

# THE MILITANT

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What was Dimitrov's "united front"?

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Poll shows rise in black militancy

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## March on D.C. Nov. 15

### Student Mobe maps program of action

By Joel Aber

CLEVELAND—About 500 student antiwar activists from around the country meeting at Case-Western Reserve University here July 6 voted to plunge into building the fall antiwar offensive, which will culminate in a massive Nov. 15 march on Washington, as mapped out during the previous two days by a general antiwar conference.

Sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Sunday conference was the most geographically diverse gathering of the student wing of the antiwar movement in the past two years, with representation from more than 150 local and national student groups. Austin (Texas) Student Mobilization Committee, Seattle GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace, Buffalo Draft Resistance Union, Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Berkeley SMC, Terre Haute Draft Project, Committee of Returned Volunteers, Minnesota Resistance, Boston GI-CAP—these were just a few of the organizations represented, in addition to about 10 military bases and many high schools. For the majority, this was their first antiwar conference. SDS, which had refrained from participating in any student antiwar conference for the past three years, intervened at this SMC conference.

#### Fall offensive

The fall offensive charted by the SMC at this conference is an ambitious plan to build the most massive and intense series of antiwar actions yet—with a prelude to the fall already planned for August. SMC voted to make Hiroshima-Nagasaki week, Aug. 3-9, a week of antiwar actions and protests against the U.S.-Japan security treaty and U.S. presence in Okinawa and Vietnam.

On Aug. 17, SMC will help build a demonstration initiated by the Southern California Peace Action Council to take place at San Clemente, California, Nixon's summer White House.

To begin the fall actions, SMC decided to endorse and throw its forces into helping build the Sept. 27 demonstration in Chi-

cago called by SDS in support of the eight activists framed up on a "conspiracy" charge in connection with the Chicago police riot last year.

SMC will also help build the nationwide moratorium against the war, planned by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee for Oct. 15; leaders of SMC and the Moratorium Committee agreed to cooperate in getting the participation of hundreds of thousands of students.

Escalation of the fall offensive is planned for November, with a student strike to be built for Nov. 14, one day before the massive march on Washington.

#### Political diversity

Many ideas were expressed in the plenary session and workshops, but there was one point of general agreement—the need for effective, militant mass action for withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

The differences of opinion expressed during the previous two days' conference and the dialogue with SDS at the SMC conference provided a backdrop for much

(Continued on page 7)

### Nat'l antiwar parley sets fall offensive

By Harry Ring

CLEVELAND—A broadly representative gathering of antiwar activists meeting here July 4-5 initiated plans for a massive fall offensive against the Vietnam war culminating with a giant Washington demonstration Nov. 15 for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

In two days of political discussion at the conference it was generally agreed that opposition to the war is now clearly a majority sentiment in the country and that, effectively organized, the Washington action could be the most immense in the nation's history and could have explosive political impact in the fight to end Washington's aggression against the Vietnamese revolution.

The program of action, and creation of an organizational structure to carry it through, were agreed on after two days of discussion, some-

(Continued on page 6)



Photos by Shannon



Prof. Sidney Peck, co-chairman D.C. demonstration project.

Student Mobilization Committee session (top) and national antiwar conference.

# Mississippi black project harassed

## 'Nothing to the law in Sunflower'

Sunflower, Miss.

After continual harassment for the past year by local residents in cooperation with the mayor and justice of the peace, we have decided that we should leave the community center and the town of Sunflower. Clothes were stolen from the center, dashikis were stolen from the sewing cooperative, and a teenage girl signed an affidavit charging Otis Brown with threatening to kill, which is a felony. The sheriff set bond at \$500. We got Otis out of jail that morning and decided to press charges against those who had broken into the center and the worst troublemakers.

The law listened to a witness of the burglary and saw for themselves the fuss around the center, but they wouldn't take our complaints. We couldn't even get peace bonds issued. The illiterate constable even stood outside the center and said the people in it needed to be killed, the center burned to the ground and "nothing would be did about it." Folks around here always said there was nothing to the law in Sunflower.

People can have us put in jail when they get ready, and we have no protection. We want to move back to Indianola, where the atmosphere is a little better than in Sunflower. We still want to carry out our plans for the Sunflower County Improvement Project when we move into Indianola. Remember too that if Sunflower were not a community where problems like this could happen it would not be in the mess it is in today. The people here are not angels made in heaven any more than the people in any other community.

I, Otis Brown, have been trying to get people to help themselves for a little better than five years. I have been wanting to quit several times, but I just cannot. Like last night I went over to a house in front of the community center and learned that the baby in the house hadn't had any milk in two days. The only food I found in the house was some flour and oatmeal. The lady who lives there has nine children already and is seven months pregnant. She is only 26 years old. Earlier this year she and her husband moved to Indiana believing they would have a better opportunity there, but they didn't find it, so they moved back South in March.

We know that this continual giving will wear out in the long run, but it's the way you give,

## Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

to whom you give and why you are giving. We are more concerned about the children than about anything, because they are the ones who will be running the world tomorrow and they are going to need love to encourage them to go forward. They are also going to need good teaching, and coming up in Mississippi they do not get much. We need whatever help you can give to help us carry on.

Mail can still be sent to Box 398, Sunflower, Miss. Boxes sent by other means can go to 411 Grey Street, Indianola, Miss.

Otis Brown, Jr.  
Margaret Kibbee  
Sunflower County  
Improvement Ass'n.

### Much impressed

Stamford, Conn.

I was much impressed by the superiority of your coverage of the SDS split over that of the Guardian story.

R. L.

### Library in Kentucky is burned out

Chicago, Ill.

The Liberal Lending Library of Providence, Kentucky, which had served as the major peace and freedom center for Western Kentucky, is no more. A fire of unknown origin broke out in the section of the building in which the LLL was housed. Ninety percent of the books and papers were destroyed, along with the files of the Committee for LLL. There is suspicion of arson.

The library had been in existence for three years and had been a persistent thorn in the side of

the establishment. Workers from LLL had helped the movement grow in many western Kentucky cities, in places like Owensboro, Paducah, Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Henderson, Madisonville, Mayfield and numerous smaller towns. It had worked with students at Murray State University, Western Kentucky State University, Brescia College and several community colleges.

It had reached people who otherwise might have remained untouched and under the thumb of the establishment news and opinion. It had worked steadfastly for an end to the war in Vietnam and an end to injustice at home. At present there are no plans for its reopening. Those who worked with the Liberal Lending Library will, however, continue to be active in the movement for peace and freedom.

R. A. C.  
Chairman, Committee for a  
Liberal Lending Library

### Best in America

Yosemite, Calif.

I have enclosed money for a sub and a donation to help keep The Militant the best radical newspaper in America.

With solidarity,  
L. E.

### Progressive Labor articles disappointing

Berkeley, Calif.

I have found Mary-Alice Waters' series of articles on Progressive Labor rather disappointing. Many of her criticisms of PL's behavior in specific crises are undoubtedly correct (I am not familiar with all the crises), but she fails to give any theoretical explanation for PL's degeneration.

PL's behavior has gotten increasingly disgusting over the last three years. They seem to work on a theory that all countries except China are counterrevolutionary and capitalist, as are all groups except themselves. They have indulged in a hysterical anti-hippieism which went to the point of trying to ram an antimarijuana resolution down SDS's throat and writing articles on the marijuana question that read as if Henry Anslinger had been boning up on the Thought of Chariman Mao. Their baseless charge that Marcuse is an agent of the ruling class is contemptible.

The impulse that led the founders of PL to break with the Communist Party in 1961 was a sound one, but they failed to develop a theory as to why the CP had gone so hopelessly to the bad. I doubt if they were initially Maoists, but the Chinese case against Khrushchevism gave them ideological ammunition for the struggle against the CP's opportunism. Unfortunately they got to the point of ideological dependence on the Peking leadership, even to the point of supporting Peking's refusal to repudiate the Stalin cult.


I think the failure of PL to come to terms with the Trotsky-Stalin dispute lies at the root of its later degeneration after an excellent beginning. Trotsky's analysis is essential if one wants to understand the catastrophe that has overwhelmed the CPSU, CPUSA, and indeed the whole complex of Kremlinite organizations; but how can one study this analysis if brought up in a political atmosphere where Trotsky is considered a counterrevolutionary?

Hence we see theories such as about the Czechoslovak crisis: Novotny had restored capitalism in Czechoslovakia and wanted to ally it with the capitalist Soviet Union, while Dubcek wanted to

# THE MILITANT

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The closing news date for this issue was July 11.

ally it with the capitalist United States.

I don't think PL has been wrong in all its differences with the SWP. Its position on "left" labor-fakers of the Bridges ilk has improved. PL is wrong in considering black nationalism reactionary, but when nationalism is used as a cover for "build the black bourgeoisie," then we should crack down. Even Nixon can accept nationalism on such terms, and the SWP's attitude has been too uncritical. One of the big problems has been the attitude toward the peace movement, and this requires special discussion.

Two years ago in San Francisco, some PLers attacked SWP supporters who were handing out leaflets. One of the ringleaders of the attack had been my comrade in the May 2 Movement, and I was shocked at this act of hoodlumism, reminiscent of the CP's tactics in the "third period."

Up till 1965 the SWP had by far the best record in the peace movement. Of the principal tendencies of the left (social democrats, CP, third-campers, SWP) it was the only one to take a principled stand against the US government's role in both the second world war and the cold war. But it was not until 1965 that the SWP was in a position to assume a leadership role in the peace movement.

The idea seems to be to build massive demonstrations against the Vietnam war, and then more massive demonstrations. But single-issue organizations, which depend on a coalition of several tendencies to work, generally have their politics determined by the tendency farthest to the right.

I feel the SWP-YSA line in the peace movement has been proved bankrupt both on theoretical grounds and by experience. It is akin to the CP line which Cannon denounced in his 1951 pamphlet "The Road to Peace"; at times it seems as if the only principled difference with the CP line is the question of supporting Democratic candidates.

J. R. H.

### Successful revolution, unsuccessful movie

Oakland, Calif.

In apt and succinct terms, the Oakland Tribune describes the movie Che: "If the revolution were as boring and unsuccessful as this, we'd still be gambling in Havana."

R. L.

### State of California versus the Indians

Berkeley, Calif.

Just a few words in relation to the latest developments on the proposed dam on the Eel River which, as I reported in the June 27 issue of The Militant, was threatening to flood the Indians of Round Valley out of their homes.

Since the article was written, plans for the dam have been temporarily suspended and an investigation initiated to find out if there is any other way to supply water for Southern California. It seems that the good Gov. Reagan was finally induced to veto the

dam proposal on the grounds that it would destroy a valuable recreational area for sportsmen in groups like the National Rifle Association. For some reason its effect on the lives of Indians living in the area never seemed to be considered.

Rick Feinberg

### Pittsburgh gains Militant reader

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I am a relatively new reader, but I have read The Militant with great enthusiasm. I was especially gratified by your coverage of the Pittsburgh peace march [The Militant, June 6], where I first saw your paper. It was the most objective report on the march I have yet read. I hope you will continue to remember that someone once said, "The Militant newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today," and act accordingly.

P. S.

[The "someone" quoted by P. S. was Malcolm X, speaking at a Militant Labor Forum in New York in January 1965. — Editor]

### The students may yet save us

San Francisco, Calif.

Gerald Clark in his June 27 Militant article on the recent student government election in Hayward, Calif., has correctly pointed out that the colleges of California are moving to the left in their choice of student governments. I believe that to a large extent this is true not only in California but in schools of higher learning throughout America and the world.

If the military-industrial complex does not in the meantime plunge us into an atomic war, the students may yet save us from ourselves.

Dale Rasmussen

### On Panther coloring book

St. Louis, Mo.

UPI reported on June 24 that along with free breakfasts being provided by the Black Panthers in San Francisco, a coloring book was being passed out to the children urging them to kill white policemen. Since the person who supplied this information, Inspector Ben Lashkoff of the San Francisco police department, is likely to have a certain bias in his testimony, I'd like to know what the Militant has heard about these allegations.

A. Z.

[Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Black Panther Party, announced to the news media recently that all copies of the coloring book had been withdrawn and destroyed immediately after publication, several months before the cops happened to "discover" a copy. Editor]



IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA . . .

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# Poll shows new rise of black militancy

**By Dick Roberts**

"How wide does the current black ferment run—and how has it changed Negro dreams and aspirations? Has the traditional goal of integration lost its grip on the rank and file? Who are the influential new voices? Do they speak for the silent? Behind the fashionably aggressive rhetoric of separatism and reparations is there realistic hope for racial reconciliation in America? And on what terms?"

These were the questions that **Newsweek** magazine claims it set out to answer in its third national poll of the "mood in black America" the results of which are reported in the June 30 issue. The answers **Newsweek** got (their poll was conducted by The Gallup Organization) are summed up in the quotation of a black waitress from Kansas City:

"I used to feel that nonviolence was the way . . . I guess I'm beginning to think violence is the only thing white people understand."

Whatever their intentions, the Gallup pollsters came back with the message that three years of capitalist violence in Vietnam and in every city of the nation has intensified black radicalism and deepened black national consciousness and racial pride.

Comparing the attitudes of the 997 persons interviewed in 1969 to the results of the previous poll in 1966 (conducted by Louis Harris), **Newsweek** singled out these significant changes:

	1966	1969
Local police are harmful to Negro rights	33%	46%
Negroes should oppose the war in Vietnam because they have less freedom to fight for	35	56
The Federal government is helpful to Negro rights	74	25
Draft laws are unfair to Negroes	25	47

**Newsweek** attempts to demonstrate that, as the survey is entitled, American blacks are "Angry — But They Still Have a Dream."

On the one hand, according to **Newsweek**, the poll "discloses small but real increases in nearly every index of bitterness and alienation and despair. one black in five wishes for a separate Negro nation within the U.S.; one in seven doesn't consider America worth fighting for in a world war; and one in four thinks Negroes should arm themselves."

On the other hand, "Negro Americans believe they are on the move now as never before—more so even than at the height of the great hallelujah days of 1963" and "Martin Luther King, in death, remains by far the most revered Negro leader."

This is supposed to be a "quandary" because it leaves blacks without a man "to speak with authority for black people generally.

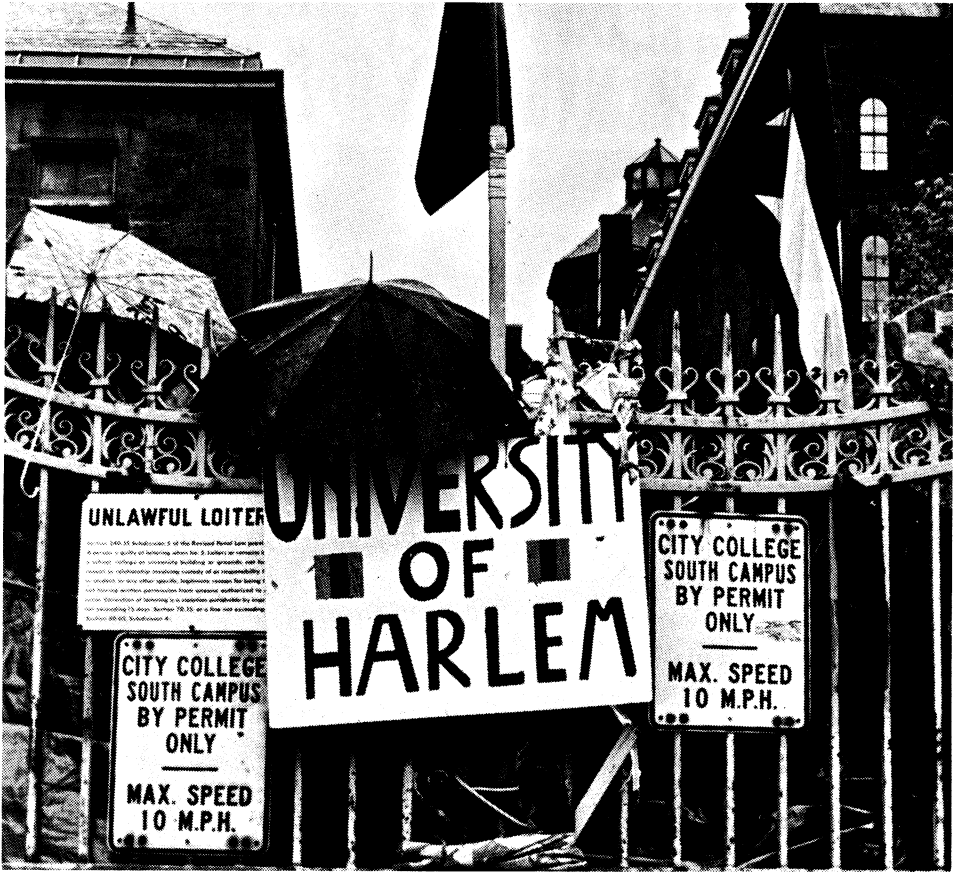


Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

A SIGN OF THE TIMES. During third-world student occupation of City College of New York this spring.

erally. And many Negroes envision a far gloomier consequence—the possibility that King's nonviolent ideals may have died with him."

But if the pertinent information in **Newsweek's** survey is separated from the white liberalism of its editors, the figures suggest something else: that millions of blacks, above all the young people, have rejected the forms of struggle King symbolized when he was alive and they are searching for better paths. A more accurate title would be "Angry — But Not Dreaming."

The change is much clearer if the results of the 1969 survey are compared closely to the 1966 **Newsweek** survey. Only a few of the 1966 figures are included in the June 30 article.

The Louis Harris poll in 1966 was largely written to drive a wedge in the civil-rights movement. One section of it was entitled "Black Power: Road to Disaster?" This described the ideas of SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael and CORE leader Floyd McKissick as "brash," "chauvinistic," "intolerant of compromise."

"Overwhelmingly," said **Newsweek** then, "[blacks] endorse Martin Luther King, both

as a leader and what he stands for . . . SNCC's Carmichael and CORE's McKissick come in almost at the bottom of the list at 19 percent apiece."

In a book entitled **Black and White** (1967) based on this poll, Harris makes much of the fact that in 1963 only 9 percent of those polled believed that blacks should have their own political organizations and this dropped to 7 percent in 1966:

"These results . . . are ample testimony to the fact that most rank-and-file Negroes simply do not buy the separatism voiced by Floyd McKissick and Stokely Carmichael."

But the 1966 poll had to admit that "black power with its vision of racial pride and stature has intrigued a fair number of Negroes. Fully one in four of rank-and-file Negroes favor the idea of black

## Third World Liberation Notes

### Black steel workers organize

According to the June 27 issue of **Muhammad Speaks**, black labor agitation has hit the United Steel Workers of America. Over 1,000 black steel workers are expected at a conference to be held in Gary, Indiana, on July 12 and 13. The conference will be sponsored by an all-black organization of steel workers known as the National Ad Hoc Committee. The objective of the Ad Hoc Committee is to fight for equal rights within the USWA.

Black workers, who comprise one quarter of the 2.5 million members of the union, have only one post in the whole leadership structure of the USWA. **Muhammad Speaks** quoted Rayfied Mooty, the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, as saying, "only one black man has been appointed a sub-district director, and that was not until this year."

The reason for this, which the article explained, is that the leadership structure is filled by appointments from on high. First there is the 32-man executive board, which is composed of district officers. On top of this are the three national officers. Under the executive board, the union is divided into 25 districts, each of which contains subdistricts.

The rank-and-file workers only come into play in the election of local union officers. But outside of this procedure, they have no power.

The two-day conference will address itself to the problem of representation plus the problem of working conditions in the plants.

The Ad Hoc Committee, which according to the article has chapters in Birmingham, Philadelphia, Detroit, Youngstown, Cleveland, and Gary, was formed in 1964. In negotiations with the top union brass, none of its demands for representation have been met. At the USWA's conven-

power . . . and its appeal is even greater (31 percent) among lower-income younger Negroes."

Compared to this the 1969 poll sings a different tune. Over 40 percent of all those interviewed favored black power and those under 30 favored it 68 to 16 percent.

**Newsweek** stressed that King's popularity is even greater now than in 1966 but admits this has quite a different meaning from three years ago: "Negroes now generally agree (52-30) that his nonviolent strategy is in fact losing whatever tenuous hold it has left."

The three polls document the decline of the popularity of the NAACP and the Urban League. In 1963, **Newsweek** found 91 percent favorable to the NAACP and 54 percent to the Urban League; this fell to 81 and 50 in 1966; and to 60 and 40 in 1969.

"The old-style race diplomats who remain persuaded that the walls of Jericho can best be toppled from within have slipped in the past three years."

Malcolm X, who was entirely omitted from the 1966 poll, has become "No. 2 man" to young black northerners, after King. This "tough new breed" feels "the ghetto riots have been not only justified (47-32) but helpful (50 percent say yes, only 20 no)—and one . . . in six stands ready to join the next time."

The pollsters did not even ask the question of 1963 and 1966 about favoring a black organization—or if they asked it, they buried the results. Here is what the 1969 poll states:

"A robust 76 percent consider themselves Democrats—higher even than in the Kennedy-Johnson years—but only 62 percent think the Democrats will do most for Negroes."

"The spill-off goes not to the Republicans . . . but to the cynics—the 24 percent who doubt it really makes much difference who wins."

The fact that 20 percent of the black population today favors the creation of a separate nation is only mentioned in passing. But that fact alone has wide-ranging implications for the future of the black liberation struggle.

The 1969 poll had one other category that was not in the two earlier polls: It asked about soul, which, according to **Newsweek**, "defies precise definition—even by those who are sure they have it." One person informed **Newsweek**, "The white people can do the Watusi, but we are the Watusi."

tion last year, some black workers were so dissatisfied that they picketed the convention. The projected conference is an indication of the heightening of that dissatisfaction.

\* \* \*

In the July 12 edition of the Baltimore **Afro-American**, there is a description of a police dog attack on a black woman and her companions. The dog was unleashed by a K-9 cop while these ghetto residents were on their front porch on the night of June 27. The incident began when the K-9 cop came up and said that the talk was too loud (as usual). After a brief conversation between the K-9 cop and Mrs. Helen Smith, the dog was unleashed. Sister Smith, while trying to escape the four-legged beast, was maced by the two-legged beast. In the aftermath, the sister, just 30 years old, required 75 stitches to close the dog bite wound on her legs. A brother, Donald Best, required 32 stitches to close the dog bite wounds in his side and hip.

On top of all this, Sister Smith was charged with disturbing the peace. However, the court has since ruled that she was not guilty, and Sister Smith plans to sue the city for this attack.

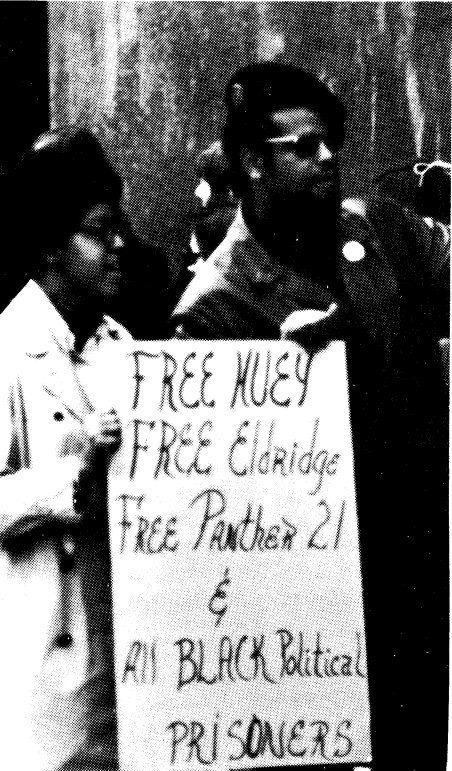
But this is not all of the story. Militants who are members of the SOUL School and Black Students Union had planned to protest the attack. They wanted the K-9 cop, Alvin Nachman, arrested and charged with assault with intent to murder. Upon receiving this information, the police chief, Donald Pomerleau, met with the militants and told them that they would be arrested and charged with inciting to riot if they used a bull-horn to publicize the dog attack.

So goes justice in Amerika.

—Derrick Morrison

## N.Y. police admit brutal treatment of Panther 21

NEW YORK—The city department of correction here has admitted the truth of charges by attorneys for 13 jailed Black Panthers that they are being subjected to



cruel and unusual punishment. The 13 were among 21 Panthers indicted in a police-concocted "conspiracy" to blow up department stores, the New York Botanical Gardens and part of the Penn Central railroad. (See **Militant**, June 20.)

The July 7 **New York Times** revealed that these prisoners are being made to sleep with a light on in their cells, are checked every half hour, are allowed only two photographs and a religious medalion in the cell, can receive letters from family members only and are restricted to reading only the newspapers and magazines provided by their jailers; they are not permitted out of their cells except for a half-hour exercise period once a day.

The department claims that this is the same treatment given all "special" prisoners. What makes the Panthers "special"? Department commissioner George McGrath offered this explanation to the **Times**: "They were committed to us as recognized militants, as part of a formal party which urges people to be anti-establishment. We view them as security risks. It's simply a matter of their proclivity for trouble, for stirring up trouble in the institution."

McGrath's statement corroborates what attorneys William Kunstler and Arthur Turco have been charging: that the Panthers are being mistreated for their political views.

Another aspect of the denial of the Panthers' rights is their preposterously high bail—\$100,000 each.

Saigon and the State Dept.

'...the ultimate form of corruption'

By Dick Roberts

On May 1, 1968, Troung Dinh Dzu was arrested by the Saigon government and charged with "urging the formation of a coalition government as a step toward peace." In August, almost one year ago, he was sentenced to five years of forced labor and he is still in prison.

This would probably not merit attention, since there are thousands of such prisoners in Saigon's jails, except for the fact that Dzu was the runner-up in the South Vietnamese elections of 1967 which made Thieu the president.

Further, "formation of a coalition government" through elections is what the Nixon administration claims it is for. One could reasonably question the validity of such elections if Thieu's political opponents are all in jail.

To investigate these matters further, a team of well-known American churchmen, educators and politicians visited South Vietnam between May 25 and June 10.

They discovered not only that there were thousands of political prisoners in the Saigon jails but that the number was growing and that the U.S. State Department had lied about the extent of the imprisonment.

Robert F. Drinan, Dean of the Boston College Law School and one of the team members, described the main findings and the treatment he got from the State Department in the **Boston Globe** of June 19.

Two days before going to South Vietnam, Drinan was told by "a highly placed official of the State Department . . . that the number of political prisoners in South Vietnam had been continually decreasing."

"The 'hard' information about political prisoners which emerged in South Vietnam," Drinan states, "comes to this:

"1) Of the 35,000 men, women and children in prison about 60 percent wear a red tag on their prison garb indicating that they are 'Communists.' Many of these until recently used to be called 'political prisoners' but that name was changed to 'Communist' or 'Viet Cong sympathizers' . . .

"2) The number of persons imprisoned

for 'non-crimes' is actually rising rather rapidly. The rate of increase is impossible to discover because of the fact that up to one third of all the persons detained have not been charged with any offense or given any sentence.

"One of the reasons for the increase (a rise admitted by Embassy officials in Saigon) is the U.S. Pacification program which, as it moves into the hinterlands, ferrets out citizens suspected of being 'disloyal' and turns them over to the 'kangaroo courts' known as Provincial Security Councils or Military Fields Tribunals.

"3) A significant number of political prisoners, prior to their 'non-trial,' are tortured by South Vietnamese officials in order to get information about VC activities and plans . . ."

The full report of the "U.S. Study Team on Political and Religious Freedom in South Vietnam" appeared in the **Congressional Record**, June 18.

The report summarized the testimony of a number of prisoners:

"All prisoners are oppressed by conditions of overcrowding. Sometimes, however, many prisoners are stuffed into small cells which do not allow for lying down or, sometimes, even for sitting; and this, when it is steaming hot, when excrement accumulates, and when the prisoners are seldom released for exercise, is torture indeed.

"Beating is the most common form of abuse. . . . A number of commentators also described the immersion of prisoners into tanks of water which are then beaten with a stick on the outside. The pain is said to be particularly intense and the resultant injuries are internal.

"One witness described a 'bicycle torture' used in this center. For about a week the prisoner is forced to maintain a squat



1964 DEMONSTRATION IN SAIGON: How many of these oppositionists are in Thieu's jails today?

position with an iron bar locking his wrists to his ankles; 'afterwards he cannot walk or even straighten up'; it was said . . .

"[One] informant said, as a number of others did, that sexual torture was common. . . .

"Another informant told of the torture by electricity of an eight-year-old girl for the purpose of finding her father: 'She said her father was dead and they just kept torturing her . . . They tortured her mother too.'"

"On June 11," Dean Robert F. Drinan wrote in the **Boston Globe** article, "I was back in Washington and at another meeting told one of the high White House officials . . . that a State Department official on May 23 had 'lied' to us about the number of political prisoners. . . . The White House official became flustered at this revelation. He urged that no one had 'lied' and started a monologue about the difficulty of getting 'hard' information . . .

"When I left the handsome offices of the State Department on June 11 I was so depressed I did not talk for almost 30 minutes . . .

"I shall never forget those encounters [with State Department officials]. They have probably done more than any other event in my life to galvanize my determination to work for a government which will be honest in its communications with its citizens.

"Those encounters left me with the conviction that our students and young people are profoundly disturbed because they see in their government a policy of telling lies or at least a policy of trying to deceive people.

"However benignly one may describe or view such a policy, I knew on June 11 that it is the ultimate form of corruption."

Schweikism upsets Czech bureaucrats

By Joel Aber

The Kremlin-inspired Czech bureaucrats are nervous — and with good reason. For the power of the Czechoslovakian people to resist the current clampdown on democratization is beginning to demonstrate itself in a most convincing manner.

According to the June 30 **New York Times**, managers of Czech industry are "deeply worrying" about the proliferation of slowdown tactics by factory workers, which are apparently seriously hampering production. "This is Schweikism, pure and simple," explained a Czech economist to the **Times**. Like **The Good Soldier Schweik**, the hero of a classic Czech novel who successfully screwed up the Austrian military machine, the economist described how workers no longer "just come late to their job, if they come at all, and knock off for a beer an hour later, as they have been doing all these years. They follow safety regulations to the letter, say they don't understand work norms or interpret them wrongly, and slow down plant tempos tremendously. In some workshops there is such an "uncooperative labor attitude that you feel there are organizers behind it. But it's hard to spot them."

The same **Times** article reported the distribution of clandestine leaflets in prepara-

tion for a massive nationwide work stoppage planned for Aug. 20, the anniversary of last year's Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Fifteen-minute work stoppages were reported during one day recently at at least five metal-working plants. The 900,000 metal workers constitute Czechoslovakia's largest and one of its most militant unions.

Following the recent government dissolution of the Czech student union, the metal workers had planned strikes in solidarity with the students. They were persuaded to call off the work stoppages at the last minute. Nevertheless, the June 25 **Times** reported, some 40 representatives of plant committees met in a plant in the Liben district and passed a resolution condemning the disbandment of the student union.

"The display of solidarity between workers and students," observes the **Times**, "is bound to cause concern among the party leadership. The conservative faction now in control has been intent on breaking up the alliance of trade unionists, intellectuals and students."

Meanwhile on June 6 an assembly of elected trade union delegates met and issued a declaration containing nine de-

mands "in view of the fact that the present development of the political situation is coming into sharp conflict with the moral convictions of the overwhelming majority of the working people of our country, and thus with the duty of the trade-union organizations to defend the interests of the workers."

The declaration included demands for an end to government encroachment on the independent role of the trade unions, termination of censorship of the union press, an end to increases in prices of necessities, opposition to "any suppression of our contacts with the unions of the students, creative workers and scholars" and protests against bureaucratic practices by the national union leaders.

In a cutting rebuke to the union bureaucrats, the statement said, "It astonishes us that the leading union bodies did not protest against the statement by Comrade Strougal [an avidly pro-Moscow bureaucrat regarded as second-in-command to Premier Husak] on April 21, 1969, about the 'so-called autonomy of social and professional organizations.' We are not familiar with any 'so-called autonomy'; we are familiar only with 'so-called leaders.'"

Congress votes tax surcharge

By Ed Smith

The June 30 House of Representatives vote to continue the 10 percent income tax "surcharge" shows how great the concern is in Washington to dampen the inflationary spiral of prices and interest rates.

Less than one month ago, before banks raised their prime interest rate to the historic high of 8.5 percent, it was considered a virtual certainty that extension of the unpopular tax surcharge would be defeated in Congress.

Even with intense last-minute pressure from the White House, the bill was barely able to squeak through Congress. It gained a five-vote margin of 210 to 205. Congressmen are extremely reluctant to vote for high taxes when prices are rising at record-breaking speeds.

This fast increase in prices has already cut deeply into workers' wages. The truth of the matter is that real wages, representing the actual purchasing power of the dollar, have declined in this country since mid-1965.

In the June 17 **Wall Street Journal**, economist Alfred Malabre Jr. gave a tabulation of weekly pay and weekly purchasing power of the "typical" worker, as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics: a non-supervisory worker in private industry with three dependents.

Weekly Purchasing Power (1957-59 dollar)		
	Weekly Pay	
September	\$110.87	\$79.86
October	110.38	79.10
November	109.88	78.48
December	110.46	78.64
January	110.33	77.95
February	110.48	77.73
March	112.05	78.07
April	112.13	77.62

"The latest weekly pay figure of \$112.13," Malabre wrote, "is a record and no doubt suggests continuing good times to anyone taking a cursory glance at the nation's economic condition. But the latest purchasing-power figure of \$77.62 not only is \$2.24 below the September total but is below the yearly averages for 1968 (\$78.81), for 1967 (\$78.13), for 1966 (\$78.39) and for 1965 (\$78.53)."

It should be noted that this decline in workers' purchasing power is greater than in the four "recessions" of the U.S. economy since the second world war. In fact, in three of these recessions, in 1948-49, in 1953-54 and in 1960-61, weekly purchasing power actually increased slightly.

The word "recession" usually refers to a significant decline in industrial production. In that sense, the economy is not in a recession right now. Nevertheless, the policies of the Johnson and Nixon administrations were and are designed to slow industrial production in this country, and they have already taken a toll.

This has been somewhat disguised by the rapid increase in prices. It can be revealed, however, by examining the real growth in GNP after subtracting the growth attributable solely to price increases. The real GNP (physical output of goods and services) has been steadily slowing since Johnson imposed the first 10 percent tax surcharge in 1968.

These figures were given in the **Wall Street Journal**, June 16:

	Price increase	Real growth
1968: 2nd quarter	4.1%	6.3%
3rd quarter	3.7	5.2
4th quarter	4.0	3.5
1969: 1st quarter	4.6	2.9

Estimates of real growth in the second quarter of this year suggest that the drop in real growth is continuing.

What is important to realize is that the government can repress real growth through its fiscal and monetary manipulations and that this will cut into jobs, sooner or later. With slowing real production, layoffs are inevitable. The jobs of young blacks and teenagers generally will be the first and hardest hit.

Moreover, Washington is intent on an industrial slowdown come what may, and if the present policies, including the extended tax surcharge, are insufficient, more stringent policies will soon be adopted.



## The actual history

# What was Dimitrov's 'united front' policy?

By Tom Kerry

The demon of history works in a mysterious way his wonders to perform! A case in point—after decades of almost total obscurity the ghost of Georgi Dimitrov rides again.

Dimitrov suddenly arose from his grave a month or more ago at the time the Black Panther Party announced plans to hold a Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in America. To help explain why such a conference had been called, the Panther national paper reprinted two lengthy excerpts from a speech by Dimitrov delivered at the seventh world congress of the Communist International held in the summer of 1935.

Who was Dimitrov? What was his "united front"? Some historical background would be in order.

Dimitrov arose as a leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party after the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Following the death of Lenin he emerged as a prominent spokesman for the Stalin faction in the Communist International. As a Bulgarian emigre in Germany he actively promoted Stalin's "Third Period" line of social-fascism, the united front from below, the building of "red" trade unions, etc., etc.

The "Third Period" brainstorm was Stalin's own creation. He divided the historical development into an arbitrary schema of neatly compartmentalized periods. The first period was ushered in by the October revolution in Russia and placed the conquest of state power on the agenda in Europe.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary wave which threatened to inundate capitalist Europe was beaten back. The young, inexperienced Communist parties, which emerged from the wreckage of the European social democracy, proved incapable of carrying through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The revolutionary wave receded. This ushered in the second period—the period of European capitalist stabilization.

### The united front

It was in this period that the Third International, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, elaborated the tactic of the united front. The aim of the tactic was to win the leadership of the masses as an indispensable prerequisite and preparation for the conquest of power at the next surge in the revolutionary tide.

The defeat of the post-October revolutionary upsurge fractured the workers' organizations. The failure of the Italian workers to make their revolution brought Mussolini and his fascist thugs to power in 1921. The temporary stabilization of capitalism in the major European states served to revive the reformist social democratic parties which claimed the allegiance of substantial sections of the working class and petty bourgeoisie.

How to unite the working class in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism—this was the burning question of the day as the Bolsheviks saw it. And the solution, they concluded after lengthy debate, was the tactic of the workers' united front.

The united front tactic was devised to unite the workers in action around specific issues affecting the interest of the class as a whole. Each organization or group entering into united front agreements was to

retain its organizational independence, the integrity of its own program, and the full right of criticism.

The Bolsheviks were convinced that in the course of such united front actions the logic of the struggle would carry the movement beyond the self-imposed limits placed on the actions by the reformist and centrist leaders. The experience acquired by the workers in the heat of the struggle would lead them to reject the leadership of the reformist windbags and impel them to follow a revolutionary course under a revolutionary leadership to the very end. That, in summary, was the essence of the tactic of the united front as conceived and carried out under the tutelage of Lenin.

### The "Third Period"

In 1929 Stalin suddenly discovered that history had entered its "Third Period." The "Third Period," according to Stalin, was to be the final period, the period of the total collapse of capitalism on a world scale.

In line with this prognosis Stalin proceeded to jettison the united front tactic. Not the winning of the masses on the road to power but the conquest of power was placed as point number one on the agenda.

The alternatives were bluntly posed: either fascism or socialism. Obliterated were all distinctions of the various forms under which capitalism ruled. All were subsumed under the general label of fascism.

All other working class tendencies were damned as fascist agents, fascists in disguise, etc., etc. The social democracy, which especially in Germany at that time commanded much greater mass support than the Communist Party, the largest section at that time of the Communist International outside the Soviet Union, was stigmatized as just another wing of fascism. So that there would be no ambiguity on that score, Stalin declared: "Social democracy and fascism are twins, not antipodes!"

### United-front-from-below

If that were so, there could be no talk of a united front with the social democrats. To bolster their theory of social-fascism the Stalinists added another wrinkle: the united front **from below**. But the "united-front-from-below" was no united front at all. In practice it meant that workers belonging to the Social Democratic Party and trade unions were harangued to join in actions called by and under the leadership of the German Communist Party. In other words, they were asked to abandon their own organizations, reject their own leadership, and embrace that of the CPG. But if they were prepared to do that there would be no earthly need of a united front to begin with.

Stalin's "Third Period" insanity served to split the German working class right down the middle and permitted Hitler to waltz to power without a struggle. It was a shattering debacle which demoralized and prostrated the German working class and permitted Hitler to plunge full-speed into his preparations for war.

It was at this point that Georgi Dimitrov came on stage and achieved world prominence. Seeking a pretext to launch a reign of terror designed to smash all working class organizations and crush all resistance, the Nazi's put a torch to the Reichstag—the building where the German parliament held its meetings.

Hitler, charging that the "communists" had set the fire, arrested Dimitrov among others, and held a show trial which attracted world attention. Because of pressure brought to bear by the Soviet Union, Dimitrov was set free, but in the course of the trial achieved world prominence as a "fighter against fascism."

Meanwhile, the victory of Hitler in Germany, bringing with it the threat of war against the Soviet Union, induced an attitude of panic in the Kremlin.

Overboard went the "Third Period" and all its trappings.

Abandoned was the prognosis of the



**UNITED FRONT?** Moscow's class-collaborationist popular front line reached its peak with World War II alliance with imperialist U.S. and Britain. Stalin here meets with Roosevelt and Churchill to agree on world spheres of influence. Kremlin policy was to subordinate revolutionary struggles in imperialist countries to the preservation of this alliance. In the U.S. this meant a "no-strike" policy by CP-led unions and a denunciation of all Afro-American struggles taking place during World War II.

imminent collapse of capitalism and the advent of socialist power.

Scuttled was the united-front-from-below and the theory of social fascism.

Buried were the alternatives: fascism (capitalism) or socialism.

To replace the shattered "Third Period" edifice there was hurriedly erected a new theory that the choice facing humanity was **fascism or democracy**—bourgeois democracy, that is.

The turn was executed with full fanfare under the slogan: For a United Front Against Fascism. The struggle for socialism was erased, expunged, wiped off the agenda. Instead of the united-front-from-below in the struggle for socialism there was substituted—the People's Front.

### The People's Front

The policy of the people's front was codified at the seventh world congress of the Communist International in 1935. Because of the prominence he acquired in the Reichstag fire trial, Dimitrov was tagged as the ideal mouthpiece to give voice to the new people's front line. It was not long after, that the people's front line was submitted to the acid test of history—with tragic results.

First, a comment on an important matter of terminology. The Stalinists, and others following them, use the terms "united front" and "people's front," interchangeably. This serves to make the confusion worse confounded. The united front, as originally conceived, was viewed as an instrument of the **class struggle**. The tactic was designed to unite the workers in action against the capitalist ruling class regardless of the form under which it ruled: bourgeois democratic, monarchical, fascist, bonapartist, etc., etc.

The idea of a "people's front" that transcends class lines is alien to Marxist thought. It is never found in the writings of the great Marxists, except as a concept against which they directed their most withering criticism.

As a matter of historical fact, Lenin had his first confrontation with people's frontism when he returned to Russia after the February revolution. He discovered that some of the leading Bolsheviks, including Stalin, were adopting a conciliatory line toward the provisional government. His answer, set down in the "April Theses," attacked the view that the aim of the Russian Revolution was the establishment of a bourgeois-democratic state and set forth the perspective of a socialist revolution under Soviet rule.

The Provisional government under Kerensky was a classical form of the people's front. It was a coalition of workers' parties (Mensheviks), peasant parties (Social Revolutionaries), and various capitalist parties, based on a common platform of establishing a bourgeois-democratic state. Lenin would have no part of class collaboration whether of the people's front or any other variety.

He saw the genuine united front in the

Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers deputies and directed the class struggle for workers' power and socialism against Kerensky's people's front government which sought to confine the revolution within bourgeois-democratic limits.

In his various pronouncements on the people's front following the seventh world congress, Dimitrov was constrained to take note of the historical struggle waged by Bolshevism against the people's front in Russia.

"Our attitude towards bourgeois democracy," he observes, "is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all political parties which opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship under the slogan of the defense of bourgeois democracy."

"The situation," he goes on, "is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the fascist counterrevolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish a most barbaric regime of exploitation and suppression of the toiling masses. Now the toiling masses in a number of countries are faced with the necessity of making a **definite** choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism."

Stripped of its radical rhetoric, the "choice" is bluntly stated. That was the choice foisted on the workers in France when the Communist Party in the mid-1930's entered a people's front government along with the French Socialist Party and the Radical Socialist Party—which was neither radical nor socialist but was the most corrupt and venal capitalist party in the country.

It was the choice forcibly imposed on the Spanish workers who sought to overthrow capitalist rule in the Spanish civil war.

Because of the debacle of the people's front in France and Spain, the policy became so discredited that the very term "people's front" was later expunged from the Stalinist vocabulary. Not the policy but the words. The policy continues under another guise: the antimonopoly coalition, which is nothing but the same old poison in new bottles.

It would have been better to let Dimitrov rest quietly in his grave. To begin pouring over his writings and quoting his "thoughts" can stir up many embarrassing memories.

### Fascism:

### What It Is How to Fight It

A Revised Compilation

Leon Trotsky

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## CALENDAR

### LOS ANGELES

L.A. SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL, July 20, 4 p.m.—Repression and Defense of the Socialist Workers Party During World War II. 5:30—dinner. 7 p.m.—Building the Revolutionary Party. 1702 E. 4th St., Tel: 269-4953. Dona. 50c/session.

### NEW YORK

THE NEW OPPOSITION IN RUSSIA. Speaker: George Saunders, Soviet correspondent for Intercontinental Press. Fri., July 18, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (near 18th St.). Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. Contrib. \$1, h.s. 50c.

# ... Conference maps fall offensive against Vi

(Continued from page 1)

times marked by conflicting political views on various issues and dispute on organizational matters. But the spirit of the gathering was dramatically expressed by the resounding standing ovation extended to Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council which hosted the conference, when he noted in his closing remarks that the media had reported differences at the conference as representing a "split" in the movement and declared that despite the differences the conference had served to unite the movement around a meaningful program of action.

The conference agreed to endorse or help organize a series of antiwar actions beginning in August and culminating with the Nov. 15 Washington demonstration.

The following actions were agreed upon:

- Support to a mass march on Nixon's summer White House in San Clemente, Calif. The action is being organized by the Southern California Peace Action Council.

- An enlarged "reading-of-the-war-dead" demonstration in Washington early in September initiated by the American Friends Service Committee. They envision a demonstration in which a large single-file procession will include sufficient participants for each to bear the name of one of the more than 37,000 U.S. men killed in Vietnam.

- Support to the plans of the recently organized Vietnam Moratorium Committee for an Oct. 15 moratorium on campuses and elsewhere demanding a withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

- Support to the Sept. 27 Chicago demonstration called by SDS national leaders in opposition to the war and to protest the indictment of the "Conspiracy 8" whose trial is slated to begin in Chicago that day.

## Dual structure

To ensure effective participation in the Chicago action and to carry through the enormous effort involved in a successful Washington demonstration, it was agreed to establish a "bicameral" organizational structure.

Two cochairmen and two project directors were selected to be responsible for participation in the Chicago demonstration. The two cochairmen are Sid Lens, a principal spokesman for the Chicago Peace Council, and Prof. Douglas Dowd of the New University Conference. The two project directors are Rennie Davis of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Sylvia Kushner of the staff of the Chicago Peace Council.

The cochairmen of the Washington project are Prof. Sid Peck, former chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and a cochairman of National Mobe, and Stewart Meacham, peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Project directors are Fay Knopp of the Philadelphia Friends staff and Abe Bloom, chairman of Washington SANE.

To assure that the two actions will be developed in a related way, Dave Dellinger of the New York Parade Committee and National Mobe was designated liaison coordinator between the two projects.

Agreement on the actions and their im-



Leo Fenster

plementation came after the fullest political debate of any national antiwar gathering yet held. Apart from various differences of emphasis and tactics, the basic political debate at the conference centered on one main issue. On the one side there were those who favor massive, militant demonstrations around the demand for the immediate withdrawal of forces from Vietnam, involving the broadest possible forces in the civilian population and within the armed forces.

In counterposition to this was the view that such mass demonstrations are largely ineffectual and that more "militant," "confrontation" action is needed, even if by significantly fewer people. To this concept some add the proviso that the demonstrations must center around "more advanced" anti-imperialist slogans.

## CAPAC proposal

The basic policy proposal of broad mass actions was brought into the conference by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council delegation. The CAPAC delegation spelled out the need for a massive Washington action without the encumbrance of civil disobedience which can only serve to limit the breadth of participation. The proposal argued the need for making withdrawal the central demand, explaining that this demand provides "the best defense of the Vietnamese people and fully respects their right to self-determination."

This proposal came to the floor of the conference as a minority report of the steering committee of the gathering and was effectively presented by CAPAC chairman Jerry Gordon.

Two "majority" reports were presented. One was by Dave Dellinger, the other by Doug Dowd, with the differences between them somewhat murky. Insofar as this reporter could determine, Dellinger favored having a demonstration on Nov. 8, but only as one of a number of regional actions announced by SDS for that date,

and emphasizing the virtue of the various participants doing their own thing. Dowd, on the other hand, seemed to favor including some form of civil disobedience as a structured feature of the Washington action.

An added ingredient in the ensuing debate was provided by Mark Rudd, who presented the SDS proposal for the Chicago demonstration to the conference. Flanked by a number of young men and women who apparently constituted a body guard, Rudd argued that the demand to bring the troops home was essentially reformist and that an authentically anti-imperialist position must center around the demand to "bring the war home."

The ultraleftism of the SDS proposal was buttressed by a sectarian, ultimatic approach on the organizational level. An SDS position paper on the need for converting the antiwar movement into an "anti-imperialist movement" asserted that such a movement "must be held by such organizations as the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization, the Third World Liberation Front, La Raza, and other Third World groups, and by the Young Patriots, SDS and other white organizations that understand and support the Third World struggle . . ."

"Broad-based antiwar organizations that have led the antiwar movement until now," the SDS paper asserted, must make their resources and skills available to the above cited organizations but must be willing to accept their leadership.

Neither the position paper nor Rudd mentioned the Washington demonstration.

While the Gordon presentation favoring mass action against the war was presented as that of a steering committee minority, the discussion that followed in the floor debate as well as in a large workshop the next morning made clear that the mass action position already enjoyed or had won during the debate the support of the great majority of the conference participants.

## Address by unionist

At the outset, added weight was given the Gordon position by a significant address by Leo Fenster, the elected head of the Ohio Regional District Council of the United Auto Workers.

Explaining that this was his first appearance at an antiwar conference, Fenster said that as an opponent of the Vietnam war he had previously confined his efforts within the union movement. But, he said, his was no longer a minority viewpoint within the organized labor movement. The majority of rank-and-file unionists, he continued, are now opposed to the war and many of the secondary officials now reflect that sentiment. This change within the union movement, he added, reflected a change within the population generally. A majority of the Amer-



Jerry Gordon

ican people, he said are now in favor of withdrawing the U.S. troops from Vietnam as rapidly as possible.

This fact, the union official emphasized, provided new opportunities and responsibilities for the antiwar movement. Beginning as a minority movement, he said, the antiwar movement now has the opportunity to become a majority movement. To do so it is necessary to develop the politics of a majority movement. Tactics and strategy consonant with the politics of a minority movement, he argued, do not apply to the politics of a majority movement.

If the antiwar movement seeks to understand the issues that are moving organized workers and approaches them effectively, Fenster declared, significant numbers can be mobilized in the struggle to end the war.

Additional powerful arguments in favor of mass action as opposed to adventurous pseudoconfrontations by a few were advanced by members of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam who participated in the conference. Pvt. Joe Miles and ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley explained how GIs United had developed and why their care in avoiding any adventurous trap had made it possible to win the confidence and support of many GIs as well as significant support from the civilian population.

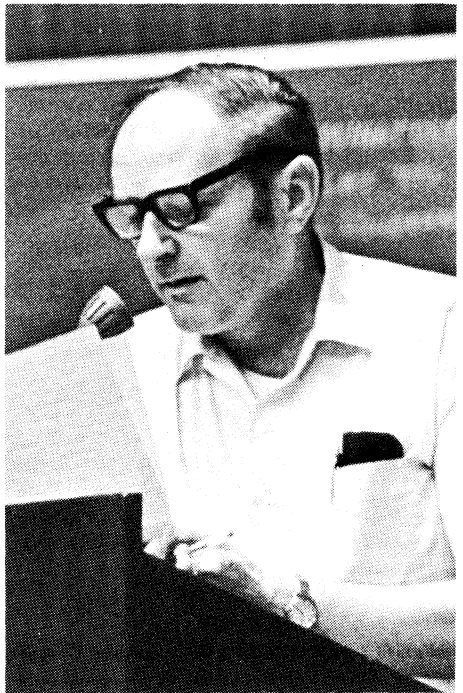
They argued strongly for a mass demonstration without civil disobedience since GIs have won their legal right to participate in antiwar demonstrations but any announcement of a planned "illegal" action would provide the brass with the pretext to deny them the right of participation and would in any case, significantly reduce the number of GIs in the action.

High school and college antiwar acti-

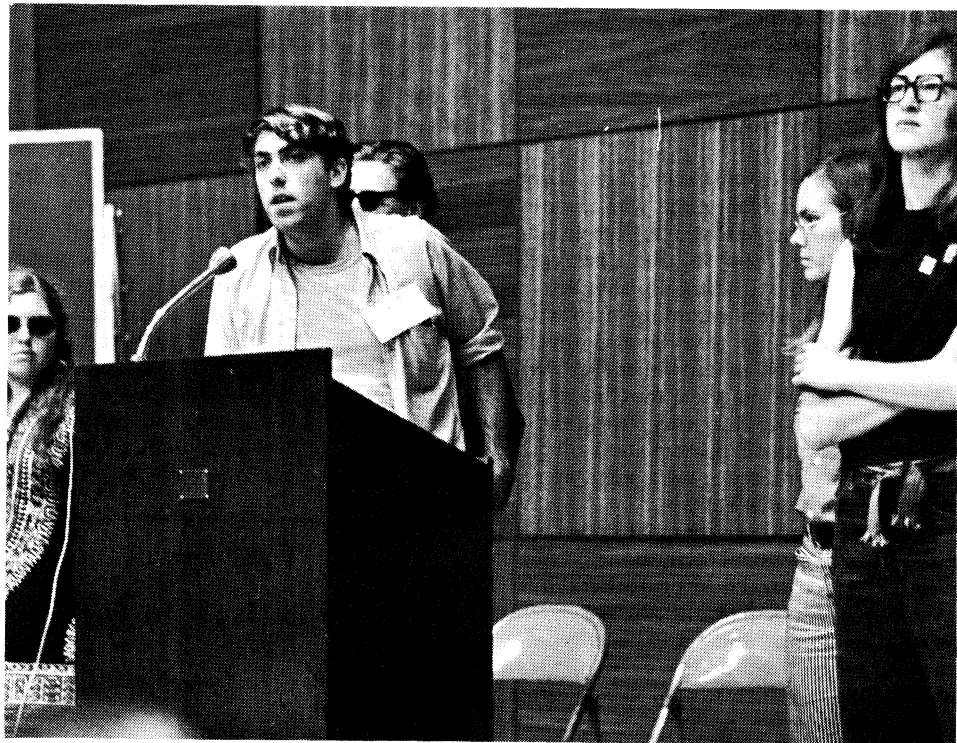
## Pvt. Miles given a warm tribute

CLEVELAND— Movement support to and respect for GIs United was very apparent at the conference here with the ovation extended Pvt. Joe Miles when he was nominated from the floor to the conference steering committee by Leroy Wolins of Chicago Vets for Peace. Conference participants registered their protest at the latest Army attempt to victimize and isolate Miles by shipping him, contrary to all normal procedures, to an Arctic Circle base. Miles, who was initial organizer of GIs United at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg, suggested the brass was offering him the opportunity to organize still another unit of the antiwar GI formation.

Miles was later elected to the permanent steering committee of the new antiwar coalition with the proviso that if he were transferred and unable to function he could select a GI proxy to serve on the committee.



Dave Dellinger



SDS spokesman Mark Rudd addresses antiwar conference.

Photos this page by Shannon



# etnam war

vists, principally from the Student Mobilization Committee, recounted their successes in organizing mass actions against the war and the poor results of isolated "confrontation" efforts on campus.

## Marxist view

Representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sought to demonstrate that revolutionaries who regarded themselves as partisans of the Vietnamese liberation struggle had the obligation to build a broad mass movement in opposition to the war from the viewpoint of aiding the Vietnamese revolution as well as from the standpoint of accelerating the radicalizing process in this country.

The discussion made apparent that the stand favoring central emphasis on mass action had the support of the great majority of the participants and, even though they were divided on other issues, among the majority of the conference steering committee. This made it possible for what began as a sharply divided conference to work out agreement on a program of action that in all its main features reflected the majority view and yet made it possible for the entire coalition to remain united.

A source of disagreement and friction at the conference was the question of who should receive delegate credentials.

The conference had been initiated by a number of individuals prominent in the antiwar movement. Several, such as Sid Peck and Sid Lens, are officers of the National Mobe but felt a broader formation was needed to launch an effective antiwar action. They agreed on issuing invitations to a group of organizations and individuals they deemed representative of a cross section of the antiwar movement. In sending out the invitations, however, they noted that there might well be other organizations and individuals who were not on the list who should have been included. Such groups and individuals, they announced, could apply for delegate status.

Information about the conference explaining these facts was included in material issued by the Student Mobilization Committee. Indicative of the present vigor of the antiwar movement—even though the conference was organized during a period of only several weeks and took place in the summer when many campus committees are not functioning—there was a large turnout. More than 900 people attended the conference. Many came as observers, but in addition to the original list of about a hundred invited delegates perhaps another 150 or 200 applied for delegate status.



ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley

The majority of the steering committee which initiated the conference took the position that the steering committee itself should be the final source of appeal from credentials committee decisions. A motion that the conference as a whole be the highest body of appeal was defeated at the opening session by a vote of 55 to 44.

In the course of the conference a number of additional credentials were issued, but a fairly large remaining number of representatives of antiwar organizations were angered at the fact that they were denied credentials. However, despite this jarring note, there was obvious genuine satisfaction and enthusiasm over the fact that regardless of disagreements and difficulties the conference did agree on a meaningful program of action.

The initiating committee of the conference, with several GIs and other representative figures added, was constituted as the nucleus of a steering committee, with the understanding that it had the responsibility to add representatives of additional antiwar organizations and thereby develop into a body genuinely representative of the antiwar movement.

The attendance at the conference, the serious political debate, the program mapped out and the spirited note on which the sessions ended offer every promise that the antiwar movement is on the road to one of the biggest things this country has ever seen.

# . . . Student Mobe meeting

(Continued from page 1)

of the discussion concerning the orientation of the student antiwar movement.

The conference opened with greetings from ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley and Pvt. Joe Cole of the Ft. Jackson 8, followed by George Addison of the Canadian antiwar movement.

Carol Lipman, executive secretary of the SMC, outlined proposals for the fall offensive.

## SDS role

At the conclusion of her presentation, about 30 SDS (RYM) members, in their first attendance at a SMC national conference since 1966, interrupted the proceedings by moving up to the podium chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" and "Dare to struggle, dare to win" for a few minutes before lining up across the front of the room and taking the microphone.

Speaking for about 15 minutes, the SDSers accused the majority in the room of "great-power chauvinism," lecturing them on the virtues of "being ready to take up the gun" and having "anti-imperialist" slogans. How? demanded the SMCers. What's the most effective way to be against imperialism?

The SDSers didn't appear to have any answer, and began to walk out after berating SMC for 15 minutes. The audience shouted, "Stay and debate," the chairman thanked SDS for their contribution, and the meeting continued, with discussion of what had just occurred. The SDSers began to filter back as Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party spoke in answer to their rhetoric. He emphasized the need for developing methods of struggle that could involve broad masses of people.

Julie Miller, a high school student in New York SMC, noted that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam had sent messages of support to the U.S. antiwar movement, urging us to keep up our massive demonstrations; thus, she concluded, the NLF apparently regards mass antiwar actions as more decisive in supporting them than would be an ultimatic slogan, "Support the NLF," raised by a small number of "anti-imperialists."

The dialogue with SDS continued on the floor and in a workshop set up for such discussion at the request of SDS. The SDS viewpoint expressed in the workshop was that the most effective and militant antiwar action is one under the banners of "Support the NLF" and "Down with U.S. imperialism." The viewpoint of most SMCers was that the most effective and militant confrontation with U.S. imperialism is building the type of demonstration which can mobilize the masses to demand that the troops be brought home.

## Conference decisions

In addition to workshops on the summer and fall actions, there were workshops to discuss the draft and political rights as well as a workshop for GIs and one for third-world students.

Following the recommendations of the workshops, the conference discussed and voted to build the Sept. 27 action in Chicago, the Nov. 15 mass march in Washington, the Oct. 15 moratorium and a



Carol Lipman, executive sec'y, SMC.

nationwide student strike Nov. 14.

Regarding the Chicago action, the conference resolved nearly unanimously that "we should negotiate with SDS to try to build the largest, most effective demonstration in defense of the Chicago victims." A girl from Cleveland SMC then proposed that SMC not sponsor the Chicago action unless the outcome of the negotiations with SDS is favorable; this motion was defeated overwhelmingly as were two other motions, one opposing all confrontation tactics and another against all violence initiated by demonstrators.

A student from Resistance pointed out that opposition to all confrontation tactics would exclude him. To pass an abstract motion against violence, it was pointed out, would be to implicitly accept the distortions of the ruling class that sometimes the antiwar movement initiates the violence.

The democratic structure of SMC was reaffirmed, with national conferences twice yearly being the major decision-making bodies, and with a steering committee for the day-to-day implementation of decisions. The steering committee consists of the national staff and representatives elected from all affiliated groups in cities close enough to the national center to attend steering committee meetings.

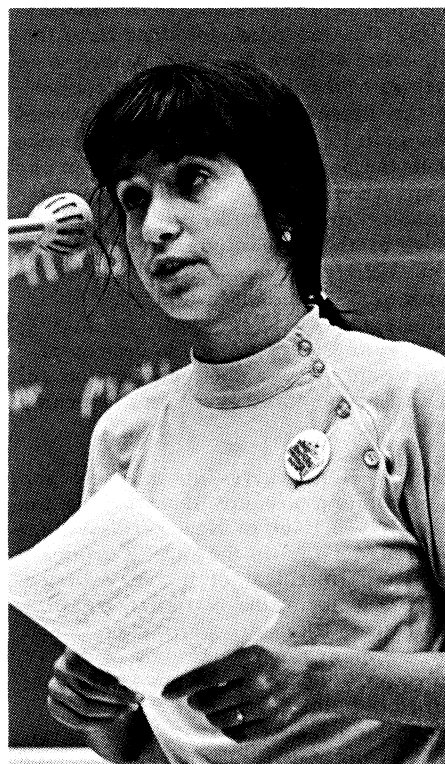
The national staff elected by the conference consists of Carol Lipman, executive secretary; Allen Myers, editor, GI Press Service; Joanna Misnik and Richie Lesnik. In addition to the staff, the steering committee consists of Julie Miller, high school student, New York SMC; Neal Grossman, New York SMC; Kevin Kenney, Vietnam vet; Duncan Williams, former chairman, Antioch SMC; Glen Barnett, Manhattan College; and Cindy Jacquith, New York University; plus others to be elected by their own organizations. The conference decided to move the national office from New York to Washington, D.C., for the final preparations for the Nov. 15 mass march.

## Antiwar action program

(The following is the text of the central antiwar action proposal agreed on by the Cleveland national antiwar conference.)

The Steering Committee recommends two massive national actions for which administrative and organizing personnel shall be provided by this conference and its appropriate committees:

1. A September 27 action in Chicago related to the beginning of the conspiracy trial. Planning on this action was initiated by other groups. It will therefore be necessary to negotiate on tactics and means of collaboration with these other groups to assure the development of plans and tactics capable of mobilizing the largest number of people.
2. A broad mass legal November 15 demonstration for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam around the White House in Washington which will include:
  - a. A mass march;
  - b. A rally with speeches as near the White House as possible which will include but not be limited to the following program:
    1. Withdrawal of support from the Thieu-Ky government; self-determination for the people of Vietnam
    2. Immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops and supplies and dismantling of U.S. bases in Vietnam;
    3. Defeat of the ABM and related missile programs and swift progress toward disarmament; an end to research and development of chemical-biological warfare.
    4. Immediate implementation of a program to end racism, repression and poverty in the U.S.
    5. Free speech for GIs.
  - c. The march and rally will last from 11am to 5pm.
  - d. Those who wish to stay in Washington will meet that evening for planning of subsequent days' strategy and tactics;
  - e. It will be expected that an associated demonstration will be planned for the same time on the West Coast.



Julie Miller, a New York high school student, was elected to SMC steering committee.



Duncan Williams, former chairman Antioch SMC, was elected to SMC steering committee.

## Rap and rock session

# Lively Cleveland socialist rally

By Roger Rudenstein

CLEVELAND—An election rally attended by over 80 people here June 28 celebrated the successful collection of 20,000 signatures to put Syd Stapleton, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, on the ballot for mayor of Cleveland. In addition to Stapleton, speakers at the rally, held on the campus of Case-Western Reserve University, included James Harris, SWP candidate for East Cleveland board of education; attorney Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, the local antiwar coalition; Dr. Eugene V. Perrin of the pathology department of the Case-Western Reserve medical school; and Paul Boutelle, the SWP mayoral candidate in New York City. Entertainment was provided by the country-rock group, Eli Radish.

The rally was covered over NBC and CBS TV and in the Cleveland **Plain Dealer**.

Attorney Jerry Gordon outlined the history of the repressive Ohio election laws which are designed to keep minority parties off the ballot and then focused on the war in Vietnam.

Gordon noted that Carl Stokes, the black, Democratic incumbent mayor who is running for reelection, had finally come out for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. "While we welcome Carl Stokes into the antiwar ranks," commented Gordon, "we take special note that while Stokes was sitting back and watching and waiting until the time was right for him to take a stand, people like Syd Stapleton were out in the streets marching and demonstrating and demanding the end of the war when it wasn't popular to do so."

Gordon concluded by characterizing the times we live in:

"We are in for sweeping changes. This is a whole period of fundamental social change and there is nothing that can stop it . . . And it is in that spirit that I welcome the candidacy of Stapleton and Harris. Let's make sure we bring their message to the attention of tens of thousands of people in the greater Cleveland area."

SWP mayoralty candidate Syd Stapleton, the first speaker at the rally, talked about his opponent, Stokes:

"What has become clear in the last two years is that Carl Stokes the Democrat, whatever his personal inclinations are, has become an agent of the white power structure in its dealings with the black community, rather than a representative of black



Syd Stapleton, Paul Boutelle and James Harris

Photo by Dave Wulp

people exacting their due from a corrupt and bloated ruling structure that reigns over this city of Cleveland. The fiction's falling away, and it's clear that the color of the mayor's skin is going to make very little difference to the black community if the mayor allows the legal lynching of Ahmed Evans without a word in protest."

James Harris, the socialist candidate for East Cleveland board of education, stated that his campaign would be focused on the school system and the rights of students and the black community. He read to the audience a letter by the Cleveland superintendent of schools, Paul Briggs, banning works by LeRoi Jones, Eldridge Cleaver, and W. E. B. DuBois from the school system. Harris commented:

"When racist bureaucrats are allowed to dictate to black people what reading material they shall read, then it is time for a change in this society. This letter is exemplary of the systematic campaign to subjugate black people and strip them of their identities, to keep us ignorant of the true nature of our oppression and how to liberate ourselves. This is the function of the schools as far as black people are concerned—to subjugate us and to keep us controlled. The school system

is just an extension of the same system which holds us in a modified form of slavery in America today. One of the basic tenets of my campaign is black control of black education."

Dr. Eugene V. Perrin of the department of pathology at Case-Western Reserve University school of medicine asserted the right of victims of the unjust system to decent health care. Although he differs with some of the positions of the Socialist Workers Party and the campaign, Dr. Perrin gave his endorsement to the Stapleton-Harris candidacies.

The last speaker at the rally was Paul Boutelle, black revolutionary and SWP candidate for mayor of New York City. Commenting on Mayor Stokes, Boutelle said:

"It doesn't make any difference whether Stokes has his Cleveland Now, Cleveland Never, Cleveland Yesterday program. Because as far as the black community is concerned, the working-class community, it'll really be Cleveland Never as long as the bankers and industrialists control Cleveland."

Those interested in the Cleveland socialist campaign should write to Socialist Campaign Committee, 13900 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44112.

## PLers in fracas at N.Y. region SDS meeting

By Peer Vinther

NEW YORK—The struggle between the two rival SDSes reached a new low at a meeting held July 7 at the student center of New York University. The meeting was called for 6 p.m. by the national-office tendency led by Mark Rudd, and its announced purpose was the reorganization of the New York regional SDS.

A defense squad at the door asked all those who entered whether or not they were members of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) or the Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and any member of that tendency was excluded. Around 6:30 p.m., when approximately 200 people had entered the meeting, a group of 75 members of the PL-WSA tendency attempted to force their way into the hall. After a short scuffle they were repulsed by the SDS security squad. Several people were injured by flying glass when the plate glass doors were shattered.

PL's attempt to physically disrupt the meeting of the other SDS is the logical continuation of the tactics that have been employed by both sides of the SDS split. And, unfortunately, it is likely things will get even worse in this regard before they get better. The Mark Rudd group tried to use the same strong-arm-type tactics at the Cleveland conference of the Student Mobilization Committee (see story, pp. 6-7).

Such tactics are not new to the movement. They were introduced by the Stalinists some 40 years ago and have since then been one of the most pernicious, destructive factors used by the ruling class not only to discredit the radical movement but also to provoke the kind of internecine violence that has turned the radical groups against each other and kept them divided in the face of the real enemy.

Physical intimidation and the use of force within the radical movement is a deadly poison that can only be combated when the combined forces on the left are conscious of the stakes involved and are actively educating against it. Elementary to this education is the insistence on the right of any tendency to hold its own meetings without need to defend them against opponent tendencies.

The PL-WSA attack on the SDS meeting was in the full tradition of Stalinism.

After the attack, the student center was closed by the cops, and the SDS meeting was able to proceed. The "reorganization" for which the meeting was called consisted of officially reading the PL-WSA faction out of the New York regional SDS.

Dave Gilbert, a long-time SDS activist and spokesman, reported on the SDS convention and repeated the justifications for the expulsion of PL-WSA—their "counter-revolutionary" stand on black nationalism and the Vietnamese revolution. In essence, he articulated the line put forward by the **Guardian**, criticizing, but supporting, the leadership of the so-called national collective.

His speech was followed by a series of campus reports which stressed the failure of PL-WSA to participate in supporting the struggles of third-world students.

## Atlanta socialist backs Evans fight

ATLANTA, Ga. — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, condemned the sentencing of Cleveland black nationalist leader Ahmed Evans to the electric chair.

Describing how "the case against Evans is a frame-up from top to bottom," she said that "the prosecutor, the judge, and the jury are sacrificing the life of Ahmed Evans as a warning to black youth all over the country to toe the line."

She particularly hit at the fact that in a city that is over half black none of the jurors were black.

"I join with Syd Stapleton and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor of Cleveland and New York, in condemning this racist breach of justice and demand that Ahmed Evans be released immediately," she said. "We denounce Mayor Stokes of Cleveland for not speaking out against this frame-up, and we call for the prosecution of the cops who shot down black citizens in Glenville last year."

## views and reviews

# . . . and more press reports on SDS split

Assessments by the radical press of the split at the SDS national convention continue to roll in. Stew Albert, a sidekick of Jerry Rubin, writing in the June 27 **Berkeley Barb**, describes the convention this way:

"The scenes on the Convention floor were out of a reactionary newspaper cartoon satirizing the New Left. The PL [Progressive Labor Party] and anti-PL factions waved fists and red books at each other and drowned out rival speeches by shouting Mao, Mao, Mao tse-tung (PL) and Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh

(anti-PL). The rivals came at times to moderate blows but usually the fights were orally fixated.

"The source of this mad hell was PL's belief that their enemies were going to stack the convention. PL responded by bringing everybody they could to the meeting. It turned out to be paranoia and PL had a heavily disproportionate representation.

"This was too much for their rival factions who walked out, set up their own meetings and expelled PL for not supporting the Black Panthers or the National Liberation Front. A faction fight then broke out in the newly purged SDS between one group which hates PL but has similar attitudes and a really different group known as the Revolutionary Youth Movement. The RYM won out and elected its people to the National SDS office."

Albert quotes Jerry Rubin as saying, "If the ruling class wanted to destroy SDS they would televise their convention for free at prime time; every one watching would be bored."

Dotson Rader gives an intensely personal running account of the convention in the July 3 issue of New York's **Village Voice**. Rader favors the anti-PL grouping but it not uncritical of it. "As expected, and true to form, the National Organization (Mike Klonsky, Bernadine Dohrn, and company) was outmatched by PL in organization, outwitted in tactics, outgunned in politics."

Describing his feelings after the convention was all over, Rader concludes, "And I thought, it ain't right to expel Progressive Labor from the SDS. The Movement has got to stay wide and open and loose or it will go down in defeat."

The July 5 **Guardian** gives editorial support to the expulsion of PL from SDS, but is highly critical of the present state of SDS in other ways. "While we basically agree with SDS's development into a revolutionary youth movement and the growth of Marxist-Leninist politics in the organization, the present shape of SDS politics leaves a lot to be desired."

Among the present faults of SDS that the editorial lists are (1) that there is a "growing gulf between its leadership and membership," (2) that "internal democracy must be understood to be a top priority," (3) that there is "an intoxication with sectarianism, dogmatism, obscure rhetoric and empty sloganeering," and (4) that there is a "resurrection by some of 'comrade Stalin' as a positive figure in communist history."

In the same issue of the **Guardian**, Carl Davidson gives an explanation of why he thinks it was politically imperative for SDS to expel PL. The most interesting feature of this article is that Davidson tries to show that the political positions of the Progressive Labor Party are in contradiction to the line of Chairman Mao.

Finally, there are now two separate editions of SDS **New Left Notes** being published. The Midwest edition is put out by the anti-PL SDS (1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612, subs \$10 a year). The East Coast edition is put out by the pro-PL SDS (173A Mass. Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115, no sub price listed but presumably the same as the Midwest edition). The two editions while differing markedly in content are strikingly similar in appearance.

—Malachi Constant

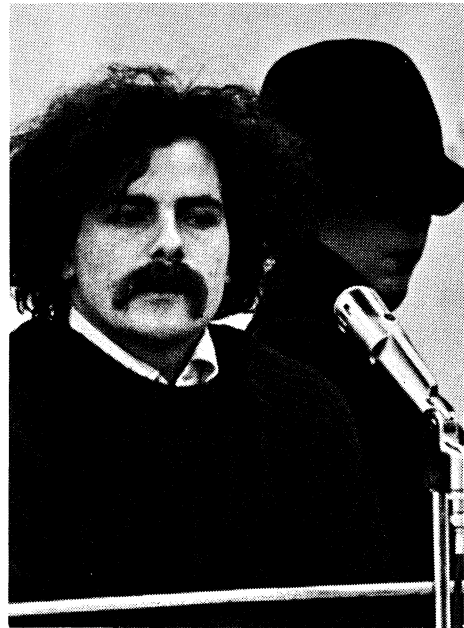


Photo by Shannon

Jerry Rubin (front) was reported by associate as bored by SDS split convention.



## The limits of simple unionism

# The decline of John L. Lewis

By Robert Langston

(The first part of this article appeared in the July 11 issue of *The Militant*.)

After the 1935 AFL convention failed to heed Lewis' call to organize the unorganized, he took the initiative without authorization by the federation in a massive organizing drive among the nation's unskilled mass-production workers. The CIO was launched on Oct. 20, 1935, when Lewis met with a half-dozen other leaders of AFL industrial unions to form the Committee for Industrial Organization which, after the expulsion of these union from the the AFL, became the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

It would be false to say that Lewis created the CIO. That was the deed of the millions of American workers who, recovering from the fear and apathy induced by the great depression and furious at what was being done to them, unleashed a torrent of working-class struggle unlike any previously seen in the United States. But Lewis, almost alone of nationally prominent labor leaders, welcomed this torrent and understood how to swim with it; he wanted to lead it, and within the limits imposed by his support to the capitalist system, he knew how to offer the kind of leadership required. "It is doubtful," Art Preis wrote in *Labor's Giant Step*, "if the CIO would have been formed, or if the industrial union movement would have arrived as quickly as it did, if not for the exceptional qualities of Lewis."

With Lewis' shift to mass organizing, his attitude towards radicals in the union movement changed. Free of personal prejudice against radicals, Lewis had cynically used red-baiting as a power tactic in the 20s; during the 30s, when he needed men and women with organizational experience, a measure of genuine dedication to labor's cause, and the ability to speak a language corresponding to the increasingly militant and anticapitalist mood of the workers, Lewis welcomed those radicals who would recognize his suzerainty into the CIO.

Members and sympathizers of the Stalinized Communist Party swarmed into the young industrial-union movement, and they quickly gained important leadership positions. But instead of pursuing a principled revolutionary trade-union policy—organizing the rank-and-file workers in left-wing caucuses, encouraging and leading all tendencies towards independent political action, challenging the established conservative or reformist leaderships wherever possible—the Stalinists sought to snuggle up as closely as possible to the Lewis-appointed or -supported bureaucrats.

Instead of critically supporting Lewis when his policies deserved support and opposing him when revolutionary principle required it, they served him. In return, they got jobs and influence, but in the long run they paid dearly for their temporary successes. In the late 40s, the

dominant bureaucrats, in cooperation with the FBI, the bosses and the congressional red-baiters, began to purge the trade-union movement of radicals. (To his credit, Lewis did not that time join in this despicable act of class collaboration.) The Stalinists suddenly found themselves almost totally devoid of rank-and-file support.

### Political action

While Lewis played a constructive, perhaps decisive, role in the trade-union field during the 30s, his role in the other great sphere of working-class struggle—the arena of political action—was about as miserable as that of any of the reactionary craft-union leaders he so thoroughly detested. Lewis never transcended the Gompers approach to politics: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies," where both "friends and enemies" are understood as office seekers within one or another capitalist party.

The same torrent that took the form of the great sit-down strikes—which Lewis unconditionally supported—was also beginning, by 1936, to batter through the confines of the Democratic Party and sweep towards the creation of an independent party of labor. Lewis did everything in his considerable power to deflect this movement back into the Democratic Party—to the benefit of the "great friend of labor," Franklin Roosevelt.

Early in 1937, the giant United States Steel Corporation capitulated to the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee without a strike, and Lewis negotiated a contract which provided for substantial wage increases, reduced working hours, important fringe benefits and, above all, union recognition. Flushed with this inexpensive victory, the SWOC, more or less led by Lewis' trusted lieutenant, Philip Murray, tackled five of U. S. Steel's main competitors known collectively as Little Steel.

Lewis and Murray expected Roosevelt, to whose re-election in 1936 the CIO had contributed so much, at least to restrain the Democratic governors of the big steel-producing states from intervening on the side of the companies. Roosevelt of course did no such thing, and the rank-and-file workers had been left by the union leadership wholly unprepared for the police and National Guard onslaught that was unleashed upon them by these Democratic governors during the bitter strikes. The bosses' and Democratic politicians' violence reached its bloody zenith on Memorial Day, 1937, when 10 steel workers were slaughtered at the Republic Steel plant in South Chicago. On June 30, Roosevelt commented on the carnage with a quote from *Romeo and Juliet*: "A plague on both your houses."

After Roosevelt's Little Steel "treason" Lewis began to cool towards the "great friends of labor." He even began to utter sounds about the possibility that labor might "someday" have to form its own political instrument. His break with Roosevelt was consummated after he discovered that his "great friend" was meddling in the internal affairs of the CIO and organizing by flattery and promises a group of top bureaucrats whose first loyalty would be to the President and not to Lewis.

### Lewis supports Wilkie

In an October 25, 1940, speech on the forthcoming presidential election, Lewis delivered a superb denunciation of Roosevelt and explained with complete clarity

the nature of the administration's drive towards war. But Lewis drew back from the obvious logical consequence of his statements and called on the American workers to vote for—Roosevelt's Republican opponent, Wendell Wilkie.

But if Lewis could never grasp the necessity for labor to organize and fight politically in complete independence of and uncompromising opposition to the capitalist class, after the Little Steel disaster he never again departed for long from his perfectly correct conviction that in the trade-union sphere labor must fight in complete independence of its foe, placing no reliance on the government and not subjecting itself to the authority of capitalist laws and courts. The validity of this conception was compellingly demonstrated in the midst of the second world war during a struggle that showed the heights to which Lewis could rise.

### 1943 coal strikes

By the beginning of 1943, workers in many industries were growing restive under the system of war-time price and labor controls that assured continually growing profits for capitalists, rising prices of consumer goods and declining real wages for workers. In January, the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania walked out in a wildcat strike. The phony government "mediation" machinery was set in motion, but there were clear indications that the miners would not acquiesce any longer.

Lewis put himself at the head of this spontaneous movement of the miners. Defying the government, most of the national labor leadership and a journalistic campaign of calumny as vicious as any in American history, he led a series of four coal strikes that smashed the whole system of labor controls, restored to the labor movement a large part of its freedom of action, defeated a concerted government-boss union-busting effort, and prepared the way for the great strike wave of the immediate post-war years.

But following the second world war, the limitations of Lewis' policies became increasingly clear. His kind of militant, but still "pure and simple" trade unionism could not cope even in the narrowly economic sphere with the new problems created by the "third industrial revolution." The coal industry entered a phase of rapid mechanization as the coal bosses desperately tried to rejuvenate their declining industry—and to restore their declining profits.

### Decline of the UMW

Lewis lacked the vision to see the possibility of a workers' struggle to gain control of the whole process of production and to organize it under a conscious plan for the benefit of the workers themselves. He could see only two alternatives confronting the UMW: either to blindly oppose the inevitable progress of mechanization in a vain attempt to protect miners' jobs, or to acquiesce in the capitalists' efforts to eliminate jobs and increase productivity in return for a small cut of this higher productivity in the form of higher wages and, especially, improved retirement benefits. Lewis opted unhesitatingly for the second alternative, and he lived to see the UMW membership dwindle from more than a million to fewer than 100,000 working miners.

Lewis became a trustee of the immensely wealthy pension fund. But the miners discovered that their retirement and unemployment benefits declined rapidly, so high was

the rate at which miners were displaced. They also discovered that the union's abdication in the face of the operators' rationalization and mechanization plans condemned the workers to ever lessening control over working and safety conditions.

Lewis left the once-mighty UMW a weak and flaccid outfit unable to defend the most elementary interests of the miners and presided over by men utterly devoid of those qualities he, despite all his limitations, possessed in such high degree.

Art Preis' *Labor's Giant Step*, published in 1964 by Merit Publishers includes a comprehensive account and Marxist analysis of Lewis' role in the history of the CIO.

## Trotskyists given harsh sentences by Greek junta

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

Three other defendants were also sentenced: Elie Corovessis, student, eight years in prison; Dimitri Frangoulakis, 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: Thirty-nine 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. The principal defendants were Theodore Nicas, sentenced to life in prison; Georges Tzorzorlian, and Lambriani Iconomidou, who each received twenty years; and Dimitri Livieratos.

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



Miners take strike vote, 1945.

## Transitional Program for Black Liberation

A programmatic proposal for the building of a mass black liberation party, this important document is a draft resolution presented by the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party for consideration by the party's coming national convention.

25 cents

Socialist Workers Party  
873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

# Will CP back Lindsay in New York election?

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK—The New York Communist Party has announced that it is running a candidate, Rasheed Storey, a black factory worker, for mayor of New York City.

The announcement came on June 17, the day of the Republican and Democratic primary elections, in a small article on the bottom of page three of the CP voice, the **Daily World**. By assuring that Communist Party members "will always subordinate our particular party interests to such broad coalition struggles which we foresee as the main road to progress in the coming period," Storey's announcement that his hat was in the ring gave some idea of the intent of the campaign.

This is an old and familiar tune for the Communist Party. If the CP actually makes an effort to collect the required signatures to put their nominee on the ballot, their campaign on his behalf will almost certainly be a purely token one. Ever since the 1930s, the New York Communist Party has been buried deep in capitalist politics. It has helped to elect such capitalist politicians as Fiorello LaGuardia, William O'Dwyer, Robert Wagner and Mayor Lindsay himself.

As part of its policy of getting into the "mainstream" (a euphemism for capitalist parties), CP members and supporters have long been rump-deep in the reform Democratic clubs in New York. Frozen out of patronage by the Wagner machine, many of the reform clubs switched to Lindsay. The CP, to avoid isolation from the "mainstream," switched with them.

To assure that his program will appeal to the "broadest possible forces" and alienate none of the "mainstream," Storey declined to call for black and Puerto Rican control of black and Puerto Rican communities. Instead, the platform calls for "black and Puerto Rican representation at the highest levels," something that numerous capitalist politicians also favor. It is customarily referred to as tokenism.

Storey's policy for the labor movement similarly shows a desire to attract "wide unity." He calls for "power for labor in public affairs." How much power? What public affairs? For example, in the form of the Meany bureaucracy, labor now has considerable power in determining how the CIA should approach the Latin American labor movement.

Storey does not call for a labor party, or even for the right of public employees to strike. His call for a \$100-a-week minimum wage for all New York City workers comes to exactly half of what the U.S. Department of Labor, itself no friend of

working people, deems adequate for a family of four in New York City.

What kind of coalition does the CP consider important enough to warrant the subordination of its "particular party interest"?

The answer is contained in a June 21 **Daily World** editorial. It is interested in a coalition of "labor, the black and Puerto Rican communities, the youth and many other under the slogans—Stop Marchi! [the Republican candidate, a representative of his party's right wing] Stop Procaccino! [the Democratic candidate, also a representative of his party's right wing.]"

To "stop" two capitalist candidates (and elect a third), is the basic unity program sufficient for the CP to subordinate its campaign. It is obvious that the CP considers maneuvering among capitalist politicians more important than calling for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, black and Puerto Rican control of the black and Puerto Rican communities, and similar demands. If the CP were interested in fighting for the interests of the masses of New Yorkers, it would have announced support of Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party, who is basing his campaign on these demands. However, nowhere in the pages of the **Daily World** has the CP mentioned Boutelle's campaign.

Who then, does the CP view as a mayoral candidate around which these "broad progressive forces" can unite? The answer is contained in the June 28 **Daily World**, which reports a "grass roots" conference held here June 26 that adopted a proposal of the Freedom and Peace Party, a political formation whose principal spokesmen generally reflect the views of the CP. John Gallo, a Freedom and Peace Party official, is approvingly quoted as saying, "Our task is to build independence away from the two major parties. Lindsay in a sense is running as independent because he is forced to. The bulk of the working class, black and Spanish-speaking community will go for Lindsay. Running our own candidate would insure the victory of Procaccino." Thus, although the Freedom and Peace Party has announced it will run candidates for less important city offices, it definitely won't run anybody against Lindsay.

Lindsay has a clear antiblack, antilabor record. He has added 4,000 cops to the police force, given himself power to jail 10,000 people a day if the black and Puerto Rican communities of New York rebel, and put cops in New York City high schools, especially the black and Puerto Rican schools, as well as using them to



EDUCATION UNDER LINDSAY. New York mayor ordered cops into schools. Scene above is Franklin K. Lane High School last January. Now CP regards Lindsay is better to vote for than "law-and-order" mayoralty opponents.

physically assault the student protesters at colleges and universities in the city. He came out strongly against the demand by black and third-world students that City College of New York admit a freshman class which would increase the number of blacks and Puerto Ricans, making CCNY reflect the composition of the high schools.

He threatened the use of the National Guard to break strikes by transit and sanitation workers and tried to break a six-week welfare workers' strike in 1967.

The CP has not been able to find any prominent black spokesmen to endorse Lindsay, with his overt racist record. However, they quote with glee the endorsements Lindsay has thus far received from reform Democrats and labor bureaucrats. Several such endorsements were gleefully announced when the June 26 **World** reported that "considerable pressure has been developed in labor and liberal ranks to support Lindsay against Procaccino and Marchi, both of whom are on the extreme

right wing of their respective parties. This pressure is particularly strong among Reform Democrats."

The CP was even more gleeful when Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, reaffirmed his earlier endorsement of Lindsay. It pointed to Gotbaum as having views corresponding to the views of the "newer and younger sections of the labor leadership."

It is clear from all this that the CP has no intention of running a serious or principled campaign. They are doing the same thing they have done numerous times in the past: running a token campaign to placate supporters who cannot stomach hustling votes for capitalist candidates, while giving their major emphasis to building up support for a capitalist candidate like Lindsay.

Those who want to support a genuine socialist candidate should get behind Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party.

## Socialist candidate in Philadelphia backs local fight against pollution

By Fred Stanton

PHILADELPHIA—The people of Darby, a majority-black suburb of Philadelphia, won a recent victory when they succeeded in obtaining a court order prohibiting the dumping of raw human excrement at a landfill site in the community. The victory was the culmination of protest demonstrations, during which 150 people, mostly women and children, blocked roads leading to the landfill site for several days.

The residents had tried to go through "normal channels" to end the dumping of sewage—and the resulting odor and threat to the health of their community, but received little response. The landfill operation is owned by the nephew of a Delaware County Commissioner.

An injunction was issued in an attempt to halt the protest of the residents. But 100 angry residents packed the courtroom to protest the injunction and the NAACP retained a lawyer to appeal it. The demonstrations ended only after the court order to stop the dumping was issued.

The landfill owner, who is paid by nearby communities to dispose of their sewage, claims the odor is not due to human waste, although he does dump human waste there. According to residents, the sewage is neither treated nor covered as required by law. The landfill owner claims the odor is due to an old pig farm dug up by his men.

John Benson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Philadelphia District Attorney, commented, "As socialists we talk about the evils of capitalism; its complete disregard of people's health and welfare.

The pollution problems that plague urban areas, if left up to the industrialists, contractors or politicians, would continue to run rampant. It is only when the people in a community organize to protest and take action that problems are eliminated. The power to make society fit to live in rests with the working people. They have nothing to lose and much to gain; clean air and water would be just minimal gains. Like the only way black people in Darby can get a little fresh air is to get together and fight for it."



John Benson

## Reply to WCBS editorial

In a June 27 and 28 editorial on the Middle East, WCBS in New York City presented an opinion remarkably coincident with that of the Israeli government. Brian Shannon, New York Socialist Workers Party mayoralty campaign director, requested and obtained equal time. The SWP's reply to the CBS editorial was broadcast July 3; its text is reprinted below.

\* \* \*

THE WCBS Radio editorial ends with what has become the standard refrain of Israeli foreign policy: "The Israeli people will never be driven into the sea." The actual demands voiced by the liberation movement of the Palestinian Arabs demonstrate that this is not the real issue.

As reported in the American news media WCBS among them, the Palestinians actually demand that they return to their homeland of twelve centuries for which they have suffered so much and from which they were driven in 1948. The Palestinians call for the establishment of a democratic, secular state with one man, one vote for both Jewish and Arab citizens and with full religious, cultural, and political freedoms for both peoples. They expressly oppose the expulsion of the Jews from Israel and publicly condemn anti-Jewish and racist agitation.

While Israel demands face-to-face talks with the Arab states, she refuses to talk with the aggrieved party, the Palestinians. This, coupled with the Israeli suppression of all Palestinian political opposition, leaves the Palestinians no alternative but revolutionary warfare for their elementary rights.

The privileged Zionist establishment ruling Israel has aligned the state with the Western colonialist countries, chiefly the United States. These powers hail Israel as an ally who can help assure continued huge profits from their oil monopolies, while letting the bitter anti-imperialist resentments of the Arabs fall upon the Jews. Falsely identifying the survival of its privileges with the survival of the Jewish people, the exclusive Zionist establishment has led the Israelis into a bloody and senseless trap.

For a more complete analysis of these issues, I recommend two pamphlets by Peter Buch entitled "Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis" and "The Myth of Progressive Israel." They document the background of the conflict and indicate the road for the Israeli people: to reject the dead-end Zionist establishment and welcome back their Arab brothers in order to build a peaceful, democratic, multinational and socialist society.

[Both pamphlets mentioned are available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003—Editor]



# The Great Society

**As American as A&P**— Operating under a local option system, 15 of Nevada's 17 counties have legalized prostitution. ( In one town where the citizens complained because the house was next to a school, they moved the school.) J. C. Muyres, top Internal Revenue Service man in the area, says federal tax men keep a close watch on the operation. "It's a real challenge for our agents," he said. "I don't know of any that accept credit cards— although that's not too far fetched. Some of the houses give green stamps."

**It's all done with mirrors**— To cope with student demonstrators and generally improve its campus image, the Pentagon is swiftly reducing the amount of classified military research done at universities. Such projects have already been reduced by 50 percent and further reductions are slated. How do they do it? Simple. They declassify the projects.

**Screwing up the system**— Sex education for children, warns Rev. Billy Hargis, is part of "a gigantic conspiracy to bring America down from within." "I don't want any kid under 12 to hear about lesbians, homosexuals and sexual intercourse," the good reverend said. "They should be concerned with tops, yo-yos and hide and seek."

**The pot war**— After a meeting of U. S. and Mexican narcotics officials it was unofficially disclosed that the U. S. is considering spraying Mexican pot fields with a substance that reportedly makes the user start vomiting after a few drags. Meanwhile, on the other side, it was reported that marijuana growers are now using fertilizer for bigger, faster-growing plants and have developed a hydraulic press that compresses marijuana shipments into one quarter the previous space thus facilitating across-the-border deliveries.

**Uneven development**— The North-East Ohio Methodist Conference declared its opposition to the antiballistic missile system and to the Sunday sale of liquor.

**Feels harassed**— Gen. Hershey, who favors drafting war protesters, complained that antiwar sentiment has resulted in an increasingly "bad time" for draft boards.

In 1965, there were 9,904 appeals from draft calls. Last year the figure was 120,000 and more than 221,000 appeals are expected this year.

**Variety**— Coffin-nail consumers are being offered a wide variety of pacifiers. Recently patented filter devices include such materials as animal bone, honey, clay and sugar, guaze, linen and moss from "moss plants grown in a bog area."

**Organizing the unorganized**— If their owner-trainers have their way, wild animals used in movies and TV will be organized into an effective union. Demands include minimum-wage scales, residuals for commercials and annual awards like the Oscars. They are also ticked off because the Humane Society, in making annual awards to performing animals, judges wild and domestic ones in the same categories.

**Facts-of-life dep't**— Most government regulatory agencies don't get much regulating done, says Charles O'Brien, California deputy attorney general, because most of them "are in bed with the companies they're supposed to be regulating."

**Science in the trenches**— A promotion letter from *Science News* waxes enthusiastic about a new paper that dissolves quickly in water, noting its advantages for diplomatic and security agencies. It would also be useful for college-CIA correspondence files. Turn the hoses on sit-in demonstrators and get rid of the letters at the same time.

**Perish the thought**— The Internal Revenue Bureau announced it would audit the tax returns of 10,000 physicians who tapped the taxpayers for more than \$25,000 a year in Medicare and Medicaid fees. Dr. Dwight Wilbur, president of the AMA, responded that it was incredible that anyone should think doctors would behave in any other way than with "the utmost restraint" in collecting fees.

**Thought for the week**— "Frequently, the people who have savings are not the same persons who are in debt." — The July 2 *Wall Street Journal*.

— Harry Ring

## Reading for revolutionaries

# Marxism or ultraleftism?

**What Policy for Revolutionists— Marxism or Ultraleftism?** by James P. Cannon and Grandizo Munis. Merit Publishers, 1969. 64 pp., 75 cents.

Initially published in 1942, this pamphlet contains two items—a criticism by Grandizo Munis of the way the Socialist Workers Party conducted the defense of its leaders during the 1941 Smith Act trials, and an answer by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP. The SWP leaders were under indictment for their opposition to World War II, but this pamphlet deals with many questions that are being discussed in radical circles today.

The criticism, by Grandizo Munis, is along the line that Cannon was not sufficiently aggressive on the witness stand, that he did not defy the ruling class by proudly asserting that the Socialist Workers Party advocates revolutionary violence against capitalist violence. Munis demanded that the party raise slogans for action and he deplored the fact that the testimony was largely propagandistic and educational.

Something of the same difference of opinion, in the context of present day reality, exists among radicals today. On the one hand, there are those who advocate confrontations of various sorts, regardless of the relationship of forces; on the other hand, there are those who argue for working out correct, realistic programs and then organizing mass actions designed to rally the greatest number of people behind a given issue, such as the fight against the war in Vietnam.

Cannon's reply to Munis takes up the question of how a revolutionary organization should carry on its work in the given circumstances of the time. The present situation, in which a number of organizations call themselves revolutionary, is similar to that of 1941. All the parties and groups are small and have relatively little influence among broad masses of people. At the same time, the ruling class today is still very strong and disposes of overwhelming material resources, as it did 28 years ago. From this standpoint, the situation today is not fundamentally different from what it was then; the same lessons are applicable.

Cannon draws the conclusion that a small

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.

party, still unknown to the masses of people, must first get a hearing from them for its program. It must first win widespread support before it can think in terms of big actions. He points out how futile and even harmful it can be for a small organization to pretend and to act as if it were a mass party enjoying large-scale support and influence.

He shows how propaganda and educational work must be the main labor of a small grouping trying to grow. "Patiently explain," says Cannon, quoting Lenin's position in Russia in 1917, when the Bolsheviks were still a minority.

The pamphlet is rich in quotations from the most eminent leaders of the revolutionary movement, beginning with Marx and Engels and including Lenin and Trotsky. These all bear with telling consistency on the question in dispute and are completely relevant to today's problems.

—Milton Alvin

## Gainesville YSA holds meeting

By John Sugg

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — The first public activity of the new Gainesville, Fla., Young Socialist Alliance was held June 26 at the University of Florida. About 100 people, mostly SDSers and other independent radicals, attended a meeting addressed by Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party organizer in Atlanta, and Bob Arons, a GI organizer.

Arons spoke about his experiences organizing Marines and editing *Head On* at Camp Lejune, N. C. In the course of the talk he attacked the Fort Jackson 8 as a YSA "publicity project," but even among the SDSers in the audience the reaction to Aron's uninformed and non-political criticism was negative.

Doug Jenness spoke about the YSA's positions on the key political questions facing radicals in the U. S. today, including the black liberation struggle, the youth movement, the fight against the war in Vietnam, and world revolution.

Many people asked questions, and there was a lively debate on the respective positions of the YSA and SDS on all the key issues. The audience was greatly appreciative of the high political level of discussion.

The YSA in Gainesville was organized earlier this year, following the April 6 antiwar demonstrations. Many of the people brought together by the April 6 Committee began to think in terms of forming a YSA chapter, especially after a "reorganization" of SDS failed to produce a radical organization adequate to Gainesville's needs. A combination of positive feeling for YSA and internal dissension in SDS led a group to join the YSA in early June.



James P. Cannon

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

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**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: Alan Stancliff, 443 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 1044 University, Boulder, Co. 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 #1, DeKalb, Il. 60115.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: Sandy McNaughton, 511 N. Fess #4, Bloomington, In. 47401

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1500 Kentucky, Lawrence, Ks. 66044. Tel: (913) VI3-8215.

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

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

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

**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, Schardell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brode, 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.

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**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.

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

## Harlem action forces halt on state building

By B. R. Washington

NEW YORK — On Tuesday, July 2, Harlem residents won a significant victory when Governor Rockefeller's office postponed indefinitely the construction of a proposed state office building at the corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem. The project was canceled, the governor's office said, "as a result of community concern." Since then the site has been continuously occupied by Harlem residents to assure that construction does not begin.

The victory culminated several months of protest activity, stemming from the concern of black people in Harlem that Governor Rockefeller and his Negro representatives are proposing something that is irrelevant to the needs of the Harlem black community.

During the last few months, 20,000 Harlemites have signed a petition protesting the construction, seeing it as part of a plan to clear residents out of the Harlem area and into other slums. One of the protest leaflets handed out stated that "Harlem is recognized as an extremely desirable area of the city geographically and physically; it is the new frontier." With black people in Harlem so badly in need of schools, hospitals, and housing, it would be an insult to the black community to let Governor Rockefeller build a \$30 million state office building.

### Stapleton refused by Army; gains place on ballot

CLEVELAND, July 9—The Army today declined to induct the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, Syd Stapleton, informing him that after consultation with Army security headquarters, he was not wanted.

Under the slogan "Give the Army an Excedrin Headache," supporters of Stapleton had accompanied him to the induction office at 6 a.m. to give him a gala send-off. Stapleton reported that the friendly reception he had received inside the induction center, however, exceeded all his expectations. Not only the other inductees, but the Army personnel at the center too, were mostly sympathetic and anxious to talk to him about his campaign.

Interviewed later in the day by Cleveland press, radio and TV, reporters said they had been informed by board of election officials that Stapleton was definitely on the ballot. The board of election estimated that at least 15,000 of the nearly 20,000 signatures turned in were valid. Only 12,000 are required.



Rejected

On the night of June 30, 500 Harlem residents attended a rally at the building site protesting the construction that was to begin the following day. The next morning, with 75 residents occupying the site and an ample number of policemen on the scene, the American flag was taken down and the red, black, and green flag of black liberation was raised over the site. Residents began hanging signs on the fence surrounding the site, explaining the nature and the reasons for the protest to members of the press and the community.

That afternoon, a meeting was called by the so-called "responsible leaders" of the community, i.e., spokesmen for the state building. Upon the arrival of 35 of the residents occupying the site, the meeting developed into a heated verbal confrontation. Out of 165 Harlem residents present, only five or six spoke in favor of the building. It was decided by the protesting residents that this state building would be stopped by any means necessary.

One of the speakers in opposition to the state building was Senator Basil A. Patterson. He pointed out that plans were originally drawn up for the \$30 million office building, plus a \$10 million building. This second building was to have been a House of Culture and Civic Center. But it was eliminated by the same legislature that cut welfare, hospital, and education funds.

On Tuesday, July 2, fearing violence and hostility from residents, Governor Rockefeller's office postponed construction indefinitely. The black people of Harlem demonstrated that they are no longer willing to let outsiders and smiling Negroes decide what is to be built in the community of Harlem. The needs of the Harlem people must come first.

### New victimization of GIs United by Ft. Bragg brass

The GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Bragg, N. C., reports that it is holding regular meetings and has published the first issue of **Bragg Brief**, its own underground newspaper. Permission to distribute this newspaper on base was requested of the Ft. Bragg authorities.

The Bragg brass meanwhile has continued to harass GIs United members. After illegally outlawing the circulation of a GIs United petition on the base, the authorities have used this illegal order to frame Sp/4 Jack Riley.

Riley was passing out copies of the Bill of Rights and the Army Oath of Enlistment on the base June 26, an action which the GIs United had specifically gained permission to do. About 20 feet away from him was his notebook containing some antiwar literature and petitions protesting the fact that Joe Miles, another GIs United member, has been ordered 200 miles north of Fairbanks, Alaska, to the Arctic Circle.

Sp/4 James G. Judson, out of uniform and in a T-shirt, came by and took one of the leaflets. An MP came by and ordered Judson to return to the barracks and put on his uniform. Judson went away but returned when the MP was gone, asking Riley for antiwar literature.

Riley said that he had some in his notebook but was not allowed to give it out. Shortly after this Riley was arrested and all his literature, including the notebook, was confiscated. Two weeks later, on July 7, he was told that he was being charged with "disobeying the general," presumably for distribution of antiwar literature.

Riley has rejected punishment under an Article 15, which carries a very light sentence, but implies an admission of guilt and allows for no appeal. No date has yet been set for a summary court-martial, but if the Army decides to proceed Riley will be defended by Attorney Peter Rindskopf of the Southern Labor Action Project in Atlanta. Rindskopf is an associate of Howard Moore, one of the lawyers who had defended members of GIs United at Ft. Bragg in other cases. The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee is also helping to defend Riley.



Photo by Bruce Marcus

**INDEPENDENCE DAY, PHILADELPHIA.** Nearly 1,000 antiwar demonstrators marched July 4 under banners reading, "Bring all the GIs home now!" Initiated by Philadelphia Vets for Peace, march generated broadest support of any demonstration in area for past year, including sponsorship by Ft. Dix GI newspaper, The Ultimate Weapon, as well as Resistance, SMC and many other groups. Speakers included Joe Cole of the Ft. Jackson 8, Harold Feldman of Vets for Peace, Katherine Camp, national president of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and William Davidson of Resist.

## Israel brazenly escalates claims on occupied areas

By Robert Langston

JULY 10—A series of declarations by Israeli leaders during the past two weeks indicates an increasingly brazen determination on the part of the Zionist state's rulers to absorb the Arab territories conquered during the June 1967 war.

In apparent reference to a reported U. S. proposal that Israel withdraw to its prewar boundaries "with minor rectifications," Defense Minister Moshe Dayan on June 27 told a meeting of industrialists in Jerusalem, "We are not talking of minor rectifications of the border, but major ones." Specifically, Dayan referred to the cities of Nablus and Jericho—both well inside the region seized from Jordan in 1967—as "our homeland." He also said that the status of the Golan Heights—taken from Syria during the six days war—was not negotiable and that "we consider it part of Israel like the Jezreel Valley or the Galilee." Further, Dayan reiterated Israel's resolve to hold the city of Sharm el Sheik on the Gulf of Aqaba and the approaches to the gulf. But, for the first time, he defined these approaches to include "half the Sinai Peninsula," which was taken from Egypt in 1967.

During the same period, Israeli officials have stepped up the process of "reunifying" Jerusalem. On July 1, the Israeli national police headquarters was moved from Tel Aviv to a building that formerly housed an Arab hospital in East Jerusalem (the formerly Jordanian sector). On July 5, Mayor Teddy Kollek announced approval by an international panel of experts of a grandiose urban-renewal project for East Jerusalem. The plan projects the conversion of some 600 acres of the city into a park, and implementation of it will involve the displacement of thousands of Arab residents. If carried through it will be imposed on the Arab people of East Jerusalem without their consent and without consultation with them. And previous experience with Israeli "resettlement" schemes suggests that many of the displaced Arabs will end up in the miserable subexistence of the refugee camps.

During debate in the U. N. Security Council on a Jordanian resolution to censure

Israel for the confiscation of Arab property in Jerusalem and for the administrative changes made since the Israeli occupation, the Israeli representative declared, "Jerusalem will forever be united"—that is, under Israeli domination. And following passage of the resolution on July 3, Foreign Minister Abba Eban said that despite the U. N., Israel intended to consolidate its hold on the city.

Finally, on July 4, Information Minister Israel Galil stated, "I believe it can be said definitely that the Gaza region will not again be separated from the state of Israel." This was the first official indication of the intention to hold the Gaza strip in perpetuity. The 25-mile-long coastal strip extending north-east from Sinai was taken from Egypt during the six days war. Some 200,000 of its exclusively Arab population of 350,000 are refugees and the children and grandchildren of refugees who were driven from their homes following the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.

But as the Israeli conquerors move to consolidate and "legalize" their conquests, they are facing ever stiffening resistance on the part of the Arab victims of their aggression. A July 4 **New York Times** dispatch from Beirut, Lebanon, indicates that the Palestinian guerrillas may be moving towards a new unity in action without obscuring the important political differences between them. According to the **Times** story, representatives of the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command, which includes Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Saiqua, and the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, met with representatives of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and of several smaller liberation groups July 1 to July 3 in Amman, Jordan. The meeting issued a statement which reiterated the guerrillas' rejection of the possibility of a "peaceful" solution to the Palestinian conflict, warned against counterrevolutionary efforts to liquidate the Palestinian question, reported the decision to intensify the struggle against the Israeli aggressors, and declared that the existence of different guerrilla organizations is a sign of vitality "as long as their guns are aimed at the common enemy."