary victimization and defeat, which in turn will only give credibility to the incorrect idea that the ruling class can no longer be forced to grant concessions, and that it will resort to full-scale repression during a period when the radicalization is not waning, but is on a dramatic upswing.

The political report briefly dealt with the political tendencies the YSA is confronted with. Foremost among these is SDS. "SDS has been involved in some of the most adventurist actions in the last couple of months," Bolduc stated. What could be characterized, he said, as a "seven-point program for defeat" has emerged from its intervention in several of the campus revolts as follows: 1) It takes a building with just a few people. 2) The cops are called onto campus and make arrests. 3) Large numbers of students are angry with the cops. 4) A broad defense committee is set up to defend the arrested. 5) SDS takes a sectarian approach to the defense committee and refuses to work with "those liberals." 6) The committee folds for lack of leadership. 7) SDS is isolated and the struggle results in defeat. To avoid this kind of pattern the YSA must aggressively intervene and help promote effective campus actions.

The YSA is ready and anxious to collaborate with SDS in concrete action. But it categorically rejects SDS's attitude that it is the student movement.

In the report on the black liberation struggle, Derrick Morrison pointed to the three sectors which are providing a training ground for the leaders of future struggles. These are the high school and college campuses, black labor, and the Army. He emphasized that a major task in the black struggle remains the construction of a mass, black political party which can unite and coordinate these three sectors. He also stressed the importance of building the YSA as the multinational revolutionary socialist youth organization in the United States, capable of intervening in all phases of the youth struggle.

The plenum was also addressed by Pvt. Joe Miles, a leader of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam first at Ft. Jackson and now at Fort Bragg, N. C. Miles is on a leave of absence from the YSA.

The plenum decided to initiate a written discussion in the YSA on ways to make the *Young Socialist* a more effective tool for recruitment and intervention in the youth movement. It also retained the national officers elected at the last YSA Convention. These are Charles Bolduc, national chairman; Carol Lipman, national secretary; and Larry Seigle, national organizational secretary.

A highlight of the plenum was a report on the European revolutionary socialist youth movements by Caroline Lund, who has spent the last six months in Europe. She also reported on the recent World Congress of the Fourth International, which she attended as an observer for the YSA.

Fraternal greetings from the Socialist Workers Party were given to the plenum by Tom Kerry, for the party's political committee.

The weekend's deliberations ended with the singing of the "Internationale."



YSA national committee in session

Photo by Hermes

The Great Society

And they'll bury him at Arlington, too—The Army denied any victimization is involved in the transfer to Vietnam of Sgt. Michael Sander, the "model soldier" who was a member of the unit which guards the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier until he publicly criticized the Vietnam war. It's true, the Army said, that Sanders has a "hearing limitation," but he can be given an assignment in a quiet part of Vietnam. It is also true, they conceded, that he has an asthmatic condition, but he can be stationed near a hospital, where he can "receive definitive medical care."

Royal welcome—"BRASILIA, June 15 (UPI)—The police arrested 100 suspected political agitators, issued special directives to newspapers and took other security precautions today to assure a friendly reception for Gov. Rockefeller. . . ."

Success prescription—Dr. Dale Console, who dropped out as a medical director for Squibb's, says there are certain things a drug company doctor must learn if he's to be happy in the industry. For instance: "He must learn that anything that helps to sell a drug is valid . . . while anything that decreases sales must be suppressed, distorted and rejected. He must learn to word a warning statement so that it will appear to be an inducement to use the drug rather than a warning of dangers in its use. He must learn, when a drug is found too dangerous for use in this country, he can approve its use in other countries where the laws are less stringent."

But under capitalism, who'll carry out . . . ?—The next time someone throws the old argument at you about who's going to carry out the garbage under socialism, show them this headline from the June 16 **New York Times**: "Major U.S. Cities Face Emergency in Trash Disposal—Growing National Problems May Parallel the Crisis in Air and Water Pollution."

Hoof soup?—After eating some of their soup you wouldn't think Campbell's had the imagination to put marbles into the stuff they were displaying on TV to give it some body. But then they bought two race tracks, sold one to a repòrted "charity" outfit and resold the second back to

the people they bought it from, keeping only the restaurant at the track. Maybe it all has something to do with the disposal of the hayburners after they're turned out to pasture.

Servicing the Free World—As part of its continuing effort to stave off totalitarianism, the U. S. made its troops in Spain available for joint maneuvers to practice crushing a theoretical rebellion against the freedom-loving regime of Generalissimo Franco.

New school of sniffers—The principal at Apple Valley Senior High School in California says they cut down on smoking by students since teachers have been assigned to sniff their breaths for the tell-tale odor. They get a reprimand the first time teach smells smothing wrong and a five-day suspension the next. The least the kids could do is switch to menthol.

Semantics dep't (I)—Dr. S. I. ("more-fun-than-a-roller-coaster") Hayakawa of San Francisco State was queried by some state legislators about a speech in which he told a group of Los Angeles cops: "If you have to make an arrest, keep a smile on your face as you drag the sons of bitches out." The doc explained: "By using a little vulgarity I achieved a little rapport with those cops."

Semantics dep't (II)—The Episcopal diocese of California said it was rejecting the \$500-million reparation demand of James Forman's Black Manifesto because the language of the manifesto was "largely Marxist-Leninist," as were the "ideology and methods" of those pressing the demand. Otherwise, we presume, they would have dug right down for the cash.

A president's park—Of course the University of California couldn't permit one of its idle dumps to be turned into a people's park. Who knows what could be next. For instance, there's the 10-acre estate with a reportedly fabulous garden and a three-story mansion in which a half-million dollars of university money was invested just for trimming the place up. It sounds like a real nice park and we're sure it's enjoyed by Charles Hitch, president of UC, who has his official residence there.

— Harry Ring

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, 1010 Lemon St., #12, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-4025.

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

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

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

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

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 648 University, Boulder, Col 80302.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Doug Lord, 610 N. Calhoun, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, 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 Steve Sappanos, 111 Carroll, De Kalb, 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/a 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 Dave Davis, 913 Washtenaw #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, Schardehl

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.

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, c/o Bob Friedman, H6 Camelot Apts. Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

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

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

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

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o Sudie Trippet, Rt. 2, Box 453, 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 Tom Kincaid, 2201 B Nueces, Austin, Texas 78705.

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, 3218 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.

WEST VIRGINIA: Beckley: YSA, c/o John Milan, Box 906, Beckley, W. Va. 25801.

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

Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, 912 E. Ogden Ave., #608, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202.

Reading for revolutionaries

A basic theoretical work

STATE AND REVOLUTION, by V.I. Lenin.

In the worldwide movement of student insurgency, unprecedented in its size and combativity, a number of ideas concerning the nature of the state are in dispute. Some student rebels take the classical anarchist position, that is, the capitalist state must be destroyed and another state, even one representing the workers, should not be established. They are against the institutions of the state per se. Another position holds that when the capitalist state is destroyed, the victors in the struggle can improvise a replace-

The works reviewed in this column are generally available from Merit Publishers. For a free catalog write to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

ment for it, if necessary. They hold the question open. Still others take the Leninist position that after the capitalist state is destroyed (Lenin taught that it must be destroyed and not just taken over by the workers) a workers state must be established. Lenin called the new relationship of the state to the society the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Marx and Engels had called it.

Lenin's pamphlet on this question was written in the months of August and September 1917, during the titanic days of the Russian Revolution. It was designed to clarify once and for all just what the institution of the state is, how it arose historically, what it had developed into, and what the correct attitude towards it should be on the part of revolutionaries.

The result of Lenin's work was to produce what has come to be looked upon as a classic on this question. Lenin draws upon revolutionary events of the past to illustrate the Marxist attitude towards the state. He draws a direct line relating his views and those of the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. In the process, he develops a sharp polemic with all those leaders of Western European Social Democratic parties, as well as those in Russia itself, who had in one way or another abandoned or did not hold the Marxist position.

The importance of the question, the attitude of revolutionaries towards the state, is virtually self-evident. This is the most decisive question of all: Can the institution of the state be merely abolished, or can it be captured and reformed, or must it be destroyed and replaced by a new state serving a new ruling class?

Lenin's pamphlet is invaluable for finding the correct answers. In addition to a deep study of the development of this institution historically, he also explains just what Marx meant when he posed the "withering away" of the state entirely.

In order to understand, for example, the nature of the state in England, where the Labor Party is in power, or the state in America, where capitalists rule through their own parties, it is necessary to read Lenin's contribution. His pamphlet, among many other things, throws light on the type of state established by the Bolsheviks after they won the power in 1917.

— Milt Alvin

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

Reminiscences of a participant

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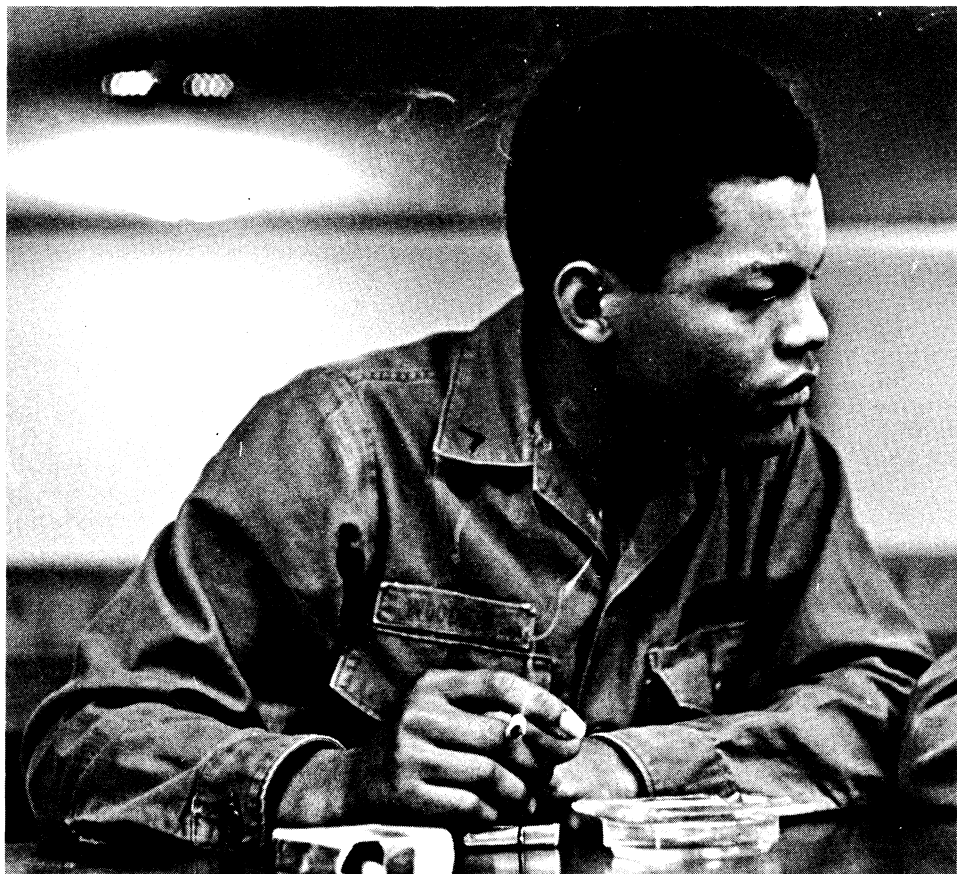
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Pvt. Tommie Woodfin

Oppose new victimizations of Ft. Jackson antiwar GIs

A new petition is being circulated at Ft. Jackson, S. C., by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, whose earlier petition campaigns led to a historic suit against the Army and the now famous victory of the Fort Jackson Eight. The present petition protests further attempted victimization of two GIs who have exercised their constitutional right to speak out against the war.

Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, one of the original members of GIs United and one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, is threatened with court-martial on a trumped-up charge of assaulting a noncommissioned officer and an alleged charge of having been AWOL for one day.

Pvt. Ken Cross, like Woodfin a member of Company B-16-4, is being charged with circulating "unofficial publications"—copies of the antiwar newspaper *Short Times*, the enlisted man's only voice at Ft. Jackson.

Summer schools across country on socialism

"Our ideas are our weapons. Arm yourself": this is the way the socialist movement is advertising its ambitious program of intensive education to take place from coast to coast this summer.

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party have announced that summer schools will take place in 23 cities, from Boston to Seattle and from Austin to Chicago. The schools are expected to draw young people from throughout each region for a summer of studying basic Marxist theory and its relation to the struggles of today.

Teachers of the summer school classes will be leaders of the revolutionary movement in the U.S., many of whom were active in the labor struggles of the 1930s and '40s, Marxist authors and active participants in the student, third-world and antiwar struggles of today.

How can we go about making the American revolution? This question has no simple answer; each of the summer schools will help provide a part of the answer. The theory of permanent revolution, the need for revolutionary internationalism, the transitional program, the history of the building the revolutionary party in the U.S., labor history, basic Marxist economics, the black liberation struggle, the Chinese revolution and the origins of Maoism, ultraleftism, fascism—these are just a few of the classes that are being planned in various areas.

For further information on the summer schools, refer to the "Meet Socialists in Your 'area'" directory on page 11 and call or write the nearest listing for full details.

Meanwhile, administrative hearings are beginning on June 18 on discharges for Woodfin and for Joe Cole and Jose Rudder on the grounds that these three members of the Ft. Jackson Eight are "unfit" for military service.

Accompanying their petition, GIs United is distributing a letter explaining to fellow servicemen how and why Woodfin and Cross are being framed up. The petition begins, "Fellow GIs: Ft. Jackson is once again back at its old thing of messing over GIs for exercising their legal constitutional rights to speak out against the war in Vietnam and Army racism. This is clear in two cases involving Pvts. Tommie Woodfin and Ken Cross of B-16-4."

The letter points out that Woodfin "has been threatened with five courts-martial (one general, three special and one summary) in the last four months; he beat every one! Now the brass are processing Pvt. Woodfin out of the Army on an administrative discharge. . . However, before they process him out, the brass want to take one last shot at Tommie."

"As a young black man from one of New York's finer ghettos," the GIs United letter says, "Tommie never 'cottoned to' the Army's hand-me-down idea of being an 'equal opportunity employer'—more than equal opportunity for blacks and other oppressed minorities when it comes to duckin' and dodgin' in the Nam, but 'equal' no place else. . . Try as it could, the Army always had to back down and admit that Woodfin's activities were legal. . . The brass backed down, true, not out of the goodness of their heart, but because of the support he received from GIs and civilians all over the country."

The letter describes the intimidation of Ken Cross for the "crimes" of being a white GI who is friendly with Woodfin and passing out *Short Times*. It concludes: "Brothers! We all have to take a stand. Don't let this trick bag Army get by with stomping on our rights and humanity. We've shown that we can stop them! The victory of the Ft. Jackson Eight shows what we can accomplish. Once again, we must prove to the brass that they cannot intimidate us individually or collectively."

Letters of support for Woodfin and Cross can be sent c/o GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, Box 543, Columbia, S. C. Letters of protest should be sent to Gen. James Hollingsworth, The Commanding General, Ft. Jackson, S. C. 29207.

The first of the Army hearing on the alleged "unfitness" of Pvts. Cole, Rudder and Woodfin, will be Cole's, which will take place June 18 and 19. The Army charges that the three antiwar soldiers caused dissidence and a "breakdown" (sic) of Army morale. At these hearings, the right of the three to honorable discharges will be defended by attorney David Rein of Washington, D. C.

GI wins court review of transfer to Arctic

By Joel Aber

It appears that the Ft. Bragg, N. C., brass will be forced to tolerate Pvt. Joe Miles for a little while longer than they had anticipated. A temporary federal restraining order was issued June 12, preventing the brass from carrying out plans to ship Miles to a base north of the Arctic Circle—or to any other base—until the legality of such a transfer is reviewed by the courts.

Simultaneously with the attempt to silence the Afro-American antiwar GI by sending him to the Arctic base, the Bragg authorities are attempting to frame him up on a phony AWOL charge.

The sentiment among enlisted men on post that Miles is being railroaded through a frame-up court-martial and punitive transfer has galvanized Ft. Bragg GIs into action on his behalf. GIs United is preparing a petition for circulation on post demanding that the transfer orders be canceled and affirming the right of Miles and other GIs to speak out against the war without fear of reprisals.

The brass at Ft. Bragg welcomed Joe Miles last February, when the Ft. Jackson, S. C., authorities had become so uptight about his activity in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam that they gave him transfer orders to Bragg and three hours to clear post. So now there's an equally energetic GIs United at Bragg. Miles further upset the brass when he fought a new regulation against passing out literature on post by requesting—and winning—permission to pass out the Bill of Rights at Ft. Bragg. Two days after an attempt to distribute the Bill of Rights, Miles was given notice by the brass that his services were needed 200 miles north of Fairbanks, Alaska.

Since the transfer was highly irregular according to the Army's own rules, and since a punitive transfer for exercising the right of free speech is unconstitutional, a suit to prevent the Army from shipping Miles to a U. S. Siberia was immediately entered in federal court by Miles' attorneys, Laughlin McDonald and David Rosenberg, an associate of chief defense counsel Leonard Boudin.

After an initial refusal to act, the federal judge changed his mind and issued a "show cause" order, directing the Army to show why they should not be permanently restrained from shipping Miles to Alaska; the temporary restraining order remains in effect until after the judge's decision following the "show cause" order.

In addition, the judge directed the Army to produce at the hearing Miles' complete service record, all military records concerning him, and documents related to his transfer. A full hearing on the evidence is scheduled for June 19 in Clinton, N. C.

At that hearing it is rumored that the government will fly in from Washington a specialist to explain how an impersonal, nonpolitical computer, deep in a sub-basement of the Pentagon, just happened though normal computer-type operations to come up with assignment of one particular supply clerk, Pvt. Joe Miles, to a remote Alaskan post where only career men and those with special skills are normally sent.

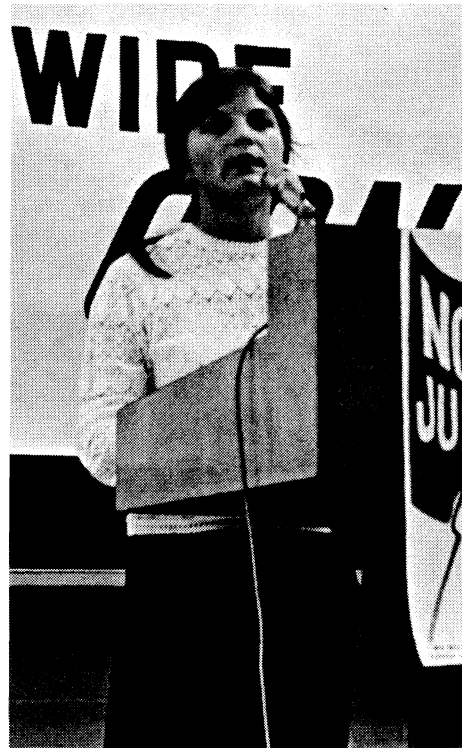
Meanwhile, the Army has scheduled a summary court-martial for Miles for June

23. The court officer will hear a sworn statement from Miles' commanding officer that he was AWOL Memorial Day weekend, because the captain alleges that he told Miles to work that weekend. The charge is a complete fabrication; Miles had been told that he was free to leave post that weekend and will produce witnesses to that effect. Possible sentence is 30 days at hard labor in the stockade, forfeiture of pay and busting to the rank of Pvt. E-1.

Miles' post call (the date he has to report to Ft. Lewis, Wash., en route to Alaska) is still July 14; he has not begun to make preparations for leaving Ft. Bragg and cannot do so until his court-martial is settled. If the Army goes ahead with this port call, Miles will be denied the 30-day pre-embarkation leave to which he is entitled.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has urged supporters of freedom of speech for GIs to send telegrams, letters and petitions of protest to Lt. Gen. John Tolson, Commanding General, Ft. Bragg, N. C. 28307; with copies to the Secretary of the Army, Stanley Resor, the Pentagon, Wash., D. C. and to the GI CLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Atlanta socialist opposes council move on curfew



Linda Jenness

By Doug Jenness

ATLANTA—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, blasted Alderman Everett Millican June 10 for a proposed curfew which would make parks off-limits to everyone after 11:30 p.m. and for his "hysterical" and "slandorous" attacks on the young people in the "hippie" community.

Appearing before an aldermanic parks committee hearing at City Hall, she presented a statement which had been released to the press the previous day.

She condemned the proposed curfew on the grounds that "it is motivated by prejudice, abridges the democratic use of city facilities, and has not been discussed freely with full knowledge of the facts by the public." She also called for an investigation into the police harassment of youth in the Peachtree-10th Street-14th Street Area.

Alderman Millican, also an announced candidate for mayor, has slanderously accused young people of arson and destruction in the 14th Street area and told the board of aldermen on one occasion that "everyone of these people ought not to be in the jail, but under the jail." He and Alderman Rodney Cook, another mayoralty candidate, are both members of the parks committee and were present at the hearing.



New Yorker