

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 40

Friday, October 10, 1969

Price 15c

**Student Mobilization Committee
spreads in high schools, colleges**

— see pages 12-13 —

Antiwar heat sears Nixon; fake 'peace' talk backfires

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 1—Richard Nixon's war policies have suddenly run into a massive groundswell of opposition that is more deeply rooted and more widespread than the hatred for the war which toppled Lyndon Johnson.

Nixon's attempt to defuse the antiwar movement with a pretense of seeking to de-escalate the war has boomeranged. This week saw:

- A big red-letter headline emblazoning the Sept. 25 *Berkeley Daily Gazette*—"City 'Backs' Antiwar Rally." It announced that the Berkeley city council endorsed the Oct. 15 moratorium on the war.

- Dissension in Congress. It included a bill proposed by Senator Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) that Congress set a 1970 deadline on troop withdrawals and the secret cau-

cusing of leading Democratic senators, including some who decided to support the Vietnam moratorium.

- A Louis Harris poll that President Nixon's handling of the war has been rated a new low for his eight months in office. Only 35 percent of those interviewed were favorable.

- An incalculable sweep of college and high school support for the Oct. 15 moratorium and the Nov. 14-15 national student strike and mammoth march on Washington. The Columbia University senate adopted a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of American troops.

Warding off a battery of questions on the war at his third news conference Sept. 26, Nixon labeled the Congressional moves "defeatist." He claimed that "under no circumstances" would he be affected by antiwar demonstrations on campuses.

But it reminded one of Johnson's demise. "We are not going to be appeasers, and we are not going to cut and run," the former President asserted two weeks before announcing his abdication.

Nixon "said he would not be affected by the coming student moratorium and other demonstrations against the war," the *New York Times* commented in its main editorial Sept. 27. "But as a 'political realist' Mr. Nixon cannot ignore the implications of these surface manifestations of deep-seated discontent with his Vietnam policies," the influential newspaper concluded.

The reality is that Nixon is trapped in a powerful vice between the stunning blows of the Vietnamese revolution on the battlefield and the forces of the American antiwar movement at home.

In his press conference, the president contended that the "Vietnamization program"—handing the war over to the Saigon regime—was "moving forward." But Thieu himself demolished that argument the next day.

On Sept. 27 Thieu stated that he saw no prospect of South Vietnamese forces assuming the full burden of the fighting by the end of 1970.

And to top it off, the brassy dictator offered the spine-chilling assertion that Saigon's ability to endure the withdrawal of more U.S. troops hinged on an increased flow of military hardware including "more sophisticated weapons like atomic warfare. . . ."

Meanwhile, Nixon got a sharp reminder of the power of public opinion as an obstacle to the warmakers, with the publication of the inside story of Johnson's decision to halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

The revelations, by former Undersecretary of the Air Force, Townsend Hoopes, appear in the October *Atlantic*.

Hoopes discloses that enormous obstacles confronting the U.S. military on the Vietnamese battlefield coupled with mounting antiwar sentiment at home had created a serious rift right in the Pentagon.

Johnson had been informed by top advisers that continuation of escalated war "would have generated a wholesale domestic cataclysm as well as a major explosion in the Democratic Party that neither Lyndon Johnson nor his Vietnam policy could have survived."

(Continued on page 4)



WHISTLE AND A PRAYER. As opposition to his war policies mounted on all sides, President Nixon took hold of himself and asserted he didn't intend to be moved by antiwar demonstrations. Observers were reminded of way LBJ had been talking just prior to throwing in the towel.

No need to choose lesser of 3 evils

Poster gets out the word on Boutelle mayoral campaign

Brooklyn, N. Y.
[The following letter was sent to the NY Socialist Workers Campaign Committee by a young Afro-American.]

My attentions have recently been called to your mayoral campaign. In this election year I am extremely unsatisfied with the candidates for mayor with whom I am familiar. I feel strongly that Procaccino, Marchi, and Lindsay are not fit to be the mayor of any city.

As a Black person and a resident of New York City, I am able to sense the resentment toward black people that radiates from each of the three major-party mayoral candidates. I don't think any of them understand the needs of the Black community and I am also doubtful as to whether this point worries them in the least. I did at one time think that I would have to choose between the lesser of the three evils. After having seen Mr. Boutelle's poster, I may not have to resort to this.

I would like to learn more about Mr. Boutelle's campaign for mayor and more about the Socialist [Workers] party. Although I am not of voting age, I feel a duty to support the candidate who best encompasses my ideals. I would appreciate any information you are able to send.

M. M.

Lindsay move against SWP dismays Canadian reader

Montreal, Quebec Province
May I express my support for the SWP in its fight against the self-serving and absurd campaign of Mayor Lindsay to have his name placed on the city ballot twice. That story was reported in Canada, though many Canadians undoubtedly read it in disbelief.

M. E. B.

Where social democracy leads

New Hartford, N. Y.
The article on the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League by Robert Langston in the Sept. 19 *Militant* was a much needed critical analysis of a tendency in American radicalism. Mr. Langston's illumination of the SP-YPSL statistical procedures is well known to this writer, who, along with Mr. Langston, is probably still being counted among the 1,000 YPSL "active members."

However, the real force of the social democrats lies not in a few scattered YPSL chapters but in the outpourings of a few able but misguided intellectuals

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.

such as Irving Howe, Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin and Arnold Kauffman. In the current issue of *Dissent*, Irving Howe argues that student radicals should work for social reform through a left-liberal coalition. This line has had some effect on students.

The ultimate fate of the social democratic movement will be the same as that of the larger liberal movement of which it is a part: namely, loss of identity. American liberalism has appropriated the right's basic values. For example, it was difficult to distinguish between the denunciations by Bayard Rustin and Barry Goldwater of the black struggle at Cornell last April.

The present plight of the ruling class is that it has preserved the rhetoric and symbols of democracy but not much of its substance. In other words there is a gap between the professed ideals of America and the stark reality under capitalism for the huge underclass of the poor and the minorities.

Mark W. Weber
YSA, member-at-large
Colgate University

Exposing the myth of women's inferiority

San Francisco, Calif.
The recent *Militant* articles by Mary-Alice Waters and Evelyn Reed were excellent. It was good to see you come out for separate organizations for women's rights and supporting the aspirations that come out of a situation of oppression. It is a promising first step forward but only a beginning and a somewhat tardy one at that.

The particular aspects of the woman question that Reed chooses to deal with, the myth of women's inferiority and the institution of the family, are especially valuable and inspiring at this early stage of the development of the movement for women's liberation. Any minority group must of necessity reconstruct and rewrite its own history in order to lose feelings of inferiority and gain a sense of self-confidence and pride. It's

analogous to the period of cultural nationalism gone through by the blacks. It is already leading to demands for women's studies programs in the universities similar to the black studies programs.

Hopefully, many other aspects of the question will be dealt with by contributions to the discussion, especially a contemporary analysis of women's roles in the economic mode of production and reproduction of life and the social relations that flow from them. Unfortunately the women's liberation movement at this stage seems to be putting its main emphasis on women as consumers rather than women as producers, their needs and grievances and a transitional program to meet their demands.

I would also like to suggest that in spite of the fact that the class composition of the women's liberation movement is middle class, reflecting the radicalizing student milieu out of which it has evolved, an emphasis on working women is necessary to such a discussion.

I have made a written contribution to the discussion in the form of an article recently published in pamphlet form. It is available by sending 15c per copy to the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118 for *The place of American women: economic exploitation of women.*
Joan Jordan

Intensified U.S. attacks on Cuban Revolution

Minneapolis, Minn.
The following indicates an intensification by the U.S. to destroy the Cuban Revolution:

1. Expelling of a UN diplomat on August 21, 1969.
2. Refusal to allow re-entry of another UN official, now in Havana.
3. Constant threat of assassination of Cuba's Permanent Representative.
4. Constant surveillance and harassment of the members of the Cuban Mission, including break-ins at their living quarters.
5. Plans to install new military training camps in Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama for the purpose of launching of hit-and-run attacks against Cuba.
6. Exposure of a Mexican Embassy official in Cuba working directly for the CIA.

As revolutionaries, it's our duty to support the Cuban Revolution and ex-

Phoenix blacks and Chicanos fight to control education

Tempe, Ariz.
Something new is happening in Phoenix; her two oppressed minorities, the Chicanos and blacks, are taking to the streets and boycotting school to protest the substandard quality of education in the inner city.

Showing that they are sick of listening to the likes of Goldwater and want action, demonstrators marched about 600 strong Sept. 15 along Washington Avenue, which divides black-Chicano South Phoenix from affluent and lily-white North Phoenix. The demonstrators were students from Phoenix' one inner-city school, clergymen, parents and supporters.

The Rev. Frank Yoldi, a leader of the march, and Joe Lopez, chairman of Chicanos por la Causa, listed the nonnegotiable demands they presented to the school board: (1) doubling the size of the counseling staff for the Chicano and black students, (2) immediate implementation of all proposals outlined by the community's citizens' curriculum committee that emphasized the need for an extreme upgrading of the curriculum at the high school, (3) recruitment of more black and Mexican-American

THE MILITANT

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Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

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Closing news date—Oct. 3

Atlanta socialist candidate offers a correction

Atlanta, Ga.
There was an error in Stacey Seigle's article "Workshop on Women's Liberation" (*The Militant*, Sept. 26) which I would like to correct. Although individual members of the Atlanta chapter of the National Organization of Women and the Women's Liberation Group endorse my election campaign, neither group have given the campaign organizational endorsement as the article states.

Linda Jenness
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for Mayor of Atlanta

press solidarity with the Cuban people. We must demand an end to these attacks. Demonstrations should once again be undertaken. How about Oct. 8 and April 19 for national days of demonstration for Cuban solidarity?

Damon Lee

Keep the light shining

DeKalb, Ill.
I think that *The Militant* is one of the finest informing sources around, especially in DeKalb. Being plagued by such propaganda as Chicago "news" papers and many textbooks, I look forward to reading something *real* every week. If I didn't move around so much I'd get a lifetime subscription. Keep the light shining!

C. S.

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

Name

Address

City State Zip

David J. Murphy

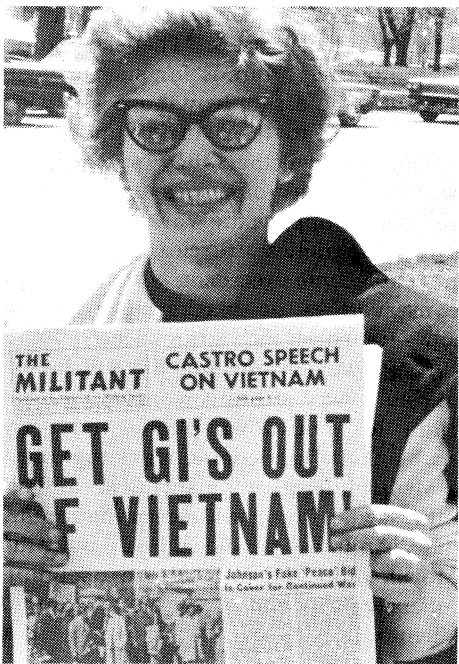
Drive for new readers runs ahead of schedule

By BEVERLY SCOTT
Militant Business Manager

OCT. 1— For the second straight week, we have gained over 600 new readers for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, which puts us even further ahead of schedule in our drive for 4,000 new readers by Nov. 15. By today we should have met 28 percent of our quota of new subscriptions. Instead we have actually fulfilled 37 percent of our goal. Over half of the cities listed on the scoreboard are ahead of schedule, everywhere from Providence to Champaign.

We view our campaign for new readers as an integral part of the antiwar fall offensive. On the one side, members of the SWP and YSA are conducting a vigorous campaign to build the major fall antiwar actions as large as possible, culminating in a gigantic mobilization in Washington D. C. on November 15.

And on the other side, we aim to double our readership to reach the many newly radicalized young people with a socialist approach to combating the imperialist aggression in Vietnam. We are confident that our new readers, who from reading our pages regularly, become convinced of the absolute necessity of building an all-encompassing coalition in opposition to the U.S. imperialist role in Vietnam,



CONFIDENCE IN PRODUCT. Militant salespeople, like this beaming lady, can sell the paper with assurance that it's based on a clear, consistent political line. This issue, sold at the 1965 SDS March on Washington, hammered at the current fake "peace" bid by LBJ and reiterated paper's "get-out" stand.

will act on their convictions, and help to mobilize many new forces for the demonstrations scheduled in the coming months. And they will come to understand the need for fighting the imperialist system itself.

The fact that many more people are becoming radicalized makes it easier to sell them a subscription to the two publications.

For example, three socialists from Berkeley and San Francisco reported the tremendous response they received in a recent visit to Stanford University. The antiwar sentiment there is so high that a leaflet on the Oct. 15 Moratorium was included in the official material handed to each student at the beginning of registration. They received a very enthusiastic response to *The Militant*, and were able to sell 28 subscriptions in their one-day visit.

The YSA local at Kent State University in Ohio has done an outstanding job. They have sold 37 subscriptions, which shot them way over the 100 percent mark on their original quota. As a result they have voted to double their quota to 50 subs.

The Binghamton YSA has also doubled its quota to 80 subscriptions, and they predict: "We are confident that this amount can be sold in several weeks time. Literally hundreds of students on campus are very interested in our ideas."

One student at Harpur College wrote us: "Please send me the combination subscription. I saw the offer in the Sept. 26 issue, but my friend got the subscription blank first. I saw the subscription quota for Binghamton, and I promise that my friends and I will do our best to top the list." Sounds like he should also join the YSA.

A note from the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, reads: "Here are more subs to bring our total to 75 . . . and that's before school has even begun! Next week we'll really get cracking with the opening of the University of Minnesota." Later they write: "We've found that freshmen at the university are very open to our press. It's reached the point where we have kids coming up to us for their copy of *The Militant*."

And Cleveland reports: "We've had very good sub sales at college registration lines, primarily Case Western Reserve and Kent State Universities. We're planning a "trailblazing" type sub drive to some of the nearby campuses on Saturdays.

And finally, from Boulder, Colorado comes the report, "Although our quota is only 30, we feel that we can collect at least 100 subscriptions. Thus far, without really trying, we have already sold 20 subs."

Just keep them coming.

Ballot rights refusal fails to slow Jenness campaign

ATLANTA, Sept. 29— The high point of this week's busy schedule of speaking engagements, interviews, and radio and television appearances for Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate for mayor, was a meeting at Georgia State University on Sept. 24.

Invited to speak under the auspices of the Political Science Forum were the five "major candidates": Linda Jenness, Horace Tate, Rodney Cook, Everett Millican, and Sam Massell. Three obscure candidates who happen to have ballot status weren't invited. Linda Jenness' talk was interrupted with applause several times by the audience of 400, especially when she attacked U.S. intervention in Vietnam and called for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. Referring to recent protests against police brutality in Atlanta, she stated, "It really shouldn't surprise us that this type of police action is going on here at home in Atlanta, because isn't that precisely what is happening in Vietnam today? American military power is big business' inter-

national police force used to police the world." Mrs. Jenness then called on the student and faculty audience to participate in the massive antiwar march in Washington, D. C. on Nov. 15.

An example of the impact of her campaign at Georgia State is the fact that several student leaders attempting to democratize elections for student-body officials are using her successful campaign against high qualifying fees as a precedent.

Beginning today, the *Atlanta Constitution* is giving front-page coverage to 400-word statements from each candidate. The first two to appear were those of Rodney Cook and Linda Jenness. In her statement, Mrs. Jenness stated, "I am the only candidate who has presented a program to deal with the immediate concerns of the black community and the working people of Atlanta." She particularly emphasized her programs for ending the Vietnam war and for dealing with the unbearable conditions under which black Atlantans are forced to live.



Linda Jenness

Photo by Tom Coffin

Large Atlanta demonstration protests police brutality

By DOUG JENNESS

ATLANTA— Nearly 600 demonstrators marched from Piedmont Park to the city police station here Sept. 27 in a spirited protest against police brutality. Chanting loudly, they marched through the downtown area along Atlanta's main street— Peachtree Street— to the police station, where they heard several speeches and demanded to see Police Chief Jenkins.

The action, called by a wide range of organizations and individuals in the radical movement and hippie community, was in response to a vicious police attack on a rock concert held in Piedmont Park on Sunday, Sept. 21. The incident was triggered by a plainclothes narcotics agent, when he arrested a young person who was pointing him out to everyone in the crowd. When others in the crowd protested, the nark frantically pulled out a gun and shouted, "Stand back or I'll blow his head off!" The angered crowd then moved in and released the captured youth, whereupon the cops called in reinforcements and tear-gassed the entire area. A number of youths, as well as the

wife of a Georgia Tech professor, were beaten with nightsticks.

Twelve people have been falsely charged with various infractions of the law, ranging from "assault and battery" to "inciting to riot."

Police brutality has become a heated issue here recently, following exposures of beatings administered to black prisoners by cops in police stations and jails. Several large rallies have been held in the black community, and a grand jury is now investigating the police department. A number of organizations in the black community have filed suit in the U. S. district court demanding that Police Chief Jenkins be removed.

Following the police attack on the Piedmont Park gathering, Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, issued a statement to the news media declaring: It becomes more clear each day that Police Chief Jenkins should be fired, that the black community should select and control its own police, and that all police should be removed from the Peachtree-14th Street area."

Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard					
City	Quota	New Subs			
Providence, R.I.	40	35	Champaign, Ill.	30	10
Lawrence, Kansas	30	25	Washington D. C.	75	19
Kent, Ohio	50	37	Berkeley, Calif.	225	52
Boulder, Colo.	30	20	San Diego, Calif.	45	10
Binghamton, N. Y.	80	53	Austin, Texas	150	32
Madison, Wis.	75	47	Bloomington, Ind.	30	6
Ann Arbor, Mich.	25	15	Antioch College, Ohio	30	6
San Francisco, Calif.	250	148	Seattle, Wash.	150	23
Los Angeles, Calif.	275	156	Houston, Texas	50	6
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	12	Logan, Utah	25	3
Phoenix, Ariz.	30	14	Albany, N. Y.	25	3
Philadelphia, Pa.	200	93	DeKalb, Ill.	80	9
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	89	Gainesville, Fla.	35	4
Cleveland, Ohio	250	100	Chicago, Ill.	275	23
Boston, Mass.	275	105	Carbondale, Ill.	25	2
Detroit, Mich.	275	105	Chapel Hill-Durham, N. C.	30	2
Kansas City, Mo.	30	11	Hayward, Calif.	40	1
St. Louis, Mo.	30	11	East Lansing, Mich.	30	0
Newark, N. J.	35	12	Portland, Ore.	20	0
New York, N. Y.	425	148	General	205	95
Atlanta, Ga.	125	39	Total	4330	1581

Is Moratorium being co-opted?

By HARRY RING

Reporting that a number of Democratic congressmen are considering supporting the Oct. 15 Moratorium, a Sept. 27 *New York Times* article said:

"The Democratic objective, as one member put it, is to turn the Oct. 15 Moratorium into 'an important moral event,' comparable to the 1963 civil rights march on Washington."

Or, in plainer English, they want to try to co-opt a movement that poses a political threat to them.

The capitalist politicians, hawk and dove alike, are concerned by the swift growth of the Moratorium and the potential they correctly see lodged in it for further developing militant, mass antiwar action.

And they also spot the fact that lack of clarity among Moratorium leaders on key political issues opens the door for trying to maneuver the movement into "safe" channels.

The lack of a clear-cut perspective among Moratorium leaders is indicated in a number of ways. While a number of them favor immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, current Moratorium ads in the *New York Times* speak ambiguously of "early withdrawal."

Similarly, while Moratorium leaders have cooperated with SMC and New Mobe, they have thus far refrained from publicizing or endorsing the Nov. 14 student strike or Nov. 15 mass marches on Washington and San Francisco.

Clearly, it is important for revolutionaries to take note of the efforts by capitalist politicians to co-opt the Mora-

torium and equally important to note the political limitations of the Moratorium leadership. But this in no way suggests that radicals should draw back from building the Moratorium action Oct. 15.

Actually, the prospects for developing the Moratorium in a healthy, militant direction are very good. There are today wide layers of militant antiwar activists who will resist moves to reduce the Oct. 15 action to what double-talking capitalist politicians conceive as a "moral event."

Further, there is the significant factor of the active intervention of the SMC in building the action. A militant, organized antiwar force, SMC can prove an effective counter to the reformists, with its program of mass action for immediate U.S. withdrawal.

The moves to co-opt the Moratorium can be effectively blocked if antiwar activists press for militant, campus-based actions and if they insist that the withdrawal position be heard at every meeting and rally—most particularly those where capitalist politicians and others will be presenting a differing stand.

Further assurance that the Moratorium will be a meaningful action will be provided if activists build it as part of the fall offensive against the war. It should be used to help build the Nov. 14 student strike and the Nov. 15 mass mobilizations in Washington and San Francisco.

Occasionally, an opponent of a particular movement or action will offer arguments which prove most persuasive

in favor of what they are trying to discredit.

In that spirit we offer some quotations from a critical assessment of the Moratorium offered in the Sept. 29 *New America*, voice of the Socialist Party. The article is written by Penn Kemble, the party's national secretary. The statement of "critical support" to the Moratorium appears somewhat to the right of that of the Democrats.

Kemble writes:

"One obvious problem is that the Moratorium . . . emphasizes a unilateral U.S. withdrawal as a solution to the war. Unilateral withdrawal is not the official policy of the Moratorium . . . but withdrawal will certainly get the greatest emphasis.

"A second difficulty is that while the national leadership of the Moratorium has not once given an official suggestion, in many local areas students may demand that schools be completely closed down on the 15th. . . .

"Third, the Moratorium has not clearly disassociated itself from irresponsible or undemocratic elements in the New and Old Left. An understanding has been reached with the National [New] Mobilization [Committee] Against the War in Vietnam (a coalition of some liberals and pacifists with Communists and Trotskyists.)

"The Moratorium leaders have allowed the Mobilization to publicize the Moratorium as part of its 'Fall Offensive'—a term which suggests the degree to which the Mobilization is really a peace movement."

Carefully noting that the Moratorium and New Mobe are located in the same building (their sleuth overlooked the fact that the SMC is too) and that one newspaper reported that they "send out speakers to campuses in fraternal teams," Kemble dolefully warns:

"As time goes on the activities of the two organizations probably will become even more closely coordinated. The Moratorium leaders plan a second two-day-long event a month after the Oct. 15 demonstration . . . if all goes to present schedule, this second Moratorium will take place on Nov. 15—the same day that the National [sic] Mobilization Committee and some fac-



SAME STAND. Bayard Rustin of Socialist Party smeared original SDS antiwar march in 1965. Now SP is complaining Moratorium is too far left.

tions of the New Left are hoping to hold massive marches against the war. In the past these marches have been scenes of Viet Cong flag-waving, backlash-producing confrontations and incendiary speeches."

This disgusting red-baiting is evoked by the SP's concern that the movement against the war will not only force a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam but promote further militant action in the U.S.

"We should oppose the demand that schools be completely closed on the 15th," Kemble writes. "There are good civil liberties grounds for such a position; it is unfair to deny those who wish to learn or to teach their opportunity to do so—whether they support the war or for any other reason—because we wish to oppose the war.

"If universities are closed, it can set a troublesome precedent; why then can't conservatives or blacks close universities to protest their grievances."

Next, we assume the SP will be explaining why striking workers have no right to shut down plants and deny scabs their "inalienable right to work."

Meanwhile, genuine socialists and all others who favor self-determination for the Vietnamese people will help build the Moratorium as part of the offending "offensive" to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Pacific Stars and Stripes really 'Hanoi Herald'?

The *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the Army-sponsored servicemen's daily, which is hardly noted for giving the enlisted man's viewpoint on the war, appears to be bending to the massive discontent of GIs in Vietnam—and endangering its reputation with the brass for doing it.

This was disclosed in a Sept. 28 Associated Press dispatch from Saigon. According to AP, "The U.S. high command in South Vietnam is so incensed with news reports appearing in the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the U.S. Armed Forces newspaper in Asia, that it has started calling it 'The Hanoi Herald.'"

AP uncovered a secret speech that had been delivered by Army chief information officer in Vietnam, Col. James W. Campbell, to a closed session of the U.S. Pacific Command information officers conference, held in Taiwan on Sept. 3.

In the secret session, Col. Campbell had attacked two articles. One was a story by a *Stars and Stripes* combat reporter which disclosed the number of casualties of an American infantry company in action.

"Whether these figures are true is completely besides the point," Campbell complained. "It is my contention that such irresponsible reporting is absolutely devastating to the morale of soldiers. . . . Such reporting . . . is of tremendous aid and comfort to the enemy."

The other article Campbell objected to was the now-famous story of Company A's revolt by AP reporters Horst Faas and Peter Arnett. Campbell contended that, "It is the opinion of USARV that such stories do not border on treason, they are treason."

Campbell's attack was apparently a bit too crude. The brass has since withdrawn his slated assumption of editorship of *Stars and Stripes*.

Pacific Stars and Stripes is published in Tokyo with a daily circulation of 250,000—about 100,000 copies going to combat troops in Vietnam. Once previously in its history, the newspaper reflected the views of GIs—at the end of World War II, when U.S. troops stationed in the Pacific staged "bring-us-home" mass demonstrations and refused to serve as occupational troops.

. . . Nixon seared by antiwar heat

(Continued from page 1)

"The shock wave would run through the entire American body politic," a high Pentagon official argued. "The antiwar demonstrations and resistance to the draft would rise to new crescendos, reinforced by civil rights groups who would feel that the President had once again revealed his inner conviction that the war in Vietnam was more important than the war on poverty."

Pressure within the administration, including slated resignations by top Pentagon officials, finally forced Johnson to change his course. He announced the halt of the bombing of North Vietnam and, at the same time, his decision not to seek reelection.

But Washington escalated the attack on South Vietnam. This made it clear that Johnson's actions were fundamentally designed to dupe the American people into believing that the government was seriously seeking peace. In fact, it was attempting to buy time for continuing the effort to wrest some kind of victory.

Nixon, confronted by even more massive opposition to the war, is playing the same crooked game—with equally disastrous results. His prom-

ises of de-escalation and his talk of a milder draft program have served only to intensify popular hatred of the war.

At the same time Nixon's policies have deepened the divisions within the ruling class and among its political representatives on how best to contain the Vietnamese revolution and how to contain the antiwar movement.

None of them, of course, oppose U.S. aggression in Vietnam on the basis of principle. None of them, including Goodell, favor immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam—a demand dictated by the needs of the American people and by the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

But despite their intentions, the capitalist politicians' tactics—like Nixon's—can serve to further accelerate genuine antiwar sentiment among the population and among the GIs themselves.

Preparations for the fall antiwar offensive on all fronts reveal the deepest student opposition to the war so far.

The Student Mobilization Committee, planning for a nationwide student strike Nov. 14 and the march on Washington Nov. 15, reports that every SMC campus meeting is three and four times

larger than meetings it held on these same campuses before previous mobilizations. This is not to speak of the planning that is going on in a whole series of new campuses.

The depth of student hatred for the war is dramatically apparent in the response to the moratorium. Two full-page ads in the *New York Times*, hundreds of prominent endorsers, and wide campus support make clear the moratorium will be huge.

If the moratorium is built as part of the national fall offensive, if it is built big enough and militant enough, it will escape the grasp of the capitalist politicians. That is because the fundamental direction of antiwar sentiment runs counter to the programs and policies of the capitalist ruling parties.

The masses of American people who oppose the war want the GIs brought home now. They don't see why there should be more slaughter, and they totally reject the Thieu-Ky types which Washington must rely on in Saigon.

The key to unlocking this sentiment is militant mass action around the slogans of self-determination for the Vietnamese, no reliance on Democratic and Republican Party politicians, and bring the troops home now! The opportunity for doing so has never been better.

In passing. . .

The military writings of Leon Trotsky

Leon Trotsky's *Military Writings* provides graphic insight as to how Marxism can and ought to be applied to a particular area of endeavor, in this case, questions of military strategy and tactics. The author comes down especially hard on those who dogmatize historical materialism into a set of finished, all-encompassing prescriptions for action.

Trotsky makes very clear what he thinks Marxism can and can't do: Marxist analysis can provide a historical context for any field of human activity; it can provide a political orientation for the practitioners of any science, craft or art; it can provide a useful general way of looking at things, but it cannot be a substitute for learning the particular laws, principles, practices, operation or whatever of the specific area of work one is engaged in, whether it be physics, painting, military affairs—or chess. Trotsky writes: "Marxism may be applied with the greatest success even to the history of chess. But it is not possible to learn how to play chess in a Marxist way. With the aid of Marxism we can establish that there once was an old *Oblomovist*

nobility too lazy even to play chess; later, with the growth of cities, intellectuals and merchants appeared on the scene and there also arose the need of exercising the brains by playing checkers and chess. And now in our country workers go to chess clubs. Workers now play chess because they have overthrown those who used to ride on their backs. All this can be excellently explained by Marxism.

"It is possible to show the entire course of the class struggle from one angle—that of the history of development of chess play. I repeat that it is possible by using the Marxist method to write an excellent book on the history of the development of chess play. But to learn to play chess 'according to Marx' is impossible. Chess play has its own 'laws,' its own 'principles.'"

To put this in a modern context: Contrary to the Maoist press, there is no way to play better ping pong or grow bigger watermelons "according to Mao."

The selections which make up this book were written in the early 1920s. Therefore a number of the personages and events referred to will not be fa-



DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION. Armed Bolshevik sailors, 13,000 strong, arrive in Petrograd from Kronstadt to fight Kornilov's counter-revolutionary uprising. After Bolsheviks took power, Trotsky organized and led Red Army to victory over imperialist intervention and domestic reaction.

miliar to present-day readers. The book reads well and easily anyway, but perhaps when the publishers bring out a second edition, they will include more complete footnoting. Also useful would be an index or, at least, a fuller table of contents.

(Order from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. \$1.95. Ask for Merit's catalog.)

* * *

Easy Rider, starring Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, has been causing a lot of controversy among radicals. In brief, the plot is basically a motorcycle odyssey from California to Louisiana by two hippie-type characters—Fonda is emblazoned with an American flag on the back of his black leather jacket and wears a red, white and blue striped helmet; Hopper is dressed as a frontiersman.

The symbolism is obvious. Hopper keeps referring to Fonda as "Captain America" (N. B. for the uninitiated: a

comic book hero). Taken together Fonda and Hopper are symbols for the American dream and the pioneer spirit set against the confining restraints of contemporary bourgeois America.

In their own way, the two protagonists view themselves as opponents of the system. The movie is an attempt to show why the hippie drop-out mode of protest is inadequate and futile. The hippie commune they pass through on their journey may be very nice in some ways, but we are informed shortly after they arrive that most of the original members of the farming commune have left because of the inability of the semi-arid land to support the whole colony.

Hopper and Fonda themselves are blasted off the road by a couple of Southern crackers filled with the intolerance of hateful politics. Moral: It is not sufficient to just change yourself by doing your own thing because the system is designed to force you back in line.

—MALACHI CONSTANT

Panther H.Q. attacked in Phila. frame-up raid

By PEARL CHERTOV
PHILADELPHIA—The FBI and the plainclothes Civil Disobedience Squad of the Philadelphia police raided the Black Panther Party headquarters here Sept. 23 and arrested six party leaders, bringing preposterous frameup charges against two.

The morning of Sept. 23, three FBI agents entered a house in the Strawberry Mansion ghetto area for the alleged purpose of looking for a suspect in a Philadelphia bank robbery. It is purely coincidental, the FBI would have us believe, that this house is the residence of the sister of Reggie Schell, Defense Captain of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

The FBI didn't find any suspect, but after searching the house one agent said he discovered an M-14 rifle, which he immediately identified as stolen from the Camp Lejeune, N. C., marine base in July 1968.

At 10:30 that night, Lt. George Fencel and a squad of his men from the Civil Disobedience unit, the local spiffy-suited, elite political police, apprehended five Panthers at gunpoint outside Black Panther Party headquarters at 1928 Columbia Avenue. Fencel and his men then went across the street and arrested Reggie Schell.

While the Panthers were being searched, the police smashed down a door to the headquarters, confiscated the Panthers' mimeograph machine, petitions containing 10,000 signatures for decentralization of the police and the files on their breakfast program for children. They ransacked the office and left it in a shambles.

Branch Secretary Clarence Peterson, Lieutenant of Finance Rene Johnson, West Cook and Craig Williams, Black Panther candidate for Philadelphia City Council, were all released without charges the next morning.

Defense Captain Schell was charged with possession of stolen government property (the M-14 rifle, allegedly found at his sister's house, where he is not a resident), which carries a maximum sentence of 10 years. Also held was Rollando Montae Hearn, Panther Breakfast Coordinator, on a bench warrant for contempt of court, allegedly because he did not show up in court several years ago. Hearn's "crime," says a Panther statement, "was putting into practice the theory that the Minister of Defense has instituted, that all should eat."

The Panthers told *The Militant* that they desperately need funds to replace the wrecked and stolen office equipment and to repair their ransacked headquarters. Funds may be sent to 1928 W. Columbia Ave., Philadelphia 19121. The Panthers observed that the raid occurred only one week after they successfully qualified two candidates for city council for the November election.

New issue of review brings study of Mao and Stalin

Did Mao Tse-tung break from the foreign policies of the Kremlin when he led the Chinese revolution to victory after World War II? Those who have become familiar with the basically reformist character of Stalin's theories of "peaceful coexistence" and socialism in one country" will recognize the significance of the question.

Beginning in the Stalin era, Communist Parties around the world discouraged revolutionary movements and promoted policies of political collaboration with the national bourgeoisie.

If those were Mao's policies, how could he take state power? The featured article in the new *International Socialist Review* offers a carefully documented answer to the question. Written by *ISR* editor Tom Kerry, "A Mao-Stalin Rift: Myth or Fact?" examines for the first time from a Marxist standpoint the famous U.S. State Department *White Papers* on China, as well as pertinent Maoist texts.

The new *ISR* also contains these articles of interest to revolutionary socialists:

"Palestinian Liberation and Israel," an article-length review of two important recent books on the Middle East by Peter Buch. He pays particular attention to the military history and the role of the UN in the Mideast crisis.

"The Keynesian Record: U.S. Economic Policies in the Sixties," a close look at fiscal and monetary machina-

tions of the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations. Author Dick Roberts, writer on economic developments for *The Militant*, shows why these policies inevitably led to the recessionary course Nixon is now following.

"Sociology and Historical Materialism" by George Novack poses three new questions and answers in Novack's explication and development of Marxist philosophy: What are the main arenas of investigation of the science of sociology? What is the contribution of historical materialism to sociology? And most interestingly, what is the *class character* of sociology?

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Background analysis

American intervention in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

While the Nixon administration is making a pretense of de-escalating the war in South Vietnam, it has been intensifying the U.S. attack on neighboring Laos.

"In a series of secret military operations in the last three weeks," the *New York Times* reported Sept. 18, "American-backed troops have seized two strategic areas of Laos long held by pro-Communist forces. . . .

"Well-informed sources today said that the successes were the result of fully integrated American-Laotian military planning and the most intense American bombing ever seen in Laos. . . .

"[These sources] confirmed that U.S. planes—of Air America, Continental Air Services and the U.S. Air Force—were flying reinforcements, supplies and arms to advanced areas, while American Army officers and agents of the Central Intelligence Agency were advising local commanders.

"So far, there has been at least one confirmed American battle death in Laos. It occurred last week when an American CIA agent was killed by gunfire at an advanced post."

The same day this dispatch was prepared in Vientiane, the U.S. Senate passed—by a remarkable 86 to 0—an amendment to the military appropriations bill, the words of which appeared to prohibit the use of U.S. forces in combat in support of local forces in Laos and Thailand.

Even before they voted on it, however, the senators were read a Pentagon memorandum stating that their bill "would have no impact on the use of funds for the support of U.S. forces in Laos and Thailand." In so many words, the Pentagon explicitly told the senators that their law would be violated.

Coming on top of this affront, the *New York Times* dispatch, undoubtedly "leaked" by military sources in Laos, was too much to take. Senator John Sherman Cooper, sponsor of the Senate amendment, demanded an investigation. On Sept. 19, Senator Stuart Symington revealed that the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on for-

eign commitments was already investigating.

"We have been at war in Laos for years and it is time the American people knew more of the facts," Symington stated.

Just how many facts will be in the hands of the American people when Symington's subcommittee gets through investigating is another question. The truth of the matter is that Washington has been deeply involved in Laos for a long time, and this is well-known to Symington and the other members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

For instance, in the sensational, nationally publicized Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Vietnam, in January and February 1966, AID Administrator David E. Bell testified that "there are American advisers working in each of the provinces of Laos. . . ." Bell asked for and got \$60 million to support a "rural development program" (the language of "pacification" differs little from one CIA enterprise to the next).

In fact, on a per capita basis, Laos has received more U.S. AID money than any other nation—\$528,300,000 between 1946 and 1968 (*Congressional Record*, March 12, 1969, p. H 1620). Most of that is for military purposes.

Northern Laos has been murderously bombed since the beginning of the escalated war in Vietnam. This is the region held by the Pathet Lao (they have governed it since 1953) that is supposed to be part of the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" which North Vietnamese "infiltrators" follow en route to "subverting" South Vietnam.

On Aug. 30, 1966, Senator J.W. Fulbright, Foreign Relations Committee chairman, told the Senate, "More than 1,500 bombing and reconnaissance missions are made each week from bases in Thailand into North Vietnam and the Communist-controlled corridor in Laos."

Stanley Karnow, *Washington Post* foreign service reporter, wrote from Bangkok Aug. 19, 1966, "In Lopburi Province . . . green-bereted U.S. Special Forces instructors are setting up camps to train Thai guerrillas, possibly for harassment of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos."

There is abundant testimony that the bombing of North Vietnam, let alone Laos, made practically no dent on North Vietnamese troop and supply movements to South Vietnam. But when the bombing of North Vietnam was stopped, the bombing of Laos was stepped up, under the old pretense.

"U.S. B-52 strikes along the Laotian



Liberation News Service photo

Pathet Lao guerrillas entrenched in jungle grass

sections of the trail have increased greatly in the last two weeks, the sources said," according to the Sept. 18, 1969, *New York Times*. "They said as many as 500 sorties a day were being flown over Laos, and that the increase in bombing in Laos was part of the reason for the lull in the air war in South Vietnam."

Washington's real objective in Laos is to devastate the region long held by the Pathet Lao. Escalation of the ground and air war in Laos is an extension of the attack on Vietnam to another country and another enemy of U.S. imperialism. But the Pathet Lao isn't be any means a new enemy. Washington's hostility to it goes back to the early 1950s and the crumbling of French colonial rule in Indochina.

The Laotian People's United Front [Pathet Lao] was formed in 1950, when independence forces in Laos split over the question of the terms of their relation to France. France had granted Laos a semi-independent constitutional monarchy with the promise of freedom for all political parties.

Some of the forces which had successively resisted Vichy-French, Japanese and Chinese occupation during the war, and had fought the French once again after the war, returned from exile to participate in the new government. They were led by Prince Souvanna Phouma, who today, after a number of governmental reversals, still rules in Vientiane.

A section of the resistance forces, however, under the leadership of Souvanna Phouma's half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, refused to enter the pro-French Vientiane regime. Souphanouvong had led the Laotian guerrilla forces during the resistance, and he threw his lot in with the Vietminh, the Vietnamese independence force, and established an independent government in Northern Laos. From its birth, consequently, the Pathet Lao has been linked to the Vietnamese revolution.

The Laotian struggle since 1950 has seen three periods of civil war between various government combinations and the Pathet Lao: from the origin of the Pathet Lao in 1950 to the Geneva Accords of 1954; from the collapse of the Geneva treaty in 1958 to the second Geneva Accords of 1962; and from the collapse of these truce terms to the present.

In this period, Souvanna Phouma has moved steadily toward collaboration with imperialism. Once favoring a Popular Front type coalition with the Pathet Lao, he now leads the government whose U.S.-"advised" armies are attempting to suppress the revolution.

From Vientiane on Sept. 22, Souvanna Phouma issued an evasive statement attempting to cover Nixon's escalation of the U.S. attack on the Pathet Lao.

In 1952 and 1953, the Pathet Lao was directly aided in the battlefield by Vietminh divisions, and it greatly expanded the region it governed. When the Geneva conference assembled in 1954 to pick up the pieces of the French collapse at Dienbienphu, Malcolm Salmon, an Australian correspondent, sympathetic to the anti-imperialist forces, calculates that:

"The Pathet Lao resistance forces held bases covering about one-half of Laotian territory and about one-third of the population. They held firm control of the two northern provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua and of the southern province of Attopeu against the South Vietnam border. Besides these main bases, there were smaller ones in mountainous areas in all other provinces. French military strength—and Royal authority—was in effect restricted to the cities and plains." (*Focus on Indochina*, Hanoi, 1961.)

But like their comrades-at-arms in the Vietminh, the Pathet Lao made heavy concessions at Geneva. Souphanouvong accepted an agreement in reality dooming the country to future years of civil war: The Pathet Lao pulled back its forces to the two northern provinces, agreed to the formation of a coalition government following "free elections," and promised to dissolve its guerrillas into the new government army.

What was quite different from the situation in Vietnam, however, was that the post-Geneva government in Vientiane was far from being the superloyal hand-picked CIA regime of a Ngo Dinh Diem. At this time, Souvanna Phouma was a "neutralist"—of the type so highly prized in Moscow and Peking in the late Stalin and Khrushchev era—who actually favored forming a coalition government with the Pathet Lao.

The next decade of Laotian history was to be dominated above everything else by Washington's frantic search for a Diem type in Laos; the establishing of his regime when they found one—a military man named Phoumi Nosavan; and the civil war which erupted when the CIA-Nosavan government came to power for a period.

This caused two major international crises, in 1958-59 and 1961-62, both of which threatened to pit Washington directly against Moscow in world war. Both times Washington discussed sending U.S. troops into battle against the Pathet Lao.

[To be continued]

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Socialists and the antiwar movement

By GUS HOROWITZ
Introduction

On Labor Day weekend in New York, the Socialist Workers Party held its national convention. One of the central points on the agenda was a resolution assessing developments within the movement against the Vietnam war and the role of the SWP within that movement.

Discussion on the resolution was initiated with a report by Gus Horowitz, a member of the Party's national committee and its representative to the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Gus Horowitz's report offers an outline of the political development of the antiwar movement. We present it here with the thought that it will illuminate why and how the antiwar movement has been able to make such an enormous impact on U.S. policy—and, equally important, what a vital contribution a revolutionary Marxist force like the SWP can make to the development of such a movement.

* * *

The history of the antiwar movement has been not only one of demonstrations, teach-ins, rallies and hundreds of other actions, it has also been a history of continual and turbulent internal struggle over political line—over how and for what purpose to mobilize the mass sentiment against the war in Vietnam.

The Communist Party and the liberals have persistently tried to draw the antiwar movement into class-collaborationist politics, to use it as a means of pressure within the Democratic party. At the same time, various pacifists and ultralefts have tried to divert the movement into ineffectual acts of individual witness and small adventurist actions which would isolate it from masses of people.

In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party has consistently fought for massive demonstrations, politically independent of the ruling class, which could express the sentiment of the tens of millions of people who are opposed to the war. Within the broader antiwar movement we have built the militant left wing, centered on the demand for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Although the antiwar movement has suffered many temporary setbacks in its history, the policy we projected has been able to win decisive influence over the long run. Opposing lines have been strong on occasion, but never strong enough to divert the antiwar movement permanently from its independent axis of mass action.

The basic character of the antiwar



New York antiwar demonstrators.

movement did not emerge fully developed. It was won in struggle, in large part due to the efforts of the revolutionary party. In this room are seated not only organizers, builders, activists and participants in the antiwar movement, but also—and most important—its conscious political leadership.

At each stage in the development of the antiwar movement, it has required the conscious intervention of the revolutionary party to win a course that would indeed deal blows to the imperialists. Although we are small in numbers, our conscious leadership has been required to move the struggle forward, to project each succeeding series of actions and to drive back threats to anti-imperialist mass action as the axis of the struggle.

It is this essential continuity of our line and the struggles for it that this report will undertake to describe.

To see how much has been accomplished, we need only contrast the present movement against the Vietnam war to the old peace movement of the early 1960s. *The Militant*, in April 1963, described a typical Easter peace march in Chicago, where a few students—among them, YSAers—carried signs against the war in Vietnam:

"Some self-appointed 'officials' tried to have these signs removed. But the Northwestern students insisted on carrying them. One argued, 'If you are not against the Vietnam war, you are not for peace.'"

"A leaflet distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance called for nonexclusive picket lines. It also explained the socialist position that capitalism causes war."

That was a peace movement in which we had to fight to carry signs against the shooting war in Vietnam. And, excluded from the meetings which planned the demonstrations, we had to argue for political nonexclusion by distributing leaflets to the demonstrators.

The new antiwar movement was born in a break with the policy of the old peace movement. This was most evident in the first national demonstration against the war in Vietnam, the April 17, 1965, mass march on Washington called by SDS. In calling the march, a section of the SDS leadership broke with the League for Industrial Democracy, a social-democratic relic which at that time was the official parent organization of SDS.

The march was not for "peace" in the abstract; rather, it was directed against the specific war in Vietnam. In a break with cold-war liberalism, it characterized the Vietnam war as a civil war and called for self-determination for the Vietnamese people. The march was organized on a nonexclusionary basis; in particular, the SWP and YSA were wel-

comed to participate on the ground floor. And finally, the nature of the action was that of a militant, mass demonstration. It was independent and did not support any capitalist politicians.

The social democrats and sections of the old peace movement waged a bitter struggle against that march on Washington. They exerted all the pressure they could to tone down its political line and impose the old exclusionary anticommunist norms. They demanded complete bureaucratic control over the action and, failing to achieve that, they even tried to have it called off. On the eve of the demonstration they issued a public statement denouncing it.

But the march occurred. Some 20,000 came to Washington—more than twice as many as had participated in any of the old peace demonstrations—which proved the feasibility of organizing militant mass actions against the war.

It was this demonstration that established many of the basic political characteristics of the then new antiwar movement that remain to this day: non-exclusion; self-determination; and mass action.

The SWP and YSA played a large part in the struggle for the march on Washington. The issue was settled, not simply in meetings between SDS and the cold-war social democrats, but in battle—in actually building the march on the basis on which it had been conceived.

We recognized that this demonstration was a test. It was a means of establishing the new antiwar movement along the lines that we had fought for earlier. And so we plunged into the work of insuring its success.

The YSA endorsed the march. We sent speakers touring the country to build it and distributed literature on a far wider scale than had ever been done before. We took the lead—much more so than SDS itself—in establishing non-exclusive, ad hoc committees to build the march, to explain why it was important, and to argue for the policy of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

By getting the ball rolling, by convincing the activists, it was assured that the march would occur. That was how the issue was ultimately decided. So that when Bayard Rustin, the social democrat, demanded that SDS call off the march, they had to answer in effect: "We can't. It has wide support. The Trotskyists are going ahead and building it. And they'll carry it off without us."

Following the march on Washington, two aspects of the present antiwar movement remained to be established: (1) a national coalition to coordinate the much more massive actions that were to come; (2) popularization of the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The next stage of struggle in the antiwar movement took place over these questions.

In 1965, hundreds of teach-ins and antiwar demonstrations occurred all over the country. They were organized primarily by ad hoc, nonexclusive, campus Committees to End the War in Vietnam (CEWVs). High points included a national teach-in in Washington which was broadcast to 100,000 students on more than 100 campuses; a 34-hour marathon teach-in in Berkeley, attended by 15,000; and local demonstrations on the International Days of Protest in October, which involved many tens of thousands.

A new challenge was thus posed to all tendencies in the antiwar movement. How would they orient to these action committees to end the war? This really boiled down to the root questions of independent mass action and withdrawal.

From the first, the SWP and YSA helped to build these CEWVs in a totally nonsectarian way. We sought to bring together all political tendencies opposed to the war around the single issue of action in the streets. At the same time, we argued for immediate withdrawal and were able to convince many antiwar committees of this perspective. This left wing formed the backbone of the antiwar movement.

The leadership of SDS drew back from the antiwar movement almost immediately after the successful march on Washington. And that has remained the policy of SDS nationally to this day. Needless to say, SDS turned its back on the CEWVs and counterposed itself and its line to them.

The Maoist Progressive Labor Party was, in its own way, equally sectarian. Wielding control over a group called the May 2nd Committee, PL proclaimed it to be the exclusive agency through which all antiwar actions must be channeled. This factional, ultimatic policy did not work. Isolated from the real, rapidly growing antiwar movement, PL dissolved the May 2nd Committee to enter SDS, an SDS that had also abandoned the struggle against the war.

Shake-ups occurred in the old peace movement. These groups faced the alternative of cooperating with the CEWVs or standing aloof and trying to organize the old-style peace actions, a perspective that was none too promising, given the temper of the new militants. Under pressure of the mass actions, many groups in the old peace movement felt compelled to align themselves with the new antiwar committees. This laid the basis for the broad, mass-action coalitions that were to develop later.

The Communist Party's basic line was essentially the same then as it is today.

(Continued on page 8)

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... 'multi-issue' vs. withdrawal fi

(Continued from page 7)

The CP has supported the mass actions only intermittently and always with the intent of using them as a means to draw antiwar activists into capitalist electoral politics. To avoid collision with liberal capitalist politicians, the CP pushed a negotiations line and opposed withdrawal. The CP persistently counterposed a "respectable," multi-issue program of social reform and community electoral organizing to nationally coordinated antiwar demonstrations.

The mass action and withdrawal perspective of many CEWVs hampered the CP's ability to implement its popular-front line. Accordingly, the CP took a hostile and sectarian attitude to the antiwar committees and worked mainly through the old, "broader" peace groups which supported negotiations. Among the students, they tried unsuccessfully to counterpose the DuBois Clubs to the CEWVs.

The struggle between these contending political lines reached its first climax at the convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCC) attended by 1,500 in November 1965. There the CP and SWP positions met in head-on collision, the first of a series of national political encounters which were decisive in determining the future course of the antiwar movement and in helping to change the relationship of forces on the left.

At the NCC conference, the central battle over mass action and withdrawal took an organizational form. We argued for a national organization of CEWVs based around the withdrawal demand, to be a part of a broader coalition to organize national mass actions. The supporters of negotiations, with the CP in the lead, tried to block this perspective. We were in a minority. The relationship of forces was still unfavorable, and it wasn't until a year later that these organizational forms would arise.

But the vigorous struggle we waged was crucial in preventing the CP's multi-issue, antiwithdrawal line from dominating the broad movement, even though they held decisive influence over the NCC's apparatus. Under pressure of the political battle, the CP was reluctant to try and block a call for the next mass action. A second International Days of Protest was set for March 1966. In these demonstrations the battle was joined once again.

The withdrawal-based, NCC convention minority formed a caucus and published the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*. This grouping of CEWVs,

with our aid and support, took the fight to the ranks of the antiwar movement and waged an intensive and successful educational campaign. By the March demonstrations, the central demand was "Bring the GIs Home Now," and that has been the norm ever since. Most of the original opponents of withdrawal have in the meantime changed their position.

The NCC's political perspective, set by the pro-CP elements in its leadership, was not geared to organizing the March mass action. So we threw forces into that task as well. Travelers toured the country to build the action. Literature was published in quantity. In every city the militant CEWVs, mostly student based, spearheaded the action. These CEWVs eventually became a key ingredient in the formation of the Student Mobilization Committee. Then, as now, the militant, withdrawal-based youth section of the antiwar movement has been the decisive factor in pushing the other sections of the movement along.

Thanks to this effort, the NCC was unable to divert the whole movement away from militant mass action. Although some antiwar committees destroyed themselves trying to carry out the NCC line, others switched their course. The majority of the antiwar movement was won to the line we fought for.

But the antiwar movement lost precious time because the first attempt at forming a national coalition was aborted. A gap existed between the objective possibilities of the antiwar struggle and the formal organization needed for it. It was to be a year before the next major action could be mounted on April 15, 1967. But this action was to be a qualitative lead forward.

While the NCC declined in 1966, the process of building antiwar actions led to the creation of broad-based, local antiwar coalitions on a fairly permanent basis. The most important of these was the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which brought hundreds of organizations together for the demonstrations it organized.

The Parade Committee was central to uniting the forces that eventually formed the new national antiwar coalition. Smaller demonstrations in August and November 1966 set the stage for the conference which called the huge April 15 demonstrations in New York and San Francisco and formed what was to become the National Mobilization Committee, the national antiwar coalition for the next period.



A FIRST. Scene at first national mass demonstration in Washington sponsored by SDS in April 1965. Immediately afterward SDS threw in towel on building antiwar movement.

The Student Mobilization Committee was formed soon after—at a conference which was to be the second round in the series of confrontations between the SWP and CP in the antiwar movement. It was initially a narrow conference called and controlled top to bottom by the CP. But we had won enough support for our line to be able to turn it around and form a united front of students, based on the withdrawal demand.

With that, the line we had fought for at the NCC convention a year before had won out. The relationship of forces in the antiwar movement had been reversed.

The political struggles of 1965-1966 were necessary to organize the great mass demonstrations of 1967 and 1968.

On April 15, 1967, a half-million people marched in the streets of New York and San Francisco. On Oct. 21, 1967, 150,000 marched on Washington in a direct political confrontation with Johnson's war policy. And on April 26, 1968, the SMC organized a remarkably successful nationwide student strike. With close to a million participants it was larger than any of the student antiwar strikes of the 1930s. The following day, mass demonstrations were held in cities all over the country, the largest—in New York—some 200,000 strong.

These historic actions illustrate the power of the tactic of the united front and its particular application in the form of the antiwar coalitions. No single group acting alone could have organized such large and militant demonstrations. In those united fronts, the left wing, the SMC, was the best builder and the militant spearhead of the actions.

These actions also helped solidify the international antiwar movement, which also developed independently of the Stalinist and social democratic parties and to the left of them. This had been a key factor in developing a renewed spirit of internationalism, militancy and anticapitalist consciousness, especially among the youth. This shakeup and realignment of class forces has in turn opened expanded opportunities for building the Fourth International.

But the struggle for our antiwar line was far from over. The most recent period has seen the continuation of the struggle—in slightly different form and under slightly different conditions, but showing the same basic characteristics. These struggles arose out of the need for the antiwar movement to mount an effective response to the tactical maneuvers of the ruling class.

American imperialism faces a dilemma in Vietnam. Its central strategic objectives remain the same. It still aims to

crush the national liberation struggle in South Vietnam and deal a major setback to the socialist revolution in southeast Asia.

For the imperialists to withdraw from Vietnam in defeat would contradict this strategic goal. The struggle of the Vietnamese has already given great impetus to revolutionary developments in other countries. A definitive revolutionary victory would magnify that impact many-fold.

But two factors have caused the American ruling class to adjust its tactics.

The first is the fact that the U.S. has so far been unable to win an outright military victory in Vietnam despite a massive effort. Though imperialism has by no means been totally defeated, its inability to win a victory is in itself a tremendous setback.

The second factor compelling a tactical shift by the U.S. ruling class is the growth of the worldwide opposition to the war, in particular the mounting protests in the U.S. itself. For to carry on the war in Vietnam, the American ruling class needs social peace at home. Unable to win wide support for the war, it needs at the very least a disoriented and disarmed opposition.

For this reason, the mass mobilizations strike blows at the ability of the ruling class to wage the war. The capitalists face the threat of an intolerable growth of class conflict as the mood of protest and opposition spills over and exacerbates social tensions on all fronts.

In 1968, Washington responded to this threat with a major diplomatic and propaganda offensive.

First, the talks were set up in Paris. Washington's aim in these negotiations is at minimum a Korea-type settlement that would mean the derailment of the Vietnamese revolution. As we know, the Paris talks did not signal a significant slowdown of the war or a genuine move towards peace. While there was a pause in the bombing of the North, the same high level of bombing continues, all of it now concentrated in the South. Orders to the Pentagon called for bringing maximum military pressure on the liberation fighters, and the level of fighting stays high as they try to force the Vietnamese to capitulate.

At the same time a slick propaganda offensive was mounted to dissipate the antiwar sentiment of the American masses. The Paris talks and the pause in the bombing of the North were demagogically portrayed as steps towards a speedy peace. The token troop withdrawals are just the latest such maneuver.

The hated President Johnson withdrew as a candidate for reelection. Nixon,



A BIT ABSTRACT. 1963 Easter Peace Walk in New York focused on such themes as inhumanity of war. Demonstrators with placards opposing ongoing war in Vietnam had to fight for right to join the walk.

ght

portraying himself as an alternative, won a temporary respite from the wrath of millions of people. This was all compounded in 1968, when the McCarthy campaign was mounted with the stated goal of getting the antiwar movement off the streets.

But although the mass antiwar sentiment was temporarily diverted and confused, the ruling class had also paid a price. All the talk about deescalation raised the anticipation and desire of the masses of people for a quick end to the war. Antiwar sentiment grew considerably. It was only a matter of time before there would be another wave of indignation and hundreds of thousands would once again take to the streets and tear away the facade of lie and illusion.

The propaganda maneuvers of the ruling class posed another major test for all tendencies in the antiwar movement. How to respond? American imperialism was in deep trouble, and the situation cried out for keeping on the course that had put it there.

The class collaborationists, full of illusions about the Paris talks, abandoned mass action. They turned to the elections, with the aim of using their influence in the antiwar movement to drum up support for McCarthy and the pro-capitalist peace candidates.

As a result of these defections, many of the local antiwar coalitions tended to fall apart. On a national level, National Mobe lost its broad coalition character. The old Mobe's apparatus came to be dominated by frustrated ultralefts who saw no future in mass action. And in the spring of 1968, the Communist Party and pacifists in the Student Mobilization Committee split from the organization, in retreat from mass antiwar action.

In contrast to every other political tendency, the SWP and YSA put forward a line that encouraged the independence of the antiwar movement from the capitalist parties in the elections. It was a line designed to maintain the perspective of reaching out and drawing larger numbers into action. It was designed to maintain the position of immediate withdrawal and to puncture the illusions about the Paris talks. And it was designed to lay the groundwork for building even larger mass mobilizations than those which had already occurred.

That is what we argued for, and—



Veteran pacifist A. J. Muste, who died in 1967, played a key role in developing coalition action against the Vietnam war.



1969: European students gather in Brussels to protest Vietnam war

most important—that is what we were able to carry out in action.

The SWP's approach to the 1968 elections differed from the class collaborationists in two important ways.

First, we ran our own candidates. We did not abandon the field to the pro-capitalist candidates, but counterposed our revolutionary socialist program to them. By waging an all-out campaign effort, we were able to win considerable support from antiwar militants.

But that was only one side of our approach. Our policy in the antiwar movement was completely nonsectarian. The supporters of Halstead and Boutelle continued building demonstrations during the election period. We did not make the mistake of withdrawing from the antiwar movement in the illusion that we could then allot added forces to make greater gains for our campaign. On the contrary—revolutionaries always gain when the mass movement is built effectively.

One of the precedents that we had fought for previously—in particular, during the 1966 elections—was that the antiwar movement, as a movement, should not get involved in electoral politics, but should rather continue to unite everyone possible, regardless of divergent political views, for antiwar actions during the election periods. That precedent made it exceedingly difficult for the class collaborationists to scuttle the antiwar movement in 1968.

And we stuck to that policy. Even in those antiwar organizations where our campaign had considerable support, we resisted attempts to put them on record for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. There were many antiwar activists who did not agree with the program of the SWP, but wanted to engage in antiwar actions, as we did. It would have narrowed the scope of the antiwar movement to make agreement with any full political program the basis for antiwar action.

The antiwar movement did suffer a setback in the 1968 election period and immediately afterwards. But it was a temporary setback. The movement was not scuttled. A series of demonstrations—even though they were generally smaller than before—continued the mass-action perspective that we had fought for.

In that period ultraleftist adventurism also exerted considerable influence over many antiwar militants. Frustrated because the war continues despite the mass opposition to it, the ultralefts aim at shortcuts through the isolated acts and adventures of a few, which renders impossible the arduous but solely effective path of winning over the masses of the people. The actions of the old National Mobe, SDS and some smaller groups tended to project this disorienting line.

In recent months the ultralefts have had less influence, but they continue to pose a problem for the antiwar movement. Some of them have even degenerated to the extent of introducing hooligan methods into the movement. The low point was reached in New York when a small group was able to take over the rally platform on Aug. 9.

The key to combating ultraleft adventures lies in the scope of the actions themselves. In the recent past smaller antiwar mobilizations gave the hardened ultralefts the opportunity to exert disproportionate influence over impatient and inexperienced activists. Now, however, the possibility exists to mobilize hundreds of thousands. A political line geared to involve such numbers of people will be the single greatest deterrent to isolated adventures. They tend to become simply lost in the crowd.

In addition, we must wage an educational campaign in the antiwar movement to explain the need for preventing hooligan disruption of the demonstrations. It will then be possible to organize adequate marshalling to insure that the decisions of the antiwar coalitions are carried out.

This is particularly important because of the GIs. Once Washington launched its propaganda offensive, with its continual talk of peace, the average GI naturally questioned the need to continue to risk his life, especially in a war which he was most likely opposed to or had serious doubts about. As a result, there has been a big increase in GI antiwar activity, and this will be a permanent feature of the antiwar movement from now on.

The importance of, and potential for, reaching GIs is something we have long emphasized. We pointed to the powerful social weight that the GIs would bring into the antiwar movement—our basic Marxist approach has always stressed reaching the socially decisive sectors of society.

In 1965, we published our pamphlet on the Bring the Troops Home Movement of World War II. In 1966, we went on a campaign to defend the Fort Hood Three and publicize the case to the movement. In 1967, defense of Howard Petrick was an important model in the fight for GI rights.

In 1968 and 1969, the vindication of our line was apparent in the wide circulation of GI papers, the big jump in GI participation in the demonstrations, and in the unprecedented fights for GI rights, particularly those of GIs United at Fts. Jackson and Bragg.

It is not surprising that the political differences that exist in the antiwar movement extend to its GI sector. Most other tendencies project a line which would be ineffective or lead to defeats. Such proposals include individual "acts of conscience," such as draft resistance or desertion; underground organizing; and GI union organizing which emphasizes issues other than the war in Vietnam.

The threefold approach to GI work which we have supported has proved most effective. It may be summarized: 1) for collective action, rather than isolated individual acts of conscience; 2) emphasis on the legal rights of GIs as citizen-soldiers; 3) opposition to the Vietnam war as the central issue of concern

(Continued on page 10)



Antiwar movement has embraced many constituencies.

...the contribution of the SMC

(Continued from page 9)

to GIs and around which they are utilizing their civil liberties.

The past period, to repeat, posed a major challenge to the antiwar movement. To counter the maneuvers of the ruling class required the conscious leadership of the revolutionary party. We were the ones who fought for continuing on a course of effective action that could mobilize masses in independent antiwar struggle.

The key to this fight was the Student Mobilization Committee. It was the militant, withdrawal-based, student wing of the antiwar movement that backed the perspective of mass antiwar mobilizations.

As always, it took a political struggle, and there was a major fight in the SMC over this perspective. The CP and pacifist section walked out. In so doing, they tried to brand the SMC as an impotent, paper organization, containing no one besides the SWP and YSA. They were proven dead wrong.

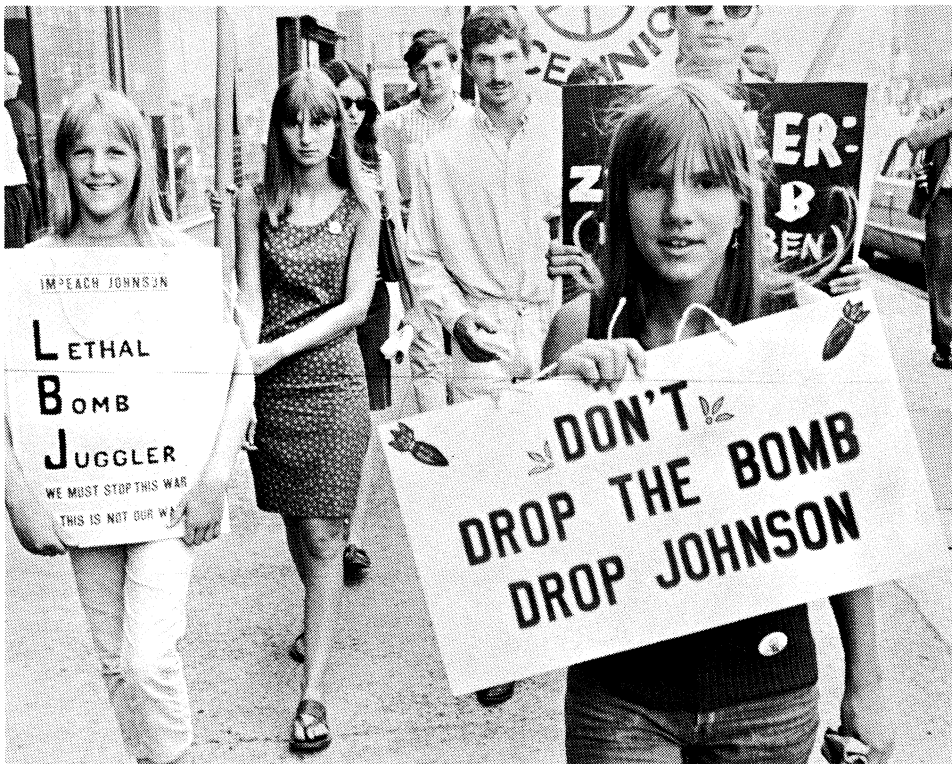
We had—and have—no interest in paper organizations or in capturing ourselves. To the contrary, our approach has always been one of building broad united fronts for mass action. Those who quit the SMC were splitting from this line, from what the SMC had stood for all along, and from what it stands for now.

The needs of the antiwar movement required the maintenance of the perspective of mass action. The SMC stood for that, and we backed it to the hilt. The SMC called for antiwar demonstrations in August 1968, and October 1968, and it initiated the conference that called the demonstrations on April 5 and 6, 1969. These demonstrations laid the groundwork for remobilizing the entire antiwar movement.

Even though there were considerable difficulties in convincing others to act in that period, we avoided any temptation to go it alone by substituting the vanguard of the struggle for the movement as a whole. We sought to find every conceivable way to involve other groups in united fronts for the mass actions.

The payoff came with the April 5-6 demonstrations.

The second Tet offensive in Vietnam and the high rate of battle casualties began to destroy the illusion that the war was coming to an end. There was a shift in mass consciousness. The April 5-6 demonstrations, organized by united fronts, were able to mobilize tens of thousands across the country—100,000 in New York alone—with a larger turnout of GIs than ever before.



Note to Nixon: Demonstration prior to LBJ abdication.

The SMC seized the opportunity offered by April 5-6 to emerge as the authoritative national organizer of the antiwar youth. In many local areas, the April 5-6 demonstrations also enabled us to rebuild the antiwar coalitions. This set the stage for calling the next national demonstration, one with a potential of being more massive than any previous one, at a time when that is of central political importance.

All that was needed was the conference to call it and a new national coalition to organize it. And that occurred on July 4 in Cleveland, when the national antiwar conference called the Nov. 15 march on Washington.

Here again, the SWP and YSA played a central role in insuring that the antiwar movement would take the next necessary steps forward. It took a political struggle to win the conference, and it took a political struggle at the conference to win the call to the demonstration.

The key again was the SMC. The SMC took the call to the conference and publicized it far and wide. The SMC pushed and prodded others to come along (and more than a few came, somewhat reluctantly at first). The SMC made the conference a representative gathering of the antiwar movement with the authority to call the march on Washington. After a thorough political debate, there was a highly favorable response to the idea of Nov. 15, and a new national

coalition was set up to organize it. The next day, an SMC conference called for a student strike on Nov. 14, which can involve hundreds of thousands and build wide support for the march on Washington.

We must see the importance of the Nov. 15 demonstration in the context of the overall political situation. American imperialism is in deep trouble in Vietnam. It hasn't been able to win. And its strategic goals make it shy away from withdrawing in defeat. It hopes to force the Vietnamese to capitulate in Paris. But that is a questionable proposition at best. And it needs time for that anyway. It needs time above all.

But the U.S. is running out of time. The crux of the matter is this: The strategic objectives of American imperialism do not allow it to scale down the fighting to any significant degree. Their Achilles heel is that as the war continues, the death toll mounts. More and more people will see through their lies and duplicity, be outraged and demand a halt.

And now is the time that they can be brought to Washington to say, "No! Stop it! Bring *all* of the GIs home *now*!"

All indications, including the polls, show that there is deep and growing impatience with Nixon's war in Vietnam. The demonstration Nov. 15 can be both massive in size and devastating in its political impact. The antiwar movement must set itself the task of preventing American imperialism from gaining the time for maneuver that it so desperately needs.

The Nov. 15 demonstration must aim to involve new sectors of the population. Last April 5-6, significant numbers of GIs and high school students demonstrated. Their numbers can be increased. Now, there are new opportunities to draw in sections of the trade union and black and brown movements. Every effort must be taken to make this potential a reality.

Make no mistake about it. The main spokesmen for the ruling class are worried. Just listen to what James Reston had to say in his *New York Times* column Aug. 27, shortly after the protests by the GIs of Company A who refused to obey battle orders:

"For the more the President says he's for peace, the more troops he withdraws from Vietnam and Thailand, the more he concedes that Southeast Asia is not really vital to the security of the United States, the harder it is to ask for the lives of the men of Company A.

"They may not be typical, but they

are a symbol of his coming dilemma. He wants out on the installment plan, but the weekly installments are the lives of one or two hundred American soldiers, and he cannot get away from the insistent question: Why? To what purpose?

"The breaking point comes in politics as it came to Company A, and it is not far off."

Finally, if there is one point that should be emphasized, it is the importance of the Student Mobilization Committee. This fall, through its Nov. 14 student strike, the SMC will be the central organizer of the student antiwar upsurge that will surely take place.

The objective situation on the college campuses has never been more favorable. Antiwar sentiment is no mere majority view. It is overwhelming. The wave of protests against ROTC and campus complicity that shook the campuses last spring are but a preview to the action this fall.

The same holds true in the high schools. All indications point to a highly favorable objective situation, one in which the SMC has already registered impressive gains.

One of the most important features of the SMC's approach on the campuses will be its efforts to build united fronts to wage the most effective and militant struggles. This is particularly important in offering an alternative to SDS' political line and methods of organizing.

Last spring, SDS's sectarianism, exclusion, ultraleft formulations and adventurist tactics led to many a setback. But this fall, the faction-ridden SDS, continuing on its course of political degeneration, will find it increasingly difficult to win antiwar students to its insane adventures, and increasingly difficult to organize anything at all.

The SMC has a unique opportunity to win over, not only non-SDS antiwar activists, but also the many SDS members who are fed up with the SDS national office—either one. It can involve them in the student strike, in Nov. 15, and in all related antiwar actions.

Our perspective, in short, is one of expanded and powerful mass antiwar action. The march on Washington on Nov. 15 will deal another major blow to American imperialism's war in Vietnam.

Our role in the antiwar movement is a powerful example of what even a small party can do in taking our revolutionary program and applying it in life, in being able to gauge accurately the objective situation and pose the next necessary steps forward for the mass movement.

In the process we have grown, and the struggle for the international socialist revolution has taken steps forward.

As the resolution before this convention states: "Our central tasks in the antiwar movement are to continue to build the mass mobilizations that are dealing hammer blows to American imperialism and to recruit from the growing numbers that have begun to move in a radical direction as a result."



EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. Participants in New York antiwar demonstration get some analysis on the need for socialist program to end imperialist wars. SWP and YSA consider circulation of its revolutionary literature an indispensable aspect of its activity in building the antiwar movement.

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Seattle blacks wage fight for jobs in construction

By DEBBIE LEONARD

SEATTLE, Sept. 28—The fight for jobs for blacks in the construction industry has spread to Seattle. Initiated by Tyree Scott, a young black contractor, demonstrations began two weeks ago at government construction sites.

Last Tuesday, 11 arrests were made after two busloads of cops converged on demonstrators who were closing down a large construction project at the University of Washington. Tyree Scott and Larry Gossett, the head of the Alliance of Black Student Unions, were arrested and charged with "conspiracy to incite riot."

Over 200 attended a meeting in the black community that night where it was decided to make a more decisive move to close down the university site. Some 300 students and other supporters showed up for a second meeting at the university where they voted to join the action.

At 9:00 a.m. on Wednesday, 250 demonstrators lined up at the university site. A formation of 300 cops with tear-gas canisters and riot helmets stood in formation across from them. Within minutes, the university president ordered construction stopped.

Demonstration leaders then decided to take on the massive construction

project at the Seattle-Tacoma Airport. After arriving at the airport and waiting during a period of fruitless negotiations between protest spokesmen and airport officials, the demonstrators, now numbering over 400, proceeded through the construction ropes and went out onto the apron of the airport runway. Highway patrol cars by the dozen arrived from nowhere, and firefighting equipment was rolled onto the runway and pointed at the demonstrators.

Suddenly, airport and Port of Seattle officials arrived on the run. As jets began to back up behind the human barricade, these gentlemen had discovered that perhaps they had authority to shut down the construction site after all. The sites were ordered closed, and men began leaving the job.

That night another meeting was held in the black community, and two days were set aside for negotiations. As of this writing, the construction sites remain closed and negotiations continue.

SEATTLE—In a statement being passed out to unionists in the Seattle area, Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate for mayor, calls for support to the struggle of blacks for more jobs in the construction industry. Leonard denounces the opposition of the Seattle Building and Construction Trades Council to the black workers' demands and proposes that instead of opposing blacks the rank and file of the construction union fight for a shorter work week with no cut in pay to provide more jobs for black workers.

SEATTLE, Sept. 20—A demonstration in support of the struggle going on in Northern Ireland was held here yesterday. The size of the demonstration was held down by a stiff rainfall, but it was able to draw significant attention from workers on their way home from work. The demonstration was called by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Last night Bill Massey of the Socialist Workers Party gave a talk on "Ireland in Revolt" at the Militant Labor Forum.

Hayward Chicanos in school walkout

By STEVE CHAINEY

HAYWARD, Calif., Sept. 22—Over 1,000 Hayward Chicanos from junior high through college level walked out of their classes promptly at 10:30 a.m. Sept. 16, the day of the national Chicano walkout.

Many teachers and administrators tried to keep the students from walking out by such tactics as serving tacos in the cafeteria—for the first time—or having a guest Mexican-American "tio-taco" speaker in their classrooms that day. Some schools even declared the day a school holiday, hoping to drain the political implications of the walkout.

While there was no central leadership to plan the walkout, the seeds had been planted earlier during a visit by Corky Gonzales, leader of the Chicano movement in Denver. Each high school or junior high organized its own contingent of students who marched from their schools and converged at a city park where a rally was held.

Among the speakers at the rally were a representative of the United Farm Workers of California and Antonio Camejo, a member of the Young So-

cialist Alliance who teaches at the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College.

At 3:00 p.m. everyone assembled for a three-mile march through the city, culminating at a Safeway store in the heart of downtown Hayward. There they formed a massive, two-hour picket of Safeway, the chain that sells scab grapes. The Safeway was completely shut down.

A significant aspect of the day's event was the youthfulness of those who organized it and carried it out.

Nun in St. Louis fights expulsion

ST. LOUIS—A Catholic nun, Sister Cecilia Goldman, faces expulsion from the Maryknoll order for joining ACTION, a St. Louis human rights group, and participating in a "Black Sunday" campaign aimed at exposing racism in St. Louis churches.

Sister Cecilia has been declared "not in good standing" by the Maryknoll Order of St. Dominic and steps are being taken to expel her from the order. A hearing is to be held in the Vatican. No funds have been provided for her to make the 9,000-mile trip for the hearing and she and her supporters say they cannot afford the plane fare to Rome.

An Ad Hoc Committee to Secure a Fair Hearing for Sister Cecilia has been set up to publicize this injustice and to demand that a fair and open hearing be held in St. Louis. According to the defense committee, the case involves sex discrimination as well as a denial of due process. A priest similarly charged would be entitled to some procedural rights.

The Ad Hoc Committee asks that letters and telegrams be sent to the Apostolic Delegate to the U.S., Bishop Luigi Raimondi, and to Pope Paul VI. Send copies of letters and telegrams, and contributions to Fair Hearing, Box 405, 30 Plaza Square, St. Louis, Mo. 63103.



Photo by Bill Stephans
Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales



Some jolts for the teachers' union bureaucracy

Continued stirrings in the union movement were evidenced at the mid-August convention of the American Federation of Teachers in New Orleans. The convention opened with a successful delegate revolt against the AFT leadership which had invited two notorious strikebreakers to address the assembly.

The revolt was staged by the New Caucus, the opposition party in the AFT, which conducted a militant picket line on the convention floor demanding that the mayor of New Orleans and the president of the New Orleans board of education go home. Both of them played a key role in smashing a New Orleans AFT local strike.

AFT president David Selden favored hearing the "invited guests." But there was such negative reaction that the president of the board of education eventually left. The New Orleans mayor never showed in the first place.

At another point a group of delegates moved to place a resolution on Vietnam on the floor. This involved proposing a bylaw to require that AFT referendums be binding on the union for only one year. Last year an AFT

The National Picketline

referendum on Vietnam disassociated the AFT from the AFL-CIO's support of the war but resulted in the union itself adopting no position on the question.

The proposed bylaw would have allowed a resolution opposing the war to come to the floor immediately. It was defeated on a technicality when Albert Shanker, president of the New York AFT, argued that such a change would require a constitutional amendment which would have had to be submitted 90 days before the convention.

Nevertheless it appeared that an increasing number of locals and delegates support the New Caucus in its demands for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and support of self-determination for blacks.

A permanent black caucus was or-

ganized for the first time and attracted more than 150 delegates. Zeline Richard, executive board member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers and cochairman of the New Caucus, was elected chairman. She had received one quarter of the vote in the race for AFT presidency against Selden at last year's convention.

The growing antibureaucratic attitude of the delegates was reflected as they defeated a whole series of constitutional maneuvers designed to further tighten the grip of the AFT leadership on the ranks.

One such amendment provided for receivership of locals which use "undemocratic" procedures. Another required a two-thirds vote of the delegates to place minority resolutions on the convention floor.

The New Caucus also conducted a floor fight to remove the long standing anticommunist clause from the AFT constitution and received the votes of approximately 40 percent of the delegates.

The delegates representing the Shanker bureaucracy in the New York UFT

played a racist and reactionary role. They prevented the vote on the Vietnam bylaw and fought against a resolution providing for teacher election of principals.

The New Caucus distributed a leaflet condemning Shanker's strike against community control last September.

—ALEX HARTE



Albert Shanker

'No peace for Nixon' drive opened by SMC

WASHINGTON, D. C.— Leaders of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a nationally publicized news conference here Sept. 29 to blast Nixon's Vietnam war policies as "government by a minority for a minority."

Don Gurewitz, a spokesman for the group, charged that Nixon's Sept. 26 statement that "under no circumstances" would he be affected by antiwar protests was "a virtual declaration of independence from the American people. Nixon was saying in effect that he will refuse to heed the legitimate wishes of the overwhelming majority of the American public."

Members of the student organization's national steering committee, which met in Washington Sept. 28, stated that they had laid plans "to force Nixon to respect majority rule." The SMC announced a nationwide "No Peace for Nixon" campaign.

"We will demonstrate wherever Nixon travels in this country," said George Shaffer, a student at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania. "President Nixon will be met with the same kind of reception that met President Johnson, who also thought that he could ignore the American public."

"Antiwar sentiment has never been deeper or more widespread," said Gurewitz. "The SMC today has chapters in nearly one thousand high schools and colleges, and the number is growing. These chapters and those still to be formed will be leading the most massive student strike in history on Nov. 14. Students, like the rest of the population, have simply not been fooled by the token withdrawals."

The group urged support for the mass marches in Washington and San Francisco on Nov. 15. "The hundreds of thousands in the streets will demonstrate that Nixon speaks only for a tiny minority," said Frank Greer, a student at U. of Maryland.

The SMC expressed its support for the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium and said that the SMC "has been building the Moratorium and helping to make it the opening round in a massive, continuing campaign to bring all our GIs home from Vietnam now."

The steering committee meeting heard reports indicating that the SMC has taken the lead in many areas in organizing the Moratorium. The SMC meetings, with democratic decision making

by the student activists, have been unusually large this fall, as the student activists respond to the three-pronged antiwar offensive Oct. 15, Nov. 14 and Nov. 15.

Attending the SMC steering committee were students from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Ann Arbor and Twin Cities. The meeting outlined an ambitious campaign of action, and unprecedented attempts at fund-raising, publicity and outreach.

150 map plans in Austin

By MELISSA SINGLER

AUSTIN—A hundred and fifty antiwar activists attended the first meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam at the Texas U campus here Sept. 27. The meeting decided to back the Oct. 15 Moratorium and build towards the Nov. 15 march on Washington.

Outlining the history of American aggression in Vietnam, Larry Waterhouse, a leader of the SMC and a member of SDS, called upon the students to work for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. Barbara Roseman of the SMC suggested a goal of ten buses from Texas for the Washington action.

The meeting divided into workshops on fund-raising, Oct. 15, transportation, publicity and campus complicity. The serious attitude of the students present was indicated by the number of people who volunteered for work. By the next evening, the first leaflet on campus complicity and the Oct. 15 Moratorium was completed and the publicity committee had begun work on posters advertising the actions.

Boston regional meet

BOSTON—About 100 representatives from 10 campuses attended an SMC steering committee meeting Sept. 29. The meeting mapped plans for a city-wide drive to raise \$10,000 for the SMC's needs in the immediate future. Reports of national SMC activity and coordination with faculty, the Moratorium Committee, and other groups were discussed.

The SMC in the greater Boston area now involves more than a thousand student activists working on the Oct.

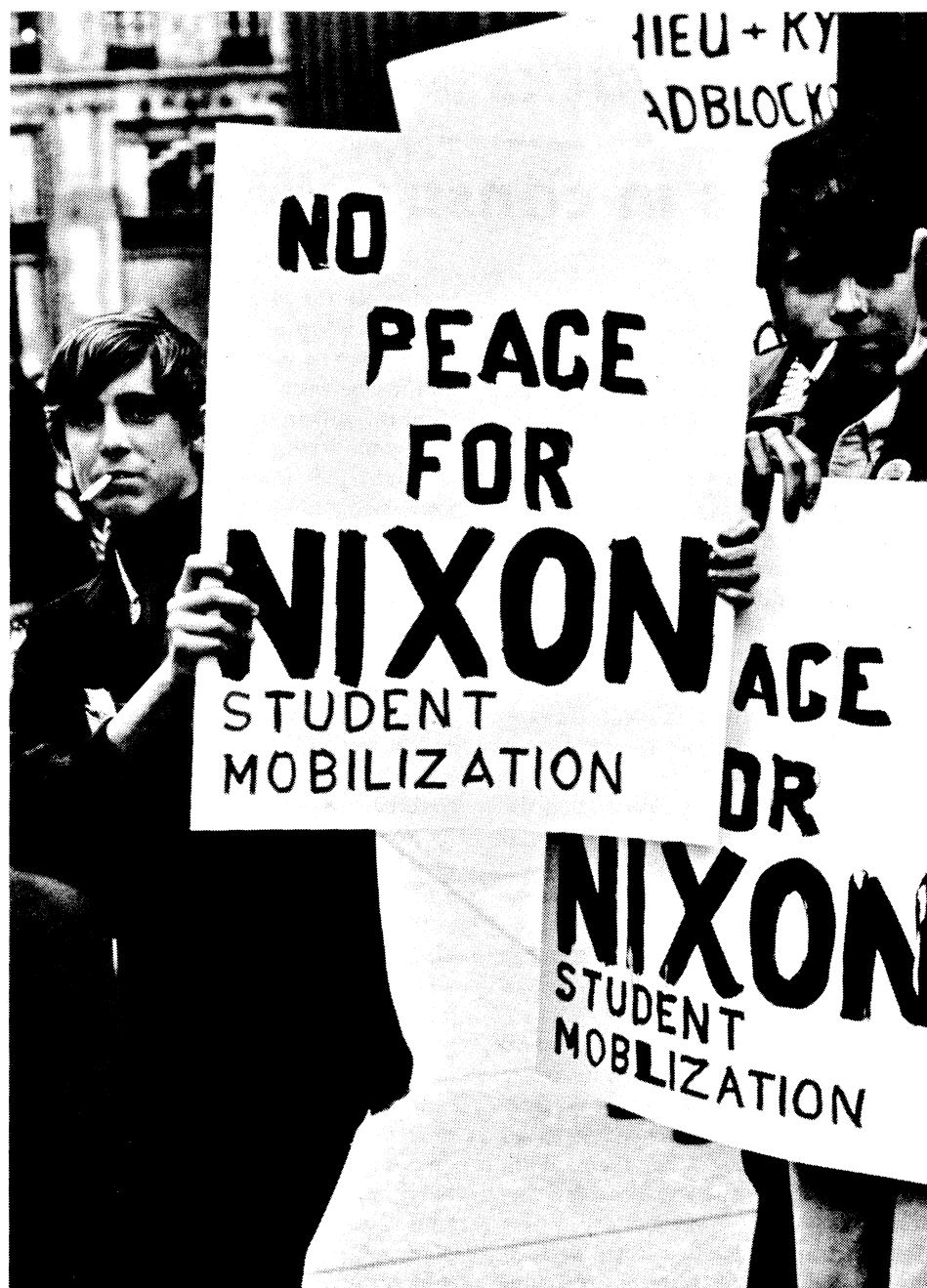


Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

SMC pickets greet Nixon in New York.

15 Moratorium, the Nov. 14 student strike and the march on Washington.

A mass march and rally are being planned in Boston Oct. 15 by a faculty-student committee. Tentative speakers include Sen. George McGovern, Prof. Howard Zinn and Peter Camejo of the SMC. It is anticipated that the march will be the largest ever in Boston.

The Boston U SMC received a positive response at a football game when a petition was distributed calling for the school to be shut down Oct. 15. More than 125 student attended the second BU SMC meeting where plans were made to hold a mass rally Oct. 15, cosponsored by students and faculty.

N.Y. citywide meet

By CARL FRANK

NEW YORK—More than 200 representatives from 25 colleges and 35 high schools in the New York City area attended the first citywide meeting of the SMC Sept. 27.

Joanna Misnik, New York coordinator of the SMC, outlined the political context of the fall offensive against the war and reported on national developments. Marilyn Marcusson, Hunter College Moratorium coordinator, sketched the plans for Oct. 15, emphasizing this as the first major effort for the student antiwar movement this fall.

After general discussion, the meeting divided into three action workshops: 1) Oct. 15 Moratorium and Nov. 14 Strike; 2) High School; 3) Building the Nov. 15 march on Washington.

The high school workshop, attended by more than 75 high school activists, opened discussion of high school participation in the fall actions and decided to form a high school SMC. The general consensus called for this year's strike to include a militant mass action of thousands of high school students, giving the protest a mass action focus. Last year, on April 26, more than 200,000 New York City high school students conducted a political strike against the war.

Columbia SMC session

By PAULA REIMERS

NEW YORK—A hundred and fifty students attended the first organizational meeting of the Columbia Student Mobilization Committee Sept. 30.

The group heard Andrew Pulley, an organizer of GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson.

After reports on plans for the fall offensive, the meeting broke into workshops that discussed the Oct. 15 Moratorium, the Nov. 14 Strike, and plans for the mass march on Washington Nov. 15. Also discussed was Columbia University's complicity with the war and its relation to the SMC campaign for "War Machine Off Campus."

A broad coalition is organizing the Moratorium at Columbia U., which will feature a large mass rally in the day, and a possible rock concert in the evening.

Action in St. Paul

By DAVID KEIL

ST. PAUL, Sept. 26—Gen. William Westmoreland was picketed here tonight at a demonstration organized by the Twin Cities Resistance and Macalester College SMC.

The occasion was the Region 10 Boy Scouts meeting. Earlier that day, former Eagle Scout Westmoreland said that giving Nixon only 18 months more to withdraw troops "would give the enemy a timetable that would work to his advantage and not to ours."

Demonstrators demanded immediate withdrawal. Boy Scout ushers at the meeting said that scouts are divided on the war and discuss it late into the night while on camping trips.

Harassment in Detroit

DETROIT, Sept. 27—Authorities here have launched another attack on the democratic rights of high school students to organize against the war.

On Thursday, Sept. 18, Gordon Fox, a senior at Detroit's Cass Technical High School, was distributing leaflets advertising a meeting of the Detroit

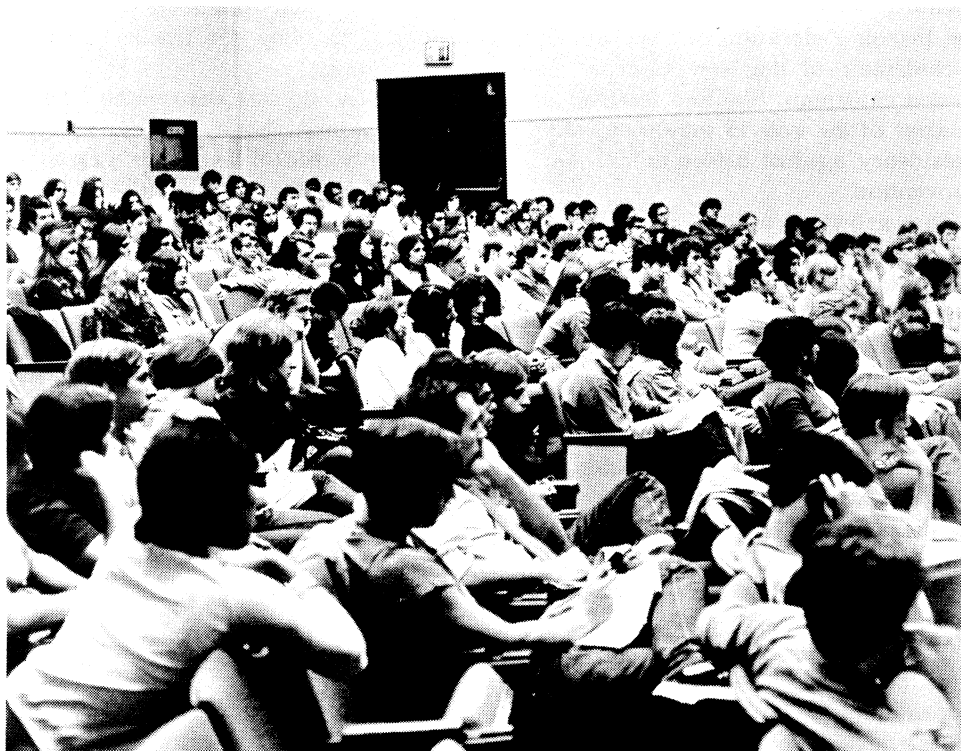


Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

SMC meeting in New York maps fall actions.

New Mobe travelers get good response

The second issue of the *New Mobilizer*, a publication of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, reports that New Mobe traveling teams have met with more than 5,000 activists and organizers in 50 cities to launch the fall offensive against the war.

Important meetings have been held to set up coalitions in areas that previously have not had strong antiwar formations.

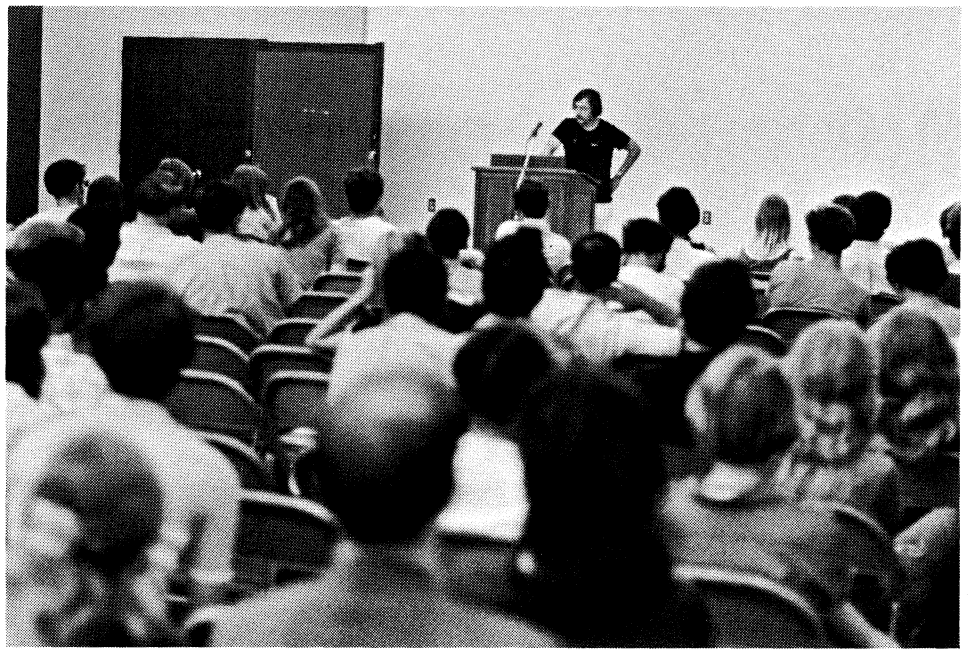
Ninety people from all over Maine attended the meeting in Portland and made plans for the Oct. 15 Moratorium and the march on Washington Nov. 15.

More than 200 people attended the first meeting of the Miami Mobilization Committee, 30 in Oklahoma City, 40 in Toledo, 80 in Dallas-Ft. Worth, 100 in New Orleans. These are a few samples from the reports the New Mobe has received.

A meeting of the New Mobe steering committee Sept. 27 heard reports that Coretta King will participate in the March Against Death Nov. 13-15. On this march, a prelude to the mass march Nov. 15, every participant will symbolize and carry the name of a GI killed or a Vietnamese village destroyed. It is expected to take 36 hours to complete the march, which will proceed from Arlington cemetery past the White House to the Capitol where the mass march will be assembling.

Co-chairmen for the rally Nov. 15 will include the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Julius Hobson, and Bobby Seale. Speakers for the rally are being selected now.

Leaflets, buttons, stickers, posters, *New Mobilizers* and other literature to build the demonstration can be ordered from the New Mobilization Committee; 1029 Vermont Ave. NW, Suite 900, Washington, D. C. 20005.



SMC meeting at Texas U in Austin

High School Student Mobilization Committee Against the War. Almost immediately after he began leafleting, five police cars arrived on the scene, including several "tactical mobile units," and two sergeants.

Sgt. Jensen asked Fox if he was familiar with a city ordinance prohibiting the distributing of leaflets within 300 feet of a school. Fox stated that he was familiar with the ordinance, but that a legal precedent made it clear the law did not apply to political leaflets. Jensen then stated that such decisions were purely "court" matters and proceeded to write up a ticket for "distributing handbills within 300 feet of a school in session." Violation of this law is a misdemeanor, which carries a fine of \$50.

A defense campaign is being planned to publicize this latest attempt at repression of student rights and legal action is being taken against the police department in an attempt to get an injunction prohibiting the cops from enforcing this law.

West Coast SMC parley

By BARRY DAVID

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 225 high school and college antiwar activists, representing 21 West Coast colleges and many Bay Area high schools, attended an SMC regional conference here Sept. 28. The meeting was one of the largest and most representative regional antiwar conferences held on the Coast to date.

Keynote speakers at the meeting were Dan Siegal, student body president at

UC Berkeley, and Joe Cole of the Ft. Jackson Eight.

Discussion centered on the three major antiwar actions this fall—the Oct. 15 Moratorium, the Nov. 14 Student Strike, and the Nov. 15 mass march in San Francisco. At the request of the Joe Hill Caucus of SDS, a workshop was set up to discuss actions Nov. 8-15, and the meeting passed a resolution making Nov. 8-15 a Vietnam Solidarity Week on the West Coast campuses.

Workshops on GI organizing, high schools, campus complicity, third world, women and the war, and college organizing all stressed the opportunities to reach out to new and wider layers of antiwar youth for the fall antiwar offensive.

David Hilliard and Ray Masai Hewlitt of the Black Panther Party addressed the conference and read messages sent to the UN from several African nations and North Korea protesting Bobby Seale's arrest.

The conference then passed a resolution demanding: 1) an end to the war; 2) an end to oppression and suppression, especially of the "Conspiracy 8"; 3) freedom for Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, and urging Rennie Davis to return to North Vietnam to call from there for the free return from exile of Eldridge Cleaver.

Lawrence, Kan., SMC holds meeting of 200

By ERIC WOLFE

LAWRENCE, Kan.—The Lawrence Student Mobilization Committee is having great success in organizing for

the Oct. 15 Moratorium. Our third meeting, Sept. 25, drew 200 people and many more are expected at the next meeting, Oct. 2.

Plans for Oct. 15 are being set—it's amazing how many people, students and faculty alike, are anxious to contribute in some way—and include two symposia featuring local faculty, several individual speakers, a continuous showing of antiwar films, a poetry-reading, folk-singing, a student-sponsored teach-in workshop, heavy leafleting, a silent vigil at the Military Science Building, and a reading of the names of the American war dead.

The Kansas U. SMC affirms the desire of rational men everywhere to end this senseless war now.

Youth lead in R.I.

By JEFF POWERS

PROVIDENCE—A meeting of 90 people, mostly junior high and high school students, laid plans for organizing SMC chapters at schools throughout

the state. Stephen DiBasio, an eighth-grade student, told the meeting, "You have to work. You have to organize. In the kindergartens, everywhere. That's where the government starts and that's where we have to go."

In addition to the high school and junior high campaign, there is a strong SMC at Brown University in Providence and one in formation at the Rhode Island School of Design.

Fourteen different groups in the Providence area are planning an Oct. 4 demonstration that will kick off the fall offensive.

Beginning on Oct. 13, students at the University of Connecticut will read the list of 38,000 GIs killed in Vietnam as part of the Oct. 15 Moratorium.

Wesleyan U. students plan a rally on Oct. 15. Students at Yale plan a candlelight service.

Both faculty and students at the U. of Hartford, Trinity College, Hartford College for Women, and Manchester Community College plan an Oct. 15 rally in Hartford.

YSA slate wins new posts in Harpur College election

By PETER GELLERT

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—In the wake of last spring's election of a Young Socialist as student body president at Harpur College, the Young Socialist Alliance is once again victorious this fall in the student government elections here.

The YSA ran a slate of five candidates, three for the district representing students who live off-campus, and two for Hinman College, one of three on-campus sections of the Harpur campus. When the final results were in, the YSA had scored a fantastic election success in the off-campus constituency, with 125 straight-ticket votes. All three YSA candidates were elected with vote totals far higher than those for non-YSA candidates.

In Hinman, over 250 students voted a straight socialist ticket, and one YSA candidate was elected. In this race the vote totals were very close. Radical candidates also won where YSAers were not running in other sections of this college of about 2,500.

As part of its campaign, the YSA distributed three educational election leaflets and presented a talk on "Marxism, Socialism and the Campus," which was attended by over 75 students from the dormitories of Hinman College.

In other campus developments, antiwar activists formed a Student Mobilization Committee chapter.

The first SMC meeting attracted over 350 students at this liberal arts college in the State University system. About \$100 was raised to further antiwar activity on campus. In two days about \$50 of antiwar buttons were sold.

The United Student Government is planning to sponsor a referendum on

whether the student government should finance buses for the Nov. 15 march on Washington. It is expected that the referendum will pass after SMC campaigning.

The student government has already endorsed the fall antiwar actions and the Student Mobilization Committee has been set up as a subcommittee of the student government.

After the most recent election, five of the student government representatives are YSAers and 11 of the 12 are members of the Student Mobilization Committee. In addition, two of the six students on the USG executive committee elected last spring are YSA members. Thus the student radicalization is quite well represented in the Harpur student government.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

HOW GI'S FORCED THE BRASS TO BACK DOWN. Speaker: Ex-Pvt. Joe Cole, of the Ft. Jackson 8. Fri., Oct. 10, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. 269-4953. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

HUMAN NATURE—A MARXIST VIEW. Speaker: Charles Scheer. Sat., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 1 University Pl., N.E. Contrib. 75c (students 50c). Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE PEACE CORPS—AGENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM. Speaker: Tom Newman: Committee of Returned Volunteers; served 3 yrs in Philippines as Peace Corps volunteer; former dep. director of Peace Corps Latin Am. Training Center. Fri., Oct. 10, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Workshop at New York SMC meeting

Photo by Britton

Many fed up with SDS; it continues to split

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Readers may be somewhat confused by the multitude of SDSs now in existence. At last summer's SDS convention, a minority of the delegates expelled the Worker Student Alliance, which is dominated by the Progressive Labor Party.

This action was taken by a bloc consisting primarily of the Weatherman, or Revolutionary Youth Movement I, led by Mark Rudd and Bernadine Dohrn; the Revolutionary Youth Movement II, led by Mike Klonsky; the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, led by Robert Avakian; and the Joe Hill Caucus.

Since the split, the WSA-SDS has put out several issues of a paper under the name of *New Left Notes*, the pre-split SDS paper. The Rudd-Jones-Klonsky-Avakian group continues to issue *their New Left Notes* on a regular basis.

The Aug. 29 *New Left Notes* reported the departure of Mike Klonsky, and Avakian went with him. The Rudd-Jones proposal on how to "bring the war home" at the national action scheduled for Oct. 8-12 in Chicago was too wild even for Klonsky, who is not noted for unduly sober thought.

Since splitting with RYM I (Weatherman), RYM II (Klonsky) has put out one issue of a paper (undated) called *Revolutionary Youth Movement*. In it, there appears a call to the Chicago national action Oct. 8-11, reportedly issued jointly by RYM II, the Black Panthers and the Young Lords Organization. A policy statement signed by Klonsky and Noel Ignatin proclaims that RYM II will bring "the people" to Chicago to turn the RYM I action into a real anti-imperialist action.

Robert Avakian, who split with Klonsky from Weatherman, and whose main stock in trade is the attempt to rehabilitate the counterrevolutionary butcher Stalin as a revolutionary hero, is now

noticeable by his absence from the pages of *Revolutionary Youth Movement*. At the same time, he has resumed publication of the *Red Papers*, previously the factional organ of his Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

Right on.

Boston SDSers to 'educate' 'backward' antiwar activists

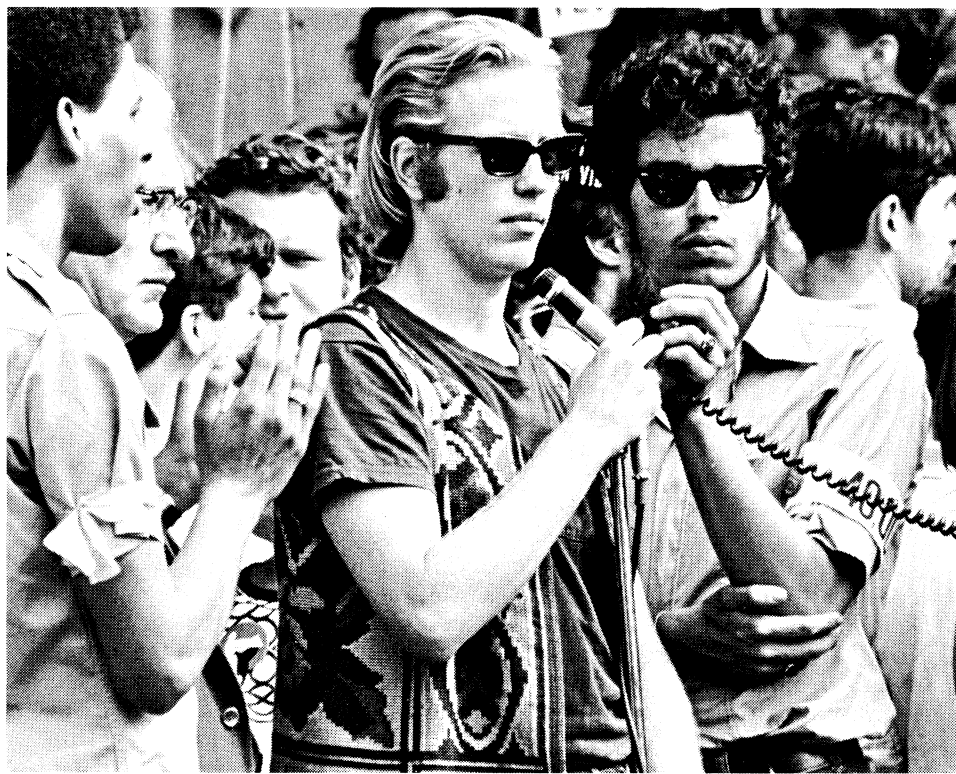
BOSTON, Sept. 30—The Worker Student Alliance SDS called a New England regional conference to project their own Oct. 4 antiwar march, which they hold will "get the jump" on the other antiwar groups. Prior to the conference WSA-SDS suggested that anyone wishing to make proposals bring a thousand copies of them. It turned out that this was unnecessary. 125 people showed up for a dull, sectarian session. The meeting concluded by adopting a proposal to send SDSers to antiwar meetings urging that Oct. 15 and other actions be called off. This the SDSers consider "educating" the "backward" students who want to protest against the war in Vietnam.

The first meeting of the Tufts SDS ended when 75 of the 100 participants walked out and went to the initial Tufts SMC meeting of 200. The remaining 25 then adjourned their meeting over the protests of their leaders.

Jones ignored in Madison

By LEW PEPPER
and HARRY BRENT

MADISON, Sept. 29—The first meeting of the Madison SDS chapter turned into an arena for the battle between the Weatherman and RYM II factions last week when 20 "Weathermen," including interorganizational secretary Jeff Jones,



JEFF JONES. At Aug. 9 N.Y.C. antiwar demonstration, RYM I leader (center) expressed solidarity with "Crazies" who had seized platform.

forced their way into the meeting shouting "revolutionary" slogans.

Seizing the microphone, Jones berated the 800 people present as "white student chickens" who need to "struggle in the streets" to get rid of their white skin privilege. The immediate response of the entire assembled group was expressed in shouts of "adventurist," "off the stage," etc.

Jones went on to assert that all the revolutionaries in the U.S. would be in Chicago Oct. 8-11. When asked if he would be in Washington Nov. 15, Jones replied: "Fuck your peaceful demonstrations."

As Jones's diatribe continued, a local SDS leader standing in the back of the hall asked the audience to turn their chairs around in order to resume the interrupted meeting. The logic of ultra-leftism was never more apparent than at that moment when Jeff Jones was left on the podium speaking, but with no one listening.

Jones ignored in Lexington

By ED JURENAS

LEXINGTON, Ky.—A recent attempt by spokesmen for the Weather-

man faction of SDS to involved the University of Kentucky SDS chapter in their adventuristic schemes planned for Oct. 8-11 in Chicago was met with a thorough rebuff.

A contingent of Weatherman's "Red Army" led by Jeff Jones spent several hours trying to convince about 15 local SDSers that going to Chicago and tearing up the town is the correct way to smash imperialism. Failing to be convinced, the SDSers here were told that they are racists, anticommunists, chauvinists and pro-imperialists, among other things.

Two nights later, the Weatherman group reappeared at a general SDS meeting, and the 75 people in attendance responded to them negatively. The Weatherman group then declared that talk was no longer needed and exhorted everyone to follow them out of the room. Chanting their usual chants, they left the meeting with one lonely convert.

Having heard the political position of Weatherman, the local SDS decided to totally disaffiliate from it and to issue a position paper reaffirming its autonomy as an SDS chapter and urging cooperation with all other independent SDS groups.

Chicago students support Loop teachers picketline

By TONY DE LEON

(The author is a student at Loop Jr. College, a predominantly black and Third World college in downtown Chicago.)

CHICAGO, Sept. 29—When I came to school on Monday, Loop Jr. College was being picketed by the Loop teachers who had gone on strike in protest against the transfer of two teachers from the Bogan City College Campus by the City College board.

The administration seems to think that it can transfer teachers without the teachers' union having anything to say about it. The teachers say that this is a breach of their contract, and an attempt on the part of the board to break the union.

In solidarity with the teachers, a student picketline of about 200 students outside the board of education was organized. We then went inside the building and demanded a meeting with Mr. Shabat of the City College board. After his secretary tried to put us off by telling us Mr. Shabat was in a press conference, we made our way into the office and spoke with him.

Mr. Shabat's position was that "the administration has the prerogative to transfer teachers at any time." He also claimed it was the teachers who were breaking the contract by going against a two-year no-strike pledge.

After the meeting with Shabat we went back and joined the teachers on their line. The next day we held a meeting of students where it was decided to continue to support the union and to call for a mass picket of all the junior colleges in front of the Chicago City College administration board offices.

Unfortunately, that same day the court issued an injunction against the strike and the teachers voted to return to their classes. This tended to demoralize the students and undercut the protest.

As things stand now, the union and the board are trying to select an impartial arbitrator in order to reach an agreement.

The teachers now know that the students are prepared to support their struggle, and this action by the students has opened the way for other actions at Loop this fall.

Black high school rebellion hits Detroit northwest side

By GORDON FOX

DETROIT, Sept. 26—A widespread rebellion of black high school students forced the closing of a number of schools here this week.

The rebellion began on Friday, Sept. 19, when students from a number of ghetto schools, including Northern High, Murray-Wright High, Northeastern High, and Malcolm X Junior and Senior Highs (formerly McMichael Jr. and Northwestern Sr.) walked out of school in a strike in defense of Ahmed Evans, the black nationalist who faces the electric chair in Cleveland.

By Monday, the rebellion had spread into the northwest-side ghetto. The *Detroit Free Press* reported that "extreme racial tension" touched off fights between black and white students at Cooley High School. In reality, most of the violence at Cooley was perpetrated by the cops and was directed almost entirely at black students. This was also the case during an outburst at nearby Post Jr. High.

Mumford High School, still further northwest, blew on Tuesday. Hundreds of Mumford students, virtually all of them black, walked out of school and

marched north on Wyoming Ave. to Beaubien Jr. High, where they held a brief but militant rally. In order to keep the Beaubien students inside the school, all the doors were locked. Hundreds of cops were seen in the area and a number of students were brutalized.

Schools all over the northwest side were closed Wednesday. When they reopened, the mayor and others, including the *Detroit Free Press*, called for a crackdown on the students. The city apparently thinks it can stop the growing student militancy by using the old carrot and stick routine. But the students have not been intimidated by the calls for repression. They are going ahead with plans for the city-wide student strikes against the war Oct. 15 and Nov. 14, and the March on Washington Nov. 15.

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

The Great Society

Ask a foolish question . . .—"Would the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong observe a three-day truce if I were to die?"—Saigon boss Thieu's response to the idea of going along with a three-day truce for Ho Chi Minh.

And just about as accurate—The SDS Weatherman caucus reportedly refers to its leadership as the Weather bureau.

Not their bag—Wall Street magnates do have some hangups, according to a study by the University of Minnesota's Center for Interest Measurement Research. Among other things, the researchers found, the money boys "don't like babies. And cripples terrify them."

They catch on—A Washington broker who taught a course in stock management at a local reformatory says the students really dig the subject. "Some of these kids may be almost illiterate," he said, "but they're money-savvy." The students were really impressed, he added, by what capitalism could do for them. Observed one student: "So this is how the fat cats do it."

Freedom marker—Celebrating the 50th anniversary of American Legion Post #1 at Van Tassell, Wyo. (pop., 15), Gov. Stanley Hathaway dedicated a marker there, declaring "We cannot allow a small percentage of young people" to take away our freedom. The freedom marker was prepared by inmates at the state penitentiary.

Socialism anyone?—Some people harbor the silly notion that people go hungry because there isn't enough food. Actually, an Agriculture Department report explains, the problem is that there's too much food. Rebutting the notion that it would help to maintain farm prices and profits by giving poor people more

money to buy food, the report explains that while this may be a "humanitarian" notion, studies have confirmed that "the unsatisfied demand for food in the United States is much less than agriculture's capacity to produce."

Liberation candidate—An ad for John Marchi, Republican candidate for mayor of New York, declares: "Women are intelligent. They do not go by looks alone. . . . Women want a realist like John J. Marchi for mayor." The ad was sponsored by "Women for Marchi—Alexander E. Light, Chairman, and His Down-to-Earth Girls."

Tis the season to be jolly—Georg Jensen's, one of Fifth Avenue's more tasteful shops, kicks off the Xmas season with an ad declaring: "DESTROY YOUR FRIENDS WITH A CHRISTMAS CARD FROM JENSEN'S—Let's face it, it's hard work to top your friends. But this may be the year to strike a bit of envy in their hearts. With a Jensen's Christmas card."

The things that really count—A brochure from New York's plush Plaza Hotel explains what it takes to maintain "a few reminders of a more civilized age": "Two men do nothing all day but polish the chandeliers. Two more spend a full work week breaking wine and liquor bottles so they won't be used again. The Plaza has two full-time furniture experts, two full-time icesculptors, one silversmith and one full-time chicken boner."

Thought for the week—"The value of advertising is overrated. The only thing less credible than an ad is a politician."—Advertising man Gene Case, who has written ads for Lyndon Johnson and Nelson Rockefeller.

— Harry Ring

Reading for revolutionaries

A primer of Marxism

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL, by James P. Cannon. Cloth, \$4.95. Paper, \$1.50. Merit Publishers.

This is the complete stenographic record of Cannon's testimony in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial of 1941. This was the first trial held under the notorious Smith Act. Included are the questions and answers under both direct examination and cross examination.

In his far-reaching testimony Cannon, the founder of the American Trotskyist movement, ranges over the whole field of revolutionary politics. The attitude of revolutionary Marxism towards virtually every current question is carefully and fully explained. Examples used are frequently from familiar historical events. The language is clear and sharp and there is no room for misunderstandings.

The occasion of the trial was, in the immediate sense, the fact that the Minneapolis drivers union, in which the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party was influential, had refused to permit Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters Union, to appoint a receiver for the union. This was a fight for union democracy. Another reason for the trial was the militant opposition of the SWP to



James P. Cannon

American entry into the Second World War.

In his testimony, which was consciously designed to explain the real ideas and program of the party, Cannon deals with many questions that are pertinent for our own times. In addition, he explains the origins of the American Trotskyist movement.

Among the questions that receive extended treatment are the internal laws of capitalist development, the question of war, of fascism, the class struggle, the coming revolution, the role of violence, the workers state, internationalism, the unions, the Russian Revolution, the attitude of the party towards Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin and many others.

Virtually every one of these questions are still being debated in radical circles. In other words, these are the kind of questions that appear and reappear at every new turning point in history.

In Cannon's explanations, given almost 28 years ago, one finds not the incidental that holds good only for the day, but the fundamental doctrine that deals with the very heart of the question. That is why this pamphlet reads as well now as it did when it was first published.

An example: Cannon was asked about the position of the party with reference to civil rights in the army. He replied, "We stand also for soldier citizen's rights. We do not agree with the idea that when you take a million and a half young men out of civil life, that they cease to have the rights of citizens. We think they should have the rights of citizens. They should have the right to petition Congress; they should have the right to vote; they should have the right to elect committees to present their grievances; they should have the right to elect their own officers, at least the minor officers, and in general they should have the democratic rights of citizens, and we advocate that."

The rest of the pamphlet is just as pertinent.

— Milton Alvin

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, Caryl Towner, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541. Tel: (415) 537-3653.
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 Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.
FLORIDA: **Gainesville:** YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
GEORGIA: **Atlanta:** SWP, YSA and bookstore, 1176-1/2 Peachtree St., all correspondence to P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.
ILLINOIS: **Carbondale:** YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 5496214.
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, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G, Tel: (913) 843-2073.
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) 491-8893, 547-8857.
MICHIGAN: **Ann Arbor:** YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.
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, 417 Olive St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: **Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.
MISSOURI: **Kansas City:** YSA, c/o Paul Schmidtlein, 5437 Charlotte, K. C., Mo. 64118. Tel: (816) 523-5468.
St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.
NEW JERSEY: **Newark:** YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.
NEW YORK: **Albany:** YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Basement Apt., 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. 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 Marianne Hernandez, 4522 Ave. G, P.O. Box 7753, Austin, Texas.
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 Dan Rosenshine, 4103 Davis Pl. NW, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 965-0253.
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.

150 attend opening forum of Austin YSA

By GENE RICHARDS
AUSTIN, Texas—About 150 people attended the opening forum of the Austin Young Socialist Alliance, held Sept. 23 in the student union of the Univ. of Texas. Dan Styron, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on the topic, "Should America Go Socialist?"

Addressing himself to the many students in the audience unacquainted with socialist ideas, Styron focused on three topics: Is there a ruling class in America? If so, does it run the country in the best interests of the people? And, can the system be fundamentally changed?

Using several "capitalist press" magazines, Styron demonstrated that a small handful (.05 percent) of American businesses make 75 percent of the profits. Quoting directly from the magazines, Styron described the ruling class as politically self-conscious, well-educated, competent, and a formidable enemy. Citing racism and war as only two of many defects of the capitalist system, Styron clearly showed that the major capitalists run the country solely for their own benefit.

Finally, Styron took up the possibilities of making a socialist revolution in the United States, and the roles played by oppressed national minorities, students, and the working class in making that revolution.

Styron was enthusiastically received by the audience, which several times interrupted his talk with applause.

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DeKalb students stand fast behind striking workers

By LAURA MILLER

DEKALB, Ill.—The strike of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has now entered its third week here at Northern Illinois University. Spirits are high among both the workers and their student supporters, despite ruthless attempts by the state government and the school administrators to break the maintenance workers' strike.

Thus far the union and its supporters have withstood two police attacks on picket lines, six arrests, a temporary state injunction designed to limit strike activities of the union and "all those in consort" with the union (i.e., all student and faculty supporters), and even a new state law promising stiff penalties for anyone disrupting the "normal functioning" of the university.

The Student-Faculty Strike Support Committee, a broad-based coalition, has been instrumental in building outside support for the strikers. Through the SFSSC, worker-student solidarity has reached a strength never before seen in this region.

The DeKalb Young Socialist Alliance has played a leading role in the SFSSC, successfully countering the proposals for sabotage and other isolated actions by the campus ultralefts with concrete proposals for united mass action in support of the union.

Plans are currently under way for a mass march and rally Oct. 6, which is expected to draw in unionists from the DeKalb area, community members, high schoolers, faculty, clergy and NIU students.

Endorsements of the strike have come from the NIU student government, the American Federation of Teachers, the Afro-American Cultural Organization, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Young Socialist Alliance, and a host of local unions and prominent community and faculty members.

'Conspiracy' judge works hard to earn contempt

OCT. 2—The court of Judge Julius J. Hoffman, which opened the trial of the 'Conspiracy 8' in Chicago this week, is such a gross travesty of justice that it almost makes other bourgeois courts seem reasonable.

The 74-year-old Hoffman has been described as closely resembling Mr. Magoo. His near-sighted indifference on legal rights makes Hoffman almost the equal of his cartoon counterpart.

The trial of the eight, who were charged with leading the demonstrations at last year's Democratic National Convention, opened Sept. 24. Within two days Hoffman had made the unusual move of arresting and jailing two of their previous lawyers, Gerald B. Lefcourt and Michael Tigar.

The move was so unprecedented that it propelled into existence a lawyers' committee that is trying to stop the trial proceedings altogether. Hoffman subsequently was forced to release the lawyers.

One of the defendants is Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Black Panthers. Seale wants as his lawyer Charles R. Garry, noted for his defense of Huey Newton. But Garry is seriously ill

Welfare mothers face Wis. troops



Photo by Chuck Shoengrund

STATE OF SIEGE. Wisconsin State Guard mobilizes in front of capitol as though expecting Vietnamese.

Welfare mothers had come protesting cuts in starvation dole. Legislators were upset by this.

By HARRY BRENT

MADISON, Wis., Sept. 30—A thousand Wisconsin National Guardsmen continue to encircle the State Capitol tonight to prevent from entering a group of welfare mothers whose public-assistance allotments have been severely curtailed by the legislature.

The mothers and their supporters occupied the assembly hall of the capitol building for eleven hours yesterday after some of them had walked 91 miles from Milwaukee to dramatize the seriousness of the welfare reductions. In many cases the reductions left children without food.

Led by Father James Groppi, the mothers, along with 2,000 supporters from throughout the state, many of them from the University of Wisconsin, conducted a march from the university to

the State Capitol, but upon arriving found access to the meeting room of the State Assembly denied to them. Failing to convince the state officials of the peoples' right to enter their own halls of government, the marchers removed a door and occupied the assembly chamber.

Throughout Monday afternoon several of the mothers took the rostrum of the assembly hall to explain their plight. One told how the state had reduced her monthly allotment from \$281 to \$209—she has three children and pays \$135 in rent. Another revealed statistics proving that more public funds are spent per capita each day to feed the chimpanzees in the state's zoos than is spent to feed the children in her family. But when the demonstrators cleared the assembly hall to allow the legislators to meet, the assemblymen quickly adjourned without discussing their demands.

Using the presence of the mothers and their supporters as an excuse for not coming to grips with the state's most pressing human problem, Assembly Speaker Harold Froelich attempted to put the blame for the lack of legislative action on the demonstrators themselves by accusing them of failing to observe "normal decorum."

Groppi answered Froelich: "We think that your attitude has been a little ridiculous. There is cooperation [from the demonstrators in clearing the floor of the assembly hall]. This room belongs to us, you know." The legislators seemed quite upset with the contention that the capitol is a public building. One of them was later to comment on television, "They don't own that assembly chamber any more than the rest of the people do."

That evening, after a campus rally in support of the mothers, sponsored by the University of Wisconsin Black Student Association, the YSA, SDS, and other campus groups, 4,000 students marched from the university to the capitol to show their support for those who had continued to remain inside.

Today, the mothers, students and other supporters returned to the capitol and were denied entrance by the legislators. At 3 p.m., two well-dressed agents of the office of the attorney general made their

way through the forest of riot clubs and M-1's to serve Father Groppi and the mothers with an order to halt their march. Suspecting the illegality of such an order, the mothers decided to obey it for the moment and to return to their headquarters for consultation with their lawyers. By this evening, they had returned to the capitol with vows to regain admission tomorrow.

Throughout the last two days, Gov. Knowles and the legislators have used the familiar ploy of attempting to make it appear as though the criminal is the victim and the victim the criminal. After sentencing children to starvation, the members of the State Assembly have spent their words in the public press self-righteously castigating the mothers and their supporters for damaging the carpeting in the assembly hall.



PAUL BOUTELLE. SWP candidate for mayor of New York City will directly encounter liberal Mayor John Lindsay at Columbia University Moratorium meeting on Oct. 15. Lindsay forces are attempting to throw SWP and Socialist Labor Party off ballot to secure better ballot spot for mayor. The case is now pending in New York supreme court. On Oct. 24, Boutelle will debate Charlene Mitchell, 1968 Communist Party presidential candidate.