

THE MILITANT

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Socialist Workers Party
convention maps fall offensive

--See pages 4-5--

Off-the-wall plan for Chicago sparks revolt among SDSers

--See documents and analysis, pages 7-10

THE NEW ISRAELI AGGRESSION



The Sept. 9 Israeli "raid" across the Gulf of Suez was not merely a daring attack on Egyptian military targets intended, as Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir claimed, to strike at Egyptian commandos operating in the Sinai and to demonstrate Israel's overwhelming military superiority. It was a meticulously planned, brutally executed act of terror that left a 60-mile-long trail of desolation along the west coast of the gulf.

Eli Landau of the Israeli daily *Maariv*, who accompanied the Israeli troops, reported: "One of the first vehicles we encountered after our tank force left the beach was a truck loaded with cotton—a single shot turned it into a blazing pyre. . . . A good many vehicles that came our way . . . even made way for us, edging over onto the road margins. They made rather good targets." And James Feron, writing from Jerusalem in the Sept. 11 *New York Times*, reported: "The Israeli

advance was apparently concluded only after every structure, vehicle and installation had been destroyed or put out of action and every moving figure cut down in a hail of machine-gun bullets."

The civilian and military Egyptian death toll, according to Feron, "may have been considerably higher than the 100 to 150 first estimated," and a remark of an Israeli officer cited by Feron in a Sept. 9 dispatch sums up the Israeli tactic: "The Israeli assault force took no prisoners."

It is only possible to speculate why the Israeli rulers chose this moment to intensify so drastically their aggression against the Arab people. It is certain that Zionist propagandists will never again find it easy to delude world opinion with the lie that the Israeli regime "only wants peace and security."

Antizionist Israelis challenge Golda Meir

Will 'sons of Zion fulfill their destiny unhindered'?

Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Golda Meir, the prime minister of Israel, will come to visit the U.S. next month. As members of ISRACA, we wish to present the following 10 questions to Mrs. Meir (Israca is a committee centered around Israelis who are temporarily abroad.):

1. Do you recognize, in principle, the Palestinian people as a national entity, and are you prepared to respect their right to self-determination in Palestine?

2. As a "socialist," why do you support U.S. policy and war in Vietnam? And why do you break up strikes of teachers and postal workers with arguments of National Security?

3. Why do you insist that Israel remains the political expression of world Jewry, and oppose the demand that it become the political expression of its own population?

4. As an opponent of discrimination, why do you uphold the Israeli Law of Return which grants automatic immigration and citizenship rights to a Jew born, say, in London, while denying these rights, as a matter of principle, to a Palestinian refugee born, say, in Haifa?

5. As an opponent of anti-Semitism, why do you demand of Jews harassed by anti-Semites to emigrate to Israel, rather than fight anti-Semitism wherever they meet it?

6. As an opponent of racialism, why did you invite Mr. Enoch Powell to Israel and entertain him as an official guest immediately after his notorious Wolverhampton speech?

7. Why did you order the demolition of the occupied villages Emmaos, Beitnuba and Yalu after the '67 war, and by what right did you distribute their lands among the local kibbutzim?

8. As a "democrat," why did you proscribe the Palestinian group "El-Ard" in the early '60s, prohibiting it from publishing a newspaper and from standing for elections to the Israeli parliament? And why do you keep and make use of the British colonial Emergency Laws, which you had condemned as dictatorial?

9. If you strive only to ensure the survival of the Israeli population, why do you insist that East Jerusalem is non-negotiable?

10. The following quotation is from an article by Mr. Shraga Gafni, published in the official magazine of the Israeli army rabbinate, Mahanaim (April 1969, p. 168): "... The Arabs who inhabit this country today are an essentially alien element to it and to its fate, and should be dealt with according to the rules which applied to the aliens in antiquity. Our wars with them were inevitable, just like those in antiquity with the people who inhabited our country for their purpose.

"It is impossible to live together with

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.

the Arabs over prolonged periods, for their consciousness, prayers, desires and visions are oriented towards Mecca, whereas the Israelis' are towards Jerusalem. Only those facing Jerusalem represent the true sons of the land, whereas those facing Mecca are true to Arabia. The situation is clear, and its outcome is clear. Either the Arab element ceases to worship Mecca and starts worshipping Jerusalem, or it returns to Arabia and leaves the sons of Zion to fulfill their destiny unhindered. Those who will disturb shall be expelled . . ."

Mrs. Golda Meir, are you willing to condemn publicly the opinions expressed in this official Israeli magazine?

E. Dror
Israeli Revolutionary Action
Committee Abroad

Opposes criticism of SDS

Buffalo, N. Y.

You are not performing a service by your constant virulent attacks on the Students for a Democratic Society. You have never dealt with the issues that led to the PL expulsion; merely attacked the whole organization as "Stalinist." It was precisely to fight Stalinism and sectarianism that the expulsion of Progressive Labor was necessary.

You were not present at the hundreds of SDS meetings over this past year which PL turned into fruitless, repetitive ideological debates, thus turning away many hundreds of potential members. You did not witness the growing frustration and arrogance of SDS leaders forced to circumvent PL to get any united action from the chapters.

SWP-YSA devote their time to attacking other left organizations and staying in school while SDS members spend their time in the streets, factories, and communities organizing people for the fight against the rulers of our society. SDS, SWP, YSA, and PL as well, are all sisters and brothers in the struggle ahead of us. As such we should devote our time to attacking the capitalists and the militarists instead of each other. Don't forget that the new left sprang up precisely because of the sterile sectarianism of the old.

David Spero
Buffalo Coalition
to End the War in Vietnam



Arab World

"A YEAR OF PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY." That's the translation of the Hebrew words on this Israeli New Year's card.

Malcolm X's view on 'inciting riots'

Waco, Texas

As you know, eight members of the movement will go on trial soon on charges of "conspiring" under the civil rights act because of their action during the Chicago police riot.

I believe Malcolm X sufficiently answered the charges of "inciting riots" in April, 1964, when he said, "Some-

times, when a person's house is on fire and someone comes in yelling, 'fire,' instead of the person who is awakened by the yell being thankful, he makes the mistake of charging the one who awakened him with having set the fire." Ven-
ceremos!

M.W.

Criticizes article on moon-landing

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I read with interest Joseph Hansen's story about the Apollo 11 moon landing, which appeared on page one of your August 1 issue. I have found several inaccuracies in the story, which I thought you might be interested in:

First, Mr. Hansen mentions the "Telestar relay system." In case Mr. Hansen hasn't heard, the Telestar low level satellite system, which was developed by the Bell System, was found to be impractical about four years ago, and was never put into effect. What is now being used are high level satellites, operated mostly by Comsat.

The author then refers to the "jet engines." As anyone who knows anything about flying can tell you, a jet engine cannot operate in the vacuum of space.

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Friday, Sept. 19, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Sept. 12, 1969

All of the engines used on the Apollo mission, as well as all other launchings from Cape Kennedy, are *rocket* engines. Confusing a jet engine with a rocket engine is like calling Lenin a Trotskyite and then justifying that claim by saying that they were both Russians.

Mr. Hansen then wonders about "the possibility of biological contamination of our own planet" by the Apollo astronauts. Hasn't he heard about the very elaborate — and very expensive — precautions taken against such an occurrence? Where was Mr. Hansen when the quarantine program was being explained? Everyone else seems to know about it.

Because of these and other inaccuracies in Mr. Hansen's article, I get the feeling that he does not know very much about science in general or the Apollo mission in particular. These and other inaccuracies cause me to wonder how accurate the rest of your articles are.

I originally subscribed to *The Militant* in order to learn more about socialism. I fear that I have picked a very poor teacher.

Barry Starkman

...the author's reply

New York, N. Y.

Several readers of *The Militant* noted the errors in technical nomenclature with regard to the propulsion and communication systems. They agreed, however, that these showed the high technological level reached in the United States.

When space travel becomes common in 2001, I agree to let them deal with the computer while I stay strapped in a seat.

As for the quarantine in which the astronauts and their rock samples were placed, this turned out to be not exactly foolproof, to judge from the accidents that occurred. The probable sterility of the moon was very fortunate for our planet. On the other hand what about the moon? Did it remain uncontaminated?

On the most important point in the article, concerning how the landing on the moon has reinforced the social pressure to transcend the capitalist system and establish socialism, I trust that Mr. Starkman is in complete agreement.

Joseph Hansen

Agrees on democracy in the movement

Urbana, Ill.

I wish to commend the publishers of *The Militant* for their editorial, "Democracy in the movement," in the Aug. 22 issue. I would also like a copy of the article, "On Workers Democracy," by Ernest Mandel, which I understand is available from the YSA.

J.B.

JOIN THE YSA

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

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Ahmed Evans

Fred Ahmed Evans, militant black nationalist, is scheduled to die in the electric chair on Sept. 23. Sentenced to death by an all-white jury on May 13, Evans was arrested after a police attack on the black community in Cleveland in the summer of 1968 during which four people were killed, three of them cops.

The frame-up of Ahmed Evans was calculated to whip up anti-black-nationalist hysteria in Cleveland. Evans' lawyers are appealing the case and it is expected that this appeal will lead to a stay of execution. But the danger is still there. Evans must not be allowed to die!

The New York Parade Committee is working on organizing a protest for Evans. Those interested in helping such an effort should contact the committee at 255-1075.

An editorial

Let's not keep them waiting

There is today a tremendous ferment within the radical movement. Stimulated by the crisis in SDS and developments in the Black Panther Party, activists are debating issues of strategy and tactics with new vigor. Many are seriously reexamining previously held positions and considering approaches and answers they had previously rejected out of hand.

While this process of political clarification is going on, the opportunities to expand the movement are greater than ever. Antiwar, antiracist and radical sentiment is continuing to spread among students, in black and third-world communities, and, in a modest way, even among white workers.

It is, we think, a fact that *The Militant* has played a significant role in advancing the political and organizational development of the antiwar, third-world and student movements.

The *Young Socialist* magazine has played an equally important role. Livelier and more topical than ever, it has every prospect for further growth.

With the opening of the school term, there will

be a greatly increased number of people looking for the kind of news and analysis *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* offer.

To tap that potential new audience, *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* have launched a special two-month circulation drive ending Nov. 15 to gain 4,000 new readers for both publications.

To assure that money will not be a barrier, we are offering a three-month combination subscription to both publications for only \$1.

Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance locals have adopted subscription quotas to carry through the drive. We urge other readers who agree on the importance of expanding our circulation to join in this effort. Special subscription blanks are available from our business office or local SWP and YSA groups.

There are a lot of people out there searching for understandable, rational answers. Let's not deprive them of what we have to offer.

A REVERSE TRAVEL BAN

The victimization of Robert Williams

By Elizabeth Barnes

Sept. 11—The American Civil Liberties Union is considering legal action against Trans World Airlines for their refusal to carry Robert F. Williams from London to Detroit.

Williams was on his way back to the U.S. after eight years of exile when, upon changing planes in London, he found that TWA and other airlines flying to the U.S. refused to honor his ticket. At the same time, British authorities took him into custody and have imprisoned him in London's Pentonville Prison.

The FBI has been implicated in the case. According to the Sept. 11 *New York Times*, TWA claims that its decision not to fly Williams was based on information from the FBI that "a civil disturbance could be anticipated on his arrival in Detroit."

The action against Williams is the crudest kind of political persecution. Robert Williams was one of the first black leaders in this country to advocate self-defense for Afro-Americans. He was forced to flee the country in 1961 after being framed up in his home town of Monroe, North Carolina, on a kid-

napping charge. During his exile he has lived in Cuba, China, North Vietnam and, most recently, Tanzania.

Some time ago, Williams decided to return to the U.S. and to fight the frame-up charges against him. In preparation for his return, he obtained a travel document from the U.S. embassy in Tanzania, good only for travel to the U.S. He also bought plane tickets for a United Arab Airlines flight from Dar-es-Salaam to London and for a TWA flight from London to Detroit.

As soon as Williams reached London on Sept. 5, the harassment against him began. He was met at the London airport by British detectives who searched him and took him off to prison. Trans World Airlines refused to honor his ticket, and other airlines immediately joined TWA in barring Williams from their flights.

British officials then attempted to get him out of England by putting him on a United Arab Airlines flight to Cairo.



Robert F. Williams

But after lawyers and representatives of British civil liberties groups turned up at the airport to protest, and after Williams himself refused to board the plane peaceably, they gave up the idea.

As we go to press, Williams is still in London, being held against his will, with no charges against him and no open official explanation as to why he is being barred from flying to the U.S.

Lawyers in London are seeking to obtain Williams' release from prison, and Williams remains firm in his determination to return to the U.S.

As news of the actions against Williams spreads, more and more voices of protest are being heard on both sides of the ocean.

On Sept. 10, *New York Times* London correspondent Anthony Lewis devoted a column entitled, "The Airline, by Franz Kafka," to the case. Lewis strongly objected to the travesty of justice involved in the harassment of Williams.

Pointing to the Supreme Court declaration of 1968 that restraints on the freedom of travel are unlawful, Lewis commented, "Now it appears that an American abroad may be prevented from returning to his own country—without any official ruling, without a reason or a hearing. That is the threatened import of the mysterious case of Robert F. Williams."

Lewis continued, "Any American might try to imagine himself abroad, and blandly told by every airline that he cannot fly home—for unstated reasons, perhaps at some government agency's inspiration and perhaps not, with no way to find out and no one officially responsible."

CALENDAR

BOSTON

GIS UNITED AGAINST THE WAR. Speaker, ex-Pvt. Joe Cole, one of the Ft. Jackson 8. Fri., Sept. 19, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Rm. 307 (1 blk from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

NORTHERN IRELAND, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. Speaker: Matthew Hussey, Irish graduate student at Univ. of Pa. Fri., Sept. 19, 8:30 p.m., 686 N. Broad (at Fairmont). Donation \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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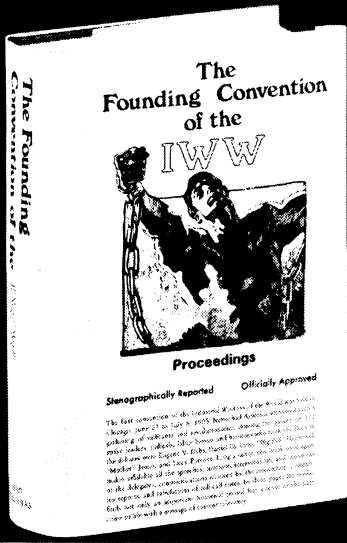
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The summer of 1905 witnessed a unique historic event in Chicago. From all over the country, militants and radicals, hard-rock miners, railroad men, agricultural and factory workers gathered in a 12-day convention to found a revolutionary organization to overthrow capitalism.

In this volume are recorded the words of the 112 delegates who took the floor. Among them are the speeches of such figures as Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon, Big Bill Haywood, Lucy Parsons and Mother Jones.

This is the stenographic report, officially approved, of the historic convention, including communications read, resolutions passed or defeated, committee reports, and the tabulation of roll-call votes.

Merit Publishers, Dept. G
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The Socialist Workers Party convention

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK—The national convention of the Socialist Workers Party held here over Labor Day weekend marked an important step forward for the revolutionary socialist movement in this country.

It was the largest convention in the history of the SWP. Nearly 700 people attended from some 49 different cities and towns, including, for the first time, sizable groups from the South.

In addition to the elected delegates, members of the SWP, YSA and invited guests were present as visitors. Regular convention sessions were carried on by the delegates. Delegates and visitors participated in the various convention panels.

For four days, the convention deliberated on the problems and strategy of making the American revolution and mapped plans for building the revolutionary movement.

Based on their conclusion that the mounting radical and socialist sentiment will continue to deepen in this country, the delegates projected a "fall offensive" of revolutionary action and education which will center around the following activities:

- An all-out effort to help build the mass mobilization against the war in Vietnam to be held in Washington Nov. 15.
- Participation in actions designed to build the struggle for black control of the black community and accelerate the development of a mass black political party.
- Intensification of activity around election campaigns launched by the SWP.
- A concentrated two-month drive to get 4,000 new subscribers to *The Militant*.
- Continuation of regular speaking tours and socialist education classes, including classes for Afro-American and other third-world youth.
- Continuation of solidarity campaigns in support of revolutionary movements around the world, of most immediate importance, the Vietnamese,



Photo by Bruce Marcus

Larry Seigle



Photo by Bruce Marcus

Cuban, Arab and Czechoslovak revolutions.

Seriousness

One of the most impressive things about the convention was the seriousness and high political level of discussions, and the large number of delegates who took the floor. As SWP leader Tom Kerry observed, there was a notable absence of "revolutionary phrase-mongering" and "windbagism."

A resolution on "The Course of U.S. Imperialism and the Revolutionary Struggle for a Socialist America" provided the basis for one of the most significant discussions at the convention. The fundamental question posed in this document was, how realistic is the perspective for socialist revolution in the U.S. today?

In his report on the resolution, SWP organization secretary Jack Barnes outlined the economic and political factors which lie at the basis of the radicalization we are now experiencing both nationally and internationally. He explained how and why the whole history of capitalism has helped to sow the seeds of the present crisis and why it is impossible to solve such basic social problems as racial and national oppression, colonial war, unemployment, pollution, etc. within the framework of the capitalist system. (The convention's assessment of the present stage of radicalization will be further reported in future issues.)

The tactics and strategy of mobilizing the masses of people in this country in a revolutionary direction were discussed in greatest detail in relation to a resolution on "The Transitional Program For Black Liberation." This document, which seeks to come to grips with the basic questions posed by the black liberation struggle today, has already been circulated widely in several areas of the country and has been met with a great deal of interest. (See report, page 5.)

YSA

Larry Seigle, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, reported on the growth of the YSA as an independent revolutionary youth organization working in collaboration with the SWP. He described the tremendous opportunities opening up this fall for a giant leap forward in building the revolutionary socialist movement on the campuses and in the high schools.

He related how the Young Socialist Alliance has more than doubled its size in the last two years. This growth was reflected at the 1968 YSA Thanksgiving-weekend convention, which was attended by some 800 people.

Analyzing the setbacks and defeats

suffered by other youth movements such as SDS, the DuBois Clubs, YPSL, etc. in the recent period, Seigle explained that it was the YSA's understanding of the nature of the present youth radicalization and the need to build a revolutionary socialist youth group which was at the basis of its success.

Seigle described the 23 socialist schools which were held this summer in areas around the country to educate YSAers in Marxist theory. "The YSA is not the same organization that it was two years ago," he said. "We are significantly larger—we have muscle, we have experience, we have flexibility now that we didn't have then."

One of the main activities of YSAers in the days ahead will be their participation in helping to build the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam into as large an organization as possible on campuses and high schools across the country.

There will also be dozens of YSA regional travelers going from campus to campus to distribute literature, give talks, and set up new chapters of the YSA, Seigle told the convention.

"We view the gains of the past two years as merely preparation for a larger expansion campaign—a revolutionary offensive—beginning this fall," he declared.

Antiwar

Gus Horowitz, a leading SWP activist in the antiwar movement, reported on the convention resolution on the antiwar movement. He stressed that the coming months are crucial in the fight against the Vietnam war because of the escalation of antiwar sentiment and the tremendous pressures on the Nixon administration to halt the war. The antiwar



Photo by Bruce Marcus

Gus Horowitz

movement is now in a more favorable position than ever before to actually affect government policy, to radicalize whole new layers of people, and to play a significant role in the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, he said.

Reviewing the role of the SWP in the antiwar movement, Horowitz pointed out, "In contrast to every other tendency, the SWP has put forward a perspective geared to maintain the independence of the antiwar movement from the capitalist parties, designed to maintain the line of immediate withdrawal and puncture the illusions in the Paris talks, designed to lay the groundwork for building even larger mass mobilizations than those that have already occurred."

"That is the perspective which the SWP argued for in this period—and most important—that is what we were able to carry out in action."

Horowitz argued for a fall perspective of deepening antiwar activity on the campuses and in the high schools (continued fights against campus complicity, ROTC, etc., as well as building for Nov. 15), while at the same time continuing to reach out to new layers among GIs, in the labor movement and in the black community. The building of a third-world contingent for the Nov. 15 action was seen as an important part of building the mobilization.

The International Movement

One of the high points of the convention was a report on the international revolutionary socialist movement given by national committee member Barry Sheppard.

"The Socialist Workers Party has never conceived of itself merely or solely as a national grouping," Sheppard said. "It has always considered itself an active part of an essentially international movement. This essential internationalism flows directly from the international character of the struggle to overthrow capitalism and replace it with world socialism . . . A victory for the workers in any country is an advance for workers everywhere and a setback for capitalism everywhere."

Because of the reactionary Voorhis law, movements such as the SWP are prevented from being officially affiliated with international organizations. Thus, the SWP cannot belong to the Fourth International, the worldwide Trotskyist organization. Despite this handicap, Sheppard explained, the SWP extends fraternal political solidarity and support to the Fourth International.

Some of the most enthusiastic applause at the convention was reserved for observers from sections of the Fourth International from other countries who

(Continued on page 5)

SWP analysis on black liberation

Discussion of the resolution on "The Transitional Program for Black Liberation" at the Socialist Workers Party convention centered around the report made to the convention by national committee member Clifton DeBerry.

DeBerry began by saying, "One of the basic weaknesses in the Black liberation movement today is that the need for a transitional program is not understood. For this reason, the document ["Transitional Program for Black Liberation"] speaks to the most crucial problems facing the struggle for Black liberation."

The unprecedented nationalist awakening and all the actions that have been spawned by it have yet to give rise to a Black political party that can provide cohesiveness and direction to all of the various demands now being raised.

Drawing every aspect of the struggle together into such a party is necessary to provide a vehicle through which the movement can begin to move directly to challenge the political power of the white capitalist government over the Black community.

Black Panther Party

With this criterion of the need for building a mass black party, DeBerry assessed the positive and negative contributions of the Black Panther Party. The greatest contribution of the Panther Party, he said, has been its very existence as a Black political party. Its existence has helped to bring the idea of an independent Black political party from the realm of the abstract into the concrete.

But a combination of ultraleftism and reformism, i.e., the Panthers' attempts to find a shortcut to revolution with the use of ultrarevolutionary rhetoric and their more recent reformist actions at the Oakland antifascist conference, where they made anti-Black-nationalist statements and worked closely with the reformist Communist Party, have caused

a deflation in the strength and prestige of the Panthers.

Another weakness of the Panthers has been their inability to relate to the actual struggles going on in the black community—in the schools, in the unions, in the Army and in the community. In some cases they have made antinationalist attacks on black student struggles, condemning their "cultural nationalism."

Central Question

Of central importance to the black liberation movement today is the question of how black revolutionaries can reach out

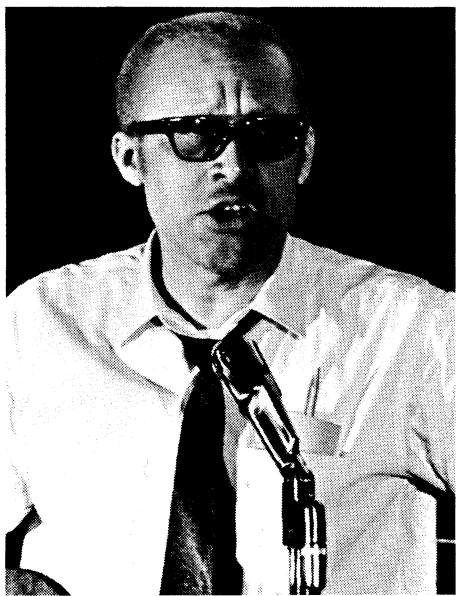


Photo by Bruce Marcus

Clifton DeBerry

to and organize the masses of black people in a revolutionary direction without falling into the trap either of reformism or ultraleftism. The transitional program deals with this question by calling for the development of a full program of struggle around demands which meet the needs of the black community. This means that revolutionaries win forces to their ranks by participating in and giving leadership to actual mass struggles going on, as well as by

launching new struggles which will help mobilize people and educate them to the bankruptcy of the system.

Ferment

DeBerry's report described the nationalist ferment which is rocking the college campuses and high schools. Many of these struggles, he explained, have challenged the system in a very basic way. This has developed from the formation of cultural nationalist organizations, through demands for Black teachers and courses in Black history, to demands for Black studies' departments and assertion of the right of Black students to control those departments. In the high schools, this has included struggles against the prison-like conditions that exist.

The report pointed out that the demand by Black students for open admissions, or drastic increases in the enrollment of Black and Brown students, has more far reaching implications than the demand of the civil rights movement for integration of the campus community.

This motion among Black students challenges the right of the capitalist politicians to decide what goes into the minds of Black people. When cultural nationalism, i.e., the knowledge of the cultural heritage and history of struggle of black people, is placed within this context of struggle, it assumes a totally different form than what its antagonists point it up to be. By taking cultural nationalism out of the context of the struggle as a whole, some radicals have attempted to use it as a straw man to denounce Black nationalism in general.

The report touched briefly on the developments of militancy among Black GIs. However, aside from this, DeBerry indicated that the Black liberation movement has been very lax in throwing up an overall defense of the Vietnamese Revolution. Given the development of more conscious leadership, he foresaw the opportunity for increased involvement by Blacks in the antiwar movement.

DeBerry sharply emphasized the significance of the rise of Black caucuses in the labor movement. The young Black workers that are entering basic industry act as transmission belts for nationalist sentiment into the factories. The rise of black caucuses in the auto and steel unions, plus the mounting demonstrations demanding jobs at construction sites, are powerful indicators of this sentiment. This growth not only has the potential of upsetting the bureaucratic domination of the labor movement, but of ripping labor from the Democratic Party, which is an instrument of capitalist rule.

As DeBerry explained, all of this motion can best be synthesized in the build-

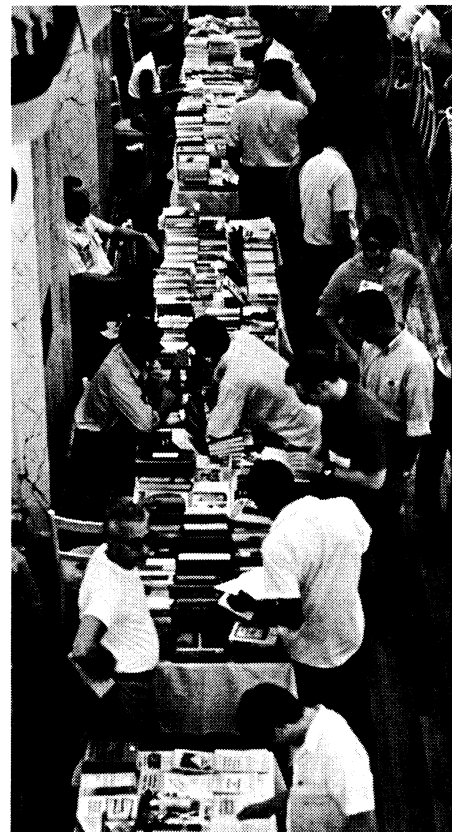


Photo by Bruce Marcus

OWN BEST CUSTOMERS. Political level of delegates and visitors at SWP convention was graphically illustrated by sale of \$1,500 worth of books, pamphlets, posters and buttons at convention literature tables.

ing of an independent Black political party.

The "Transitional Program for Black Liberation" is based on and flows out of all the aforementioned struggles. And it draws the logical conclusion of the need for a mass black party. Thus, for the growing number of Black and Brown members of the SWP, the program is a useful instrument in their activity in building the revolutionary movement while combatting both ultraleftism and reformism. As with all transitional programs of struggle, it provides bridges for moving from the capitalist present into the socialist future.

Discussion

There was a great deal of discussion by the delegates on the resolution. The speakers raised such questions as the relationship between the class and nationalist aspects of the struggle, the role of cultural nationalism, and the role of reformist socialist tendencies in the struggle.

There was also discussion of the movement for Red power. This was based on the activity of Indians in Minneapolis, where the community numbers 10,000. From the West Coast came discussion on the growing radicalization of the Chicano community.

At a meeting of Third World SWPers and YSAers, implementation of various aspects of the transitional program was discussed. Included in the immediate perspectives was the building of united fronts of groups and individuals from Third World communities in defense of the Vietnamese Revolution. The nationwide student strike on Nov. 14 and the march on Washington Nov. 15 will provide the best framework for this activity.

... Socialist Workers convention

gave greetings to the convention. This was especially true in response to a message from the French Trotskyist movement, which played an important role in the revolutionary upsurge in May-June of last year. Messages of solidarity also came from the Canadian League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In his report on the international movement, Sheppard described the rise of a new generation of youth on an international scale. Pointing out that the Vietnam war has been an important factor in precipitating this worldwide revolt, Sheppard explained how sections of the Fourth International in many countries have played an important, "often a leading and decisive," role in building the international antiwar movement.

Sheppard also reported some of the theoretical discussions taking place within the international Trotskyist movement on such important topics as the

role and potential of guerrilla warfare in making revolutions, the nature of the Chinese cultural revolution, and the need for a transitional program for the worldwide youth and student movements.

The nature of the Chinese "cultural revolution" was also taken up at the SWP convention under a separate point on the agenda, and a resolution on the subject was passed by the delegates. In his report on the resolution, SWP leader Joseph Hansen included a comprehensive analysis of Maoism and the Chinese Communist Party as seen within the framework of the history of the rise and growing crisis of Stalinism since the 1920s.

Panels

A series of panels and discussion groups were held during the evenings throughout the convention on such topics as the women's liberation movement, socialist election campaigns and the publication and distribution of socialist literature. A panel on the trade-union movement discussed the experiences and perspective of those involved in activities in the unions. At another panel, black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other third-world SWPers discussed a program of activities in the third-world movement.

The convention ended with the election of a new party national committee, and the signing of the traditional song of the world revolutionary movement, "The International."

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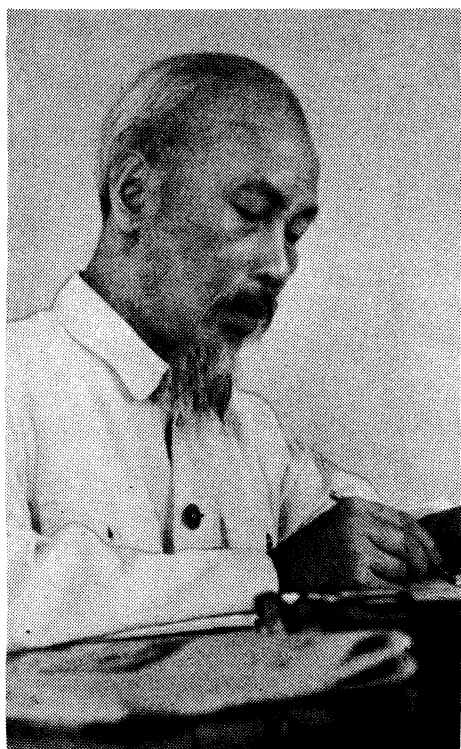
Previous to this issue, the paper was published in 8 point type, the size this paragraph appears in. We hope you agree the new size is an improvement. (P. S. Correspondents are asked to set their typewriter margins to provide a line of 42 characters.)

Transitional Program for Black Liberation

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

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LNS/The Guardian

Ho's death:

Vietnamese vow to continue fight

The death of Ho Chi Minh September 3 marked the end of an era in the history of Vietnam, North and South. It gave rise, as might be expected, to a flurry of speculation throughout the capitalist world as to the effect of Ho's departure on the ability of the Vietnamese people to maintain their heroic resistance to American imperialism.

Many sections of the American press were forced to adopt an unusually respectful tone in commenting on the passing of the man whose name had become linked so closely with the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam. Harrison Salisbury, writing in the September 7 *New York Times*, said:

"Ho Chi Minh's death last week was a deep and incalculable loss for Hanoi, for the Vietnamese people—and even, time may yet reveal, for the United States. This was the considered opinion of most neutral observers who have followed Vietnam's tortured years long and closely, first during the conflict with the French and then with the Americans. . . .

"Even in 1969, with all the passions and hatreds of the war, all of the destruction, all of the reprisals, all of the fratricidal strife, Ho still would have won any popular referendum honestly and fairly conducted in the whole of Vietnam."

The Vietnamese themselves made clear that they had no intention of granting any concessions to Nixon because of the loss of an individual leader. On September 6 an editorial in *Nhan Dan*, the official daily organ of the North Vietnamese Workers party, called for continuation of the fighting, until "there is not a single aggressor in our country."

The editorial reiterated a recent statement by Ho Chi Minh on Nixon's token troop withdrawal: "The Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops, not the withdrawal of only 25,000 or 250,000 but a total, complete, unconditional withdrawal."

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Can't afford clean air

Antipollution choked in Phila.

By Mareen Jasin

PHILADELPHIA—The powers that be seem intent on doing nothing to change one of this city's most charming characteristics: It is the third most polluted city in the country, with the second largest concentration of oil refineries.

In July, the city council held public hearings on air pollution. Despite some progress in reducing smog and other visible pollutants, the hearings revealed that during the past 10 years the deadlier, invisible pollution has intensified. More than 15,000 tons of unseen dust and metallic and gaseous poisons foul the air of the 11-county Philadelphia region daily. The hearings also exposed the fact that not one violator has been prosecuted, no fines assessed and no public warnings issued to any industrial polluter since the beginning of this year!

One of the city's worst offenders is the Philadelphia Electric Company. This firm's representative told the hearing: "If the taxpayers want clean air, they have to pay for it."

The corporation representatives and city government officials who testified at the hearings piously agreed that pollution is bad and that stricter laws are needed, but they had no solution as to how such laws might be enforced. Representing the Socialist Workers Party, I testified that it would be easy for the corporations to reduce pollution, but "the big corporations would rather fight than switch, rather pay negligible fines or make minimal changes than take a cut in profits."

The Socialist Workers Party, I pointed



Philadelphia Bulletin photo

Philadelphians, including SWP campaigners, demand air.

out, "believes the corporations should pay the entire costs of decreasing air pollution: Open the account books so we can see what you can afford. Don't put the onus of costs on the victims of dirty air."

"Recently I was in Cuba and noticed that racial discrimination had been elim-

inated. Laws exist against discrimination, and a proprietor in Cuba who refuses to serve a patron because of color is punished with confinement and a fine. Cuba is serious about enforcing laws affecting the welfare of the people. Our government is not; it protects the corporations' profits rather than the people's health, as in the case of air pollution."

On Aug. 10 about 200 demonstrators with white surgical masks gathered at City Hall to protest air pollution and the failure of the city council to act on the new pollution code that was the ostensible reason for the July hearings.

The air pollution problem has been exposed recently here in Philadelphia, but it is a life-and-death matter to the citizens of most major urban areas—like the residents of Donora, Pa., near Pittsburgh. In 1948 an air inversion (a layer of cool air sliding above the warmer, dirtier air and keeping it from rising) covered a large part of the Monongahela River Valley; nearly half of the 12,000 people in Donora got sick, and 20 died. New York City health officials estimate that 405 persons have died from poisoned air as a result of air inversions in 1953, 1962, 1963 and 1966.

The incidence of deaths from lung cancer in urban areas is nearly double that of rural areas. Polluted air increases the incidence of emphysema, bronchitis and asthma. During the past year, more than 10,000 people have been advised by Los Angeles doctors to move elsewhere to prolong their lives.

Pollutants also damage buildings, trees, livestock and works of art to the tune of an estimated \$13 billion a year in the U.S. Cleopatra's Needle, an obelisk, has suffered more damage in the past 100 years in New York City than occurred during the previous 3,000 years in the Egyptian desert. Sulfur dioxide is eating away the obelisk.

The air we breathe is our most important natural resource. Little by little, it is being destroyed, and we are being poisoned.

Socialist Scholars parley examines issue of party

By Robert Langston

NEW YORK—The fifth annual Socialist Scholars Conference, which met Sept. 5-7 at Hofstra University on Long Island, took place under the sign of the crisis of the "new left." A substantial part of the 300 to 400 participants were graduate students and younger university teachers, and a good many of them had been SDS activists and ideologues.

The announced theme of the conference, "Aspects of Socialist Culture," hinted at a double danger. The main work of the conference could easily have become an academic, utopian exercise in the "definition" of socialist culture. Or it could have degenerated into a series of group-therapy sessions bespeaking the infantile longing to live now, in this society, as "true" or "socialist" human beings. Both these dangers were largely avoided.

The conference papers, the panel sessions, and the informal discussions emphasized rather the practical problems of making the only dimly perceptible outlines of socialist culture—every individual's unalienated enjoyment of the product of his and every other individual's free activity—fruitful in the present as guides to the kind of organization and the kind of action necessary to revolutionize society so that socialist culture might take root and grow.

Many of the participants had become convinced through their own experience of the impotence—and worse—of quasi-anarchist, "spontaneist" concepts of organization and action characteristic of the old SDS. In his paper at the panel, "The Student Response to the American Century," James O'Brien of the University of Wisconsin pointed to the failure of the two strategies developed from such concepts: community organizing

and "confrontation." And a number of participants in the panel, "Marcuse: His Works and Influence," noted that a fatal dialectic was at work in the development of the once loose, gay, spontaneous "do-your-own-thing" SDS into a fratricidal battleground of rigid, humorless, dogmatic, hate-driven factions.

It is not surprising, then, that the question was often posed: How can we build an organization sufficiently cohesive—in every sense of the term—to overthrow capitalism that does not become just another "machine," just another integrated part of capitalist society, both destructive of its members' aspirations for liberation and incapable of challenging the monster? Those who invoked the ideas of Lenin as an answer received a respectful hearing.

In particular, Robin Blackburn, editor of the British journal, *New Left Review*, who was the conference's foreign guest speaker this year, devoted about half his paper at the panel on "Recent European Theory and the American Left" to an explanation of Lenin's concept of the revolutionary, vanguard party.

It is also not surprising—given this questioning of old "new left" notions and the search for valid alternatives—that the practice of an American organization committed to Leninist principles received sympathetic attention. James O'Brien, in his careful, detailed study of the U.S. student movement since the late 1950s, pointed to the way in which the initially tiny Young Socialist Alliance had been able to play a role out of all proportion to its numbers in organizing and educating the mass antiwar movement.

It should be a good fall for Bolsheviks on the campuses.

BACK AT SCHOOL? If so please let us know your change of address. Important: Be sure to include your old address.

...debate on SDS Chicago adventure

the bombast, but not in its essence.

SDS' action Oct. 11 is a disservice of the first magnitude to the antiwar and revolutionary movements. This fall, some of the people prominently associated with the radical movement (most of them also sympathizers of SDS) will go on trial in Chicago on a frame-up charge of conspiracy. This attack on the entire movement deserves a massive united response, a response that would be able to win widespread public support.

The movement needs to show that it can fight back effectively against repression, not compound the matter by adding more victims. But SDS has rejected all attempts by the New Mobilization Committee and others to organize a genuine coalition effort to defend the "conspiracy."

"Our intention," says SDS, is "to try and make the rulers pay a price" for holding the trials.

But the price will be paid by the movement. Far from being a threat to the American ruling class, Oct. 11 will offer them the opportunity to attack and discredit the movement as a whole. And—make no mistake—they will also use it to discredit, isolate, and do damage to the Chicago defendants.

It is ironic, perhaps, but the SDS action does have one saving grace. SDS has been so forthright in explaining what to expect on Oct. 11 that many people who have been attracted to lesser adventures in the past cannot stomach this action and have begun to rethink the whole political rationale of ultraleftism.

The debate over Oct. 11 that has erupted in SDS circles offers an opportunity to clarify issues that are of burning importance to those who have become convinced of the need for a socialist revolution in this country. For, although SDS' statements may seem absurd, they are logically derived from a fundamental ultraleftism that is shared by many others in the radical movement.

The *Fifth Estate*, for example, says that "one of the major flaws of this [antiwar] movement was its total disregard for the whole issue of imperialism and the consequent lack of educational and agitational work against the capitalist system." SDS merely adds: "Concretely, this means that we must begin class warfare in the streets and in the institutions of imperialism."

Between the two, the difference is mainly in tempo and tactics, but not in political orientation. The *Fifth Estate* objects to Oct. 11 because it "will lead to the defeat of a perspective we share."

Certainly it is necessary to raise anti-capitalist consciousness. But it by no means follows that all demonstrations must call for opposition to the capitalist system.

At present, the majority of people—black, brown or white, even those who have engaged in the most militant struggles—still support the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. This must change. But how on earth can anyone seriously expect the masses of people to make a sudden and much greater ideological leap to anti-imperialist (i.e. anticapitalist or prosocialist) consciousness?

Fight imperialism! Bring the war home! Begin class warfare in the streets! Is it necessary only to say the magic words to spark the masses into action?

Don't serious revolutionaries need a transitional approach, one which can bridge the gap between the objective need for socialism and the present level of mass political consciousness?

If we are not to write off the majority of workers and oppressed people, then means must be found to mobilize them in struggles around issues they can agree with that are directed against the ruling class. The dynamic of these struggles will enable revolutionaries to convince ever larger numbers of socialist ideas.

To counterpose, as SDS does, the development of revolutionary consciousness to the struggles that are necessary for its development is nothing less than a caricature of revolutionary politics.

SDS reverses priorities. Leave aside the tactics of Oct. 11 for a moment. The political purpose of the action, to protest against imperialism, not to fight it—it will take a revolution for that—could only be symbolic and propagandistic.

There are far better ways to explain imperialism. And there are ways to engage in anti-imperialist action that are more than symbolic.

Contrast Nov. 15 to Oct. 11, for a moment.

The united antiwar demonstration in Washington Nov. 15 is directed against a specific imperialist war. It calls for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam, thus defending the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Because it will be massive in size, it will have a powerful political impact on the consciousness of the American people.

Most important, Nov. 15 will limit the ability of the ruling class to continue to wage the war and therefore have a powerful effect in aiding the Vietnamese

revolution. That is no small thing for revolutionary internationalists to consider.

The longer the war continues, the more masses of people are drawn into active opposition to it and the more social tensions grow on all fronts, the more difficult it becomes for American imperialism to attain its objectives in Vietnam. The Vietnamese revolutionaries realize this and that is why they have stressed that they consider the mass antiwar movement a valuable ally to their struggle.

The mass antiwar demonstrations may not be accompanied by all the superrevolutionary rhetoric of Oct. 11, but they are far more effective in the struggle against this specific imperialist war. And in the long run, they are far more effective in the struggle to end imperialism once and for all.

And, what is more, the mass demonstrations do not inhibit the growth of anticapitalist consciousness. To the contrary. The growing climate of antiwar protest has been a key factor in helping to generate a new wave of radicalization in the U.S.

Simply compare the situation now with that prior to 1965, the year organized opposition to the war began in earnest. Many thousands (including SDSers) have been radicalized as a result of challenging the basic war policies of the ruling class. Is it too much to expect that many more will be? And isn't it necessary to convince many more?

SDS' rejection of antiwar demonstrations misses the point entirely. They abandon the fight against the war in Vietnam in preference for small, ineffectual, and costly acts of symbolic opposition to imperialism in general. It's like rejecting apples, bananas, peaches and plums—all because of an overwhelming yearning for fruit.

It is nothing but bombast for SDS to declare in grandiose terms that "we are providing a focus for organizing millions," when in almost the next breath they are compelled to announce that "we will lose some people who are currently in the movement as the struggle intensifies." On Oct. 11 SDS will lose, not some, but most people who are willing to struggle against the imperialist war. It will lose them while claiming advances for the struggle against imperialism.

Marxists, on the other hand, expect to win more people as the struggle intensifies. A socialist revolution (not to speak of the task of ending the Vietnam war) will not be accomplished until the majority of workers and oppressed peoples support it and are willing to act toward that end.

"Many people couldn't understand the revolutionary potential of a militant march with a relatively small number of kids." We read this in a *New Left Notes* report from Denver. If we can believe the figures, some 300 people came to the SDS "war march."

Revolutionary? No. Merely SDS' substitution of itself for the masses.

It is a long and difficult process to win the masses to a revolutionary perspective. It's longer even than the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. But SDS is tired already. It has already given up. The masses are not yet conscious, thinks SDS. It's necessary now for SDS alone to act. They think, "The ruling class will surely tremble when they hear our militant slogans and see us move in small, tight-knit groups. They will pay a price."

SDS' adventurist tactics follow from this bankrupt political line. Since its political line can't win wide support, SDS proceeds to elevate tactical aggressiveness to first place. This is logical.



HOW NOT TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE. To build a revolutionary movement, convince people that the movement is a realistic alternative to the status quo. !

If your politics are inadequate, then something else must substitute.

Listen, if you will, to SDS leaders Boudin, Dohrn, and Robbins who say that "people change from being challenged, and that it is in situations of sharp conflict that people are forced to act. . . . We know that revolutionaries are created in struggle and not through protest or persuasion." (*New Left Notes*, Aug. 23)

Listen to Rudd and Robbins: "The aggressiveness, seriousness and toughness of militant struggle will attract vast numbers of working-class youth, as did the Chicago demonstration last year—and it is the concrete way white people reject white skin privilege. By taking risks." (*New Left Notes*, Aug. 29)

Thus SDS has come full circle. They begin by rejecting the mass antiwar movement as deficient in political consciousness. They end by rejecting both the mass movement and the need to persuade people politically. The threat to the ruling class comes, not from the action of masses, but the "militancy" of a few. People can be convinced, not by political ideas, but by "aggressiveness." People change, not through persuasion and protest and awareness of their condition but by being "challenged," by "taking risks," by "situations of sharp conflict."

This is a totally perverted notion of how working people can be reached. The history of the class struggle is filled with examples of militant battles, and even revolutions. But these struggles were waged because the masses were convinced politically of the justice of their cause, not because they were simply attracted to a fight. And they were willing to fight only because they were convinced there was a good and necessary reason for doing so.

Genuine revolutionaries are always careful to formulate their objectives to win the widest support, so that they can mobilize the majority, not simply themselves. Lenin's demands for peace, land and bread would undoubtedly be branded spineless liberalism by the revolutionary sages of SDS. But these demands served to inspire the Russian (Continued on page 10)



HOW TO ANSWER DALEY. A month after police riots, 25,000 march in Chicago against repression, Viet war. SDS rejects similar effort Oct. 11.



INFLUENCE that has no resemblance to actual relation of forces, like
ment requires this New Left Notes cartoon, can serve only to turn
ers a serious, serious people off.
braggadocio

'...will lead to the defeat of a perspective we share'

of imperialism and encourage people to participate in the action. This would be in conjunction with the newly-formed Revolutionary Press Movement, consisting of ten to fifteen large-city underground revolutionary papers.

However, after reading about the proposed tactics of the action, we have grave reservations about their usefulness. We feel that rather than clarifying an anti-imperialist perspective, they obscure these politics behind an adventurist militancy, falsely labelled "struggle."

Furthermore, the publicity which has been done around the action has focused

THE FIFTH ESTATE

on this militancy rather than on the important politics which the action is supposed to express. People are being told to come to Chicago to "kick ass," the politics seem to be merely side-issues.

For example, the action on Thursday, which calls for people to "liberate the high schools" and "bust our brothers and sisters out of jail", besides putting people into a questionable confrontation with Chicago pigs, implies that we can "liberate" those high schools in lieu of the people inside. This idea of the revolutionaries substituting themselves for the people is adventurism of the worst kind.

The action on Friday to "tear up the fascist courts" is an irresponsible attempt to lead people into a battle which can only prove to be a disaster.

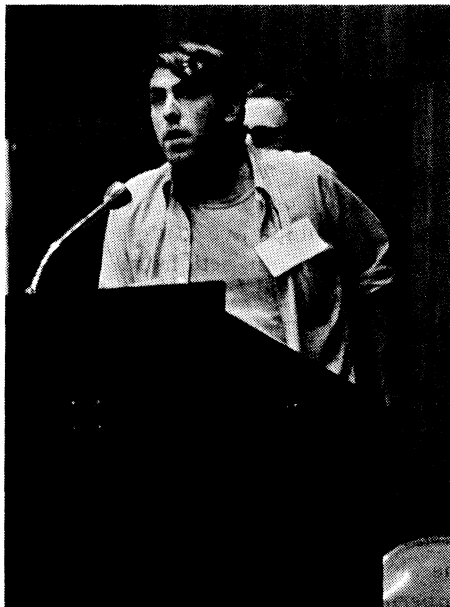
Also, the treatment of the Saturday action as a "show of force" where "we can't be fucked with cause we're part of the world struggle" can lead to a dangerous audacity based on a false perception of the situation people are going to be into.

These are only three limited examples.

When we hear local SDS people run down the action, the main these of their talks turns out to be "we're not going to Chicago to get our ass kicked, we're going to kick ass!" The emphasis and rhetoric of the leaflets and raps are not only ineffective; they are counter-productive for pushing an anti-imperialist perspective and making people understand the real implications of the war. The total effect of the action, we feel, will lead to the defeat of a perspective we share, cynicism on the part of the people we hope to reach, and a demoralization of our brothers and sisters.

We feel it is not too late to change these things which we are concerned about. Our criticism should be seen as a constructive attempt to transform a potentially disastrous situation into a valuable and meaningful step in the making of our revolution.

Venceremos,
THE FIFTH ESTATE



Mark Rudd

The SDS Reply

'we feel the Detroit leaflet is generally excellent'

Your letter about the National Action has become an important item for discussion around here. Because of the way you posed certain problems, and because you have focused in on questions that are being raised around the country at this time, we felt it would be important to answer your open letter with an open response.

There are a couple of major misconceptions made about the action. The notion that any part of the action is or could be "adventurist" is crazy. The terms of the fight against imperialism are being set by the colonized people of the world. As a part of that struggle, we must fight as militantly as possible to end the rape and destruction of the world by the U.S. ruling class. It is arrogant for white mother-country revolutionaries to talk about holding back the struggle for a better day, while the Vietnamese and other Third World peoples are facing genocide daily. There has not been in recent years, nor can we imagine, a single instance of fighting too hard to destroy imperialism.

The notion of adventurism put forward in your article results from a cynicism that says that the people can't be reached through struggle. Our actions are a part of a strategy that understands that the people of the world, including white people of the mother-country, can be won to a fight against imperialism. We are not turning our backs on the people we must organize; we are providing a focus for organizing millions of people in struggle.

Many radicals feel that people get "turned off" in militant situations. This is bullshit. The most militant struggles we've had (Columbia, Oakland) are the ones that have turned-on masses of young people to politics, and they've been less militant than spontaneous struggles in the high schools all over the country. This is because struggle is an essential part of revolutionary politics.

People can't relate to abstract ideas, spoon-fed from well-read radicals; people can be won to a concrete fight against oppression that pushes seriousness and commitment. Militancy, showing a determination to fight and win, has been precisely what has been lacking from our politics, and precisely why we have failed so far to organize working class youth in this country.

"Bring the War Home" is a slogan that provides the essential context for this action. In a world-wide strategy to defeat the system of imperialism, we must understand our role in the mother-country. We can't support the Third World people simply by pushing them forward in the fight and cheering from the sidelines; we must join them and fight for the destruction of imperialism. Concretely, this means that we must begin class warfare in the streets and in the institutions of imperialism. We don't simply want to "Bring the Troops Home" so that they can be deployed to another oppressed nation; we must bring the troops home by fighting to destroy a system.

We are not fooling anyone as to the seriousness of this struggle and the seriousness of the Chicago action. We think people should be prepared to defend themselves in certain ways, like knowing how to move in the streets and learning first-aid to help each other. We don't believe people will know stuff much heavier than that at this time, but being in good physical and mental condition is always important. Some liberals think we should play down the militancy and dangers of the action; we think people should be prepared and are willing to join in an action of this kind.

We are not looking for a confrontation with the pigs; we are building a militant, capable movement. The pigs may be

looking for a confrontation. A militant, capable movement must be prepared at all times for pig attempts to destroy it.

We believe that young people are ready to act and are tired of simply the rhetoric of struggle. When action becomes real, many people who came into the movement in earlier days will react by looking for excuses to hold action back. We will lose some people who are currently in the movement as the struggle intensifies. They will say they represent the true mood of the people as they hold the people's struggle back. We can afford to lose those people; their excuses for inaction are in no one's interest but their own.

Your criticisms were based largely on a leaflet written by Motor City SDS. We feel that the Detroit leaflet is generally excellent and, having spoken recently with Detroit SDS people, we feel the leaflet is an important part of the work they're doing. The leaflet is geared toward white working-class youth in the city and is used primarily on beaches and in parks. The work being done in Detroit is a concrete attempt to build a revolutionary youth movement in the city; i.e., it is an attempt to move SDS from being primarily a student movement to becoming a movement of all working-class youth.

We see this as a transitional strategy for SDS, for we realize that building a fighting force among working class youth will be the most effective way to create a revolutionary movement of the whole working class. Detroit SDS is laying the groundwork for such a movement in a number of different areas; their leaflet, aimed at street kids, is geared toward doing this and is meeting, according to reports, with tremendous success.

The leaflet contains within it a couple of minor errors. The tactics that they outline as fact are still vague, and we are open to suggestions and change. We are not planning a march through the black and brown communities unless the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization decide to lead such a demonstration; it's also not an absolute fact, as implied in the leaflet, that

(Continued on page 10)



HOW "CUTE." Serious-minded revolutionists have always sought to counter capitalist-created stereotype of them as reckless promoters of violence. But SDS irresponsibly bolsters image of revolutionists as mindless advocates of violence. Caption reads: "With a defiant smile, 5-year-old Marion Delgado shows how he placed a 25-pound concrete slab on the tracks and wrecked a passenger train."

...debate on SDS Chicago adventure



EXAMPLE? The "Motor City Nine" were widely heralded by SDS. They marched into a college classroom during finals, barricaded the doors, made a few speeches and used karate on those who tried to leave. "People change from being challenged," says SDS.

(Continued from page 8)

masses to a successful revolutionary struggle. That was more important to the Bolsheviks than empty "anti-imperialist" rhetoric.

And when it was necessary for the revolution to arm itself, that measure was clearly explained in terms of self-defense—and it was even justified on legal grounds. The Bolsheviks made no romantic and irresponsible calls to class warfare in the streets. But then, they were revolutionary politicians, not windbags.

One of the maxims of revolutionary politics is to put the onus for violence on the enemy, where it rightfully belongs. But SDS has not learned even this elementary lesson.

SDS is walking into a political trap in Chicago. The irresponsible publicity that they have circulated will enable the ruling class to claim that SDS came looking for a fight. It will give credence to the false claim that the cops are justified in taking repressive measures. The tragedy is that most of the people who are opposed to the war may well believe their own enemies.

Last August in Chicago it was apparent to millions of people that the police were responsible for the brutalization of peaceful demonstrators. Even many of those who disagreed with the demonstrators were willing to support their rights to free speech. But this October, SDS risks losing much of the mass support that is necessary for any successful struggle.

It is axiomatic that revolutionaries do not shun action simply because there may be repression. Repression is an overhead cost in any struggle. But even when victimized, serious revolutionaries can usually gain the support and confidence of the oppressed.

But when self-proclaimed revolutionaries lead people to needless defeat, when they seek to act without concern for mass support, when they abandon political persuasion in preference for "risks" and "sharp conflict," then they lose respect and confidence and earn only the opprobrium of the very masses whom they claim to be fighting for.

Militancy and determination are necessary in any serious struggle. The trouble with Oct. 11 is that it is not serious. It is an adventure.

The process of building a movement capable of overthrowing a system like American capitalism is clearly a difficult one. It requires a clear analysis of the forces capable of making a revolution and an understanding of how they can be mobilized to accomplish this task. It requires a political program and party to carry it out. It requires a historical perspective and confidence

that the goal can actually be realized. Without such confidence, there is little prospect of success.

The history of revolutionary politics is strewn with the wreckage of groupings, large and small, that tried to find shortcuts along the way. Reformists are not the only ones who look to methods that fall short of mobilizing the masses for struggle. Ultraleftists are just as guilty, and they are equally detrimental to the cause of revolutionary socialism.

The ultralefts, with no perspective of mobilizing masses in struggle, are often impelled to irresponsible adventures. Often, goaded by what is really weakness, frustration and total despair of achieving their goal, they are driven to what at first glance can even seem to be political insanity.

This is not an aberration, but a logical extension of ultraleftism. Once you hold the notion that somehow a small group or an "electrifying" action can substitute for the long-term work of building a mass movement, then anything is possible. In the past, some have thought that a well-placed bullet was enough. Others staked their hopes on a small, highly trained group capable of seizing power.

All, seeing only a kernel of the truth, look for something to spark and catalyze the masses. They see how the shooting of a priest or the clubbing of peaceful demonstrators can arouse a nation. So why not stage some kind of similar scenario? That is the essence of the SDS plan for Chicago.

But this "planned" spark theory has never worked. And it never will. The working masses will act only out of conviction born of experience and political persuasion. That will not happen in a day. But it will happen.

A revolutionary party is the conscious vanguard, but it is not an elite. It is for the oppressed and also of them. It seeks to involve masses in struggles that are in their interests and which are directed against the ruling class. And it seeks to pose the next transitional steps that will move the struggle for socialism forward.

On Nov. 15 in Washington there will be a massive antiwar demonstration. This action will be one more step in aiding the Vietnamese revolution. And it will be another step forward in spurring on a growing radicalization in the U.S.

In that process the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are confident that they will gain increasing support for our revolutionary socialist program.

Nov. 15, and not Oct. 11, is the type of action that will move the struggle forward.

'the notion that the action is or could be 'adventurist' is crazy'

(Continued from page 9)

all the revolutionary organizations and various street-gangs in Chicago are allied in their efforts against the Man.

But the general tone of the leaflet is one of militancy and struggle, and this is an important emphasis that must be supported as an integral part of our work. To emphasize the fact that we need to prepare for a military struggle and not just a political battle is important for the consciousness of all of us. To call our job the building of a "people's army" may be a slightly incorrect analogy, but the implications that we must at all times be preparing ourselves for the inevitable class war is right on.

Ever since we began to see the need to intensify the struggle against imper-

THE SDS REPLY

alism by fighting in the interests of the Third World, our movement has faced increasing repression. It's critically important at this time to demonstrate our intention of continuing the fight against imperialism and racism, and of meeting repression by fighting back, raising the issues that initially caused the repression to more and more people. This is largely why we want to come to Chicago—the symbol of a society held together by a pig force.

At the time of the Conspiracy Eight trial, we can't afford to be intimidated into silence or simply "courtroom tactics"; this is the reaction the pigs are most hoping for, because it would indicate fear and weakness and prove that the rulers' repressive tactics are a success. Repression is used to frighten people away from the movement, to "prove" to masses of people that only a few, isolated, manipulative leaders cause all the discontent; our actions must prove them wrong on all counts.

This means that we must have a militant, anti-imperialist action in Chicago which shows the rulers, the people of the world and our own constituency our commitment to continue the struggle. The tactics that we choose for the action must flow concretely from this political understanding; the tactics, not just the slogans, must have a militant, anti-imperialist focus.

This is why we're calling for four days

of actions around obvious institutions of imperialism: the pig station, the schools, the courts. Tentatively we plan to begin the four days with a rally in Lincoln Park Wednesday nite, commemorating the death of Che Guevara. On Thursday, we plan to move on the high schools, coordinating whatever action we take with Chicago Regional SDS. Friday, we plan to move on the federal court where the trial of the Conspiracy 8 will be in progress.

Saying that we will "tear up the fascist courts" is really no different than saying that we intend to "Stop the Convention" or "Shut Down the induction center," which are slogans from past militant demonstrations. We don't really believe we can stop the trial, but our intention to try and to make the rulers pay a price for holding such an event should be as clear now as it was in Chicago last summer or in Oakland in 1967. We also want to have a rock concert in Lincoln Park and an independent women's action on one of the days.

On Saturday we intend to have a massive demonstration. We're seeking permits from the city, but we're not optimistic about their response. Saturday should be a "show of force," for we should demonstrate our ability to bring masses of people together in the fight against imperialism. It's important that people involved in the demonstration understand this fact. Failure to do so would be to become defeatist and overestimate the strength of the enemy.

We've been working on the action now for a couple of months. We've produced lots of new literature explaining imperialism and how it fucks over the people of the world. We're producing shotgun pamphlets on "occupation troops out of Vietnam, Puerto Rico, political prisoners, women, and GIs. We've also travelled all over the country and are optimistic about the excitement that the action is generating. There's still a couple of months' hard work ahead for all of us, and we should get to it! We expect you will be working with us. See you in Chicago.

All Power to the People!

Mark Rudd, National Sec'y
Bill Ayers, Educational Sec'y
Jeff Jones, Interorganizational Sec'y

New hooligan attacks by SDSers

[The following statement was issued Sept. 9 by the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.]

Once again, a faction of SDS has moved to forcibly prevent free, democratic discussion within the radical movement. On Friday, Aug. 29, Bernie McNaughton, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was jumped on by four or five members of the RYM I faction of SDS while he was attending a public meeting in Cleveland. The meeting was advertised as an open meeting to discuss plans for the Oct. 11 action in Chicago.

While no explanation was made either before or after this incident, it was perfectly clear to all concerned that the attack was made because Bernie McNaughton is a member of the YSA and the YSA has been critical of the course followed by RYM I concerning the Oct. 11 action.

In another instance, on Sept. 6, a member of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and several YSAers were physically harassed while distributing antiwar literature on the street in Chicago, by members of RYM I.

The Young Socialist Alliance has repeatedly called attention to the danger inherent in the recent trend toward the use of violence within the movement. We have argued the need for respect for the democratic rights of all tendencies, groups and organizations within the working-class, socialist, third-world and antiwar movements, to distribute literature, to meet, and to present



PERFORMANCE. SDSers occupy stage at national conference of Student Mobilization Committee in Cleveland July 4. Although right to speak at con-

ference was granted anyone who requested it, the SDSers felt moved to "seize" the platform.

their points of view without interference from any quarter. That's the only way a healthy and ideologically powerful movement can be built.

The hooligan method of RYM is a sign of political weakness and political cowardice. It's the method of those whose ideas can't stand up in free debate. It's the method historically associated with the Social Democrats, the union bureaucrats and the Stalinists.

Such methods harm the entire radical movement. They discredit the movement in the eyes of potential revolutionists—workers, students, third-world people—and give the ruling class a needless assist in "justifying" its use of violence against us.

RYM I, of course, is not the only group on the left which has used hooligan methods. Other ultraleft groups, such as Progressive Labor, have also used violence to some degree in a vain attempt to back up their politically weak positions.

But fortunately, within the movement as a whole, there has been a growing reaction against such methods. The revolutionary-minded youth of today are in their overwhelming majority inclined

toward antiauthoritarianism and democratic methods. They cherish the right to think critically and independently.

Those who are attempting to introduce undemocratic and Stalinist methods

into the movement are in a tiny minority. However, what they are doing can cause serious harm. It is imperative that the whole movement unite in repudiation of such methods.

Chicago activists hassled by SDSers

By Carl Finamore, Chicago YSA, and Robert Waskin, Chicago SMC

CHICAGO—Four supporters of the SDS Weatherman tendency attempted to use physical violence against members of the Young Socialist Alliance and activists in the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC).

An SMCer was selling the *Student Mobilizer* Sept. 6 in Chicago's crowded Old Town area when he was accosted by the four youths who were distributing *New Left Notes—The Fire Next Time*. The four grabbed a dollar from the SMC activist, taunted and physically threatened him.

When two YSAers in the area learned of the incident and went to investigate,

the four youths unsuccessfully tried to tear up a bundle of *Militants* being carried by the YSAers. When the YSAers tried to explain why violence within the movement is injurious to all, they were greeted with shouts of "Pig," "Counterrevolutionary" and similar epithets.

A letter signed by the Chicago SMC and YSA has been sent to the SDS (RYM) national office asking for a statement on their methods of settling political differences within the movement and asking SDS to disassociate itself from the incident and to condemn acts of similar nature.

Meanwhile, measures have been taken to prevent any further harassment of SMC or YSA members while engaging in their activity.

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Gainesville SDSers join YSA

By John Sugg

GAINESVILLE, Florida—Gainesville is one of those areas where the crisis and collapse of SDS has led directly to the formation of a new chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The history of SDS at the University of Florida has been one of continual frustration in building any kind of mass radical movement. People here can hardly remember any significant projects initiated and carried through by SDS. What they do remember are the personality conflicts and fights between various "leaders" and their followers which have dominated the movement for some years.

As is typical of many SDS chapters, loyalties are not formed along political lines but among people personally loyal to each other to the exclusion of anyone not in the central clique. Hence you have a history of constant expulsions and people dropping out of SDS because of bureaucratic decisions made from the top down.

SDS's immediate crisis began about a year ago with the intensification of ideological debate within the organization. For a time, "southern nationalism" was in vogue. According to those who argued for this position, the central slogan for southern revolutionaries should be self-determination for the

South. Because of its obvious adaptation to white racism, this position has subsequently been discredited not only in Gainesville SDS, but in the southern radical movement as a whole.

At one point during last year, SDS did break out of political isolation when masses of students became involved in a fight for SDS recognition as a campus organization. Although the struggle was not successful in winning recognition, large crowds did turn out for rallies and meetings. After the fight, their numbers dwindled.

During the spring, a group of students, including some SDSers who were later to join the YSA, formed an antiwar committee on campus to build a coalition to carry out actions against the war in solidarity with other antiwar demonstrations being held around the country on April 6. The demonstration which we organized turned out to be the largest in Gainesville history.

The SDSers, while not actually condemning the demonstration, did little to support it. They more or less ignored it until its success proved imminent. They then provided a speaker to give a "radical analysis" at the rally. They criticized the mobilization, much as SDS is doing with the coming Nov. 15 mobilization, as "right-wing opportunism."

Having had enough of such politics,

a group consisting of about a third of SDS wrote a "secession" paper and formed what eventually became YSA. SDS further degenerated until, this summer, they have only three to five active members.

After a recent attack by Cuban refugees on a YSA-SDS party, SDS decided to take an ostrich-like, do-nothing position hoping that by ignoring the Cuban situation it would go away. YSA, on the other hand, appealed for mass support for our right to meet and express opinions. We also called a Hiroshima Day rally, announcing the Nov. 15 mobilization and stating our stand on Cuba. SDS reluctantly supported the rally.

The YSA is looking ahead to building our movement in north Florida this fall. Our attitude toward SDS will be one of continuing to discuss our revolutionary ideas with them while at the same time attempting to draw them into coalitions on issues where we can gain unity and agreement, such as actions against the war, defense actions, etc. But, regardless of what they decide to do, we are moving ahead to win as many people as possible to the antiwar movement, the black liberation movement and the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

YPSL proudly affirms line of supporting Democrats

Leaders of the moribund American social democracy outlined their approach to the deepening youth radicalization at a Sept. 7 Young People's Socialist League encampment in Hopewell Junction, New York.

The Socialist Party-YPSL leaderships apparently hope to present an alternative to the crisis-racked SDS by denouncing the concept of revolution and mobilizing all the philistine resentment embodied in the image of the pimply, unwashed, unshaven hippie. According to the Sept. 8 *New York Times*, YPSL national chairman Josh Muravchik referred to SDS's "physical and mental ill health" which "make it unattractive to socially idealistic students."

He accused SDS of having taken over "all the most grotesque stupidities which have characterized the failure of American radicalism." With astonishing historical distortion, he then specified those grotesque "stupidities": "It was bad enough when the Communist Party tried to apply to America the revolutionary program of the Soviet Union, but to apply to America the revolutionary program of China and North Vietnam just staggers the imagination."

An indication of what the SP-YPSL leaders believe will capture rather than stagger the imagination of the youthful rebels was given by SP chairman Michael Harrington. The party, Harrington said, no longer represents "an electoral alternative" and that "we retain the name Socialist Party because it's a historic identification."

Harrington made clear that it is by no means electoral action as such, but only independent, socialist electoral action the party rejects. Socialist Party participation in Democratic and, on occasion, Republican party politics is precisely part of the alternative the SP-YPSL wants to offer to the young radicals.

Harrington outlined the basic strategy: the party hopes to form "a majority coalition out of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party."

Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, active campaigner for Hubert Humphrey last year, and initiator of the 1964 "moratorium" on civil-rights demonstrations aimed at assuring Lyndon Johnson's re-election, seems to



Bayard Rustin

have presented the most astute analysis at the YPSL confab. He said he was "pessimistic." YPSLs, he asserted, would be making a grave mistake to think something's going to happen quickly.

According to the *Times* account, the "YPSL numbers about 1,000 members in 25 chapters, most of them on the East and West Coasts," and the SP numbers about 3,000 active members. If campus activists on the "East and West Coasts" who have never had occasion to encounter a live YPSL find these figures surprising, a personal anecdote may illuminate SP-YPSL statistical procedures.

In 1963, I last paid dues to the SP, and in 1964, I wrote a never-acknowledged letter of resignation from the party. Yet as late as the summer of 1968, I received *internal* SP documents. Since then, it is true, I have not received such communications, but I can only suppose it is because there haven't been any. In short, I must assume that I am "numbered" among those 3,000 "active members." and for all I know, I may be "numbered" among those thousand YPSLs, for I was indeed a YPSL activist on an East Coast campus as recently as — 1952.

—Robert Langston

Philadelphia SMC to turn out for antiwar draftee

PHILADELPHIA — The Student Mobilization Committee To End The War In Vietnam has called a demonstration for Monday, Sept. 15 at 7:00 AM at 401 N. Broad, in support of Arnold Terry. Terry, a 20 year old black antiwar activist, is being inducted into the U.S. Army. He is a member of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Although Terry is willing to accept induction, he believes black GI's should be brought home from Vietnam now to deal with the pressing problems of their own communities.

Jay Ressler, spokesman for the SMC, stated that, "The continued induction of people like Arnold exposes the fraud of Nixon's 'troop withdrawal.' The purpose of this demonstration is to show that every time an Arnold Terry is taken, the antiwar movement is going to intensify its offensive until every last American is brought home."

The demonstration and rally in support of Terry and against the war will be held at the Army Induction Center.

An 'intelligence' view of dissent in the Army

The following statement by G2 (Army Intelligence) at Ft. Rucker, Alabama, was circulated among officers on the base. Perhaps inadvertently, a copy was received by GIs who felt that Militant readers might be interested in sharing this bit of Army intelligence.

* * *

My comments concerning AWOL and desertion are directed toward an intelligence viewpoint.

The New Left, the Old Left, pacifist, anti-Vietnam and racial groups' agitation and propaganda have contributed to desertions and AWOLs. There are no statistics which may be realistically applied wherein we could say X number of soldiers were induced to desert or go AWOL. The actual impact of agitation and propaganda on the AWOL/desertion rates is probably a relatively small minority, although this aspect cannot be ignored and should be considered in this seminar.

Also, I can assure you that internal dissention (sic) is a contributing factor to AWOLs/desertion, and that outside influence is primarily responsible for resistance in the Army.

I do not believe that AWOLs/desertion can be reduced by added legitimate recreational facilities or any other nurse-maiding and pampering of the serviceman. The only prevention for crime is punishment to be sure, and appropriate punishment is not an Article 15 or a slap on the wrist. What soldier wouldn't accept a two-week restriction for three weeks on the beaches at Panama City?

The surest way to prevent AWOLs/desertion is for the commander to identify his problem soldiers and insure close monitoring of their conduct. Commanders should be alert for the following indicators:

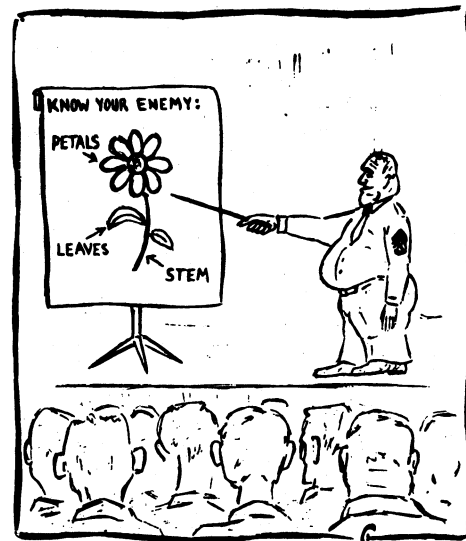
- Display of Pacifist Peace Symbols.
- Subscription to and/or possession of dissident newspapers.
- Membership in, and/or, support of New Left, pacifist, anti-Vietnam, communist and racial groups.

These may indicate that the individual supports causes which are not in the best interests of national security.

During the past year my office has undertaken investigations of some 15 soldiers who chose to display the Pacifist Peace Symbol on their private automobiles. This action was taken with full realization that the Pacifist Peace Symbol has been adopted by the New Left, the dissident elements of our colleges, and the communist front organizations whose declared mission is to use the military youth as pawns, to organize and direct dissident elements of the military services; i.e., RITA, The Clerk's Maffia (sic) and like organizations.

Display of the Pacifist Peace Symbol is, in almost every case, used to show overt contempt for law and order, and indicates that the person displaying such symbols is antimilitary, anti-Vietnam and antiestablishment. Invariably, it is the person with character defects, the pot-smoker, the amoral, the immature and/or the irresponsible who display this symbol: the PINKS, PUNKS and PIMPS, if you will.

While the display of this symbol is not a basis for a limited investigation or flagging action under AR 600-31, it is sufficient basis for close and continuous monitoring of a subject's conduct while he is at Ft. Rucker. In each case, where a dissident is identified, we have asked the subject's commanding



Head-On, Camp LeJeune

officer and immediate superiors to report any information of an adverse nature which may come to their attention concerning the subject.

Our efforts have been rewarded with four dissidents discharged as undesirable, two placed in confinement and the remainder much wiser for our association.

It is recommended that commanders make every effort to eliminate the dissident soldier by discharge as undesirable. The eliminated dissident cannot thereafter influence other soldiers at Ft. Rucker with his oratory or distribution of dissident propaganda.

We have coffeehouses operating near most military installations, where the dissidents attempt to exert their influence over members of the armed forces. There have been at least two attempts to operate such establishments near Ft. Rucker. In June 1968, a place called the Shiner was set up in downtown Dothan and it closed during August. For those of you who don't know, these so-called coffeehouses are places where a soldier goes and talks against the war in Vietnam, against the military establishment, etc., and receives all sorts of outside encouragement.

The reason why the Shiner closed was because it came under much observation by the local law-enforcement agencies. Monitoring and watching these places is the answer.

More black GIs are arrested at Camp LeJeune

CAMP LEJEUNE, N.C. — As the witchhunt continues to brew at the Camp LeJeune Marine Corps base, 27 additional men have fallen victim to the attempts by the brass to snuff out so-called "black rioters." Twenty-six Marines and one Navy corpsman have been charged with rioting in connection with the fight on July 20 at Hadnot Point area of Camp LeJeune — the fight that was used as an excuse for a congressional investigation on base and the doubling of the guard, as well as increased "riot control" training.

Eight additional Marines have been returned from the Mediterranean and are being confined on "suspicion of rioting." Two other Marines returned at the same time have been released from confinement.

In addition to these arrests, there has been a continuing investigation by ONI (Organization of Naval Intelligence) revolving around underground leaflets and papers.

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The long hot summer when Pittsburgh almost burned down

By Robert Vernon

As sections of the population become involved in struggle, they take an intense interest in the history of struggles waged by generations before them. Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians are probing into their pasts for inspiration and guidance. Students in rebellion take an entirely different look at the history of America, and of the world, rejecting the slop taught as "history" in the high schools and universities.

White workers are abysmally ignorant of the history of their own struggles, of how they had to fight, and did fight, in the days long before unionization and post-war prosperity.

Reacting in conservatized, racist fa-

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shion to the new upsurge of the black struggle for jobs in Pittsburgh, white construction workers picketed the local authorities with such statements as: WE BUILD THE CITY UP NOT BURN IT DOWN (see photo). This is one version of the absurd myth that white workers never went through a stage of ghetto uprisings, mass rebellions, primitive outbursts of disorganized looting and burning, as has been witnessed in black-ghetto "long hot summers" of this decade.

"We made it by studying hard and respecting the law. We went to night school. We solved our problems constructively. We never raised hell and tore up the place like these . . ." runs the myth.

Luck of the Irish

We don't have to go all the way back to 1877 to find instances of white workers tearing up the place in nonconstructive ways. But 1877 was the hottest and longest summer of many, and workers in Pittsburgh really took the lead. Irish, German, Hungarian and other immigrants were in conditions similar to those of black ghetto residents today. Unskilled workers were unorganized and disorganized, at the bottom of the heap, working long hours at hot and heavy labor, subject to dismissal with no rights. Nobody "gave a damn," and there were no channels for expression or redress of grievances. Fury and frustration could bust loose only in disorganized and explosive manner. It was still 60 years before even the descendants of these workers would succeed in organizing mass industrial unions.

A severe depression hit in 1873. Railroads were among the first corporations to begin instituting savage pay cuts. A strike, illegal (as almost all strikes were at the time), broke out at the Baltimore end of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in July 1877 and spread to the Pennsylvania, Erie and other lines. A riot erupted in Baltimore, as throngs of workingmen came to the aid of the railroad strikers and exchanged gunfire with the state militia. Rioters tore up tracks, emptied out gun shops and liquor stores, destroyed armories, attacked fire-fighting crews, and slashed the hoses on fire engines. Marines were called out to restore order.

But all of this was quickly forgotten when Pittsburgh went into action on July 19, 1877. State militia from Philadelphia had been brought in to maintain law and order, and herd scabs at the Pennsylvania yards. Strikers were joined by thousands of bitter, ragged workers.

As the *Chicago Times* (July 25, 1877) saw the situation, they were an "uncombed, unwashed mob of gutter-snipes and loafers . . . idle drones . . . buzzing and snarling in their various languages. Not one of them bore the marks of a decent workingman. Sallow Bohemians and Poles, dirty and ragged renegade Frenchmen, stupefied by idleness, and Germans, outcasts from the society of their own nation, mingled in a filthy, snarling crowd."

The Irish had been getting the worst of the lumps. Irish workers had been repressed and slandered. They were the last hired and first fired. "No Irish need apply" read the Help Wanted columns. Irish worker militants were hanged by the dozens in southern Pennsylvania as members of an imaginary "Molly Maguire conspiracy" cooked up by the capitalist press in 1876-1877. Your



SOMEBODY SHOULD TELL HIM. Sign-carrying Pittsburgh construction worker protesting job shutdown by city after black demand for jobs could use some knowledge of past.

friendly Pinkerton agency got its start in the 1870's finking on and beating up on Irish workers.

Hell busted loose when the scab-herding militia fired upon the crowd surrounding them and taunting them. Everything that wasn't nailed down was picked up and thrown at the militia. Mobs surged through the business district of Pittsburgh cleaning out hardware stores for guns, spilling into liquor stores and other establishments. Some rioters even found a cannon to deploy against the militia holed up in Penn RR depot.

The Fire Last Time

Rioters found the easiest way to get the militia out was to burn them out. Railroad cars were set afire and sent rolling down the yard to crash into the roundhouse. After the militia had been routed from the burning railroad depot, they were pursued and shot at as they fought their way through the streets of Pittsburgh. Their reception was no friendlier in the surrounding towns, and they eventually ended up surrendering to a mob in Harrisburg, Pa.

Now in complete control of the city, the Pittsburgh rioters turned their attention to the properties of the hated Pennsylvania Railroad. "Everything in these monopolies has got to burn."

Railroad cars were emptied of their contents. According to accounts, the looters carried away "corn in sacks, flour in barrels, cotton in bales, wool in bags, bread, crackers, fruit, sugar candies and confectionaries, hides, leather, shoes, queen's ware, glassware, clothing, hay, whisky, alcohol, tobacco, coal, coke, silks, jewelry, assorted volumes of Chamber's Encyclopedia, and a number of Bibles . . ." (Color TV sets were not available at that time.) Rioters not taking part directly in the redistribution of wealth stood by and cheered, in a holiday spirit.

By Any Means Necessary

Uncle Toms tried to cool off the crowd. Irish Catholic Bishop Tuigg, a Reverend Scoville of the First Presbyterian Church, and other solid citizens tried to talk "Cool it, baby" talk from a railroad car platform. Irish workers started throwing bricks and iron crowbars at the good bishop. "Get down from there . . . we're going to set fire to this . . . Get down, we don't want to hurt you, get down . . ." The public-spirited citizens got down and the railway car was promptly set afire.

A striker was quoted in the press as saying: "Does the law stand in your way? Then evade it if you can and break it if you must. Beat off strikebreakers by force, seize trains, roundhouses, do whatever is necessary."

The long hot summer carried its fury to Reading, Pa. where a railroad bridge was set on fire and destroyed, coal was piled up on tracks to stop trains or as ammunition to throw at cops or scabs. Armories were broken into for weapons and were then destroyed. Tracks were ripped up, switches jammed, obstacles

laid across tracks.

In Chicago, rioters broke into gun stores on Halsted St. on July 25-26, ". . . began cutting telegraph lines, stoning and stopping streetcars and terrorizing citizens who looked suspiciously prosperous," and had it out with police.

An oil and freight train was set afire in Philadelphia, and mobs fought with police. On July 24, mobs in Buffalo attacked the state militia, tried to seize their weapons and set rolling stock of the Erie Railroad afire. A railroad trestle was burned down in Cincinnati, July 23; firemen were assaulted and fire hoses were slashed with knives.

Other cities and towns affected by the rash of summer strikes, rioting, arson, and looting included: Hornellsville (NY), Scranton, Springfield, Louisville, Cumberland, Johnstown (Ohio), Lackawanna, Allentown, Detroit, Omaha, Burlington (Iowa), Martinsville (W. Va.), New Orleans, Galveston, Little Rock, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Nashville. German immigrants at a protest meeting in Tompkins Square in New York were brutally attacked by cops.

Workers in Allegheny took over the railroad and telegraph, and prepared an ambush in case state militia came through to suppress Pittsburgh. Militia reinforcements were detained by railroad workers and rioters in Altoona. The exhausted militia retreating from Pittsburgh were disarmed and paraded through the streets by an exuberant mob of white and black workers led by a brass band in Harrisburg.

Repercussions

Anglo-Saxon racists pointed the finger at "inferior races" such as the Irish. "Our mobs and riots are mainly carried on by foreign-born Catholics and their children, and we have the right to hold any religion responsible for the character of those who have been educated under it" (*The Independent*, Aug. 16, 1877).

Congress set up the 1877 Riots Committee to look into the causes of the disturbances and suggest remedies. They found that there were just grievances but that the workers were not going about it in the right way. There was no agreement on how to ease the lot of the workers driven to desperate rioting, looting, and arson, but the committee was unanimous on the need for strong measures to uphold law and order.

Solid civic-minded citizens began to arm themselves in case law and order broke down again. The wooden armories which had been seized and burned down by mobs in many cities were replaced by solid structures of heavy stone, with embattlements and narrow windows through which Gatling guns would have a clear field of fire for holding off mobs in the event of riots. These relics of a past, primitive stage of the class struggle still stand in many cities today.

For more on the chapter in American history see *1877: Year of Violence*, by Robert V. Bruce. (Bobbs-Merrill, 1959.)

On the barricades

Irish Catholics face British troops

"It's tear gas first and then we fire," a British army commander threatened defenders of the Belfast Catholic ghetto September 6. This was the first time English troops moved against the population they were ostensibly sent in to protect August 15.

The confrontation developed when the troops attempted to remove one of the barricades blocking access to the Falls Road ghetto. This area was the target of savage pogroms August 14 and 15 conducted by pro-English Protestant mobs led by heavily armed Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and "B"-Special auxiliary police.

In face of the English army's threat, the defense force created by the besieged community appears to have held firm: "After a major show of strength by infantry with automatic weapons, the army produced a face-saving formula for the Catholic vigilantes in control of Albert Street, the central traffic artery of the barricaded Falls Road area. This was that the barricades would be removed 'voluntarily' . . .," the Asso-

ciated Press reported September 7. The AP dispatch noted further on, however, that the only barricade removed was the one blocking traffic in Albert Street: "No move was made immediately against scores of other barricades. . . ."

The English army promised to protect the ghetto area from renewed pogroms. The leaders of the Catholic Civil Rights movement have acknowledged that it is the English government's duty to restrain the pro-English fanatics, if only because London is responsible for the fact that the RUCs and "B"-Specials who led the pogroms are armed. The Catholic population is unarmed.

The leaders of the oppressed population, however, have made it clear that the essential reason English troops were sent in was to protect the Unionist regime. In defending themselves from the latest pogroms, the Catholic population in fact removed many areas from the jurisdiction of the Northern Ireland government. These communities are now governed by defense associations.

The Northern Irish enclave was created during the Irish Revolution of 1916-22 to preserve direct British rule in a corner of the island as well as the religious communalist system created by English rule. For fifty years a semi-police state has been maintained on the basis of oppression of a Catholic and nationalist minority representing close to 40 percent of the population. The leaders of the Catholic community have announced that they will not remove the

barricades until the system of police repression is dismantled.

The Derry *Barricades Bulletin* wrote August 25: "Some people seem to think that the troops are here to protect us. They are not, any more than the RUC and the Specials. They are here to protect the interest of the British government in this part of the United Kingdom. As soon as it suits the British government for them to behave differently they will do so. Already they are taking down the barricades in Belfast.



Bernadette Devlin

When the word comes down for the British soldiers to move in on our area, they will do exactly that . . . When they come into the area, they will be coming to re-establish the government's control and to pave the way for the RUC. But the return of the police is unthinkable."

The day after English troops forced the removal of a key barricade in the Falls Road area, the *New York Times* reported that English forces had used tear gas to separate crowds of Catholics and Protestants on the border of the area.

Many victims of tear-gas poisoning have been reported in Northern Ireland since the latest pogroms. They have all been Catholics. An estimated 1,000 tear-gas grenades were fired into one Catholic neighborhood in Derry where 10,000 people live. It seems unlikely that the Northern Irish police could have obtained this quantity of gas grenades from any other source than the British army.

If the English troops remove the barricades, which are the only defense of the unarmed Catholics, without disarming the Unionists, the effect would be to expose the Catholics to a massacre. It is by no means inconceivable that the British imperialist authorities hope that a bloodletting would terrorize the nationalist population into passivity. Whitehall has winked at the Unionist regime's systematic use of communal terror for fifty years.

(Intercontinental Press)

Brazil gorillas exercise some steel-trap logic

By Alex Harte

A curious debate took place in the councils of the Brazilian government after an underground revolutionary organization kidnapped U.S. ambassador C. Burke Elbrick Sept. 4 to compel the Rio junta to release 15 imprisoned revolutionary leaders.

Some colonels were against acceding to the demand to free the prisoners. Instead, they said, the kidnappers should be presented with an ultimatum that if Elbrick were not released by a certain time, the 15 prisoners would be publicly hanged. And, they insisted, the government should make good on the threat, even if it meant the death of the ambassador.

According to a Sept. 9 *New York Times* dispatch by William Beecher, the colonels argued that "the life of only one American was involved," while the U.S. "loses almost 200 lives a week in Vietnam and could end that loss of life by pulling out of the war. But it does not do so for reasons of principle and national policy." Similarly, they asserted, "important issues of principle and policy were involved for Brazil in the kidnapping incident."

It is hard to fault the colonels' logic, but imperial U.S. might can overcome the most compelling logic. The 15 revolutionaries were released, and the life of a capable and devoted agent of U.S. imperialism—obviously more valuable than the lives of the 200 soldiers who die each week in Vietnam—was saved.

Still, U.S. representatives in "troubled areas" might well reflect somewhat gloomily on the incident. The imperial might may well find it sometime advisable to indulge its colonial servitors' wish to make a pathetic gesture of "national independence."

In passing . . . views and reviews

Back in April, Peter Love, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, made the following comment in the British revolutionary newspaper, the *Black Dwarf*:

"There are now more than 300 underground newspapers in America. Every week sees about three new ones. They are all anti-authoritarian but few of them have contents more revolutionary than, say, *Hair*. It's mostly your sex and drugs which is all right, I'm quite partial to both, as long as it is understood that capitalism is willing to give us all the sex and drugs we can take as long as it doesn't have to part with an ounce of power. Nevertheless this explosion of newsprint is here to stay and many of these papers will survive to become as influential and as staid as *The Village Voice*."

At the time, I thought that the judgment was a bit harsh. I recently had occasion to look over a fairly wide sampling of the underground press and my general impression is that it is becoming more seriously radical and that there has been a widespread (though very uneven) weakening of some significant shortcomings, which include a bad case of male chauvinism (despite the increasing frequency of articles sympathetic to the women's liberation movement); the predominance of an anarchistic view of political action ("do your own thing"); an infatuation with the drug culture; a simple-minded confusion of rock and revolution; and a touch of paternalism in its approach to the black radical movement.

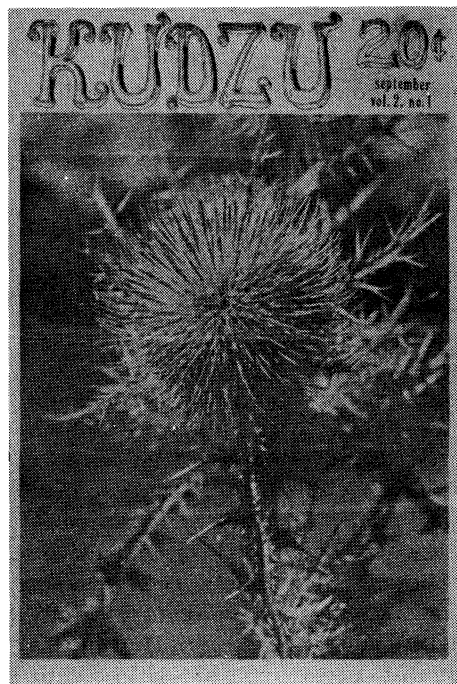
For all this, it seems to me that most of the underground press is evolving not to the right, as Peter Love estimated, but to the left.

Some of the newer and/or currently more promising publications are:

Quicksilver Times (Washington, D.C.) In recent issues *QT* has carried some good articles on the women's lib-

eration movement. Commenting on ultra-leftism in the women's movement in the Aug. 1 issue, Robin Morgan writes: "We have our ultrafeminists, yes, our embittered female chauvinists even (the oppressed are not happy on the plantation, you know), but we also have energy and ideas and dedication and a double knowledge: that women alone cannot be freed unless the system itself is destroyed, freeing all people, and also that no revolution can succeed unless once and for all women can call their bodies their own, unless all our minds are liberated from sexual stereotypes, unless each life is precious and self-determining—truly, not tokenly, free."

Kaleidoscope (Milwaukee, Wisconsin) seems to pay more attention to new developments in the radical movement than does most of the underground press. For example, the Aug. 8 issue contains an article entitled "Student Health Radicals," which is about the developing organization of radicals in



and studying for the medical profession.

Minority Report (Dayton, Ohio) spends more time reporting political activities and analyzing political phenomena than is usually the case for underground papers. The general quality of these articles seems to be on a higher, more thoughtful level, too.

Space City News (Houston, Texas) carries a good deal of material on the black struggle. The July 4 issue, for example, contains a lengthy analysis by Thorne Dreyer of the government attacks on the Panthers. "The U.S. government," he writes, "is out to get the Black Panther Party, by any means necessary. And the American mass media has been a more than willing ally in the concerted campaign being waged against the Panthers."

The Kudzu (Jackson, Mississippi) compares well with other underground newspapers, but is a bit more hippy-oriented than you might expect. Anyway, reading it serves as a good antidote to anyone still inclined to think of white people in Mississippi as a solid block of racists and reactionaries.

Extra! (Providence, Rhode Island) gives the regional radical movement good coverage and seems genuinely interested in encouraging its growth and development.

Subscription information: *The Black Dwarf*, 7 Carlisle Street, London W1A 4PZ, England. One year: \$7.20. *Quicksilver Times*, 1932-17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. 52 issues: \$8. *Kaleidoscope*, PO Box 5457, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. 26 issues: \$5. *Space City News*, 1217 Wichita, Houston, Texas 77004. One year: \$5. *The Kudzu*, Box 22512, Jackson, Mississippi 39205. 18 issues: \$2.50. *Extra!*, Box 2426, Providence, R.I. 02906. 26 issues: \$5. *Minority Report*, Box 252, Dayton, Ohio 45401. 24 issues: \$5.

—Malachi Constant

The Great Society

Alive and well at Cape Kennedy— Explaining why the U.S. is using him and other former Nazi scientists on the space program, Dr. Erich Goerner said: "Obviously the United States did not want people who were below average intelligence to work on these missions. They would not want to go through the expense and security checks for, say, farmers."

He was only asking— California educational officials went up the wall on learning that a Chico State College physics exam by Prof. Jack Zeilenga included such questions as: "With what velocity would the body of a student recoil if he were hit by a shotgun blast in the stomach?" "How much energy would it take to orbit a botulism bomb capable of eliminating the human race ten times over?" "Compute the number of rotor revolutions of a helicopter macing the people of Berkeley."

Crusading journalism — Beginning next year, the *New York Times* will not accept cigarette advertising unless it includes: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health." The major coffin-nail makers said they would quit advertising rather than comply. The *Times* carried more than 85-million lines of advertising last year, of which 115, 000 or a shade more than one tenth of one percent, was for cigarettes. *The Militant* is considering a similar advertising crackdown.

Give-away program— A friend tells us a man walked up to another in the park and asked for a cigarette. "Here," the second man responded, "take the pack." "Gee, thanks. Have you got a light?" "Here, take the lighter." "Wow, are you a millionaire?" "No, I've got lung cancer."

Sweet tooth— The next time you're

munching on you morning Post Toasties, consider this: Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post keeps her 115-room Palm Beach cottage staffed by a crew of servants in three eight-hour shifts, not including the five-man crew for her 17-passenger plane and her three chefs— one for meat, one for pastry and one for candy (she's fond of candy). Her estimated annual living expenses are \$2 million, candy included.

His and hers— And while you're belting down a bottle of Guinness stout, consider this: The Loel Guinesses maintain a two-house setup in Palm Beach. They're connected by an underground music room. Reporters disagree on whether there's a separate set of servants for each house.

The overhead— And the next time you plunk down a buck and a half for a tube of Revlon lipstick, consider this: The Charles Revsons maintain three homes in Westchester, plus a Park Avenue triplex in New York. To get away from the city they have the *Ultima II*, the world's largest yacht. It's manned by a crew of 36, including three chefs— one French, one Italian and one Chinese. We don't know if it's indigestion or what, but there are two live-in doctors on the boat for the host.

Trying to keep afloat— The kind of living expenses indicated in the above item suggests why the successful can't rest a minute. Revlon is moving in on the men's toiletries and grooming field, with at least ten products slated for the market this fall.

The high cost of dying— The next time you hear someone grouching about funeral expenses, let them know the cost of formaldehyde just went up .02 cents a pound.

— Harry Ring

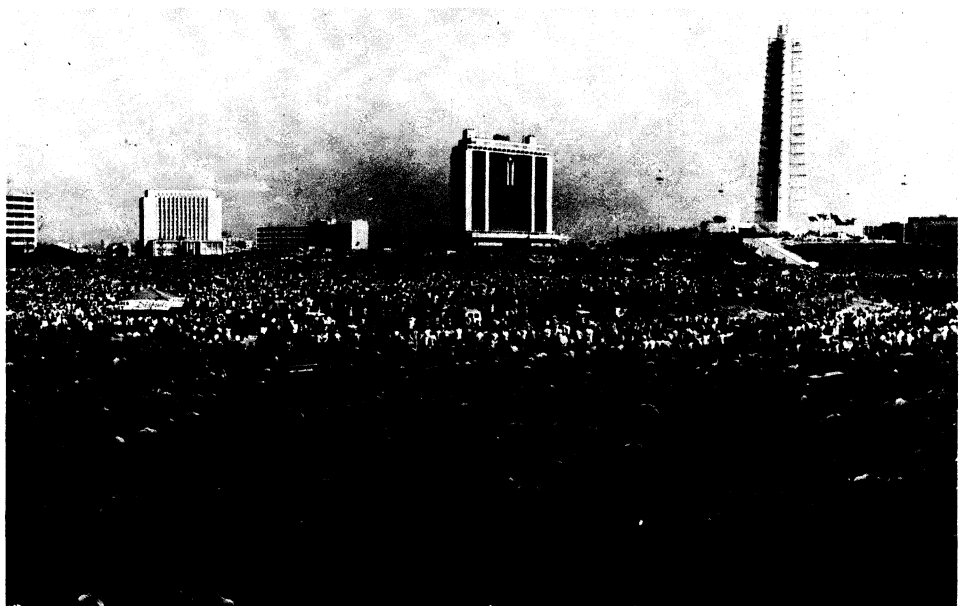
Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: **Phoenix:** YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-0430.
CALIFORNIA: **Berkeley:** SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.
Hayward: YSA, Steve Chainey, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541, Tel: (415) 581-1015.
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: **Gainesville:** YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** SWP, YSA and bookstore, 1176-1/2 Peachtree St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.
ILLINOIS: **Carbondale:** YSA, c/o Bill Maffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.
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 and bookstore, c/o Frank Boehm, 235 N. First St., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.
INDIANA: **Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
KANSAS: **Lawrence:** YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 919 Connecticut #2, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) V13-4620.
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: **Ann Arbor:** YSA, c/o Bill D'Angelo, 725 W. Huron, Ann Arbor, Mich. Tel: (313) 662-6385
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: 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) 523-5468.
MISSOURI: **Kansas City:** YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64118. Tel: (816) EM1-4883.
St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardehl Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.
NEW JERSEY: **Newark:** YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.
NEW YORK: **Albany:** YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.
Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, 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, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. 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

Cuban people's manifesto



One million Cubans in Plaza de la Revolucion approved Second Declaration of Havana Feb. 4, 1962.

The Second Declaration of Havana, by Fidel Castro, Merit Publishers, 35 cents.

This manifesto was presented to almost a million Cubans massed in Havana to protest the exclusion of Cuba from the Organization of American States. It was adopted by the huge throng, more than 10 percent of the nation, Feb. 4, 1962, as the Cuban position.

The document is much more than a formal protest of the United States-inspired exclusion of Cuba from the OAS. It gives the historical background of Latin American nations, their colonial and semicolonial status and their struggles for independence which ultimately led to only a nominal independence.

The role of modern imperialism, exemplified by the United States, is described as that of the successor to the European exploiters whose rule in Latin America was overthrown.

The Declaration explains the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the inevitable growing over of capitalism to imperialism.

It goes on to describe American intervention in various Latin-American countries and the results that followed.

The document then cites the record of the then three-year-old Cuban Revolution. It tells of the land reform program which made landowners of 100, 000 small farmers and insured year around work to all agricultural laborers who were previously employed for only a few months each year.

The tremendous advances in conquering illiteracy, the transformation of efforts into schools and the tens of thousands of scholarships to universities and other schools are mentioned. This is contrasted with the deplorable conditions of

children and youth in other Latin American countries that are ruled by wealthy oligarchs allied with U.S. imperialism.

The political and social conditions favoring revolutionary struggles in all Latin America are analyzed. The Declaration uses the successful Cuban example to urge upon Latin Americans the revolutionary road. But it is careful to explain that this revolution cannot be led by the capitalists of the various nations who are closely tied to imperialism and fear the idea of revolution. It calls upon the revolutionary intellectuals and workers to lead the huge peasant masses in revolutionary struggle.

The document gives a good and correct over-all view of how things stand. It does not attempt to prescribe for each country its actual tactics in developing the struggle. This is the proper way: to lay out the general line of political and revolutionary policy and to allow the various parties in the different countries to work out their own tactics. The experience of the past eight years since the *Second Declaration of Havana* seems to justify this approach.

"It is the duty of every revolutionary to make the revolution," declares the document. This is eminently correct and should be taken to heart by all rebels against the present system. This policy excludes all alliances with and subordination to capitalist parties.

— Milton Alvin

CORRECTION. Last week we erroneously listed the price of the *Communist Manifesto*, as available from Merit Publishers with an introduction by Trotsky, as 95 cents. The correct price is 75 cents.

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

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

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

Act to bar SWP from N.Y. ballot

NEW YORK — An attempt, apparently involving Republican-Liberal Mayor John Lindsay's organization, is being made to bar the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and an independent councilmanic candidate from the municipal election here this fall.

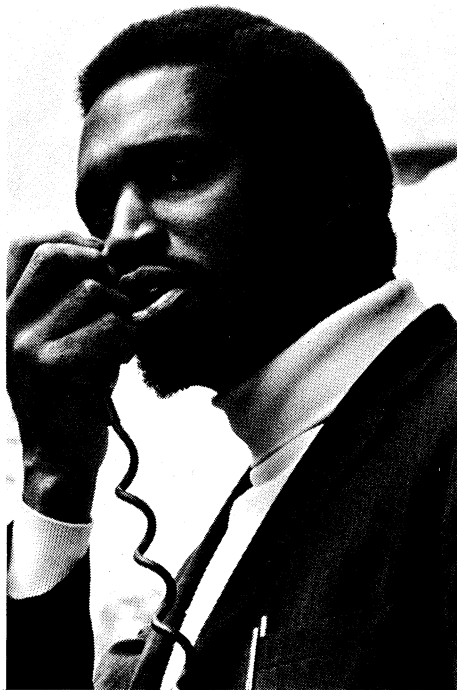
Judith B. Weisgrau, a registered Republican employed by the Lindsay government in the city's poverty agency, filed an "objection" Sept. 6 to the SWP nominating petitions.

Two days before, SWP mayoral candidate Paul Boutelle, accompanied by a group of supporters of the socialist campaign, filed petitions containing 13,390 signatures—more than twice as many as required by law—with the city's board of elections. The socialist candidates' acceptances of nomination were filed at the same time.

On Sept. 9, the board notified the SWP campaign committee that Judith Weisgrau had challenged the petitions. The next day, the board informed Paul Boutelle that Robert B. Brady, an attorney, had requested and received photocopies of all SWP petition sheets. At 50 cents a sheet, the copies cost Brady \$590.50.

The same day, the SWP campaign committee learned that Brady had also obtained copies of the SLP's petition sheets, and one Peter J. Kiernan has filed an "objection" against the SLP petitions.

Petitions nominating Barbara Lawrence, who is associated with the West Side Community Council, for councilwoman-at-large on an independent ticket, have been challenged by a Sydney Schwartzburg.



Paul Boutelle

Communist Party nominating petitions have not been challenged, and the CP is assured of a place on the ballot.

The full particulars of the challenge will be made known to the SWP campaign committee at a hearing Sept. 17.

In the past, there has never been a challenge by a genuinely "disinterested, individual voter" to a minority party's nominating petitions. The challenges have invariably come from persons acting as agents of one or another capitalist party, political machine, or combination of "competing" capitalist parties. While nothing more is known at this writing about the present challengers, there is no reason to suppose that investigation will disclose anything essentially different this year.

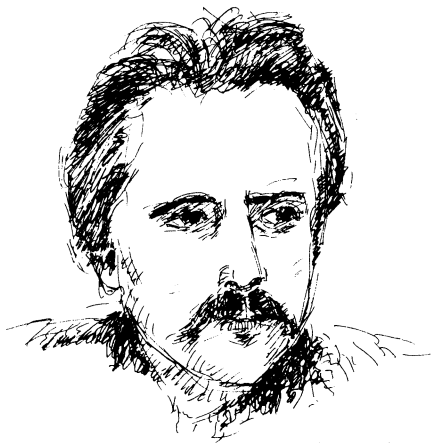
The SWP campaign committee is prepared for whatever legal fight is necessary to defeat this attempt to deny the people of New York City the right to vote for candidates of their choice.

New Mobe sets planning meet in New Jersey

NEWARK — The New Mobilization Committee of New Jersey, a newly formed antiwar coalition, has called for a statewide conference Sat., Sept. 20, in New Brunswick. The conference will be held at Scott Hall on the Rutgers University campus from 12 noon to 5 p.m. A prominent New Jersey union official is scheduled to give the keynote address, which will be followed by speakers and workshops on three of the fall actions—the Oct. 15 moratorium, the Oct. 11 Chicago project and the massive march on Washington Nov. 15.

Groups already active in the New Mobilization Committee include SANE, SDS, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, New Jersey Student Mobilization Committee, New Democratic Coalition, Young Socialist Alliance, United World Federalists and several community peace groups. The coalition is concentrating on bringing out new as well as old antiwar forces and is contacting unions and church groups along with other groups never previously involved in the antiwar movement.

Debray in Worse Cell



After a lull following the defeat of Che Guevara, guerrilla activities are again on the rise in Bolivia. Meanwhile Régis Debray, who sought to bring out an eyewitness account of the front opened by Guevara, still remains in prison, serving a thirty-year sentence.

On August 23, Debray began a hunger strike to protest a ban against his wife visiting him in Camiri, according to the press.

After eight days, the authorities lifted the ban.

Mrs. Debray reported that her husband was in good health.

She said that Debray's hunger strike was also in protest against being shifted to a much worse cell and against a reduction in exercise time in the prison yard. He is now allowed only a few minutes each day outside his cell.

The Argentinian Ciro Bustos, who was imprisoned with Debray, joined in the hunger strike.

(Intercontinental Press)

10

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Thursday, September 4, 1969

R THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Filing-fee issue

Atlantans hear out mayoral candidates

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

A candidate who is given virtually no chance of victory at the polls has so far had the greatest impact on Atlanta's mayoral race.

Mrs. Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party tackled an issue that eluded more capitalist-oriented candidates. She filed a suit in federal court against the \$5,000 qualifying fee required by Atlanta's new election law.

The \$5,000 fee—and the 1969 election law—is no more. A three-judge panel of the federal district court here ruled on Aug. 25 against the law, which had raised the mayoral qualifying fee from \$3,000 to \$5,000—the highest such fee in the nation, Mrs. Jenness charged.

The Atlanta Board of Aldermen immediately met and set a new fee of \$1,000 for candidates for mayor. Filing fees for other offices in the Oct. 7 election also were reduced: for vice-mayor, from \$1,400 to \$600; for the board of aldermen, from \$1,200 to \$500; and for the board of education, from \$600 to \$400.

Return to court vowed

Mrs. Jenness, who says the high fees have been used as a means to keep the poor from seeking office, vowed to go back to court to get them lowered even more.

"I was thinking of something between \$25 to \$100 for a filing fee," she asserted.

The three-judge panel left the case open, apparently in case the city government set the new fees too high. Mrs. Jenness says she will take the case to the Supreme Court of the United States if necessary.

Atlanta socialists press fight on election fees

By Andy Rose

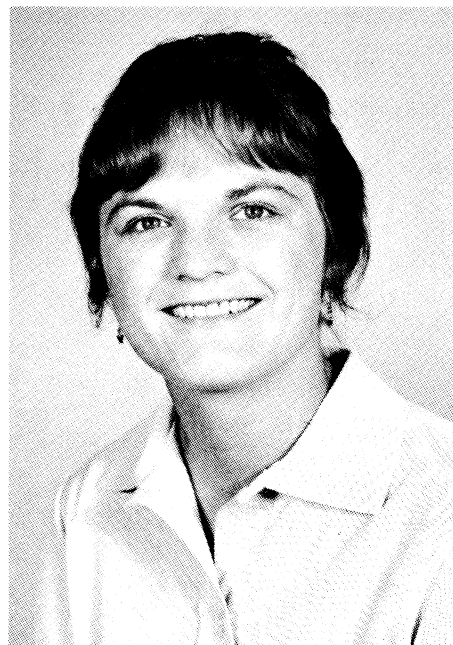
ATLANTA, Sept. 8—Attorney Fred LeClerc is flying to Washington, D. C., today on behalf of Atlanta Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Linda Jenness. LeClerc's mission is to ask Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black to delay Atlanta's Oct. 7 city elections until the Supreme Court has the opportunity to rule on the constitutionality of the \$1,000 filing fee for mayoral candidates.

A three-judge federal panel had ruled that the initial \$5,000 filing fee was illegal, so the board of aldermen lowered the fee to \$1,000. On Sept. 4, the three-judge panel upheld the reduced fee, which Linda Jenness branded as exorbitant and as discriminatory as the original fee.

She pointed out that for a poor candidate \$1,000 is just as unattainable a figure as \$5,000. She noted that in a survey of 90 cities with populations over 100,000, attorney LeClerc had found that 53.9% of the cities charged no fees and 85.4% had fees of less than \$100. Atlanta's fees are far and away the highest in the country.

Front-page headlines in the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution* told the story this way: Socialist Rejects City Act in Cutting Candidate Fees—She'll Go Back to Court," and "Voting Fees Slashed, Socialist Fights On."

In its Sept. 4 ruling, the three judges appeared concerned that the election should go on as planned even if it is illegal and unconstitutional. The court ruled that, while in future city elections



Linda Jenness

it will be illegal and unconstitutional to prohibit candidates from getting their names on the ballot solely because they cannot post a certain amount of money, in the current election "good administration and common sense" (!) demand that the voting occur as scheduled.

LeClerc, who is associated with the Emory University Legal Services, and Al Horn of the Georgia Civil Liberties Union, are handling Linda Jenness' continuing legal battle.

In another campaign development, John Voltava of the SWP campaign committee testified before the mayor's Housing Resources Committee, stressing that various minor reforms under consideration, while not inherently bad, will not mean any significant improvement in tenants' lives until the tenants control their own housing.

"When we are talking about public housing, and private housing financed by public agencies, we are talking primarily about the black community and black people," Voltava told the commission, and "given the total failure by the city and its agencies, the answer can only be that all funds, all departments and all agencies that deal with the black community must be put under the control of the black community."

When asked what his long-term goal for public housing was, Voltava replied, "good, safe, comfortable, high-quality free housing for everyone who needs it."

'Lull' in Vietnam

"Casualty figures . . . suggest that while a lull does not take quite so many lives per week as a war, it can still be a fairly bloody form of foreign policy. . . . The argument may be made that since fewer men are killed and wounded in a lull than in a war, men should be more enthusiastic about it. And so they should be, except for human perversity. The average man, however, is likely to object that while he does not fancy being shot under any circumstances he thinks it particularly pointless to be shot waging a lull." — Russell Baker in the *New York Times*.