

**Does the movement
need internal democracy?**

by Ernest Mandel

pages 6-7

**Czechs
mark
anniversary
of invasion**

— page 3



Burning tank on Prague street demonstrated resistance of Czechoslovak people to Soviet-led invasion one year ago.



Photo by Shelly Ramsdell

Aug. 9 marchers on New York's Seventh Avenue.



Photo by Joel Aber

GIs lead New York demonstration.



Photo by Lew Pepper

Ultralefts occupy rally platform in Central Park.

**New York
antiwar
rally
disrupted
by
ultralefts**

— page 4

SDSers tell it like it is

Arming with Militants for the struggle

Worcester, Mass.

This past year I was chairman of the Clark University SDS. I will be active this year and may be an officer. However, the main reason I bring this up is that I would like a catalog of SWP-YSA pamphlets and books that we can sell at our literature tables. Also, I would like information about ordering *Militants* in bulk to sell.

Thirdly, I'd like to comment about *The Militant*. It's improved 100 percent in the past year. However, the one suggestion I would like to offer is that *The Militant* should become less of a newspaper written for people already in the movement. There should be more articles such as Hansen's on the moon (Aug. 1 issue) and much more than one-third of a page on the trade unions. In general, there should be more articles that attempt to build a class consciousness instead of articles that confirm the class consciousness; for the latter, there are theoretical magazines, internal bulletins, etc.

The articles on SDS, PL and the Black Panther Party United Front Against Fascism have been excellent, and I plan to use them in the fall in order to get our SDS chapter to dissociate itself from the petit-bourgeois RYM or the Stalinist PL.

Whether individuals in the chapter decide to join YSA or the chapter as a whole decides to remain autonomous and unaffiliated remains to be seen.

Hasta la victoria siempre!

E. B. P.

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.

Joining the YSA

. . . Right on

Clarks Summit, Pa.

As an SDS member and chairman of the Mansfield (Pennsylvania) State College SDS chapter, I have been especially impressed with the coverage your paper has given to the recent SDS and United Front Against Fascism conferences, as well as the antiwar conference in Cleveland.

While I was unable to make the Chicago and Oakland conferences, I was at Cleveland. There I was able to witness numerous "confrontations" and debates between YSAers and some of the SDS-RYM "leadership." I am only sorry that more rank-and-file SDSers could not have been present to see and hear the debate.

Next month I register to vote and intend to register Socialist Workers. I have also applied for YSA membership.

George Dolph

Answers CP smear of Stapleton campaign

Los Angeles, Calif.

In the July 17 issue of the **Daily World** appears an article "Ultras, Trots out to defeat Stokes." The article attempts to link up the revolutionary socialist campaign of Syd Stapleton and James Harris with the right-wing racist campaign of Republican Ralph Perk who is running in the current Cleveland mayoralty race against incumbent Democrat Carl Stokes.

The article is reminiscent of the French CP's smear campaign of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the "German." What is the significance of "Stapleton—23 years old and six months a Clevelander—won a place on the ballot. . ."? Does this mean that somehow Stapleton is a foreigner to the great city of Cleveland? Is there some sinister significance to a "Trotskyite candidate" being 23 years old that only readers of the **Daily World** will appreciate?

The article also reminds one of the CP's attempt to discredit Alain Krivine's campaign by ac-

cusing the Communist League of receiving help from Gaullist officers in its petition drive to get on the ballot. "The signature campaign [of Stapleton] was conducted without a headquarters in the city, with little publicity and evidently a small force. Whereas the election board is usually abrupt with minority parties when inadequate signatures are filed, it was most indulgent in assuring the qualifications of this 'independent' candidate." Is this supposed to mean that Stapleton is an agent of the election board? If it is supposed to mean this, why doesn't the article come right out and say it?

Last of all, the article says that "Stapleton and his Trotskyite party have singled out Stokes for their main attack." Any objective observer would have to agree that a correct interpretation of this statement would be that the CP can see no further than Stokes in the election, and any "irrelevant" issues—like a campaign to

bring all the troops home now, for black control of the black community (as opposed to tokenism in city hall), and the need to organize a revolutionary party to prepare for the American revolution—only interfere with the "practical work" of electing Stokes and defeating the "forces of reaction."

After all, the CP implies, the accomplishments of the Stokes administration are really terrific, overriding all other considerations for people who want to change society. According to the **Daily World**: "The Stokes administration has made some progress in the past 20 months. This can be observed, first, in the ghettos. An area which was totally neglected is now partly cleaned up. . ."

The article is an example of what Karl Marx was talking about when he said, ". . . In this connection [the nomination of candidates against the bourgeois democrats] they [the workers] should not permit themselves to be duped by the phrases of the democrats as, for example, that the democratic party is thereby split and the reaction is being given the possibility of triumph. All these phrases are calculated, in the last analysis, to trick the proletariat. . ."

Pete Seidman

The truth gets around the world

Bad Reichenhall, W. Germany

We get the **International Herald Tribune** here, but when I'm through with it I want to know what's really going on at home. So I turn to **The Militant** and then I feel well informed. When a Turkish student asks about the Panthers, the **Trib** doesn't tell me about the latest developments; you do. When a Palestinian asks what's being done to publicize his side of the struggle, I can't show him the **Trib**. When an Italian bemoans American soldiers' belief in the war, I can't prove the contrary with the **Trib**. Can't do without you!

Carol French

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Vol. 33—No. 36

Friday, Aug. 22, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Aug. 15.

An editorial democracy in the movement

The use of force as a substitute for free, democratic discussion between opposing tendencies within the radical movement has sharply escalated in recent months.

Progressive Labor has attempted on at least two occasions to physically prevent the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) faction of SDS from holding meetings.

The RYM faction physically attacked PLers for leafleting at the Black Panther Party conference in Oakland.

The Black Panther Party at that same conference attacked PLers, members of the Independent Socialist Club (ISC), and members of Spartacist for handing out their leaflets in public streets.

SDS (RYM) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) have stormed the platform and tried to take over the microphone on at least two recent occasions at radical meetings—the Student Mobilization Committee national conference in Cleveland on July 6, and the Aug. 9 antiwar rally of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee.

The attempted use of force to settle differences within the radical movement entails a very serious danger to the movement as a whole. Such violence serves only the interests of the ruling class, which stands to gain the most by seeing its opponents devour each other in internecine warfare. Divide and rule is as old as oppression itself.

Second, it provides every agent and provocateur with the perfect climate in which to operate, sowing even greater dissension, creating conditions for ever more violent actions. When violence becomes the norm for dealing with political disagreement within the movement, it only helps to justify, in the eyes of the masses, the violent methods which the ruling class uses against us.

Third, the ruling class uses such violence to discredit the radical movement, to reinforce prejudices and lies about us.

Once physical attacks begin, their inevitable tendency is to escalate. The violence becomes more extreme and the damage to the movement grows qualitatively. Only a movement united and firm in its condemnation of the introduction of such methods borrowed from the ruling class can stop the plague from decimating the forces of the radical movement.

Every tendency, organization or group within the working-class, socialist or antiwar movement has the right to hold its own meetings free from disruption, to distribute leaflets, sell literature and spread ideas.

It is the elitist ideology of the ruling class that claims the right to prevent the masses from hearing or reading certain viewpoints, to prevent certain tendencies from holding meetings. The rulers depend on lies and distortions to maintain their privileged positions. The oppressed need to know and understand the full truth to end their oppression.

It is in their interests that ideas be freely expressed. It is only in the process of confrontation of conflicting views that revolutionary truths become defined, understood and accepted by the masses. It is only through this process that distortions and reformist illusions can be destroyed.

The use of force within the working-class movement has a long and instructive record, and it is crucial that the new generation of revolutionary youth not ignore the lessons of this history. Adherence to the principles of workers democracy has always been one of the fundamental principles of the socialist movement founded by Marx and Engels and built by Lenin and Trotsky. The use of force has always been one of the chief weapons of the trade-union bureaucracies and the bureaucracies of the workers states. The trade-union "leaders" resort to goon squads to prevent workers from hearing and discussing "dissident" points of view, while in countries like the USSR and China the bureaucracy suppresses revolutionary thought and revolutionaries in the guise of suppressing "counter-revolution."

It is not surprising that the groups which have begun to use force within the movement today — SDS (RYM), PL, BPP, YAWF, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union—are all admirers of Mao-Tsetung, and to one degree or another of Stalin himself.

Equally serious is the failure of movement publications like the *Guardian* and *Liberation News Service* to take note of the growing tendency toward the use of force and condemn it.

We call upon the entire radical and socialist movement to once again declare for upholding workers democracy and to condemn any and all political groups resorting to attacks on the basic rights of other tendencies within the radical movement.



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 . . .

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

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

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

Name

Address

City State Zip



ONE YEAR AGO. In Bratislava, Czechoslovaks surround Soviet tank and argue with the invading troops.

Czechoslovak leaflets call for Aug. 21 actions

By Paul Gershwin

The Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and their subservient yes-men in Prague have been waging a campaign against demonstrations that are expected to occur in Czechoslovakia on Aug. 21, first anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion. "Incorrigible adventurers," they say, are expected

to engage in "anti-socialist and anti-Soviet provocations."

Cause for their alarm is the still-widespread feeling in Czechoslovakia that protests must continue in one form or another, despite increased repressive measures that have been directed against the masses. These measures have included press censorship, administrative re-shufflings, arrest

and imprisonment, and the threat of even tighter crackdowns.

Thousands of "underground" circulars — typewritten, mimeographed, and even printed — have been distributed throughout Czechoslovakia urging protest activities on Aug. 21. The major action that has been called is a five-minute strike at noon. Workers will stop their work, drivers their automobiles, shoppers their shopping, etc. According to the Aug. 6 *New York Times*, these leaflets "have been flooding factories, offices and large housing projects in the cities."

The leaflets differ in details, but most call for some form of passive resistance, according to the *Times*. In addition to the five-minute work stoppage, some of the circulars advise a general Aug. 21 boycott of streetcars and buses, theaters, cafes, restaurants, dance halls, grocery stores and newsstands. Leaflets also call for decorating the graves of the Czechoslovak victims of the invasion as well as monuments commemorating prominent figures in the history of the nation.

Longer strikes have not been widely called for, but may occur. An editorial in *Pravda*, a publication of the Slovak Communist Party, inveighed against such a possibility, stating that "care will be taken to insure faultless functioning of transportation, the power-supply system and other vital services." The paper *Tribuna* published a letter to the editor protesting the possibility of a public transportation strike by transit workers in Pardubice. From the concern exhibited by these hostile sources it is reasonable to assume that strikes are being considered by sections of the working class.

The working class in Czechoslovakia has been the most powerful force in the country opposing the post-invasion policies imposed on Czechoslovakia. Although protests have receded in the past few months, the will to struggle still exists in wide sections of the working class. One example is provided by a declaration adopted June 6 by an assembly of elected Czechoslovak trade-union delegates, most of them from iron, steel, and other heavy metal industries. (The full text of the declaration was printed in the June 30 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.) Among the positions taken in the declaration, all in variance with official Soviet-imposed policy, were:

"We think that the way to solve our

economic problems lies in putting into practice the laws on socialist enterprises and management and on workers' councils, whose implementation is continually delayed. . .

"We are gravely concerned by the results of the censorship that has been imposed on our union press and in the internal life of our unions. We are opposed to censorship as such. . .

"We are opposed to any suppression of our contacts with the unions of the students, creative workers, and scholars. We consider this a flagrant violation of our rights. . .

"We regard rapid holding of elections for our representative bodies as the primary prerequisite for solving our country's economic and social problems. . .

"In agreement with our union congresses, we are firmly determined to use all means appropriate to trade-union action to get satisfaction for the just demands of our working people."

On June 24 the workers in 13 factories in Prague stopped work in a 15 minute protest strike. According to a declaration drawn up by Czechoslovak revolutionists in Prague [IP, July 28] "The strike was organized to protest against the dissolution of the Human Rights Society, the SVS [University Students Union], the persecution of progressive journalists, the delay in implementing the law on socialist enterprises. . . and the general abandonment of the post-January 1968 democratization policy."

The bureaucratically controlled press has been talking of sharp reprisals that will be taken against the authors and distributors of the leaflets that have been circulating and against those who engage in protest actions Aug. 21. Communist Party head Gustav Husak and Czechoslovak president Ludvik Svoboda have just returned from the Soviet Union, where they are assumed to have talked of the measures that may be taken.

According to the *New York Times*, August 9 and August 11, there are "reliable" but "unofficial" reports that "large scale Warsaw Pact exercises on Czechoslovak soil were scheduled for August 18-25, centering on civil defense themes in major cities and industrial areas." The *Times* called such exercises "an apparent strategy for deploying forces that might be used for riot control."

Why did the Soviet forces invade Czechoslovakia?

By Gus Horowitz

As the anniversary of the Aug. 21 invasion of Czechoslovakia draws near, Moscow has stepped up its pressure to extract a statement from the Czechoslovak government and Communist Party justifying its intervention on grounds that a counter-revolution was brewing. That Moscow has found such a statement difficult to obtain, even from the capitulatory officials in Prague, is testimony to the depth of mass opposition to the invasion and support for the pre-August developments.

Included in Moscow's false and slanderous misrepresentation of the real situation in Czechoslovakia is the charge, reported by TASS Aug. 6, that "a number of persons with antisocialist sentiments and especially hostile towards the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia grouped around Professor Cerny. Pierre Franc [Frank], secretary of the Trotskyite Fourth International in Paris, was well received by Cerny, through whom he learned of the latest political events in Czechoslovakia and regarded them as very favorable conditions for the activities of the Fourth International."

Aside from the factual distortions — Pierre Frank has not been in Czechoslovakia — the TASS statement reveals the real threat that the Soviet bureaucrats saw developing in Czechoslovakia prior to the invasion: the favorable conditions that existed for the growth of revolutionary socialist traditions and socialist democracy. This was indeed of interest to the Fourth International.

The turn of events in Czechoslovakia began in an intrabureaucratic struggle between the old-line followers of Antonin Novotny, who sought to retain the worst features of Stalinism, and a group within the bureaucracy which demanded political and ideological "liberalization" measures to cope with economic stagnation (Czechoslovakia had gone from a first-rate modern industrial country to one that had fallen far behind the pace of new industrial techniques). The latter grouping came to be represented by Dubcek. Neither side, however, wished to do away completely with the material privileges and power of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia.

The forces around Dubcek nevertheless had to appeal to the masses for support in the struggle. They obtained the support of the students, journalists, intellectuals and workers by relaxing the stifling censorship and repressive police apparatus. But, the process of "de-Stalinization" set into motion a third force — the development of political consciousness and an increase in the independent activity of the masses.

In the plants the workers started to elect their own shop stewards, a change from the old method of appointment from above. The movement for workers' self-management gained strength. The independent role of the trade-union movement was advanced. New ideas were promoted in the press, where debates over the real meaning of a socialist society were aired. The student movement took on a real political life, raising militant demands against the bureaucratic setup. Prosocialist groupings formed independent of the ossified and Stalinized Communist Party. And in the Communist Party itself, rights for different viewpoints and tendencies were

proposed. The nationally oppressed Slovaks demanded and won the formation of a state based on the federation of the two major national groups.

The attractive power of these developments reached a peak immediately after the invasion, when mass mobilizations of unprecedented proportions took place.

These developments, representative of the independent activity of the masses demanding socialist democracy, were the real reason for the Moscow-led invasion.

American imperialism naturally tried to take advantage of the fluid political situation — that was to be expected — but never posed a serious threat to a population mobilizing to extend and deepen their socialist revolution. Moscow's charges about imperialist penetration of Czechoslovakia were manufactured to justify bureaucratic hostility towards democracy and independent mass action.

In terms of domestic economic measures, international trade, military and diplomatic affairs, the Soviet Union itself and other Eastern European countries have embarked on policies far more dangerous to the socialist foundations of society than any of the measures cited as reasons for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The maturing political revolution in Czechoslovakia could have resulted in a real socialist democracy which would have been a threat to Washington as well as Moscow. It would have served as a shining example of the superiority of socialist economic planning coupled with expanded political freedom for the masses. Capitalist propaganda equating communism and dictatorship would have been punctured like a pricked balloon. A socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia would have provided tremendous inspiration for revolutionary processes in the advanced capitalist countries, posing a threat rather than an advantage to the ruling capitalist class.

What the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow most feared was that the example of Czechoslovakia would spread, not only to the rest of Eastern Europe, but to the Soviet Union as well, where there is growing poli-

tical ferment. Geographical proximity assured that Czechoslovakia's example could not have been concealed from the Soviet masses. Some of the progressive accomplishments in Czechoslovakia in rectifying national discrimination were known and had already stimulated developments, as in the Soviet Ukraine, where opposition to national oppression has grown more acute in recent years.

Highest on the list of Moscow's fears were the moves towards the re-establishment of Leninist norms on the rights of different tendencies in the Communist Party itself, the abolition of censorship, and the development of political organizations independent of the Communist Party. Had these been consummated in Czechoslovakia, the monolithic control that the Moscow bureaucrats hold over their own apparatus would have been shaken. Even under present conditions, some eighty cells of the Soviet Communist Party protested against the invasion. The steps taken towards workers' self-management and national federation also gave them much cause for concern.

Although the Czechoslovak working class has suffered a grave setback since the invasion last year, the example of its struggle will serve as a guide for the successful political revolution to come. The struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe and the other bureaucratized workers' states is an irrepressible component part of the world process of socialist revolution.

In order to give the staff a vacation, we will not publish the issue of *The Militant* dated Aug. 29. The Aug. 22 issue will be followed by the issue of Sept. 5.

The Invasion of Czechoslovakia

- First Balance Sheet
- The Prague Club's Program
- Czech Student Appeal
- Fidel Castro's Position

65 cents

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Ultralefts disrupt N.Y. antiwar rally

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK—A sour note was added to the final hours of an otherwise successful week of antiwar activity here. A small group hostile to the united action attempted to challenge the right of the antiwar coalition to hold the Aug. 9 Nagasaki Day mass rally in Central Park.

The Nagasaki Day demonstration was the culmination of a week of activities planned by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the coalition that has coordinated most of the mass antiwar actions in New York for the past four years. The demonstrations here were called in concert with other actions around the country and throughout the world marking the 24th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and demanding that U.S. troops get out of Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa.

Of the numerous smaller activities here Aug. 2-9, the most successful was a candle-

light parade and lantern-floating ceremony Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6. About 1,000 people participated in the symbolic floating of Japanese paper lanterns on the lake in Central Park.

Other actions during the week included a 30-hour reading of the war dead in Times Square; a Rockefeller Plaza demonstration against U.S. domination of Latin America; a garment-center anti-Vietnam-war rally; and a militant demonstration at the United Nations protesting U.S. occupation of Okinawa led by the newly formed Asian-Americans for Action.

In the major activity of the week, about 2,500 antiwar activists marched up Seventh Avenue from Times Square to the Nagasaki Day rally in the Central Park bandshell, attended by about 5,000.

Despite permission from the police to march in the street, Parade Committee officials decided on a sidewalk march, a decision that several organizations had

considered unwise and unsuccessfully tried to reverse in the preceding two weeks. However, all groups working within the framework of the Parade Committee coalition agreed to abide by the official decision. But a small group used the dissatisfaction with the sidewalk march as a pretext for splitting off from the rest of the demonstration, taking to the streets and doing their own thing, elevating a tactical preference for the streets to an absurd question of "revolutionary principle."

Led by a contingent of active-duty GIs and veterans, the bulk of the march proceeded along the sidewalk while about 300 marchers ran ahead, led by Youth Against War and Fascism, the Crazies, the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front and the RYM faction of SDS, none of which had deigned to take part in the coalition efforts to build the demonstration.

When the majority of the demonstrators arrived at the Central Park bandshell, they found the outdoor stage crowded with a variety of banners and flags and about 80 "revolutionaries" who refused to relinquish the stage so that the rally could go on as planned. They had brought their own sound equipment and proceeded to insist that they alone had the right to determine the character of the rally.

Amidst chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" from the others on the stage, Walter Teague of the Committee to Aid the NLF stated they would not permit the scheduled rally to occur because it was "not anti-imperialist." Backing him up was Linda Evans of SDS (RYM). Having recently visited North Vietnam to help bring home the three American prisoners of war released by the Vietnamese, Linda Evans brazenly claimed to speak in the name of the NLF as she berated the crowd.

The majority of the demonstrators became increasingly angry and began shouting, "Off the stage," to which the group occupying the stage responded, "Power to the people."

Ex-Pvt. Jose Rudder of the Young Socialist Alliance, one of the Ft. Jackson 8, squeezed his way to the microphone and asked whether the crowd agreed with him that the scheduled rally should proceed. There was overwhelming approval of Rudder's viewpoint, but Walter Teague complained that the position of those occupying the stage had not been adequately presented.

Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party also managed to get the mike and suggested one speaker for two minutes on each position, then a final vote.

After a scuffle and another speech by Teague, a second vote was taken. It was again virtually unanimous for having the disrupters relinquish the stage and proceeding with the speeches. Even after 5,000 people had voted for them to leave the stage, the small band remained. It was noted with amusement that they continued chanting, "Power to the people." "The people," it appears, meant only themselves. After the vote, however, the flag wavers felt constrained to step back a few feet and allow the scheduled speeches to proceed. In light of the undemocratic attempt to thwart the rally, many of the speakers focused on what had occurred and the need for a large, unified antiwar movement.

James Johnson, a black militant and one of the Ft. Hood 3 who spent two years in jail for refusing to go to Vietnam, spoke of his recent trip to Vietnam to bring back the three American prisoners-of-war released by North Vietnam. Comparing mass meetings in Hanoi to this rally in Central Park, Johnson pointed out that the Vietnamese can carry on rational meetings in the face of the gravest imperialist threat and said that we should take a lesson in this regard from the Vietnamese.

Addressing "the 'superrevolutionaries' on the stage," Johnson stated his unconditional support for the NLF, explaining that the best way to support the Vietnamese revolution is not to have a small group with NLF flags prevent a mass demonstration from taking place, but to build more mass demonstrations. "When you're fighting imperialism, there are certain priorities," Johnson said, "and the Vietnamese recognize that the priority in this country is fighting against the war and getting the troops home."



Photo by Nick Goldsmith

POWER TO THE PEOPLE? Ultralefts occupying rally platform in N.Y.

This argument apparently went over the head of SDS (RYM) Interorganizational Secretary Jeff Jones, who solidarized himself with the ultraleftists on the stage, berating those in the antiwar movement who are not "anti-imperialist."

Prof. Douglas Dowd of the New Mobilization Committee pointed out that to draw the masses into the antiwar movement it is necessary to reach outward and emphasized the importance of building the massive Nov. 15 march on Washington. He stated that the undemocratic attitude of a small group that takes over the stage plays into the hands of the warmakers and the imperialists.

Other speakers included Jose Rudder, Suzanne Bellamy of the Black Panthers, Gilberto Gerena Valentin, a Puerto Rican recently fired from a job in the Lindsay administration for being too outspoken on the Puerto Rican struggle, Maggie Geddes, one of five women who destroyed the files of a Manhattan draft board recently, and Mary Kochiyama, a Japanese-American, who gave an impassioned appeal for solidarity with the struggle of the Japanese against the U.S.-Japan security treaty and the American occupation of Okinawa.

Aug. 9 rally held in Philadelphia

By Amy Lowenstein

PHILADELPHIA — More than 300 youth overflowed Rittenhouse Square Friday, Aug. 8 to mark the anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with demands that the Nixon administration withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa. The evening's event was called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The activities were chaired by SMCer Dave Oden, who traced the history of Hiroshima Day and urged everyone to build the fall offensive against the Vietnam war.

The rally began with folksinger Marlowe De Christopher, one of whose songs was "The Soldiers Won't Fight and I'm so Uptight Blues." Speakers included Abe Egnal, a leader of the Philadelphia peace movement; Mumia Cook, communications secretary of the Black Panther Party; Mary Morrell of Women Strike of Peace; Mimi Harary of SMC; and Herb Dreyer of Shakedown, a Ft. Dix GI newspaper.

An open mike was set up for both GIs and civilians, among them a spokesman from Resistance, a sailor-doctor at Jefferson Hospital and Ken Willis, an antiwar GI who saw combat in Vietnam in 1967-1968.

At the end of the evening, charred wreaths with lighted candles were set afloat in the park's pond. In Japan this is a traditional ceremony in which each wreath and candle represents a person who was killed by the Hiroshima bomb.



Photo by Ilona Stanton

Atlanta antiwar demonstration, Aug. 9, 1969

Atlanta antiwar march held on Nagasaki Day

By Andy Rose

ATLANTA, Ga. — Nearly 200 antiwar demonstrators marched Aug. 9 down sweltering Atlanta streets to commemorate the 24th anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki.

Marchers carried signs demanding "Bring All the GIs Home Now," "Self Determination for Black America," "Stop ABM," "End U.S.-Japan Security Treaty," "U.S. Out of Vietnam, Japan, Okinawa," and "Free All Political Prisoners." Banners and placards proclaimed the Vietnam war a "Rich Man's War—Poor Man's Fight." Groups carrying banners included the Young Socialist Alliance, the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement, Student Mobilization Committee, and Socialist Workers Party.

The march route led through a predominantly white working-class neighborhood, where leaflets were distributed to onlookers. On the whole the response to this leafletting was favorable.

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, was one of the speakers at a rally following the march. "There's only one solution to the war in Vietnam," she said, "actually a very simple solution that could be put into effect today. Send enough airplanes and ships to Vietnam to transport 535,000 troops, put the troops on them, and bring them home. All of them."

Eleanor Bochman, chairman of the rally, noted that Linda Jenness is the only

mayoral candidate calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and urged those present to support her campaign.

Other speakers included Mrs. Ethel Matthews of the National Welfare Rights Organization, who declared that "American boys should not go to Vietnam, that the fight is here at home"; Charles Webster of Atlantans for Peace, who spoke against militarism; and Rev. Al Sampson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Wilburt Allen of the Augusta, Ga., People's Committee on Housing called for "urban guerilla warfare." Bill Ayers, a national officer of SDS, said that immediate class war in the United States was the only acceptable action against the war in Vietnam.

The speakers unanimously denounced the idea that Nixon intends to end the war or that the war is a dead issue. Instead they urged a vigorous fall offensive against the war.

The demonstration increased everyone's determination to make renewed efforts to involve the masses of American people who oppose the war but who have not yet turned their opposition into militant action. A mass meeting has been called for August 23 to plan the fall antiwar offensive.

The demonstration was called by the Nagasaki Day Action Committee, a coalition of thirteen antiwar groups in Atlanta ranging from religious pacifists to revolutionary socialists.

Bay Area action to welcome Nixon, S. Korean puppet

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 13—The anti-war movement will greet president Nixon when he receives Park Chung-hee, titular head of South Korea, in San Francisco Aug. 21. The action, part of the Bay Area's fall offensive against the war, is sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee, Asian American Political Alliance [AAPA], and others. The demonstration, which will demand the removal of U. S. and Korean troops from Vietnam, and U.S. troops from Korea was announced today at a well-attended news conference.

The so-far nameless Bay Area coalition for the fall offensive endorsed the Aug. 21 action at a meeting last night.

At today's news conference, Barry David of San Francisco SMC said the Aug. 21 Nixon-Park demonstration would include a rally at Union Square and a picket line at the St. Francis Hotel, which faces the square and where Nixon is to give a state dinner for Park.

Barry Chann, a spokesman for AAPA, said at the news conference that his organization, which has chapters on most California college campuses, will join in building the Aug. 21 action. He pointed out that the struggles of the Korean, Japanese and Okinawan peoples for self-determination are inseparably tied with the Vietnam war through what he called "the role of the U. S. as gendarme of the world."

Chann also said the fall offensive will include demonstrations Sept. 5-20, when the Japanese fleet, as well as Japanese and American officials, will be in the Bay Area—all part of a public relations job for renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, which expires in 1970.

Trudeau loses cool

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, noted among statesmen of the world for his unflappability, slugged one antiwar demonstrator and ripped a sign from the blouse of another in Vancouver Aug. 8.

Trudeau was scheduled to appear at a Liberal Party banquet that evening, and the Vancouver Committee to End the War in Vietnam had called a demonstration outside the banquet hall to protest Canadian complicity with U. S. imperialism. Trudeau had agreed to sacrifice five minutes of his ministerial time to answer criticisms of his government by antiwar spokesmen.

While he was standing on the rally speakers' stand waiting to speak, a young woman appeared on the stand with a placard pinned to her blouse reading "Hustle wheat, not women," a reference to the economic plight of Canada's western wheat farmers and to Trudeau's reputation as a swinger.

Then, according to the Aug. 9 *Toronto Daily Star*, "Trudeau flashed a faint smile, grabbed her by the shoulders, spun her towards him and ripped away the offending sign." Apparently insulted by the sign, Trudeau left the stand without speaking and began to make his way to the banquet hall.

Angered by the Prime Minister's renegeing on his agreement to debate the issues, the 300 demonstrators pressed close to the lines of Mounties and Vancouver cops escorting Trudeau. The Prime Minister lost his cool when 17-year-old Rick Jesmer called out, "Trudeau is a creep," and, according to the *Star* dispatch, he "struck the youth an open-handed blow squashing his Western-style hat across his nose."

After the incident, Trudeau continued to the \$50-a-plate, duckling-and-wine Liberal dinner, where he delivered a powerful address denouncing violence and totalitarianism.

Behind franc's trouble: May, '68

By Dick Roberts

AUGUST 12—The devaluation of the franc, Aug. 8, shows that the capitalist rulers of France are still reeling under the blows of the massive student-working class upsurge and general strike of May-June 1968. And far from settling anything, indications point toward even greater instability in the period to come.

The 12.5 percent devaluation is an attempt to improve the competitive position of French products in world trade. But it can only do this by cutting into the real wages of French workers—and consequently further sharpening the class antagonisms which have been seething since the historic battle of May 1968.

Commentators in the U. S. financial press do not conceal their skepticism about the probable results of the devaluation. Noting that the franc has been devalued 13 times in the last 41 years and "now has less than one-hundredth of the value it had 41 years ago in relation to the dollar," the Aug. 11 *New York Times* remarked, "This may help explain why the French have little confidence in paper money."

Before the class upsurge of May 1968, French capitalism enjoyed the privilege of a favored currency in a world economy buffeted by pound and dollar crises. French products occupied a competitive position in the battle for world markets.

But this advantage was rooted in the relative depression of the wages of French workers. For a decade, the de Gaulle regime had been able to hold wage increases in France at lower rates than the increases being won by workers in France's main competitor nations, particularly Italy and Germany.

The students and workers of May-June shattered this advantage. It was not simply that workers won significant wage increases, as the French government explains.

France's economic difficulties were enhanced because the French capitalists followed up the wage increases by jacking up prices. They attempted to grab back through price increases what they had been forced to concede in wage increases.

But this ensured on one side that the class battle opened up in May would not disappear. Sporadic strikes and demonstrations showed that the workers had no intention of sitting back while inflation robbed them of June's gains.

And on the other side, the higher prices undermined France's advantage in world trade. They allowed foreign products to penetrate the French market, and the franc weakened rapidly.

In November 1968, a massive "flight from the franc" shook the world monetary system. De Gaulle, swearing "no devaluation," was forced to promise international bankers an austerity program modeled on Harold Wilson's wage-freeze policies in Britain. But engineering such policies—as Wilson's experience has also demonstrated—is not quite so easy as announcing them.

Five months later, de Gaulle was bumped out of office in the April referendum. And now Pompidou has devalued the franc after all.

This lowers the prices of French goods in foreign markets while raising the prices of imported goods in the French market, and consequently directly improves the competitive position of French products in world trade. But it means higher prices for French workers.

In the first place, French consumers depend to a large extent—much more so than Americans, for example—on imported products. This devaluation means that their immediate expenses will go up right away.

In the second place, French merchants will take advantage of the higher prices of foreign products to raise the prices of their own products. Pompidou has promised to regulate such "inflationary" price increases.

But this promise was given the credibility it deserves by *New York Times* correspondent John L. Hess Aug. 11, when he wrote: "French businessmen are adept at working around such regulations."

The truth of the matter is that devaluation does not settle anything. The long period of French economic stability definitively ended in May 1968.

On the matter of devaluation, Paris has



Photo by Hermes

MAY, 1968. Hundreds of thousands of French workers march through streets of Paris. Substantial pay increases won by general strike created still unsolved problems for French capitalists.

something to learn from London, but it is of little comfort to the ruling class. *New York Times* London correspondent John M. Lee noted Aug. 10 that "the effectiveness of British policy, following the devaluation of the pound on Nov. 18, 1967, was diluted. . . Results included continued high imports, fewer goods for export and the persistence of a deep trade deficit long after improvement had been expected."

Lee notes that British trade has improved slightly in the recent period, but "only with the assistance of a savage credit squeeze, rising taxes, doubtful investment

prospects, historically high interest rates, foreign exchange controls and cutbacks in welfare plans."

Pondering what might happen if these recessionary controls are relaxed in Britain, or if similar controls were relaxed in France, Lee concludes: "The prospect for each is another balance-of-payments crisis and another devaluation."

But Lee leaves out of consideration a most crucial difference between Britain and France—May-June itself. The French workers experienced only 16 months ago a mass mobilization of their forces and saw the immense power at their disposal.

Transit workers challenge N.Y. union bureaucracy

By Mike Padilla

NEW YORK—At a general membership meeting held here July 30 in the Hotel Diplomat, the New York transit workers' Rank and File Committee announced that it had passed the half-way mark in its campaign to obtain the 10,000 signatures of city transit workers required to place the Rank and File's name on the ballot in this fall's representation election. The Rank and File is attempting to oust the bureaucrat-ridden Transport Workers Union (TWU) as the sole bargaining agent for 28,000 of the city's bus and subway workers.

Joseph Carnegie, a transit worker for 20 years and leader of the Rank and File, discussed the recent harassment of Rank and File organizers by TWU officials and the New York City Transit Authority (TA). The TWU heads launched a smear campaign against the Rank and File, which is composed predominantly of black and Puerto Rican workers, similar to the attacks levelled by Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers against the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in Detroit (see *The Militant*, March 28). In an attempt to arouse the fears and prejudices of white transit workers, the TWU leadership has accused the Rank and File of being "reverse racists," of trying to "sow division," and of being anti-union. Recently, with the approval of the TWU bureaucrats, the Transit Authority instructed the TA police force to prevent Rank and File organizers from collecting signatures in TA property.

The Rank and File is seeking to obtain a permanent injunction against acts of harassment by the TA and the TWU bureaucrats. But the hearing on the request for the injunction has been set for Sept. 22, only a week before the deadline for filing signatures to get a place on the ballot.

A big issue among the transit workers is what is called the TA's kangaroo court. Transit workers are brought before this "court" when they are charged with violating TA rules and regulations. Workers who appear before the court, however, are not allowed legal representation of their

own choosing. Instead, they must accept representatives provided by the TWU or the TA.

The Rank and File's program also includes demands to bring transit workers on a par with other public employees, such as the sanitationmen, in relation to benefits and wages. Their program also demands "preventative maintenance," as opposed to the TA's policy of "breakdown maintenance." Citing the recent breakdown of a train which stranded thousands of passengers and workers in a tunnel in 90-degree weather as an example of the TA's disregard for the safety and comfort of passengers and workmen alike, the Rank and File promised to fight for a policy which would seek to insure the maximum safety of the people who ride and work on the New York transit system.

Rank and File has found most of its support among black and Puerto Rican workers, who have borne the brunt of the contemptible practices of the TWU heads and the TA. The Rank and File, however, is out to organize all workers who oppose the bureaucrats of the TWU and who want to build a democratic union dedicated to the interests of the workers and not the narrow interests of bureaucrats who control or employers who exploit.

A new book

LEON TROTSKY

The Man and His Work

Reminiscences and Appraisals
by 18 writers

paperback \$2.45

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

on workers democracy

by ernest mandel

The recent rash of violence between tendencies in the radical movement (see editorial, page 2) has once again posed the question of the norms which should be followed in handling differences within the socialist and workers' movements. In the following article Ernest Mandel explains the views of revolutionary Marxists on this question. The Militant is reprinting his article in order to help give it the maximum possible circulation within the movement.

Originally published in English by Intercontinental Press, the article appeared in the April 1969 issue of the Young Socialist and has been reprinted by the Young Socialist Alliance in brochure form. A free copy can be obtained by writing to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003. Bulk orders are two cents each for more than 200 copies; three cents each for fewer than 200.

[Roger Garaudy, one of the leading intellectuals of the Communist party of France, visited Belgium November 5 to give a lecture on "May 1968 in France," at the request of the Communist Student Union of Brussels University. It was not surprising that radical students considered a lecture on this topic by a representative of the French CP as a provocation.

[In any case, when the meeting started, a few dozen Maoists carrying portraits of Chairman Mao and anarchists carrying a black flag persistently tried—for the most part successfully—to prevent Garaudy from addressing the audience.

[A confused debate followed in which the question of whether Garaudy should be allowed to speak was mixed with the question of whether or not a revolutionary situation had existed in France in May.

[Finally, the Maoists and anarchists ended the debate by pushing Garaudy out of the meeting hall.

[This incident raised serious questions about the norms of democratic debate and behavior in the working-class and socialist movement. In answer to some of the questions raised, Ernest Mandel, the well-known Marxist economist and editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, wrote an article on the subject of workers democracy which appeared in two parts in the November 16 and November 23 issues of *La Gauche*. Because of the timeliness of the topic, we are reproducing the article below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The lamentable incidents which occurred at the ULB [Universitaire Libre de Bruxelles—Free University of Brussels] when Garaudy came to speak there have induced me to explain once again why we adhere to the principles of workers democracy.

Workers democracy has always been a basic tenet of the proletarian movement. It was a tradition in the socialist and communist movement to firmly support this principle in the time of Marx and Engels as well as Lenin and Trotsky. It took the Stalinist dictatorship in the USSR to shake this tradition. The temporary victory of fascism in West and Central Europe also helped to undermine it. However, the origins of this challenge to workers

democracy are deeper and older; they lie in the bureaucratization of the large workers organizations.

The Social Democratic and trade-union bureaucrats were the first to begin to undermine the principles of workers democracy. They started calling general membership meetings at infrequent intervals. Then they began

'the young generation

to rig them, or often to do away with them altogether. They began likewise to restrict or abolish freedom of discussion and criticism within their organizations. They did not hesitate even to appeal to the police (including the secret police) for help in fighting revolutionary minorities. At the time of the first world war, the German Social Democracy set a dismal example of collusion with the state repressive forces. In subsequent years, the Social Democrats everywhere followed this example.

The Soviet bureaucracy first and then the bureaucrats in the Stalinist Communist parties (or in trade unions under Stalinist leadership) simply followed the pattern established by the Social Democrats, extending it further and further. They abolished freedom of discussion and of tendencies. Slander and lies replaced argument and debate with opponent tendencies. They made massive use of physical force to prevent their opponents from "causing any harm." Thus, the entire Bolshevik old guard which led the October Revolution and the majority of the members of Lenin's Central Committee were exterminated by Stalin during the dark years of the Great Purge (1935-38).

The young generation of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist militants now developing a revolutionary consciousness are spontaneously returning to the traditions of workers democracy. This was apparent in France in May and June when freedom of speech for all tendencies was jealously safeguarded in the assemblies of students and revolutionary workers and students. But this new generation is not always conscious of all the principled and practical reasons for workers democracy.

This is why the youth can be vulnerable to a kind of Stalinist-derived demagoguery being spread by certain pro-Chinese sects, which seek to make people believe that workers democracy is contrary to "the interests of the revolution." Therefore, it is necessary to reaffirm these reasons strongly.

The workers movement fights for the emancipation of the proletariat. But this emancipation requires the abolition of *all* forms of exploitation to which the workers are subjected. Rejecting workers democracy means quite simply that you want to maintain a situation like the one today in which the masses of workers are unable to make their opinions heard.

The Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy starts from the idea that this democracy is only *formal* because

the workers do not have the material means to exercise the rights which the bourgeois constitutions formally grant all citizens. Freedom of the press is just a formality when only the capitalists and their agents are able to get together the millions of dollars needed to establish a daily newspaper.

But the conclusion that follows from this critique of bourgeois democracy, obviously, is that means must be created enabling *all* the workers to have access to the media for disseminating ideas (printing presses, meeting halls, radio and television, posters, etc.).

developing revolutionary

If, on the contrary, you conclude from this that only a self-proclaimed "leading party of the proletariat"—or even a little sect which declares that it alone is "genuinely revolutionary"—has the right to speak, to use the press, or to propagate its ideas, then you risk increasing the political oppression of the workers rather than abolishing it.

The Stalinists often reply that abolition of the capitalist system equals emancipation of the workers. We agree that abolition of private ownership of the means of production, of the profit economy, and of the bourgeois state are essential conditions for the emancipation of the workers. But saying that these are "essential" conditions does not mean that they are "sufficient." Because as soon as the capitalist system is abolished, the question arises of who is going to run the factories, the economy, the municipalities, the state, the schools and universities.

If a single party claims the right to administer the state and the society; if it imposes a monopoly of power by

terror; if it does not permit the mass of workers to express their opinions, their criticisms, their worries, and their demands; if it excludes the workers from administration—then it is inevitable that a widening gulf will develop between this omnipotent bureaucracy and the mass of workers.

Then, emancipation of the workers is only a deception. And without real workers democracy in all areas, including freedom of organization and press, real emancipation of the workers is impossible.

These principled reasons are reinforced by practical ones. Like all social classes in history, the working class is not homogeneous. It has common class interests, both immediate interests and historical interests. But this *community* of interests is interwoven with *differences* which have various origins—immediate special interests (professional, group, regional, craft interests, etc.) and different levels of consciousness. Many strata of the working class have not yet become conscious of their historical interests. Others have been influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. Still others are weighed down by the burden of past defeats and failures, of skepticism, or of the degradation caused by capitalist society, etc.

However, the capitalist system cannot be overthrown unless the entire working class is mobilized in action against it. And this unity in action can only be obtained if these various special interests and levels of con-

sciousness can be expressed in, and little by little neutralized through, debate and persuasion. Denying this diversity can only result in a breakdown of unity in action and in driving successive groups of workers into passivity or into the camp of the enemy.

Anyone with experience in strikes has been able to see in practice that the most successful actions are prepared and conducted through numerous assemblies, first of the unionized workers and later of all the workers concerned. In these assemblies, all the reasons in favor of the strike can be developed, all opinions can be expressed, and all the class enemy's arguments can be exposed. If a strike is launched without the benefit of such democracy, there is much more risk that many workers will observe it halfheartedly, if at all.

If this is true for an isolated strike, it holds all the more for a general strike or for a revolution. All the great revolutionary mobilizations of the



STEP BACKWARD. Although offered the floor and all other channels to present their views, SDS (RYM) members forcibly took over the platform at the recent

Student Mobilization Committee conference in Cleveland. Such exhibitions of contempt for democracy within the radical movement have alienated many revolutionary-minded young people.

workers—from the Russian revolution to the revolutionary upsurge of May and June 1968 in France and including the German and Spanish revolutions, to cite only these examples—have been characterized by veritable explosions of workers democracy. In these instances, many working-class tendencies coexisted, expressed themselves freely in speeches and in the press, and debated before the entire class.

The word "soviet"—council of workers delegates—expresses this unity of opposites—the *unity* of the workers in the diversity of their tendencies. In the Second Congress of Russian Soviets, which took power in the October Revolution, there were a dozen different tendencies and parties. Every attempt to repress this workers democracy—by the Social Democracy in Germany, by the Stalinists in Spain—has presaged, if not expressed, a setback or defeat for the revolution.

The absence of workers democracy not only hampers unity in action, it also obstructs working out a correct political line.

It is true that the workers movement has an excellent theoretical instrument to guide it in the often extremely complicated twists and turns of economic, social, and political struggles—revolutionary Marxism. But this tool must still be used correctly. And no one person has a monopoly on its correct application.

Without any doubt, Marx and Lenin were geniuses. But life and history ceaselessly pose new problems which cannot be solved simply by turning to the scriptures. Stalin, who was considered by many honest Communists before his death to be "infallible," in reality committed many errors, to say nothing of crimes, some of which—as in agricultural policy—have had pernicious consequences for three decades for the entire Soviet people. Mao Tse-tung, whom other naive souls also consider "infallible," endorsed the poli-

infantile thought—which is not subjected to the uninhibited criticism possible only in a climate of workers democracy—is condemned to certain failure. It can only result, in the case of small groups, in the disillusionment and demoralization of individuals; in the case of unions or larger parties, in defeats for the class; and where the mass of the workers is concerned, in defeats with a long train of humiliations, privations, and impoverishment, if not casualties.

Often these arguments in favor of the principles and practice of workers democracy are countered in Stalinist circles by the assertion that workers democracy cannot be extended to the "enemies of socialism" inside the workers movement. Curiously, certain groups which claim to be antibureaucratic and very left take a similar line to justify booing and hissing or resorting to physical violence as a substitute for debate with their political opponents.

Both the Stalinists and the ultra-leftists cry: "You don't argue with revisionists, capitalist forces, and the representatives of the enemy." In practice, the Stalinists try to replace debate by repression, if not murder and the use of tanks against the workers (from the Moscow Trials to the intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia). The ultra-leftists limit themselves more modestly to preventing Garaudy from speaking, doubtless until the dreamed-of day when they can use more "effective" means modeled on the Stalinist ones. . . .

Of course, the working-class bureaucracies objectively act in the interests of capital, primarily by channeling the workers' periodic revolutionary explosions toward reformist outlets and thereby blocking opportunities to overthrow capitalism. They play the same role by influencing the workers on a day-to-day basis in favor of class collaboration, undermining their class consciousness with ideas taken from the bourgeois world.

But the objective function and role of these bureaucracies is not confined to maintaining class peace. In pursuing their routine reformist activities, they come in conflict with the everyday interests of capitalism. The wage increases and social welfare laws won by the reformists—in exchange for their pledge to keep the workers' demands within limits that do not threaten the bases of the system—reduce the capitalists' profits somewhat. The trade-union organizations which they lead inject the collective power of labor into the daily relationships between the bosses and the workers. And as a result, these conflicts have an altogether different outcome from the past century, when the strength of the trade unions was slight or nonexistent.

When the capitalist economy is flourishing, the bourgeoisie is willing to pay the price represented by these



STEP FORWARD. Students at Berkeley holding mass meeting where all tendencies have the right to present their views, then a vote is taken. Such meetings have been one of the hallmarks of the genuinely democratic sentiments of radical youth today.

toward the other, depending on their particular interests and the pressures to which they are subjected. And, in facing the class enemy, the vanguard workers have every reason to do their utmost to force these bureaucrats to return to their camp. Otherwise, the common defense would be greatly weakened.

Overlooking these elementary truths leads to the worst of catastrophes. The workers movement learned this to its cost during the rise of fascism. At that time, the "genius" Stalin invented the theory of "Social Fascism." According to this theory there was no difference between the "revisionist" Social Democrats and fascists. It was even proclaimed that the Social Democracy had to be defeated *before* the struggle against the Nazis could be won.

While the Social Democratic and Communist workers were happily bashing each other's heads in—the reformist leaders shared the responsibility this time equally with their Stalinist counterparts—Hitler came to power, massacred thousands of worker militants, and dissolved all the workers organizations. Thus, he made possible a temporary, if somewhat embittered, reconciliation between the Social Democrats and the Communists . . . in the concentration camps. Would it not have been better, while not making any concessions in the ideological struggle against revisionism, to fight together

revelation of Stalin's crimes made at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party (which he approved of at the time), Mao Tse-tung stressed the necessity of distinguishing carefully between how to settle differences among the people—by persuasion, debate, practical experience—and how to proceed in conflicts with the class enemy. Here he was only implicitly reaffirming the need to uphold workers democracy "among the people."

But this distinction has meaning only if it is based on *objective* criteria. The capitalists (and in less industrialized countries, the landlords) are the enemy. The people are the mass of producers, white-collar workers, and, in semicolonial countries, the poor peasants.

If subjective criteria ("Anybody who doesn't support every one of my tactical turns is a capitalist and a counterrevolutionary, even if he served as president of the People's Republic of China and vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist party for twenty years!") are substituted for these objective criteria, then you fall into complete arbitrariness. You end, of course, by wiping out the distinction between "contradictions among the people" and "conflicts with the class enemy," treating the former more and more like the latter.

Of course, it is impossible to make an absolute and total separation between the two. Marginal cases are

consciousness

cy of Aidit, the leader of the Indonesian CP, up until the eve of the military coup d'etat. This policy was at least partially responsible for the deaths of 500,000 Indonesian Communists and workers.

As for the myth that the Central Committee of a party is "always right," or that the majority of this committee is "always right," Mao himself rejected it in the famous resolution passed by the CC of the CCP [Chinese Communist party] on the "cultural revolution" in April 1967.

But if no person or group has a monopoly on truth and wisdom, then discussion is *indispensable* to determine a correct political line. Rejection of discussion under any pretext (and the pretext that a political opponent

is spontaneously returning to workers democracy'

is "counterrevolutionary" or an "enemy agent" is as old as bureaucracy), or substituting epithets or physical violence for debate, means condemning oneself to remain the victim of false ideas, inadequate analyses, and errors with debilitating if not catastrophic consequences.

Marxism is a guide to action, they often say. That is true. But Marxism is distinguished from utopian socialism by its appeal to *scientific* analysis. It does not focus on action per se. It focuses on action which can influence historical reality, which can change it in a given direction—in the direction of socialist revolution, toward the emancipation of the workers and of all humanity.

Out of the clash of ideas and tendencies, the truth emerges which can serve as a guide to action. Action inspired by "monolithic," bookish, and

concessions in return for "social peace." But when the capitalist economy is in a bad way, these same concessions rapidly become unacceptable to the bourgeoisie. Then, it is in the capitalists' interest to eliminate these organizations completely, even the most moderate and reformist ones. The very existence of the unions becomes incompatible with the survival of the system.

This shows the real nature of the reformist bureaucracy in the workers movement. This bureaucracy is not composed of owners of capital who buy labor power in order to appropriate surplus value. It is composed of salaried employees (of the workers organizations or the state) who vacillate and waver between the camp of capital and of the proletariat, sometimes leaning toward one, sometimes

against the Nazis and prevent them from taking power?

On an infinitely smaller and less tragic scale, the situation in the university can lead to a dilemma of the same type overnight. All the left tendencies are fighting to gain recognition of their right to carry on "political activities" on the campus. But it is quite possible that the administration will take the incidents surrounding Garaudy's visit as a pretext for banning any more political lectures. What other course, then, is there but to fight together to win minimum political freedom in the university? Would it not be preferable to respect the rules of workers democracy from now on, since they conform to the common interests of the workers movement and the student confrontation movement?

In 1957, in response to the official

possible. We advocate frank debate in meetings of strikers. We do not think that we need restrict ourselves to polite discussion with strikebreakers.

In every marginal case, however, we must distinguish acts (or crimes) from opinions and ideological tendencies. Acts must be proved and judged according to clearly established, well-defined criteria of the workers' interest (or after the overthrow of capitalism, of socialist legality) so as to prevent arbitrariness. Failure to distinguish between acts and opinions can only result in extinguishing workers democracy, lowering the level of consciousness and mobilization of the workers, and progressively robbing the revolutionists themselves of their ability to orient themselves politically. . . . □

The Communist Party, black nationalism and the Panthers

By Elizabeth Barnes

The Aug. 3 issue of the **Black Panther** newspaper features a long interview with Panther leaders Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, the bulk of which is devoted to attacks on those left organizations which have been critical of the "United Front Against Fascism" conference in Oakland.

The most striking thing about the interview is the strong language in which these groups are denounced. The heaviest fire is focused on the SDSers who Hilliard and Seale refer to with such epithets as "bourgeois reactionnaires," "nationalist chauvinists," and "national socialists."

David Hilliard introduces the attacks with the comment that the Panthers are now being very careful about "distinguishing real friends from real enemies." He then goes on to say that "whether you call them Trotskyists, or PL, SDS, ISC or whatever brand of initials that they come under, if they're taking sides with our enemies, then we say that our enemy's friends are also our enemies."

The one large group which seemed to be exempt from this type of criticism was, significantly, the Communist Party. Hilliard had the following to say about the CP:

"And we have criticisms of the American Communist Party, and lately they're relating to the criticism because we told them they had to put more things into practice and it seems that they did better than some of the organizations, because they actually came out and did some degree of work to put the conference over, when we sat down and talked with them."

In another interview with Art Goldberg which was reported in the Aug. 16 **Guardian**, Hilliard elaborated on this question. "We are not aligned with the CP," he said. "The CP is an autocracy controlled by Gus Hall. We are aligned with factions within the CP who want to move toward a better society. These are the people we

worked with on the conference, and those are the people we will continue to work with."

Opposes nationalism

The fact that the Panther leaders have aligned themselves in this way with unnamed "factions" inside the Communist Party raises many questions about the direction in which the Black Panther Party is going. The CP is an organization which has been overwhelmingly rejected by today's radicalizing youth—and rightfully so—because of its long history of betrayals of both the black and working class movements. It has opposed every one of the revolutionary nationalist policies the Panthers have ever projected.

The CP has been opposed to nationalism precisely because they understand its revolutionary implications within American society. The way in which the CP greeted one of the most significant revolutionary developments of this decade—the rise of Malcolm X and the spread of his nationalist ideas—is an indication of their attitude.

In a statement which was printed in the **Worker**, the CP newspaper, and then reprinted in leaflet form for larger circulation, they denounced him as an "ultra-reactionary" and "conscious huckster" who had the "strategic assignment to promote divisionism within the Negro movement and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses." (**The Worker**, July 7, 1963)

The **Worker** asserts that "Malcolm X in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people, he is an agent of their enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress."

What leaders did the CP oppose to Malcolm as the representative of progress? The answer is contained in their complaint that "Malcolm X and his fellow



"REACTIONARY"? The Communist Party labeled Malcolm X an agent of the enemies of black people.

cultist leaders work untiringly to undermine the prestige of such vital leaders of the Negro movement as the Rev. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins and others."

Since black nationalism has become a powerful force within the black movement today, the CP has been forced to modify some of the things they say about nationalism. But they have in no way altered their fundamental fear of and opposition to it.

Recent stand

Even in the most recent CP document, passed at their national convention last May, they are at best highly ambiguous on the question of the struggle for self-determination. As reported in the May 10 **People's World**, the CP resolution states "even though black people do not now constitute a nation . . . we do not place any limitations upon further developments of national struggle of black people to satisfy their aspirations up to and including their rights to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination." If you read this slippery formulation of their position slowly and carefully you will see that the CP does not at this time consider the demand for self-determination to be a correct demand.

The CP's conscious and consistent policy is to try to turn nationalist sentiment in a reformist direction, toward the Democratic Party, and away from the task of building a mass black political party, independent of the capitalist two-party system. In the black community they call for "more black representation" through the election of black Democrats such as Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Richard Hatcher of Gary, and Thomas Bradley who ran for mayor on the Democratic Party ticket in Los Angeles. In New York they are now supporting Mayor Lindsay for reelection, the very man who just this year sent cops into the schools against rebellious black high school students and who was one of the chief opponents of the struggle for black and Puerto Rican control of the schools.

Supports capitalists

In criticizing SDS and other radical groups, Hilliard says, "our enemy's friends are also our enemies." But there is no group on the left today whose policies have been so consistently oriented toward the liberal wing of the capitalist class as the CP. The list of "demagogic politicians" and "avaricious businessmen" which the CP has supported would be too long to enumerate, but a sampling of the most important would include Eugene McCarthy, the Kennedy brothers, Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson.

Whether or not one supports the parties of the ruling class has always been a key dividing point between revolutionaries and reformists. The record of the CP on this question is clear. It is an organization which can talk about class struggle and about fighting capitalism and imperialism, but its 40-year record is one of consistent class-collaboration.

This is the party with which the Panthers have chosen to work at the current juncture. Regardless of the Panthers' claims to be working only with "factions" of the CP, the fact that such groups remain within the CP is an indication that they do not have fundamental differences with CP's long record of betrayals of the black liberation struggle.

Political accommodation to such tendencies can only lead away from a revolutionary nationalist perspective.

Women picket Twin Cities pageant

By Nancy Strebe

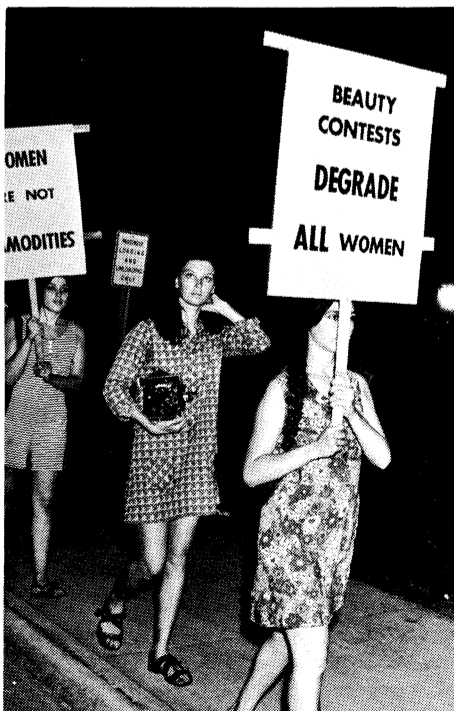
MINNEAPOLIS—On Friday, July 25, the Women's Liberation Group held a demonstration here protesting the Aquatennial Queen of the Lakes contest. The Aquatennial is a yearly event in Minneapolis, a week-long ritual of parades and special shows designed to promote Minnesota businesses. This year, as usual, all the major business interests chose their "princesses" to represent them in the Queen of the Lakes contest.

The Women's Liberation Group responded to this degrading display and use of human beings as sexual objects to sell merchandise. Twelve women picketed and leafleted directly in front of the carpeted, canopied, door-manned entrance, so that all entering could not help but respond, either by a tightening of the lips (noted mostly in company bigwigs who quickly steered "their" women past the group and refused, for the women, the leaflets proffered), or by surprise, or by thoughtful reading of the leaflet and a friendly response, urging the group to keep on.

The signs and leaflets did not attack the contestants, since it was felt they were merely doing as they'd been taught was proper — look beautiful and entertain people. Rather, the picket signs read "Our Sisters are Being Used," "Women Are Not Commodities," and "Beauty Contests Degrade All Women."

The leaflet read, in part, "Women are forced to compete in a 'beauty contest' every day of their lives. And when women,

especially beautiful women, can no longer fit the 'beautiful' image, they are cast aside as 'old' models. We protest this treatment; we, and the girls being judged here tonight, are more than mindless sexual objects. We urge you to join us in



PROTEST. Women's Liberation Group demonstrating outside Twin Cities beauty contest.

the struggle for liberation of women and the liberation of all oppressed peoples."

During the demonstration, people came over from the park across the street. Several older women were extremely friendly and urged the group to continue its work. Several uniformed teenage girls acting as attendants to the contestants read the leaflet, thought it was "great," and took some to give to the contestants.

The Minneapolis Women's Liberation Group intends to continue protesting practices which are unfair and degrading to women. And, since the group is now a recognized student organization at the University of Minnesota campus, it will aim some of its protests against the "channeling" of women into the social sciences and home economics, rather than the professions or sciences, and the lack or extreme sparsity of women on controlling bodies of the University.

Although the group will be doing work on the campus, only a few of the approximately 30 women in the group are students. Most are young working women, a few are in the professions, and a few are housewives. The group plans to work for and support women's struggles for fair treatment on the job and in the unions.

As part of its educational program, the group has reprinted a number of articles and papers on the question of women's liberation and would welcome further material. The address is Women's Liberation Group, 2404 25th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

CALENDAR

DETROIT

RECENT TRENDS AND TACTICS IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE. Speaker: Frank Lovell, UAW Local 160. Fri., Aug. 22, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Employed 75c, unemployed 35c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

NEW YORK

WHICH ROAD FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION? Panel: Ivy Bottini, New York chapter pres., NOW; Dolores Costello, Taking Care of Business; Susan LaMont, nat'l committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Aug. 22, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

An unvarnished history (XI)

PL, Maoism and Stalinism

By Mary-Alice Waters

Throughout its history, all the fundamental political decisions made by Progressive Labor have been determined by two main factors: (1) PL's own immediate, narrow, sectarian interests, and (2) the interests of the Chinese regime, as interpreted by PL. When the needs of the world revolution and socialism come into conflict with those of the Peking bureaucracy or PL, the cause of the world revolution gets short shrift. Cuba, Vietnam, the Afro-American struggle, Hazard, Monroe—whether the issue is national or international, whether it involves the lives and safety of few or of millions, the basic political pattern remains consistent.

Progressive Labor is not the first group in the history of the working-class movement to be marked by such politics. Long before PL broke from the American CP or before the Maoist leaders broke with the Kremlin bureaucracy, the same basic considerations determined the political line of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the parties of the post-Lenin Third International. While the Maoists broke with one tendency in the Stalinist movement, they never broke from Stalinism itself.

What is Stalinism?

"Stalinism" is not an epithet used indiscriminately against one's opponents the way PL uses "revisionist" or "counterrevolutionary" or "racist." It is a term that describes a historical phenomenon of fundamental importance that first emerged in the 1920s and continues to exist to this day.

The first victorious socialist revolution took place in Czarist Russia, an extremely backward capitalist country with vestiges of feudalism and a huge peasant population barely one generation out of serfdom. The country was devastated by World War I, civil war and invasion by the armies of 14 capitalist nations. The entire revolutionary vanguard was decimated by the war and epidemics and many of the most brilliant and far-sighted of the leaders of the revolution, including Lenin himself, died in the early years. The expectation of major aid from a victorious revolution in Germany—or in one of the other more advanced Western European nations—faded as the revolutionary wave of the postwar years subsided. Hemmed in by blockade and facing enormous problems, the first workers state had to count largely on its own resources to survive.

At that time—unlike later grotesque caricatures of Bolshevism—there were still numerous political tendencies within the Soviet Communist Party. Sharp debates occurred over basic policy decisions in every realm of Soviet life. Trotsky unquestionably emerged as the leader of the Leninist, proletarian tendency while Stalin spoke for the growing petty-bourgeois forces within the party. To the right of Stalin was yet another current, whose policies tended more clearly than Stalin's towards capitalist restoration. As general secretary of the party, Stalin was in a position to consolidate his power over the party apparatus, which he did through manipulation, coercion and the violation of all the norms of democratic centralism.

It was not Stalin's personal characteristics, however, that were decisive in the ultimate victory of his faction over both the left and right oppositions. Great political struggles are essentially battles between contending social forces and material interests, and each camp finds leaders



STALIN, ALONE, REMAINED. These 24 constituted the central committee of the Bolshevik Party in 1917. The fate of each, as it was known in early 1938, is recorded beneath the pictures.

in its own image to conduct the struggle in its behalf.

Stalin's faction represented not the bold and courageous forward march of the revolution but the inevitable relapse that has followed every revolution in history. As Trotsky explained in *The Revolution Betrayed*, "It is for the very reason that a proletariat still backward in many respects achieved in the space of a few months the unprecedented leap from a semifeudal monarchy to a socialist dictatorship, that the reaction in its ranks was inevitable. . . . After an unexampled tension of forces, hopes and illusions, there came a long period of weariness, decline and sheer disappointment in the results of the revolution. The ebb of the 'plebian pride' made room for the flood of pusillanimity and careerism. The new commanding caste rose to its place upon this wave."

Privileged bureaucracy

As the privileged, bureaucratic caste acquired total power in the Soviet Union with Stalin at its head, the Leninist proletarian opposition was crushed, its supporters exiled, expelled from the party and murdered.

The Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky promoted the welfare of the workers and peasants and the world socialist revolution; Stalin's party was quite different. Stalinism, as a political current in the working-class movement, represented the interests of a special small layer of Soviet society, the privileged upper crust served by a ruthless ruling bureaucracy in a state where capitalist property relations had been overturned.

As Stalinism emerged it spoke not for the interests of the working class but for the petty-bourgeois layers of Soviet society. Initially this was primarily the middle and rich peasantry, the small property owners who were concerned with maintaining their own little plot of land, their markets, their profits. Subsequently, it became based more and more on the most privileged workers, managers, administrators, and favored nationalities.

The petty-bourgeois Stalinist tendency rapidly became fixed in the form of a privileged caste, with its own political logic, needs and interests. As a middle-class current within the workers' movement it invariably subordinated the needs of the working class to the needs of the bureaucracy, thus playing a counterrevolutionary role through and through.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy had a double problem. Its privileged position depended upon the preservation of the nationalized property, development of a planned economy, a state monopoly of foreign trade—i.e., defense of the basic conquests of the revolution.

But simultaneously, new advances of the world revolution posed a threat to the bureaucracy from two opposite sources: (1) from the hostile imperialist countries which might seize upon new revolutionary advances as a pretext for intensifying counterrevolutionary activity and undertaking military aggression against the Soviet Union, and (2) from the emergence of revolutionary currents which would challenge the authority and privileges of the Kremlin rulers.

Thus the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy and those of the world revolution diverged sharply from the late 1920s on. As a bureaucratic caste based on a privileged layer in Soviet society, its policies were thoroughly nationalistic. The Soviet rulers and the Communist parties around the world subordinated the needs of the working masses in Spain, France, Germany, China, the U.S. and every other country to the interests of "building socialism in one country" by pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of "peaceful coexistence," as it is known today.

One of the characteristic features of Stalinism is its political zig-zag course between ultraleft adventurism and right-wing opportunism, depending on the particular needs of the moment either nationally or internationally. This is reflected in the policies of the pro-Moscow CPs around the world as well. Thus, in the U.S., the American CP, in the pre-World War II period, swung from the ultraleft sectarianism of the "Third Period" to support for the Roosevelt wing of the capitalist class in 1936, to denunciation of Roosevelt during the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1940, and back to fervent wartime support for Roosevelt after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941.

In another about-face, in the Eastern European countries following World War II, Moscow first tried to crush the popular anticapitalist movement and maintain capitalist ownership, and then reversed policy and abolished capitalist property and power when the nascent cold war convinced Stalin the USSR needed the protection of a "buffer zone."

Stalinist methods

Representing the interests of the bureaucracy rather than the working class, Stalinism necessarily means a turn away from the masses, a distrust of them, a fear of open democratic political confrontation of programs and ideas within the working-class movement. The organizational methods of the Soviet regime simply reflect the dual character and political interests of the bureaucratic caste. It must bridle the right-wing currents whose policies would lead precipitously toward capitalist restoration and suppress its revolutionary opponents who would establish genuine socialist democracy and abolish bureaucratic privilege.

Thus the Stalinists branded all opponents within the workers' movement as "counter-revolutionaries" and "class enemies," and introduced the methods of physical intimidation and even assassination for dealing with working-class political opponents, both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

The Maoists never analyzed, never understood and never repudiated any of these basic political and organizational characteristics. On the contrary, they wholeheartedly agreed with them. Far from attempting to guard against the bureaucratic deformation of the Chinese revolution, the Stalinized CP that took power was itself already a heavily bureaucratized organization.

From the beginning, the leaders of the Chinese CP modeled the institutions of Chinese society on the Stalinist pattern in the USSR. The significant aid which the Soviet Union extended China in the early

years of the revolution was conditional on their doing nothing that would antagonize or cut across the policies of the Soviet leaders. This also helped foster a strong bureaucratic caste which as it extended and consolidated itself became as nationalistic minded as the mentors in the Soviet Union.

The rupture between the Soviet and Chinese leaderships occurred only when the national bureaucratic interests of the new powers in Peking came into sharp conflict with those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

An understanding of the nature of Stalinism is essential for anyone who hopes to comprehend both the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese revolution, or the convoluted history of the defenders of the Chinese bureaucracy abroad like PL. Whatever differences may exist between them, the present Chinese regime is not essentially different from the Soviet regime—a privileged, nationalist-minded bureaucratic caste dominates a country in which capitalist property relations have been abolished and the foundations of a socialist society established. Surrounded by the hostile forces of imperialism, it is steering a course both domestically and internationally which is designed to meet the immediate needs of the ruling bureaucracy.

We will return to the question of Peking's domestic and international policies, and their relevance for this history of PL, in the next chapter.

(This serial history of Progressive Labor is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will appear in the issue dated Sept. 5.)

SWP files suit on Michigan law

DETROIT, Aug. 7—The Socialist Workers Party has filed a lawsuit in the Federal District Court here challenging the constitutionality of a portion of Michigan's election law which requires minority parties to secure names on nominating petitions according to a formula which is contradictory to the one-man-one-vote principle.

The suit in Michigan is the first suit seeking to apply the recent United States Supreme Court decision in the case of *Moore v. Ogilvie* to state statutes similar to the Illinois statute held unconstitutional in the *Moore* decision.

At present, Michigan law requires that minority parties obtain signatures equal to at least 1 percent of those who voted for secretary of state in the prior election, that there be at least 100 signatures from 10 different counties, and that no more than 35 percent of the signatures be from any one county.

Similar provisions were struck down by the Supreme Court in *Moore* because such requirements deny the majority of voters the right to place on the ballot a new political party and thus gives greater voting strength to those in the less populated counties.

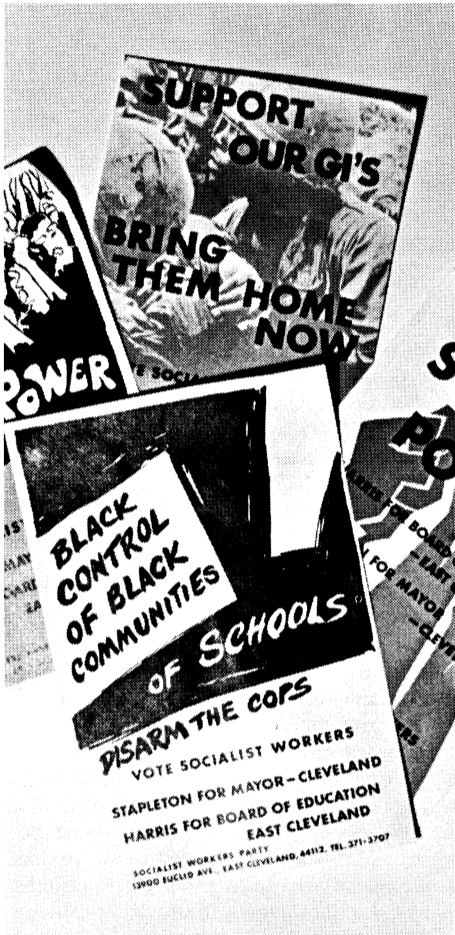
Open letter to the Daily World

Stapleton answers CP on Cleveland elections

To the **Daily World** Editor:

In an article entitled "Ultras, Trots out to defeat Stokes," in the July 17 issue of the **Daily World**, Phil Bart attempts to drum up support for the reelection of Cleveland's Democratic mayor, Carl B. Stokes, and launches a slanderous attack on the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

Describing those who would campaign against Stokes as "reactionaries [who]



would like to ring up a victory and add this to their reelection of Los Angeles mayor Sam Yorty," Bart states that "[Syd] Stapleton and his Trotskyite party have singled out Stokes for their main attack."

According to Bart, the Stokes campaign is "of importance both here and nationally. The issue is: Can a black mayor win reelection with a record which is recognized widely as favorable; or can a combination of prejudice, old-party politics, and outright racism bring about his defeat?"

Bart's amalgam of a revolutionary socialist campaign with capitalist reactionaries deserves little comment. It is borrowed from the pages of Communist Party history. Every opponent, whether he is on the side of the working class or the capitalist rulers, is labeled a "fascist," "counterrevolutionary," etc.

More important is Bart's unqualified endorsement of the Democratic Party candidate. Bart says the issue is whether a black mayor can win reelection. That is not the issue. It simply glosses over the real question—whose interests does Stokes represent? Those of Cleveland's black community or those of the perpetrators of racist oppression of Afro-Americans?

The key issue is precisely to expose why it is impossible for the Afro-American population in this country to make any fundamental improvements in its condition under the rule of the capitalist two-party system. This is a question of local and national significance and that is one of the major reasons why I am running against Stokes.

We have not "singled out Stokes" for our main attack, as Bart states. Our main

target is the capitalist political system of which Stokes is a part.

It is this capitalist system that lies at the root of the racist oppression of the blacks in this country—the system which is represented by the Democrats and the Republicans. As long as you continue to vote for the capitalist parties you are voting for racist oppression, unemployment, war, poverty, white slumlord rule in the cities, and everything else that this rotten capitalist system stands for. It is voting for the bipartisan eight-year-long war in Vietnam and the slaughter of some 40,000 black and white American youth there.

Stokes' record in Cleveland leaves no doubt about who he represents. Promising hostility to black militants, he endorsed the police massacre in Glenville last year, and remains silent on the death sentence given Ahmed Evans by an all-white jury after a blatant police frame-up. He has ignored the demands of the black students and avoided taking any demonstrative action to oppose the criminal war in which many black Cleveland youth will ultimately be forced to fight and die. He has spent more effort on a facelifting of downtown Cleveland than on the problems of the black community or working people.

His record makes it abundantly clear that he is a representative of the bankers and industrialists in this city, not the black community.

The most urgent issue for Afro-Americans in this country is to break with this capitalist two-party shell game, to destroy the stranglehold which the Democrats and Republicans have on the political power of black Americans, and to form their own mass, black political party. But this is precisely what the Stokes, the Hatchers and other black Democratic Party politicians are trying to prevent. And it is because the ruling class fears such a break in its control over the black population that it is willing to support black Democratic Party candidates for mayors of major cities.

An independent, mass, black political party would represent the interests of the blacks; it would be under their control; it would be able to fight for and win real victories against the capitalist rulers. And it would provide a powerful impetus to revolutionary activity on all levels.

I support the building of such a mass black political party and my campaign is helping take such ideas to thousands of people.

This is the revolutionary approach to politics. It uses campaigns as a vehicle to expose the capitalist oppressors, not to cover up for them. That is a far cry from the **Daily World's** simpering support to Stokes.

Syd Stapleton
SWP Candidate for mayor of Cleveland



Photo by Bruce Marcus

MEDICINE FOR ALL. Philadelphia demonstration protesting city's hospital crisis.

Hal Levin backs Boutelle

Hal Levin, currently a graduate student in political science at Columbia University, has been active in New York radical politics for several years. In 1966, while teaching at Brooklyn College, he was the Independent Party's candidate for Congress from the old 12th congressional district in Brooklyn. During 1967 he was a leader of the Welfare Workers Committee for Peace in Vietnam within the Social Service Employees Union. He is now a member of the Worker Student Alliance, SDS, but the views expressed in his letter are his personal opinions.)

* * *

As a leftist with many disagreements with the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to take this opportunity to urge other non-SWP leftists to work for and/or contribute to the candidacy of Paul Boutelle.

Nobody who considers himself "left" is considering Marchi or Procaccino. Yet the *Daily World* and others who consider themselves to be radical are pushing the candidacy of John Lindsay. The *Daily World* line on Lindsay is the same as its equally erroneous line on Lyndon Johnson in 1964. "Stop reaction," cry these so-called communists.

And yet even from a noncommunist point of view, Lindsay's record on labor, welfare, police, civil rights, etc., has been no better than that of Robert Wagner.

Indeed, the essential point is that both the Democratic and Republican parties represent the interests of those who benefit by the current economic system and its exploitative, racist and imperialistic consequences. The differences between members of the two capitalist parties are trivial and inconsequential in terms of effecting the fundamental changes needed in this country.

To support a Johnson or a Lindsay is to perpetuate the illusion that a choice between the capitalists will solve problems fundamentally part of the economic system that are unchallenged by liberal as well as conservative defenders of it. To believe that anything is "won" with a Johnson or a Lindsay is to believe that the status quo is the best of all possible worlds—quite a contradiction for those who style themselves leftists.

On the other hand there are those who argue that support of the SWP candidates is not compatible with being a revolutionary. I beg to differ. It was Lenin who pointed out that all the limited bourgeois freedoms should be used to the hilt in order to aid the revolutionary movement.

The SWP's use of the coming election to argue against the concept that there is a choice between capitalism's candidates is important. A socialist candidate is a visual articulation of this argument. No other serious left candidate for mayor of New York has emerged. (The CP may run a campaign, but their obvious support of Lindsay reveals their insincerity.)

In short, having only one candidate for mayor, the left—whatever the differences with the SWP—should support Boutelle's candidacy.

Hal Levin

Philadelphia residents protest hospital crisis

By Mareen Jasín

PHILADELPHIA—As a result of city, state and municipal budget cuts on welfare spending, Philadelphia's public health services are in a major crisis. Only massive protests prevented six of the city's major hospitals from closing their emergency wards at the beginning of this month.

The hospitals said they would be forced to take the action because of lack of funds. The federal government has made a two-percent cut in Medicare payments; the state has cut \$20 million in assistance funds for the poor; the city has slashed 33 percent of last year's already inadequate hospital budget, which sustains out-patient and emergency services. Pennsylvania's Governor Shafer ordered a \$29-million cutback in welfare spending, which reduced the income limit for a family of four from \$4,000 to \$3,400 as of Aug. 1.

In response to the hospital-closing threats, the Community Active Medical Students and physicians, nurses and welfare recipients staged a demonstration at City Hall. They set up a mock emergency ward complete with medical equipment, "wounded patients" on cots, and red liquid to simulate blood. Wearing white coats, the demonstrators carried stretchers and picket signs reading, "Medical Care for ALL the People," "Don't Play Politics with People's Lives," and "Health Should be TOP Priority."

The medical students called a press conference to which city and state politicians were invited to explain the crisis. None appeared. But a number of community people and sympathetic hospital physicians did explain. They laid the responsibility on the politicians: the fact that billions of dollars of public funds are being spent on the war in Vietnam and space programs while health and welfare spending has low priority.

A black physician, Ernest Williams, said that "the worst hurt will be black people; they are 90 percent of the emergency cases." Dr. Williams pointed out that "those who can't afford insurance will receive no medical care." The majority of the people who can't afford insurance are black.

In the face of the protests, the hospitals

backed down, and the doors of the emergency rooms are still open. But the crisis continues: Funds are still lacking and the politicians who control the purse strings are still in power.

SWP candidate blasts cutback in medical care

(Michael Walker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Philadelphia city comptroller, issued a statement July 30 on the city's hospital crisis. The following are excerpts from that statement.)

Every citizen is entitled to good health. Health is not a luxury for only those who can afford it. No governor or hospital administrator has the right to decide who is worthy of medical treatment. The United States possesses the technology and knowledge to overhaul the cities, photograph Mars, land men on the moon, transplant hearts. Yet the means to operate Philadelphia's health and welfare systems are lacking. . . .

The Socialist Workers Party believes that this situation is irrational and criminal. Life is cheap under this capitalist system, and it's only profits that count. The wealth and technology of this country are more than adequate to provide free hospital care for all. We demand that Governor Shafer immediately cancel this cutback (in welfare funds) and that *all* hospital facilities be kept open to serve the community.

Leon Trotsky
On the Trade Unions

95 cents

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Views and reviews in passing...

The current issue of **Radical America** (dated May-June) contains a penetrating analysis by Adalbert Fogarasi on "The Tasks of the Communist Press" which originally appeared in the July 15, 1921, **Kommunistus**, a German-language theoretical organ of the Third International.

"The capitalist press speculates on the reader's ignorance, on his inability to read a paper critically. We must base our work on the reader's need for the truth and on the awakening of his critical facilities. All of this is of the greatest importance not only regarding the communist reader, which leads to a question we have had to hold aside: For whom is the communist press written?"

"The doctrinaire conception, according to which the communist press is written only for communists, must be opposed. On the contrary: the press is one of our most effective weapons in winning over the vacillating masses—if we handle the weapon properly. As concerns essays on politics and political economy—the latter are too often neglected in favor of party politics—the masses to be won are only those whose interests rationally lead them to the communist camp as soon as the subjective conditions (ideological maturity) are present.

"Regarding the unmasking of the capitalist news reports, another important goal presents itself: shaking the faith in the capitalist press of the petit-bourgeoisie, especially its intelligentsia which is so important in forming public opinion."

(A sub to **Radical America** costs \$3.00. Send to 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wisc. 53703.)

I think it can be stated as a fact that a greater proportion of radicals are regular readers of science fiction than is the case with the population generally. Perhaps this is because science fiction promotes the view that social environments are transitory and because both socialism and science fiction are future-oriented.

Whatever the case, radical science-fictioners will be interested in discovering for themselves the works of Mack Reynolds (who sometimes uses the pen name of

Harry Ring is currently on vacation. Both he and his "Great Society" column will return to the Militant in September.

Guy McCord), whose novels are always highly political. Reynolds appears to be some sort of left-wing Social Democrat grown discouraged.

In any case, in the **Time Gladiator** (Lancer, 75c) he projects the cold war on into the future along with the growing degeneration of the American culture. Woven into the story-line are sundry intriguing references to and conversations about Marx, Trotsky, revolution, etc.

Code Duello (Ace, 60c—this book also contains another novel, **The Age of Ruin** by John M. Faucette, which isn't worth reading) is a satirical novel about a planet thoroughly caught up in a gigantic political witchhunt. The government has 10 ministries, nine of which are devoted to "anti-subversion," while the 10th "holds the portfolios of State, Interior, Justice, Revenue, Agriculture, Trade, Health and Education."

Curiosity seekers will be interested in **Crazie**, the publication of the Crazies chapter of SDS on New York's Lower East Side. The Crazies are presumably with the RYM-SDS rather than the WSA-SDS.

The Crazies are caught up in a kind of ultraleftism that seems to involve being one part hippie, one part make-believe Panther.

As indicated very clearly in the July issue of **Crazie**, for instance, their melodramatic masquerade comes off as rather poor politics. Example: The Crazies caricature (unintended) of the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party ends up not even with the Panthers' traditional "Power to the People" but with the elitist "Power to the People Who Fight For It."

(No sub prices are listed. Single issues are 15c. Send to **Crazie**, 339 Broadway, New York, N. Y.)

A few years ago Timothy Leary was advising us all to drop out of political activity. Recently, however, Leary has dropped back in. He is attempting to put a new party on the ballot for the California gubernatorial elections next year. His campaign advertisements disclaim radicalism: "All the old political concepts, including Left and Right, are outworn and irrelevant." Also: "The time has come for a Party of Life, Health, Harmony, Relaxation, Good-humor, and Reward." From what liberal have we heard all this before?

—Malachi Constant

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 669-4025.

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

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

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

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 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) VI3-4620.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, c/o Ed Jurenas, 1610 S. Limestone, Lexington, Ky. 40503. Tel: (606) 278-8544.

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, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin)

2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidtlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64118. Tel: (816) EM1-4883. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Scharrell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Gary Wurtzel, Gox 1187, Harpur College, Binghamton, N. Y. 13901.

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

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

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Oh. 44112. Tel: (216) 249-8250.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Dick Taylor, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387. Tel: (513) 767-9063.

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

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

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA c/o Tom Kincaid, 2201 B Nueces, Austin, Texas 78705.

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

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

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

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

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

Reading for revolutionaries

Marxist economics

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, by Ernest Mandel, Merit Publishers, 78 pp., \$1.

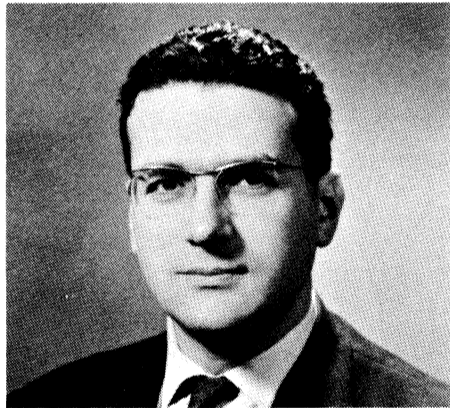
Political activities are based fundamentally on economic interests. Thus, in primitive societies, where everyone's economic interests were identical, largely confined to averting starvation, there was no political activity as such. Conversely, in modern societies which are divided into specific economic classes, political activity is determined by the conflicting economic interests of those classes.

This does not mean that one can make a direct and mechanical relation between politics and economics; actually, the economic causes produce their political effects indirectly and in complex ways, but they do ultimately produce them.

That is why it is important for revolutionaries to understand economic theory. In this work Ernest Mandel contributes an explanation of the basic categories that make up the economic system of capitalism under which the majority of mankind still lives. His exposition is derived from the Marxist theoretical discoveries.

Most people consider themselves well-informed on what these basic categories are. After all, almost everyone comes into daily contact with commodities, money, labor, profits, capital and so on. These are commonplace things, even though some of them are only looked at or read about rather than touched. A surprising number of people even look upon themselves as experts on these matters!

In tracing the transformation of commodities into money and money into commodities—the exchange process—the analysis probes the two-fold nature of the commodity itself. The common characteristics that are found in all commodities are revealed as the basis for their ex-



Ernest Mandel

changeability. This leads to a further analysis of these common features, the principal one being labor.

In this way we are led to probe the nature of the human labor that is embodied in all commodities, and from there to the value that this labor produces. It is an easy next step to surplus value, that portion appropriated by the capitalist and the transformation of this surplus value into capital. It becomes clear that the aim of all capitalists is to increase their capital.

The examination of the categories reveals how this is done. This is the basic way in which the capitalist system works, regardless of the will of either the capitalists who reap the main benefits or the

workers who produce the surplus value for them.

In gaining an understanding of the economic roles played by capitalists and workers, it becomes clear why their interests are fundamentally opposed. It thus becomes understandable how these antagonistic classes, playing entirely different roles in the economic process, have different political interests.

This is certainly not evident all the time. In fact, it is actually hidden as much as possible from the public view as the spokesmen for capitalism constantly repeat the idea that workers and capitalists have the same interests. However, a study of precisely how the system works reveals the falseness of this idea and the correctness of Marx's analysis.

Milton Alvin

RYM excludes PL at Bay Area parley

By Paul McKnight

RICHMOND, Ca. — In the aftermath of the national SDS convention, a Bay Area regional SDS conference was held here the first weekend in August. Members of the Progressive Labor Party and the Worker-Student Alliance caucus of SDS were excluded from the meeting by its organizers, who included Stanford SDS, the Radical Student Union of Berkeley, and the Joe Hill caucus at S. F. State.

A 39-member security squad enforced the exclusion of PL by allowing only three people at a time to enter the building and then frisking them thoroughly, confiscating such "weapons" as fingernail clippers and pen knives. Any PLer who managed to slip through this preliminary screen was escorted out when discovered.

The chairman opened the meeting by explaining why PL had been excluded from the meeting. Immediately after he finished, a motion was made from the floor to let PL and WSA participate in the conference.

The chair ruled this motion out of order, and a challenge to this ruling lost by a vote of about 140 to 85.

A member of the Joe Hill caucus made the antiwar report to the conference, outlining what was actually a revolutionary socialist perspective for struggle against the Vietnam war. He pointed out the importance of defending the Vietnamese revolution by mobilizing masses of people around the theme of "withdraw the troops now." He pointed out that to do this, SDS would have to work with elements in the antiwar movement who were less radical than themselves.

This report did not meet with much response, however, and was not even followed up by other Joe Hill members in the discussion the next day.

Over half of the 250-300 attending the conference were women, and at one point on the agenda, they met to discuss women's liberation while the men met to discuss problems of male chauvinism.

The tone of the entire conference was affected by the machinations of the security squad, which from time to time forcibly ejected individuals who were deemed to be "disruptive."

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

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory three-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 3 month introductory subscription.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.
- ☐ For GIs—\$1 for a 6-month introductory subscription.

NAME

STREET

CITYSTATEZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Atlanta socialist candidate fights for ballot status

ATLANTA, Aug. 11 — The fight being waged by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, against the \$5,000 qualifying fee sharpened this week.

The original complaint filed on July 31 was amended to include Mrs. Ethel Mae Matthews and Mrs. Julie Shields as plaintiffs. Mrs. Matthews, head of the Atlanta chapter of the National Welfare Rights Organization, said in the amended complaint that she wishes to run for alderman and is qualified to do so except that she is unable to pay the qualifying fees. Her entire income is from public assistance. Mrs. Shields, another black woman on welfare, maintains that her right to vote for Mrs. Jenness or Mrs. Matthews is being violated by their inability to obtain ballot status.

Attorneys Fred LeClerc and Albert Horn, lawyers for the plaintiffs, presented their case to Federal Judge Newell Edenfield at a hearing Aug. 5. They argued that the high fees deprive the plaintiffs of the "rights, privileges, and immunities secured to them by the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States." They also argued that the state statute and city ordinance setting the fees violate the intent of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The city attorneys argued that the 1965 Voting Rights Act applied only to voters and not to candidates. They also raised such spurious arguments as: Anybody can run a write-in campaign.

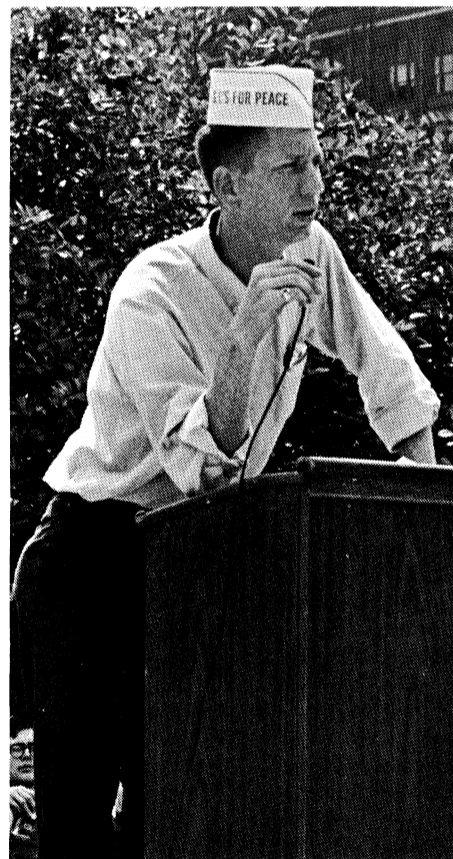
Judge Edenfield hasn't reached a decision yet on the case. But as *Atlanta Constitution* writer, Alex Coffin put it, "Linda Jenness may have thrown a monkey wrench into the whole business [the Mayor's race]."

Wide support is developing for the fight. The Georgia Civil Liberties Union has agreed to take on the case. Julian Bond, Georgia state legislator, sent Mrs. Jenness a statement of support, as has Leonard Davis, one of the other mayoralty candidates. WSB-TV editorially opposed the high qualifying fees this past week (earlier WAGA-TV had done so). Vice Mayor Sam Massell, also a mayoralty candidate, told Mrs. Jenness that he will "stand

shoulder to shoulder" with her if it is ruled that she cannot file independent nominating petitions as an alternative to paying the election fees. Statements of support have also come from Syd Stapleton and Paul Boutelle, SWP mayoralty candidates in Cleveland and New York, and from John Benson, SWP candidate for district attorney in Philadelphia.

On Aug. 9, Linda Jenness spoke to 200 people at an antiwar rally in Grant Park. During the march and rally hundreds of copies of the Socialist Workers election platform were distributed. A large banner carried by campaign supporters said "Bring the Troops Home Now—Vote Linda Jenness for Mayor." Dozens of young people pasted campaign stickers on their shirts during the march.

On the following day, Mrs. Jenness appeared on a panel on "Freedom-Self-Determination-Women" at the Unitarian-Universalist church. She told the group of about 300 that the other candidates continually refer to the qualities that the "man" who gets elected will have to have. Indicating that women aren't expected to become involved in the political life of the country, she went on to describe the progress made in freeing women in Cuba. Among others appearing on the panel were representatives from the National Organization of Women and the Women's Liberation Group.



Joe Cole

D.C. antiwar rally held on August 9

By Margie Ferretti

WASHINGTON, D.C.—On Sat., Aug. 9, a crowd of 250 people assembled at the Tidal Basin beside a plaque commemorating Japanese-American friendship. The demonstration protested the horror of Nagasaki and the stubborn insistence of the United States government in prosecuting the Vietnam war and in escalating the arms race against the wishes and best interests of the majority of the American people and the rest of the world.

Speakers included Tom Reedes, National Council to Repeal the Draft; Karl Hess, formerly an assistant to Barry Goldwater and now an outspoken opponent of the Vietnam War; and Dr. Leonard Rodberg, professor of physics at the University of Maryland, who spoke against ABM.

Dave Hawk, an organizer of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, and Carol Lipman, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, spoke about the fall offensive against the war. Hawk discussed the plans for a student moratorium on Oct. 14 and again in November. Carol Lipman talked about the plans for an action in Chicago on Oct. 11 and for a mass demonstration here Nov. 15.

One of the most important aspects of the demonstration was the number of young people participating—people involved for the first time. Many people signed up as volunteers to help in both the New Mobilization and the Student Mobilization offices in the fall.



Linda Jenness at Aug. 9 Atlanta rally

Photo by Ilona Stanton

1,300 in Chicago mark Hiroshima-Nagasaki days

By Fred Lovgren

CHICAGO, Aug. 9 — Despite a rainy Saturday afternoon, 1,300 people turned out for a demonstration through Chicago's Loop in memory of the brutal bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and to demand "U.S. out of Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa."

The march, composed mainly of high school students, was very spirited. Chants of "Bring all the GIs Home, Now!" and "Free Speech for GIs" drew at least one sailor off the sidewalk and into the march.

The enthusiasm of the demonstrators showed they were not in the least bit taken in by the phony troop withdrawals of the Nixon administration.

The front ranks of the march were sprinkled with GIs and sailors from the area. After the march, demonstrators assembled at General Logan Statue in Grant Park, across the street from the scene of the bloody police riot at the Conrad Hilton during last year's Democratic Party national convention.

Speakers at the rally included Andrew Pulley of the Fort Jackson 8; David Rivera of the Young Lords Organization, speaking for the Poor People's Coalition; Father Nicholas Riddel of the Chicago 15, a group that destroyed draft files this spring; and Willy Petty of the Third World Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam.

Andrew Pulley, currently on a national speaking tour for the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, stressed the need to organize a mass movement to fight for the constitutional rights of GIs to oppose the war while inside the Army.

Canadians welcome antiwar GI

By N. Dunfield

TORONTO—Over 5,000 youth turned out Aug. 9 to Toronto's first antiwar rock festival, sponsored by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. Two of Canada's most prominent disc jockeys emceed the rally, which included five rock groups in all. The featured speaker was Joe Cole, one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, who is now on tour for the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

The magnitude of the event forced the media to give prominent coverage to the case of the Ft. Jackson 8. The *Toronto Daily Star*, which usually takes a derogatory attitude to antiwar actions, quoted extensively from Cole's talk: "The GIs—especially black GIs—know the war is not in their interest. The generals want to see the war go on because they get promotions out of it. The people who run my country, that is the big businessmen, want to see it go on because they're making money out of it. . . But not the GIs. I

never hear a GI saying he is going to Vietnam to defend freedom. . . He's going because he was sent."

Throughout his speech, Cole described the growing opposition to the war in the ranks of the U.S. armed forces and the organization of antiwar action on their bases. He told the crowd, many of whom were at an antiwar action for the first time, that there were now 3,500 more troops in Vietnam than when Richard Nixon became president.

The foot-stamping, enthusiastic reception for Cole as he unfolded his stories of Army life, the stockade, the political antiwar meetings on base and the organization of GIs clearly expressed the sympathy of the Canadian youth for their drafted brothers south of the border.

Across Canada we are preparing for an international day of protest Nov. 15. Two of the main slogans will be "Solidarity with the antiwar GIs" and "Withdraw all U.S. troops now."

After the march Pulley met with 10 antiwar sailors at the Student Mobilization Committee office. Pulley had previously spoken to GIs at a coffee house meeting sponsored by *Dull Brass*, the Ft. Sheridan GI newspaper, and SMC.

A meeting of sailors is set for Aug. 16 to discuss starting a newspaper at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station.

The enthusiastic and spirited nature of the demonstration, despite the rain, showed that this is just the first step in a massive fall offensive against the war that will culminate in large numbers of Chicagoans participating in the Nov. 15 demonstration in Washington.

SMC antiwar rally greets astronauts in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 14 — Some four to five thousand antiwar youth demonstrated outside the Century Plaza Hotel last night where the state-dinner-spectacular was being held for the three astronauts back from the moon. The demonstration, called by the Student Mobilization Committee, demanded that Nixon bring all the GIs home from Vietnam now.

"I think science and technology could be used to bring back the troops and end the war in Vietnam and solve a lot of other problems," one of the demonstrators told reporters, reflecting the sentiments of most of the participants.

The crowd was overwhelmingly youthful, a large percentage high school students. Many participants were on their first antiwar demonstration. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which had earlier held a rally nearby, joined in the antiwar action. The demonstration received good coverage in the national news media.

The SMC won a partial civil liberties victory against the police, who wanted to deny the demonstration the use of the street. A court injunction granted the SMC the use of a small portion of the street with some restrictions. The SMC protested and these restrictions were not rigidly enforced.

"On to San Clemente" was raised as an additional slogan on the demonstration. Next week, on Aug. 17, there will be a statewide demonstration against the war outside Nixon's summer White House in San Clemente.