

THE MILITANT

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ALL OUT NOV. 15!



Nixon's phony 'withdrawal'

Whatever Nixon says in his Nov. 3 speech it would be wise to keep in mind the record of performance. Here are the official Pentagon figures for the number of troops in Vietnam during a recent six week period, as reported by I. F. Stone's Weekly:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Aug. 31 | 509,800 |
| Sept. 4 | 509,600 |
| Sept. 11 | 508,000 |
| Sept. 18 | 510,200 |
| Sept. 25 | 511,500 |
| Oct. 2 | 509,600 |
| Net withdrawal | 200 |
| At this rate it would take 294 years to withdraw all U. S. troops from Vietnam. | |

ANTIWAR G.I'S. Marines returning from Vietnam let photographers know how they feel

about the war as their ship sails into San Diego naval harbor.

Laos "volunteer" saved by the bell

Sure he was going to die

San Francisco, Calif.

I've been reading with interest your articles on Laos. When I was in the Army in 1960-62 as a draftee, I "volunteered" for duty in Laos. It happened just at the time I finished Engineer Supply School at Ft. Belvoir, Va., in March of 1961.

About 15 or so of us who graduated in that particular class were taken off to the side and informed that we had just volunteered for duty in Laos. We were, it is true, given the opportunity to refuse the assignment, but none of us did. Personally, I was young and naive and didn't really see any reason, outside of self-preservation, for refusing an assignment to a combat zone, and it just didn't seem right to me that I should refuse when others were going. (I found out later that everyone else stayed for the same stupid reason.)

Anyway, we were all put on a supply team, cleared for secret classification, and given briefings on Laos and the Laotian situation. From these briefings I learned two things:

1) If discovered or captured in Laos, we would be on our own, and would be disclaimed by the United States Army. In other words, we would be there secretly and illegally. That's why the assignment was voluntary, and not mandatory. This is the most important thing I learned—that the government will do anything it has to to achieve its ends. (This seems a commonplace now, but at the time it shocked me.)

2) As far as survival goes, the briefings were a joke. We were no more prepared for survival than if we had just stepped out of the crib. More often than not, our "briefings" were given to us out of *Time* magazine, which many of us had read a week before. It was a running joke in our outfit. (For the record, we were assigned to temporary duty with the 91st Engineer Battalion at Ft. Belvoir, Va., for this period. We made out our wills, etc., in preparation for entering a combat zone.)

That's what I learned from the briefings. But what I learned from my experience was even more important, as I see it now. First, I learned that I, myself, didn't want to kill or be killed. I walked the streets of Washington, D.C. (near Ft. Belvoir) many a week-end cursing those who didn't have to be in the Army and risk their lives. I was sure I was going to die in the jungles of Laos.

Second, I was antiwar and so was every single GI on my supply team, *without exception*—and that includes RA's as well as US's. (RA is a voluntary enlistee; US is a draftee.) Every

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.

time the news would come on, we would have our ears glued to the radio to see what was developing in Laos, hoping it would end so we wouldn't have to go.

We were lucky. The Geneva Conference came to our rescue. A lot of guys haven't been so lucky since then.

The antiwar movement's turn towards the GIs is the best thing it could ever do, next to ending the war itself. And it's a big step towards ending the war if GIs still feel the way we did when I was in the Army, and it looks like they do. Bring *all* the troops home now! Venceremos!

Ronald Wittmaack
Former Cannon Fodder
#US 55 700 475

College poll majority

fall offensive participation

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The turnout for the Moratorium left little doubt about how widespread antiwar sentiment is in this country. An indication of the tremendous rise of this sentiment in the last year is provided in a column called "College Poll" (in the *New York Column-Knickerbocker*, Oct. 24 issue), which surveys college student opinion on over 100 campuses.

"Whereas last year less than half of the students told College Poll interviewers that we made a mistake in going into Vietnam," says the column, "this fall eight out of ten students expressed disagreement with the decision to send troops to Southeast Asia."

The article goes on to claim that the "college campus consensus" backs the Goodell plan (though no figures are given on this question). However, it is indicated further on that students are not leaving it to the Goodells to see that the war is ended. For while last fall "even at the height of anti-Johnson administration feelings, [only]

one out of five would have joined antiwar demonstrations on the campus," this fall three out of four intend to join antiwar actions.

That comes to almost six million students ready to strike against the war. All out to build the November 13 and 14 Moratorium! Build the Nov. 15 mass march on Washington to bring *all* the troops home now!

Gary Miller

SDS still exists at Colgate

Hamilton, N. Y.

In your Oct. 17 issue, your "Report on Upstate NY SDSs" stated that YSA "has become the campus radical organization," and that SDS "closed up when its leadership joined the YSA." Both these statements are incorrect. SDS was temporarily inactive in September since most of its leadership graduated last June. Only one of last year's SDS leaders joined the YSA. SDS was reactivated by four sophomores, myself included; its membership is approximately 20 (mainly freshmen). YSA's membership is considerably smaller.

Please correct this error in your next issue.

Kris DiLorenzo
Colgate University

[The article, "Report on Upstate NY SDSs," by Lawrence Birkner, was based on visits made by the author to a number of Upstate campuses. He visited Colgate in late September. At that time, according to the YSAers there, SDS was not functioning, as you also indicate in your letter was the case. Colgate YSAers confirm that since then several students have reactivated SDS and that SDS's business meetings have drawn larger numbers than the YSA has had at its regular meetings. — Editor.]

Persistent critic

Irvington, N. J.

In answer to my letter in *The Militant* of Oct. 3 referring to the Palestinian guerrillas, you said that the dispossessed are justified to fight the dispossessor. That seems to make sense. However, certain facts have been overlooked and deserve consideration.

In all guerrilla warfare against a capitalist government, the guerrillas are based within the country whose government they are trying to defeat, an internal revolution. Al Fatah guerrillas are attacking Israel from the outside.

Also, in order for guerrilla warfare to succeed, the population of the country whose government they are fighting has to be on the side of the guerrillas, as mentioned by Che Guevara. But most of the people living in Israel now are against the Arab guerrillas.

The Arab guerrillas are fighting the same enemy as the reactionary Arab governments and would serve only to help these governments defeat and eliminate Israel and not bring socialism at all. Thus many Israeli people would become dispossessed who never took part in dispossessing the Palestinian Arabs. This could lead to further massacre of Jews by the Arab governments and Al Fatah with all their good socialistic intentions would not have the power to stop it.

For these reasons, I feel the Arab guerrillas should not be favored or supported as *The Militant* does. And certainly not the Arab reactionary governments.

I believe all Arab guerrillas should strive to defeat their own capitalist regimes, where they are based (an in-

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Friday, Nov. 7, 1969

Closing news date—Oct. 31

ternal revolution), and establish a socialist democracy setting an example for the Israelis to do the same.

If I am wrong this time I would like you to explain my errors. But if I am right I think it would be proper to admit it.

D. A.

[We have answered this argument a number of times in the pages of *The Militant*. It is dealt with extensively in the following, available from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York 10003:

[*Zionism and the Arab Revolution: The Myth of Progressive Israel*, by Peter Buch, 35 cents; *How Can the Jews Survive: A Socialist Answer to Zionism*, by George Novack, 25 cents; "The Arabs, the Jews and History," a speech by Jon Rothschild in the July 1969 *Young Socialist*, 25 cents; and *Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis*, by Peter Buch, 40 cents. — Editor.]

L.A. welfare workers

take part in Moratorium

Los Angeles, Calif.

Within the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services (the welfare department), there was participation in the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium in several district offices.

At the Metro-East/Belvedere center, over 100 people marched in front of the nearby draft board office on their lunch hour.

Workers from the Exposition Park office and from the welfare complex at Adams and Grand joined the massive demonstration in Exposition Park at the University of Southern California.

In the conservative Cudahy/Bell office, some one-third of the staff wore black armbands during the day, and a group of 25 marched in front of the office at noon.

Long Beach employees participated with 5,000 others in a major action in that city.

In addition to the marches, some workers spent the day rapping with clients about the war. Still others stayed away from work to participate in other Moratorium activities going on within the county.

Walter Lippman

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

Transitional Program for Black Liberation

A programmatic proposal for the building of a mass black liberation party, this important document was adopted by the 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Now in an attractive 8-1/2 x 11 pamphlet for wide distribution.

25¢

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

Original goal met; on our way to escalated target

By BEV SCOTT
Business Manager

OCT. 29 — Success! In mid-September we announced our two-month campaign for 4,000 new readers of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*. And now, six weeks later, we have already fulfilled that goal, and in the remaining two weeks we are going on for an escalated target of 5,500 new readers. Six more cities have increased their quotas this week. Philadelphia and the Twin Cities have both risen from 200 to 250, Berkeley is jumping from 225 to 275, Atlanta from 125 to 150, Providence from 40 to 55, and Kansas City from 30 to 50. This makes a total of 15 cities that have boosted their goals during this drive as they have discovered how easy it is to sell the combination subscription.

We received a letter from the Hay-

ward, Calif. YSA explaining how they were able to make their dramatic leap on the scoreboard this week. "I'm sure that you've noticed our local dragging behind on the scoreboard, but we mean to change that. We have organized selling teams of up to four people, who go out every day during lunch hour and sell subs, *Militants* and *Young Socialists* in the student union and cafeteria. Today in a little less than an hour, we sold 7 subs and 35 of our bundle of 50 *Militants* that had just arrived this morning. We are finding that it's not hard to sell something that you really want people to read." Carol S. from Washington, D. C. writes: "We had some results from putting a mail-in sub coupon on the back of a leaflet announcing a meeting we'd scheduled. We handed these out Oct. 15, and two days later had three replies.

Wanted: Salesmen for socialism

Hundreds of YSAers, SWPers and supporters of *The Militant* will take part in a giant sale of *The Militant* to antiwar demonstrators Nov. 15.

All fall, supporters of this paper have been working to make Nov. 15 as large and militant as possible. But, as socialists, we also have the obligation to bring our basic socialist ideas to as many of the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators as we can. The special issue we will be selling will feature a number of analytical articles about socialism and imperialism.

The fight against war is also the fight to build a strong socialist movement. Join us in this effort to introduce tens of thousands of new people to the ideas of socialism!

In next week's issue, we will have information on the address of a YSA/SWP movement center in Washington, which will also be the central distribution point for *Militant* and *Young Socialist* salesmen. Meanwhile, information on the sale can be obtained by contacting the YSA or SWP chapter in your area as listed in the directory on page 15.

See you Nov. 15!

We are planning a 'blitz' on the dorms this week a la Philadelphia."

Mike Arnall of New York has been setting the pace for the city, with over 70 subscriptions. He reported recently that he has been selling most of his subs in one dormitory at Columbia University. He is now so well known there that one night recently when he knocked on a door the fellow who answered looked at him for a second, and before Mike had a chance to say a word, called back into the room, "Anyone here want to buy a *Militant* subscription?" Several did.

The "general" category has continued to grow with the help of a number of people who live in cities other than those having taken a quota on the scoreboard. Two YSAers at Colgate Univ. in Hamilton, N. Y. have taken the lead with 46 subscriptions. The newly formed YSA local in Columbus, Ohio is close behind with 36 subs. Ten subs were sold by YSA members at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y., and eight by a YSAer in Mansfield, Pa. We have also received subscriptions from the following cities: Turlock, Calif. and Santa Rosa, Calif., 6 each; Amherst, Mass., 5; 4 each from Dallas, Tex., Athens, Ohio, Hebron, Maine, and Colorado Springs, Colo.; and Johnstown, Pa. and Ojai, Calif., 3 each.

Servicemen used to be hesitant to get a subscription to a radical paper. That's changed quite a bit. We have received at least a dozen subs from GIs since our drive began. And I'm sure many others would be ready to subscribe if they were told about *The Militant* and YS.

For example, aren't the men pictured on our front page potential readers?

And think what it would have meant to the former GI, whose letter appears on the second page, if he had been reading *The Militant* then. There will be many GIs at the Nov. 15 demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D. C. Let's make sure that they all get the opportunity to subscribe to the country's top socialist antiwar publications.

Wall Street Journal concerned

On the 40th anniversary of the 1929 crash of the stock market, a number of businessmen and economists have been asking themselves, "can it happen again?"

Although the consensus of opinion in the New York financial press leans toward a negative answer, one notable exception appeared in the editorial columns of the *Wall Street Journal* Oct. 27.

The editors of the influential financial newspaper tended to agree with other financial experts that most of the technical regulations (or lack of them) on stock purchases that contributed to that devastating collapse have been sufficiently reformed.

But, argue the *Wall Street Journal* editors, one must also look to the social forces at work in contemporary society. And on this score, they hold, there is room for "misgiving on economic as well as social and political grounds."

"What, for example, will be the economic consequences of the various revolutions and disenchantments afflicting the nation?" the *Wall Street Journal* asks.

"It is easy enough to discount as too small the extreme radicals who want

to destroy American institutions. The disquieting fact nonetheless seems to be that a very sizable minority of young people think there are things basically wrong with the society, with business, with the profit principle, with the work ethic.

"We are not disposed to imagine that those attitudes will vanish with the end of the Vietnam war; the disillusionment, or whatever, appears to run deep.

"Once such people assume positions of power or influence in government, business and labor, their decisions can mightily affect the course of the economy. Unless they do in fact change, the influence can scarcely be salutary..."

One can well question the *Wall Street Journal's* assumption that those disenfranchised with the system will be joining it, that is, that they will "assume positions of power . . ." etc. One helpful step in assuring they won't be so co-opted is by getting the maximum number of them reading revolutionary publications like *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*. Or, to be subtle about it, spur the revolutionary process by spurring our subscription drive!

Pentagon seeks to put damper on Death March

In an apparent attempt to frighten away prospective participants in the March Against Death slated for Nov. 13 to 15 in Washington, D. C., as part of the national antiwar action, the Pentagon promulgated new rules on Oct. 27 pertaining to Arlington National Cemetery.

The new regulations ban "any service, ceremony or demonstration" not approved by the cemetery superintendent. They also outlaw picketing; damage to gravestones, trees and shrubs; "orators," placards, banners or foreign flags; fighting, "tumultuous behavior," obscenity and abuse, coarse gestures, and "unreasonable noise."

The Death March is scheduled to begin at midnight on Nov. 13 and continue into the morning of Nov. 15. Each marcher in the single-file procession will carry a placard bearing the name of one American who has died in Vietnam, and that name will be called out as the marcher passes before the White House. The march will end at the Capitol, where the name placards will be placed in caskets and later carried to the White House gate.

Afro teachers set Brooklyn lecture

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — The African-American Teachers Association is sponsoring an educational lecture, "On Correct Education for Black Youth," featuring John E. Churchville, director of the Freedom Library Day School in Philadelphia. Brother Churchville has also appeared on "In Black America" on CBS-TV in 1968, as one who has made outstanding achievements in the field of education.

The lecture will be held Sunday, Nov. 2, 3 p.m., in the "H" building of the Long Island University, at Flatbush Extension and DeKalb Avenue in Brooklyn.

CALENDAR

AUSTIN
SOCIALISTS AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.
Speaker: Travis Burgeson. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m., 2200 Guadalupe. Aisp. Militant Forum.

BOSTON
FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION IN IRELAND?
Speaker: Gerry Foley. Fri., Nov. 7, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (1 bl. from Mass. Ave.) Rm. 307 Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK
NIXON'S SPEECH AND THE PROSPECTS FOR NOV. 13-15. Speaker: Carol Lipman, nat'l. exec. sec'y., Student Mobilization; Mike Weisman, High School Coordinator, New York SMC; B. R. Washington, cochairman, Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam. Fri., Nov. 7, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.) Contrib. \$1; high school 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

PANEL ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Thurs. Nov. 6, 7 p.m. 201 Fayerweather, Columbia U, 116 and Broadway. Aisp. Young Socialist Forum.

PHILADELPHIA
DEFEND GI DISSENT. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, GIs United Against the War in Vietnam; Rev. Jesse Anderson; Ethel Taylor, WSP; Spencer Case, ACLU. Fri., Nov. 7, 8 p.m., Ethical Society, 1906 S. Rittenhouse Sq. Contrib. \$1 Aisp. GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard

| City | Quota | New Subs | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|---------------------|------|------|
| Phoenix, Ariz. | 30 | 44 | Cleveland, Ohio | 250 | 179 |
| Lawrence, Kan. | 30 | 33 | New York, N. Y. | 850 | 605 |
| Boulder, Colo. | 60 | 63 | Chicago, Ill. | 275 | 190 |
| Newark, N. J. | 35 | 36 | San Diego, Calif. | 45 | 28 |
| Boston, Mass. | 275 | 280 | Champaign, Ill. | 30 | 18 |
| Madison, Wis. | 75 | 74 | Ypsilanti, Mich. | 25 | 15 |
| Antioch College, Ohio | 30 | 28 | Houston, Texas | 50 | 29 |
| Binghamton, N. Y. | 100 | 91 | Washington, D. C. | 75 | 43 |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | 250 | 220 | Gainesville, Fla. | 35 | 20 |
| Providence, R. I. | 55 | 48 | Bloomington, Ind. | 30 | 17 |
| Twin Cities, Minn. | 250 | 202 | Austin, Texas | 150 | 83 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | 50 | 40 | Seattle, Wash. | 150 | 58 |
| San Francisco, Calif. | 350 | 276 | Ann Arbor, Mich. | 75 | 25 |
| Detroit, Mich. | 275 | 211 | East Lansing, Mich. | 30 | 10 |
| St. Louis, Mo. | 30 | 23 | Glen Ellyn, Ill. | 15 | 5 |
| Atlanta, Ga. | 150 | 114 | Portland, Ore. | 20 | 5 |
| Kent, Ohio | 75 | 56 | Logan, Utah | 25 | 4 |
| Berkeley, Calif. | 275 | 201 | Albany, N. Y. | 25 | 3 |
| DeKalb, Ill. | 80 | 58 | Carbondale, Ill. | 25 | 3 |
| Hayward, Calif. | 40 | 29 | General | 425 | 297 |
| Los Angeles, Calif. | 400 | 288 | Total | 5520 | 4052 |

Twisters Incorporated

A case history of the Browder syndrome

By TOM KERRY

James Connolly, the great Irish revolutionary socialist, executed in 1916 for leading the Easter insurrection against British imperialism, hated capitalist exploitation, imperialist oppression, ruling class injustice, and those responsible for it. Above all, he hated those misleaders of labor who warped and mangled working class principles to deceive, disorient and betray the masses. To pillory these worthies, Connolly coined the term "twisters," which he employed as an expression of the utmost scorn and contempt.

I was reminded of Connolly's revulsion to twisters as I listened last week to a television interview with the New York mayoral candidate of the Communist Party, Rasheed Storey. Storey insisted that the primary issue in the New York mayoral election is the defeat of the "ultra-right." The ultraright, affirmed Storey, was personified by the "reactionary and racist candidates" Mario Procaccino, nominee of the Democratic party and John Marchi, nominee of the Republican and Conservative parties. The welfare of the people of New York and of the entire country required that Procaccino and Marchi be defeated at all costs.

Does this mean, the interviewer softly interjected, that the Communist Party favors the election of the incumbent mayor, Liberal party candidate John Lindsay? No, not exactly, was the rejoinder, we have our differences with Lindsay for which we criticize him but he has many things to his credit. But the main danger . . . etc., etc.

The October 23 issue of the *Daily World*, national spokesman for the American Communist Party, enlarges on the "main danger" theme in a feature article entitled: "CP's Role in New York City Election." "The danger from the ultraright is growing in the city

Socialist scholars in N.Y. conference

NEW YORK—"Agencies of Social Change: Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries" will be discussed at an all-day conference scheduled for Town Hall, Saturday, Nov. 29, under the joint auspices of The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of America and the Socialist Scholars Conference.

European socialists slated for the program are Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian paper, *La Gauche* and Andre Gorz, an editor of *Les Temps Modernes*. Paul Sweezy, co-editor of the *Monthly Review*, will participate in the panel discussion.

Other participants are: James O'Connor, *The Economist*, Stanley Aronowitz of *The Guardian*, Steve Zeluck, president of the New Rochelle Federation of Teachers, and Art Fox of UAW Local 600 in Detroit.

All-day tickets are \$4 (\$3 for students and unemployed); single session tickets are \$2.50. There will be a session in the morning (from 10 til 1) and one in the afternoon (2 to 5). For tickets write: The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of America, Inc., 156 Fifth Ave., Room 1003, New York, N. Y. 10010.

and country," it warns. In New York City, the ultraright is represented by Procaccino and Marchi. Ergo? "We call on all progressives, Reform Democrats, Liberal party members not just to tail Lindsay but demand that he come out fighting against the reactionaries with a real program and action for the people now. That's the only way to lick the demagogue Procaccino and the reactionary Marchi."

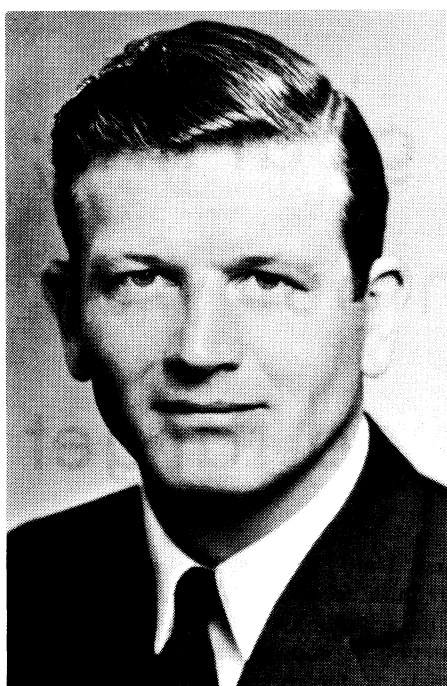
Does this mean that the Communist Party is calling upon the citizens to vote for Lindsay? Well, not exactly, for you see, we have a candidate by the name of Rasheed Storey, but . . . "We want to see Procaccino and Marchi defeated and we criticize Lindsay for making concessions to Big Business and reaction." Does that mean the people should vote for Storey? Well, not exactly . . .

"It is true," the article adds, that the Communist Party, "will not decide the elections. But it's wrong to think that we don't count. If the progressives will listen and make Lindsay fight for a specific program, that will help defeat the reactionaries." Whether due to the mounting pressure of the "progressives" or not, Lindsay recently announced his "specific program" to solve all the social ills that beset New York City. He promised, on his word of honor, that if reelected he would add 4,000 more cops to the city police force. Be assured, this is one promise our doughty warrior against "reaction" will redeem.

For those of us who have been around a while, the tortuous twisting and writhing of the Communist Party in the current New York mayoralty elections is easily recognizable as the Browder syndrome. It dates back some 30-odd years to the national election campaign of 1936. In that election the major candidates were Alfred Landon for the Republicans, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Democrat, and, among others, Earl Browder, then head of the American Communist Party. It came about one year after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International had officially inaugurated its class-collaborationist people's front policy.

Browder was in a quandary. The people's front line as expounded by Georgi Dimitrov, mouthpiece for Stalin, initiated the tactic of supporting "progressive" capitalist candidates for public office. It was not easy at that time to make the turn from third period ultraleftism to people's frontism. The members and supporters of the Communist Party had been thoroughly indoctrinated in the theory of "social fascism" and Roosevelt had been among those recently stigmatized as a demo-fascist. In addition, outright endorsement of Roosevelt could prove embarrassing to the Democrats and invite repudiation. It was under these circumstances that Browder executed the most brilliant tour de force of his career by giving birth to the Browder syndrome.

As presidential candidate of the American Communist Party, Browder ran on the central slogan: Landon must be defeated at all costs! Does that mean, he was asked, that the Communist Party supported the election of Roosevelt? Well, not exactly, replied Browder. But let Browder have the floor and tell in his own words



COEXISTENCE. Rasheed Storey, bottom, nominal Communist Party candidate for Mayor of New York, and incumbent John Lindsay. CP says its not "endorsing" Lindsay but . . . the main job is to defeat his principal opponents Procaccino and Marchi.

how he planted the first seed which later flowered into the Browder syndrome.

In 1967 the University of Illinois Press published a number of lectures under the title, "As We Saw the Thirties: Essays of Social and Political Movements of a Decade." Although expelled in 1946 from the Communist Party as a "revisionist," Browder, as head of the CP in the 1930s, was included.

Browder describes how the turn to people's front politics in 1935 gave the CP an aura of respectability and acceptance in labor-Democratic party circles. In that year, he recalls, when "Floyd Olson, the Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota, called a nationwide conference of significant leaders of the 'Left' to meet in Chicago, he sent me a personal invitation. It was agreed that state labor parties and the unions would endorse Roosevelt for a second term, but all that was desired from the Communists was that they place no obstacles in the way and that they consult on new issues as they arose." Armed with this admonition, Browder made a pilgrimage to the Kremlin to clear it with Stalin. Browder continues:

"Some months thereafter, I headed a delegation to Moscow to consult with the Comintern about the elections. Upon arriving we were informed by Georgi Dimitrov . . . that the Comintern leaders were all firmly of the opinion that the American Communist Party should endorse Roosevelt's candidacy and put up no candidate of their own.

"My permanent (but usually secret) opposition in America," Browder continues, "William Z. Foster (supported by Sam Darcy) immediately agreed with the proposal. I flatly opposed it,

and proposed a thorough discussion before decision. . . . After two weeks of discussion, I remained obdurate, and advanced my final argument that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's re-election we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled 'the Communist candidate' by the newspapers, most of which opposed him.

"This," Browder argued, "would lose him many times as many votes from the 'Right' as it would bring him from the 'Left,' for a net loss that might mean his defeat if the vote were close. On the other hand, we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt all votes under our influence except the diehard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates. . . .

"Thereupon," Browder concludes, "the discussion was suspended, while the issue was being reevaluated by the Russian Politburo — which we learned later meant Stalin. The final conclusion of the Comintern was 'to leave the matter to the decision of the American comrades,' where I had no difficulty in carrying the decision my way. Thus I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of 'my rival' Roosevelt. The more the newspapers puzzled over this tactic, the more effective it became." (Emphasis added)

Deucedly clever, isn't it? To gull the workers into voting for one capitalist candidate under the guise of running a "communist" candidate who directs his fire against the major capitalist opponent of the "favored rival." Since it was first introduced by Browder, this tactic has been reduced to a fine art by the twisters who succeeded him.

A classic example is the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater campaign. In a pre-election speech to a party conference, the present guru of the American Communist Party, Gus Hall, let out all stops. Fascism was just around the corner. It was no time for half-hearted measures. It was not only necessary to defeat Goldwater but to roll up a massive majority in the process.

"The issues are sharply drawn," Hall thundered. "The forces are fast lining up. In such a sharp confrontation on issues so broad that they affect every American, issues that will decide the direction and the political nature of our Nation . . . in such a confrontation there can be no neutrals."

This is known as the Armageddon gambit. Picture the whole world as teetering on the brink. Hit the panic button. Stampede the sheep into the polling booths to vote for salvation — in this instance in the person of Lyndon Baines Johnson and the Democratic party. Appropriately enough, the Hall speech, published in three editions of 100,000, was entitled: "The Eleventh Hour — Defeat the New Fascist Threat!" It was either "All the Way with LBJ" or utter damnation. After 20 pages of lurid prose, we finally get down to the nitty gritty on page 21. The CP had no candidate in 1964. But that was no handicap. "Our party," boomed Gus Hall, "will join with all democratic forces to defeat the ultraright Goldwater coalition, while at the same time we will not endorse the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party." (Emphasis added)

Twisters incorporated!

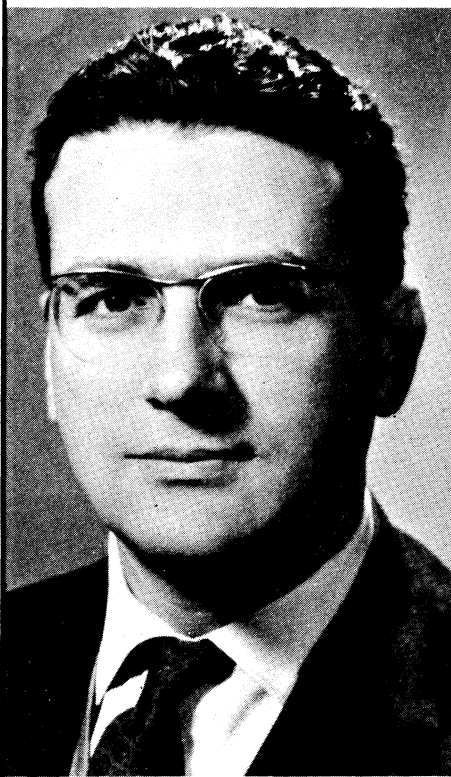
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By James P. Cannon

An invaluable exposition of the political and organizational concepts involved in the building of a Leninist party. Leon Trotsky hailed it as the "writing of a genuine workers leader." 302 pp. cloth \$5.95

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Times blasts ban against Mandel visit



Ernest Mandel

(The following is the text of an Oct. 28 New York Times editorial.)

The credibility of the United States as the defender of freedom of speech and ideas continues to be undermined by those bureaucrats in the State Department who arrogate to themselves the right to decide whose words and thoughts ought to be admitted to this country.

The most recent exercise of such censorship was the refusal—without justification or even explanation—to grant a four-day visa to Dr. Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist scholar, who had been invited to debate Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, the Harvard economist, at a conference organized by graduate students at Stanford University and supported by that noted institution.

The fact that the students' ingenuity managed to circumvent the Washington watchdogs by presenting Dr. Mandel's views through a combination of a taped lecture and a trans-Atlantic telephone hook-up in no way offsets the senseless violation of the very principles which those who serve the nation's Government are sworn to uphold.

Dr. Mandel has been invited to participate in a number of other American academic discussions later this year. He has appeared on campuses here and in Europe in the past. The suddenly unexplained refusal to grant him entry now can only prove that the bad old days of censorship by visa are not yet over. The idiotic decision to bar Dr. Mandel must be reversed.

CIA private army exposed in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 29 — It has now been revealed that U.S. intervention in the Laotian civil war has taken the extraordinary form of organizing, financing, and directing the military operations of a private army. Use of this army has the added, age-old imperialist twist of pitting nationality against nationality.

When information began to leak out to the American people as to the extent of the intervention in Laos, the attempt was originally made to persuade them that the CIA, Green Berets, etc. were there to "save" the threatened "neutralist" regime of Prince Souvanna Phouma. Now, the *New York Times* (Oct. 26-28) discloses that the U.S. favors its own private army over the official Laotian Army.

Washington has hired out and directed, independently of the Laotian government, a 15,000 to 40,000 man army of Meo tribesmen. The Meos are a minority nationality of about 250,000, inhabiting northern Laos.

They migrated to Laos in the mid-19th century from southern China. The Laos are descendants of Thai peoples and compose the majority of the three million inhabitants of Laos. Different languages are spoken.

The story of the CIA's Meo army and its "Zap-Zap" type of general, Vang Pao, was told by Henry Kamm, a *New York Times* reporter in Laos, after interviews with Lao, Meo and U.S. authorities.

Gen. Vang Pao was first introduced to readers of the *New York Times* as a "Laotian" general who proudly exhibited a tortured North Vietnamese prisoner to members of the press (see *The Militant*, Oct. 24).

According to Kamm, he is the major

recipient of millions of dollars of U.S. military and political aid channeled through the CIA.

The 40-year-old former sergeant of the French colonial army has begun to reverse the military tide of the Laotian civil war, CIA spokesmen told Henry Kamm: "V.P., as he is referred to by his American admirers here, is the recipient of large-scale direct American assistance . . ."

"V.P." has solidified his political rule of the Meo "by choosing his wives, estimated at five or six, from influential Meo clans . . . The general has also appointed seven or eight heads of leading families to a council he has formed around himself.

"He has given them houses in the private capital the CIA built for him at his secret military headquarters — at Long Cheng . . .

"As a reward for his services, Gen. Vang Pao paid an unpublicized visit — his second — to the U.S. a few months ago, from Disneyland to Colonial Wil-

liamsburg, which impressed him the most.

"At Disneyland he was given a Zorro suit as a jest. He wore it recently, according to sources close to him, when he toured the Plaine des Jarres, the vital area his forces recently captured."

Before "V.P." came along last summer, so this report goes, the situation of the U.S.-armed-and-funded Royal Lao Army "was worse than it had been for many years . . .

"A major diversionary attack on the ground and a sharp increase in U.S. bombing had failed to deter the North Vietnamese invaders, feebly abetted by their local allies, the Pathet Lao . . ." (In fact, U.S. bombing of Laos reached the levels of 12,500 sorties a month, higher than the peak bombing of North Vietnam, the *Washington Post* has reported.)

But the revolutionary forces continued to advance. They were within miles of seizing Luang Prabang, Vientiane and "most frightening," Long Cheng itself, the top-secret operational base of the CIA forces.

"The ants kept coming," a U.S. diplomat told Kamm.

"V.P." saved the day.

"The formula was a spectacular attack on the Plaine des Jarres, the central plateau that commands the main road in the northern part of the country . . .

"When the assault began, in the last week of August, it had been prepared by heavy American bombing and . . . Gen. Vang Pao's troops were carried into battle by American helicopters and supplied by American planes and copters . . .

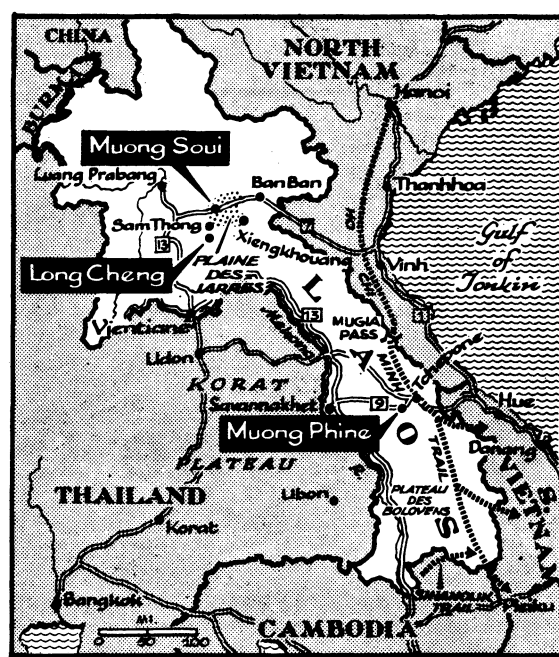
"The operation was a smashing success . . . The success was so great that the U.S. was encouraged to sponsor a major operation in the south."

"We were looking for aspirin and found a wonder drug," said an American spokesman. Kamm reports, incidentally, that opium is the main product of the Meo tribesmen and that CIA planes help them transport it.

When all is said and done, however, Kamm found the CIA story of Gen. Vang Pao's "smashing success" unconvincing: "There is no doubt here that North Vietnam, if it were prepared to expend the necessary strength, could confront the U.S. with the agonizing choice of seeing Laos fall or engaging ground troops in battle.

"No wonder drug has yet been devised to cure the perennial instability of Laos, her total dependence on outside economic and military aid, the inefficiency and corruption in the government . . .

"Members of a younger generation of Laotians — educated, and untainted by corruption — are wondering how, between the powerful old-line politicians and the military on the one hand and the heavy American bureaucracy on the other, they will ever get a chance to participate significantly in shaping their country's future."



The New York Times

Oct. 28, 1969

Laos

Noted intellectuals demand State Dept. admit Mandel

Dr. Salvador E. Luria of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT], who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize in biochemistry, heads the nine initiators of a petition being circulated in academic and literary communities throughout the United States protesting the State Department's denial of a visa to the Belgian Marxist economist, Ernest Mandel, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

Mandel was scheduled to debate the former ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, October 18. He was forced to conduct the argument by tape and transatlantic telephone when the State Department refused to lift the ban on his four-day visit.

The other sponsors of the petition urging the U.S. authorities to rescind the ban upon his entry are Richard Falk, Professor of International Law, Princeton University; Susan Sontag, author and critic; Prof. Gabriel Kolko, University of Buffalo; Prof. Noam Chomsky, MIT; Prof. Robert Paul Wolff, Columbia University; Richard Poirier, editor *Partisan Review*; Prof. Arno Mayer, Princeton University, and Prof. Robert Heilbroner of the New School for Social Research.

The petition is being circulated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is sponsoring, together with the Socialist Scholars Conference, a conference on "Agencies of Social Change: Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries" at Town Hall, New York, November 29.

Mandel and two other European socialists, André Gorz, an editor of *les Temps Modernes*, and Lucien Goldmann of the Sorbonne, are on the program.

Mandel has also been invited to speak in early December at six leading Eastern universities: MIT, Princeton, Amherst, Vassar, Columbia, and the New School for Social Research. He has also been invited to participate in an MIT-sponsored conference in Boston on "Problems of Conversion from Military to Civilian Production in the Economy" with Professor Galbraith and Dr. Luria.

The State Department has received a spate of letters, calls, and telegrams from university presidents, faculty members, scientists and influential intellectuals, demanding that Mandel be permitted to fulfill these engagements.

They insist on the right of Americans to hear his views in person as well as to read his books and articles.

In a letter to the *New York Times*, eight of the petition signers condemned the "egregious violation of academic freedom" in Mandel's case and called upon the public to make Washington reverse its decision.

Under similar pressures, the State Department recently rescinded its bans upon other European radicals and upon the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes.

Further protest actions are planned if the government does not promptly grant Mandel a visa.

New Mobilization to Nixon:

End 'peace' fraud! Bring the GIs home!

[The following is the text of an Oct. 21 position paper issued by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.]

With opposition to the war mounting, not only in the traditional anti-war movement, but throughout American society, it is likely that President Nixon will make another effort at appeasing public opinion. He may do this by reducing American troop strength, by announcing a cease fire or by similar measures. The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam does not, however, regard such actions as steps to peace, but only as modifications of a strategy for continued and perhaps enlarged warfare.

The present war strategy includes three distinct elements:

1. U. S. military and economic aid to the Thieu-Ky government.
2. U. S. combat forces which do the actual fighting.
3. U. S. bombing and logistical support.

The Nixon strategy proposes to eliminate only the ground combat troops supplied by the United States, and continue the two other elements of the strategy unchanged. Mr. Nixon has no intention of ending the war, but merely of changing assignments between the United States and its puppet allies. He has stated that he intends to withdraw only "the major portion" of U.S. forces until he can obtain the political concessions he seeks.

Mr. Nixon, like Mr. Johnson, wants

"peace" in the sense that he is willing to stop the fighting only if Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government accept a formula by which the fascist Thieu-Ky regime (or a similar pro-American regime) would remain in power, and the United States, would retain its base in Vietnam. This kind of a "peace," of course, is a fraud, which, in fact, demands surrender by Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Unfortunately for Mr. Nixon—as for Mr. Johnson—the American people want to get out of Vietnam. They are sick of the deaths, sick of the inflation, sick of the cut in living standards, sick of the tension, sick of confronting the danger of an enlarged war. To appease the American people, therefore, Nixon is seeking to reduce casualties by disengaging from ground combat. BUT HE HAS NO INTENTION TO DISENGAGE FROM THE WAR ITSELF UNLESS AND UNTIL HE WINS THE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES THE AMERICAN RULING CIRCLES HAVE DEMANDED FROM THE BEGINNING—military bases, spheres of influence and trade, the continued presence of puppet regimes—in short, an iron ring around China.

No matter how many troop reductions he orders, therefore, there can be no real end to this war until:

1. The United States stops all military action against the Vietnamese on the ground and in the air.
2. All United States troops, equipment, planes, and helicopters are with-

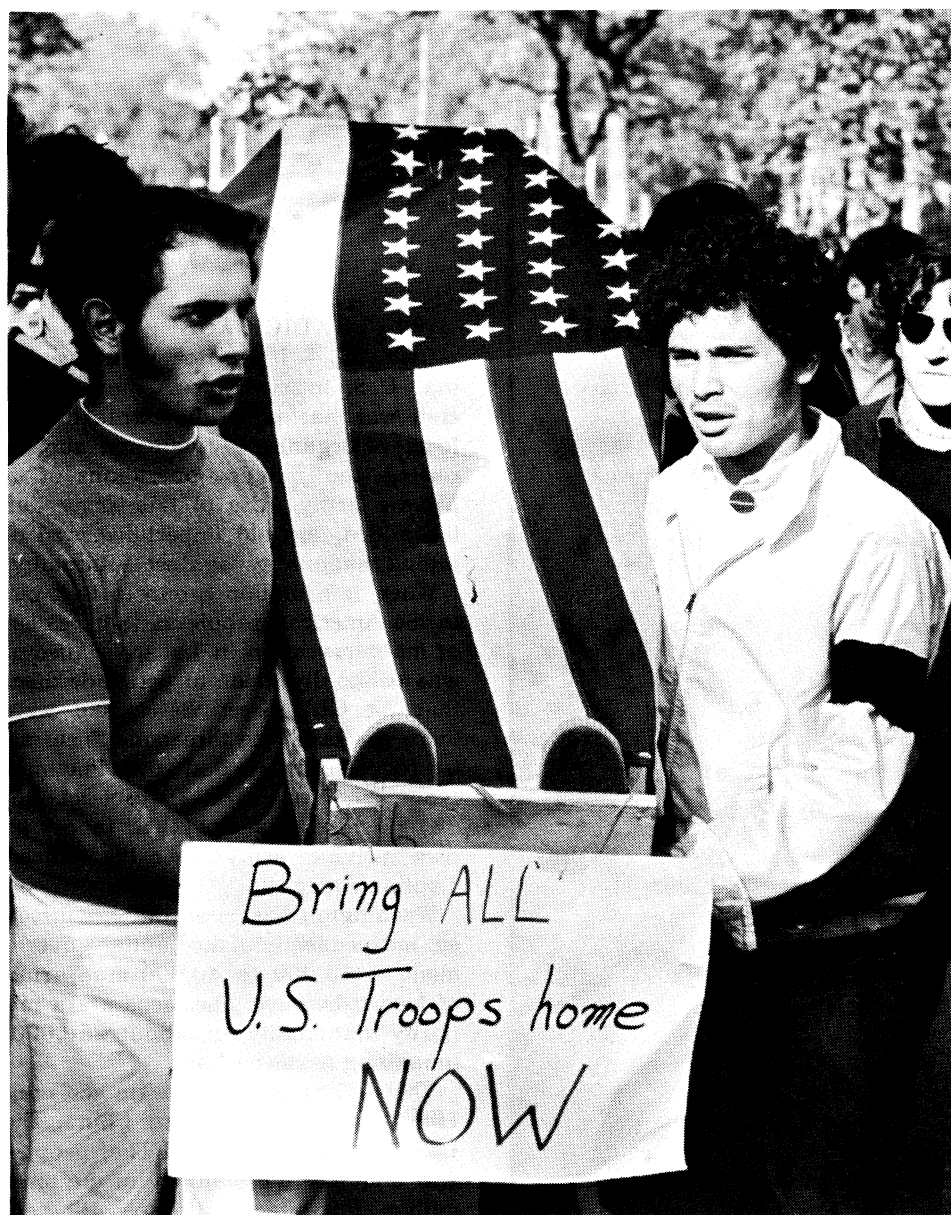


Photo by Michael Hardy

New York high schoolers, Oct. 15.

drawn, and United States bases are dismantled.

3. All support is withdrawn from the Thieu-Ky government, and the people of Vietnam are permitted to decide their own fate.

These three items are not capable of negotiation at the talks in Paris. Rather, they must be announced there by the United States as its unilateral decision for withdrawal. Then, and only then, can the Paris talks concern themselves with the only item which can be negotiated: reparations to the Vietnamese people for the damage the United States has done to their country. Surely, we have the responsibility to the Vietnamese people. We cannot, however, replace the lives

lost, or the bodies that have been maimed. We can make amends for the damage we have done to property and crops, homes and institutions, villages and farms.

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will not be deflected from its aims by the deceptive "peace" plans of the Nixon administration. We do not regard them as steps toward peace but as a means for beguiling the American people into acceptance of a longer and possibly more costly war. We will not rest until all troops and equipment are withdrawn from Vietnam and the United States renounces all military pacts to defend corrupt and dictatorial governments.

Phila. teachers set strike against Afro 'pupil control'

PHILADELPHIA — The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers voted to strike Oct. 24 if black students at West Philadelphia High School win their demand for the transfer of history teacher George Fishman. The students feel Fishman ignores black history in his classes, avoids all controversial discussion, and is not providing quality education to his college-bound classes.

Students at the virtually all-black school have been boycotting Fishman's classes since Oct. 14. Following the boycott's initiation, principal Walter Scott requested of the board of education that Fishman be transferred.

The boycott has been the culmination of 10 months of students' complaints about Fishman and Fishman's failure to meet with a student committee formed to discuss changing his teaching methods. Although Fishman has written on Afro-American history for *Freedomways* and other publications, Richard Lawrence, a leader of the boycotting students, charged that, "He has consistently refused to share his knowledge with us." Fishman has reportedly gone so far as to ignore the role of black people in Reconstruction in a class he teaches on the Reconstruction era!

Philadelphia Federation of Teachers President Frank Sullivan, scheduling a vote on whether to strike for Fri.,

Oct. 24, said, "This is the issue of community control or pupil control, and I know that teachers will support the union."

The racist union bureaucrats have been attempting to whip up antiblack hysteria in the union for some time. They have opposed the teaching of Afro-American history in the schools and have supported police attacks on black student demonstrations. The union has called for the presence of police in predominantly black schools on many occasions.

Along with strike ballots, the union has sent out a leaflet on the West Philadelphia High School situation entitled, "One Day in the Life of a Pupil-Controlled School." The leaflet denounces the student boycott and charges the principal with permitting the boycott and allowing parents and community organizations to enter the school. The leaflet compares concessions to black students to Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown.

On Oct. 26, 250 teachers, students, parents and members of the black community organizations met to hear the students defend their boycott. The meeting was called by Citizens for Progress, a West Philadelphia black organization. The sentiment was overwhelmingly in support of the students and plans were initiated to keep the schools open in the event of a strike.

Texas slates conference on revolutionary socialism

By MIKE MAGGI

AUSTIN, Texas, Oct. 31 — The fall offensive will culminate in the Southwest during the Socialist Educational Conference being held at the University of Texas in Austin Dec. 6-7. The conference is sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and will bring young socialists together from all over the Southwest. Participants are expected from New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana as well as from Texas.

Opening the conference on Dec. 6 at 10 a.m. will be Jack Barnes speaking on "The 1960s: Era of Wars, Revolutions and Colonial Uprisings." Barnes is national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Following lunch will be a presentation by Derrick Morrison entitled, "Problems and Perspectives in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination." Morrison is a member of the YSA national executive committee and active in the black liberation movement. Then will follow Linda Jenness speaking on "Cuba: 10 Years After the Revolution." She was the socialist candidate for mayor of Atlanta and was in Cuba for the 10th Anniversary celebration last January.

An evening session will announce the socialist candidates for governor of

Texas and for U.S. Senate. This will be the first public meeting of the campaign. A party will close the day's activities.

On Sunday, Dec. 7, the session will begin with workshops and panel discussions on topics including women's liberation, socialist election campaigns, black liberation, Chicano liberation, and a Palestinian liberation panel. Arab groups have been invited to participate in the latter panel.

The afternoon session will include a presentation on "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Vietnam" by Jack Barnes. Closing the conference will be Dan Styron on "How To Make a Revolution in the U.S." Styron is a member of the national committee of the SWP.

The conference will mark the beginning of an active regional drive leading to the YSA national convention in Minneapolis later in the month. The socialist candidates for governor of Texas and U.S. Senate will be beginning their state-wide campaign as well.

A free conference poster and brochure can be ordered from the Young Socialist Alliance, Texas Union, Room 354, University of Texas, Austin, Tx. 78712. Information on housing will be sent.

West Coast bureaucrats push to impose line

Continue divisive moves on Nov. 15

By LEW JONES

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 30—Efforts to reunite forces and negotiate differences over the character of the Nov. 15 antiwar demonstration here (see *The Militant*, Oct. 31) have so far been frustrated by temporary cochairman of the West Coast New Mobilization Committee Terrence Hallinan and his supporters.

Hallinan and fellow cochairman Donald Kalish, after seeing their proposals rejected in democratic debate, had attempted to seize control of the slated demonstration by strong-arm tactics, red-baiting, exclusion, and a midnight raid on the Nov. 15 headquarters. They hoped to impose on the mobilization, by these methods, their own reformist political line, using the speakers' platform of the Nov. 15 action not to represent the diverse forces involved in the antiwar movement, but to promote their own version of a liberal Democratic coalition for next year's elections, especially in California.

Many groups in the western area have condemned the proposals and the scandalous behavior of Hallinan and

BULLETIN. Oct. 31 — Peter Camejo was found not guilty in the Berkeley 3 "conspiracy" trial. The jury was unable to arrive at a verdict on Jack Bloom and Paul Glusman.

Kalish. For example, a Student Mobilization Committee meeting of more than a hundred people at the University of Washington unanimously adopted a statement that said in part:

"We deplore the attempt of leaders of the so-called Working Committee to circumvent and reverse decisions made by the Membership Committee and by a previous open meeting of the Working Committee. We denounce the tactics of exclusion and force which were used to accomplish these ends. These elitist maneuvers must be condemned by the entire movement."

The Northern California regional steering committee meeting of the SMC (see story page 9) rejected the introduction of bureaucratic methods and reformist politics into the movement. They called for building Nov. 15 on the basis of a nonexclusive coalition of all forces committed to the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

While elitist domination of the antiwar movement is being condemned in many quarters, activists are also seeking to pull together a broad and united

GI conference slated for D.C. on Nov. 13-14

A National Conference on GI Rights will be held Nov. 13 and 14 in Washington, D.C. The conference was initiated by the GI Defense Organization.

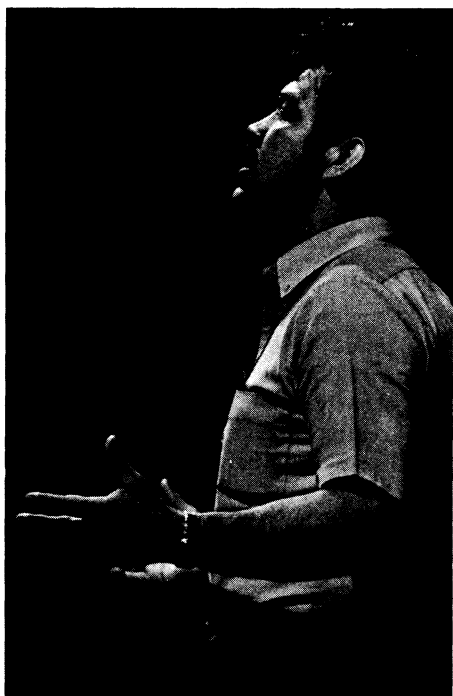
On Nov. 13, following an opening plenary session, panels will be held on "Black and Minority GIs," "First Amendment Rights of Citizen-Soldiers," "The Uniform Code of Military Justice and Due Process," "The Uniform Code of Military Justice and Recommendations," and "Human Rights in Military Prisons."

The following day there will be panels on "GI-Civilian Joint Action for Rights," "Legislation and Publicity for GI Rights," and "Amnesty for Dissenters."

All sessions will be held at the Shoreham Hotel, 2500 Calvert St. N.W. Registration begins at 8 a.m. on Nov. 13. For further information write to the GI Defense Organization, 431 S. Dearborn, Suite 813, Chicago, Ill. 60605, or LINK, 1029 Vermont N.W., Room 200, Washington, D.C. 20005.

nonexclusive coalition of forces opposed to the war including the splitters. Several attempts have been made to engage Hallinan et al. in negotiations to resolve the dispute so that a united Nov. 15 demonstration can occur.

Over 250 people at an Oct. 23 meeting of the New Mobilization Membership Committee (NMMC, formerly Bay Area Peace Action Council) elected a representative committee of six to meet with six people of Hallinan's group to see if there is any basis for common action. This committee—composed of Ed Farley, former director of the Proposition P antiwar referendum in San Francisco, Lew Jones of the Socialist Workers Party, Alex Forman of the Joe Hill Caucus of SDS, Gayle Justice



VETOED. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, widely respected Denver Chicano leader. Terrence Hallinan wants to exclude him as Nov. 15 antiwar rally speaker.

of the Peace and Freedom Party, Thora Housman of AFT Local 1928 and Paul Trafficante, NMMC treasurer—has so far been rebuffed by Hallinan.

A second effort was made at on Oct. 25 meeting of the national New Mobilization Committee cochairmen and project directors in Philadelphia. Bertha Dertic of the Peace and Freedom Party was selected by the New Mobilization Membership Committee to attend this meeting and present the activists' side of the story and seek agreement. Hallinan was also present.

After some heated debate, Hallinan agreed to a representative list of eight speakers and to a 16-person negotiating committee which would meet to resolve the differences between the two West Coast Nov. 15 organizations.

The eight speakers Hallinan agreed to were: Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers; David Hilliard, Black Panther Party; Andrew Pulley, formerly Ft. Jackson GIs United; Ralph Abernathy, SCLC; Rennie Davis, Conspiracy Eight; Sen. Charles Goodell; Wayne Morse; and Corky Gonzales, Denver Crusade for Justice.

Things looked fine until Hallinan left Philadelphia. In what has become routine bureaucratic behavior, Hallinan went to Los Angeles where he played a leading role in a handpicked meeting of the Los Angeles NMC steering committee which voted to exclude the UCLA Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee and the SWP from the Los Angeles NMC.

Far from appealing for unity at this handpicked exclusionary meeting, Hallinan, it is reliably reported, launched into another red-baiting attack on the SWP. His report of the Philadelphia meeting was totally fallacious. Barely mentioning the negotiating committee, he stated it probably

wouldn't meet and if it did, it would not have any power.

Hallinan then returned to the Bay Area to release his own Nov. 15 speakers' list to the press. This list, which omitted Gonzales, Pulley and Goodell, even violated the decision of his own handpicked group which had met a week earlier.

Hallinan's exclusionary New Mobilization Committee announced itself as the "sole authorized representative unit of the New Mobilization on the West Coast," purportedly by decision of the national cochairmen and project directors of the New Mobe. It is probably irrelevant to the Hallinan group that those attending the Philadelphia meeting specifically did not vote on this matter, leaving it to the 16-person negotiating committee to decide such problems.

In the meantime, Hallinan has found one pretext after another to avoid holding the meeting decided on in Philadelphia. At this writing, a meeting of the negotiating committee has finally been set for tomorrow night, Oct. 31. It is hoped this meeting can reach agreement on the character of Nov. 15, although the bureaucratic behavior of Hallinan and his supporters leaves little room for hope.

The western-area antiwar movement has been confronted by a right-wing

'Movement' photographer was a stoolie for the FBI

By JOEL ABER

NEW YORK—At any radical gathering here during the past year, it is likely you would have seen Louis Salzberg and his camera. The ubiquitous, fortyish Mr. Salzberg generously offered his services as a movement photographer to radical publications at a nominal fee. His photos were good—obviously professional. As it turns out, Louis Salzberg has one serious flaw. He's a fink. He works for the FBI.

Salzberg's profession as an FBI undercover man was revealed Oct. 23 when he testified for the prosecution in the Chicago Eight conspiracy trial.

Salzberg first appeared on the New York radical scene as a member of Veterans and Reservists Against the War in Vietnam, a group that included a number of ultralefts who were later instrumental in forming the Crazies. He also hung around Veterans for Peace in Vietnam and the Fifth Ave. Peace Parade Committee.

From the onset of their formation, Salzberg was often seen with the Crazies and he was arrested with several of them when they attempted to enter a League for Industrial Democracy dinner for Hubert Humphrey allegedly using bogus tickets. Yet Salzberg had a police press card that would have gained him entrance. Following his arrest, he had no difficulty getting three more of the often hard-to-come-by press cards that are issued by the New York police.

Motivated purely by magnanimity, of course, the enterprising Mr. Salzberg formed his own "company"—the "New York Press Service." Sheldon Ramsdell, a movement photographer, assuming that this outfit was legitimate, agreed to enter partnership with Salzberg.

Salzberg never bothered to inform Ramsdell that his photos were finding their way to FBI archives. Writing on the case of the New York Press Service in the Oct. 29 *New York Post*, columnist James Wechsler commented on Ramsdell's plight: "One might say that he was so secret an agent that he was



VETOED. Ex-GI Andrew Pulley, who helped found GIs United. Terrence Hallinan wants to exclude him as Nov. 15 antiwar rally speaker.

tendency that is on an insane campaign to rule or ruin the movement. Its outrageously crude maneuvering deserves the fullest condemnation of those opposed to the war, and this can best be shown by a massive Nov. 15 march based on the demand for immediate withdrawal of all troops and nonexclusive, democratic norms.

Supporters are urged to write to the Nov. 15 Action or the Student Mobilization Committee at 2170 Grant, San Francisco, Calif.

denied access to his own secret."

"On any roster of innocent victims of wartime absurdity," says Wechsler, "Sheldon Ramsdell deserves prominent mention."

Ramsdell began to wonder how Salzberg, who said at various times that he had three to five children, got the money to set up the press service. Salzberg informed him variously that a father-in-law, and/or an uncle (Uncle Sam?), was helping him out.

Now Salzberg admits that he was being paid \$600 a week plus expenses by the FBI for his "press service."

Not surprisingly, Salzberg used to work for *El Tiempo*, a Spanish-language New York daily with the politics of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles.

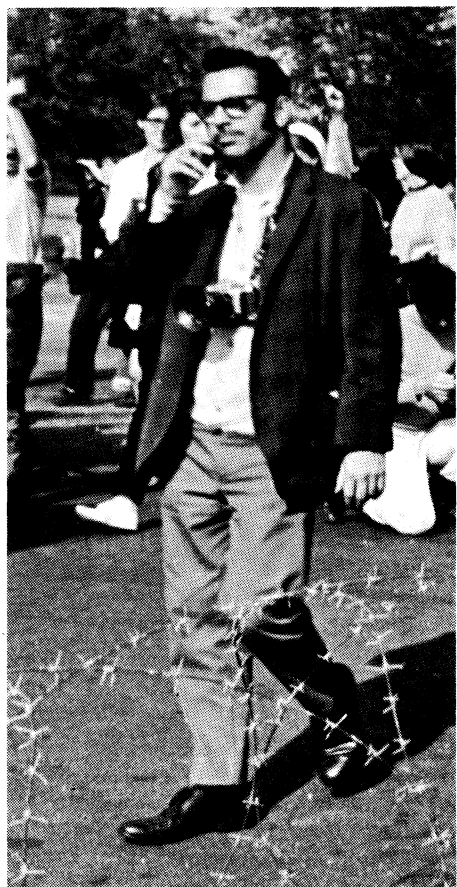


Photo by Michael Hardy

Louis (fink) Salzberg

Key issue in fight for peace

Red-baiters and antiwar movement

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

NEW YORK — At a New Mobilization Committee press conference held here Oct. 28 to publicize plans for mobilizing a quarter million New Yorkers for the Nov. 15 March on Washington, Irving Beinin of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and a member of the New Mobe steering committee, told the press:

"The Oct. 15 Moratorium was the clearest possible example of the growth of the peace forces in the United States. Those who expressed their opposition to the war came from all spectrums of American life. Now the attempt is being made to undercut the growing antiwar movement, to divide it, to make it seem like an insignificant force composed only of the organized radicals.

"But we will have no part of red-baiting and we will exclude no one from the peace movement.

"It is Agnew, not the peace movement, who will be discredited by such red-baiting attacks."

The statement came in response to a question concerning the attitude of the New Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee toward the red-baiting attacks being focused on those two organizations in particular. The particular red-baiting device being used is that these coalitions include Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party members in their leadership.

Earlier in the week, Stewart Meacham,



Agnew

one of the national officers of the New Mobilization, told the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, "We're not going to engage in a McCarthyite type of smear against the movement. My reaction is that the activity in Washington Nov. 15 is based on three principles: non-exclusion; the total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and material from Vietnam; and legal and nonviolent action in Washington and San Francisco."

The red-baiting attack against the antiwar movement began in earnest on the eve of the Oct. 15 Moratorium, with the demands from Nixon's hatchet-men that the antiwar movement repudiate a message of greetings from the Vietnamese people.

Simultaneously, various right-wing congressmen began to step up their campaign to read into the Congressional Record all the FBI and police dossiers they could scrape together. Such reports purport to "reveal" what every antiwar activist knows already — that the antiwar movement involves individuals of all political persuasions, including communists, socialists, anarchists, Democrats, Republicans, pacifists, etc., and that members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have played a prominent role in building the antiwar movement since its inception.

Typical of the kinds of attacks made in Congress was the one by Rep. John Ashbrook on Oct. 16, listing all the members of the New Mobe steering Com-

mittee, the officers and staff of the SMC, the history of both organizations, and so forth—all of which is fully public knowledge, of course.

Indicative of the "shocking" revelations made was the statement, "Two individuals who are serving on the NMC and SMC are Carol Lipman and Allan Myers. Both are members of the YSA, with Carol Lipman, a member of the staff of the *Young Socialist*, the national magazine of the YSA, and in addition the executive secretary of SMC. Allan Myers is the editor of the *GI Press Service*, a service which recently published a listing of GI antiwar newspapers and their locations at the various military bases." (!)

Such "inside dope" has been subsequently picked up by columnists and editorial writers in a number of papers around the country as part of the ongoing attempt to stop the growing momentum of the antiwar movement, to prevent it from reaching new heights during the Nov. 13-14 activities, and particularly to attempt to scare off thousands of participants in the Nov. 15 march on Washington.

But such red-baiting has not been a one-way street. The reaction against it has made clear that the mood of the country is far from that which prevailed in the early 1950s, and that attempted smear attacks don't go over so easily. Even some members of congress reacted to Agnew's more heavy-handed broadsides — although they certainly agree in principle with his general approach.

And the *Boston Globe*, which printed a major "expose" of SWP leader Peter Camejo, who was one of the speakers at the Oct. 15 rally in Boston, felt constrained to follow it up the next day with a totally "straight" news article.

The issue of red-baiting, and how the antiwar movement responds to it, is of crucial importance to the continued strength and effectiveness of the forces fighting for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Once even the slightest concessions are made to the pressure for political exclusion of some forces, the floodgates are open, as they were in the late '40s and '50s, for the witch-hunters to go to work again. Only by uncompromising, unequivocal commitment to the policy of non-exclusion can the American public be educated on how to deal with the witch-hunters.

We will return to this crucial issue next week.



How students were busted by D.C. cops

By WALTER DIXON

WASHINGTON, D.C.—One of the Oct. 15 antiwar actions that received widespread publicity was the demonstration of black students in front of the White House. Most of the stories—as in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*—falsely reported that we tried to "charge" the White House grounds. In reality we were attacked by the police without warning.

The demonstration was originally planned early in October by the newly formed coalition of Washington D.C. Black Student Unions, created to combat problems in the black community.

On Oct. 15 a mock funeral procession, consisting of some 300 students, started at Calvin Coolidge High School and proceeded to the White House. On arriving, we demanded that the coffin, containing protest letters and pictures of the war, be accepted by a representative of President Nixon.

The guards asked us to wait, indicating that a White House representative would accept the coffin—and then called the Metropolitan Police and the Park Police.

Without warning, the protesters were pushed away from the White House and soon the peaceful protest broke into violence when people were beaten and arrested by police. The protesters reacted in anger and the coffin was thrown back at police.

Four youths were arrested before we split and joined the mass rally at the Sylvan Theater ground. They were Maurice Lawrence and Michael Rucker of the Black Liberation Legion, and Michael Blackey and John Agard of the Coolidge High School BSU. Rucker, who was one of the monitors, was charged with the "illegal use of a bullhorn," and the other three were charged with disorderly conduct.

Worcester-area high school SMC

WORCESTER, Mass. — Students from 15 Worcester area high schools, public, private, and parochial, have formed a Worcester Area High School Student Mobilization Committee (WAHSSMC). As an organization we will provide impetus for changes within the high schools. We also recognize the importance of being involved with social issues. Thus, we are currently petitioning for the elimination of dress codes in schools where they have not already been abolished; and we are working with community members and students from area colleges for the Nov. 13-15 national action against the war.

The morning of Nov. 3, there will be leafleting at the high schools to make the students aware of the presence and of the purposes of WAHSSMC. That afternoon we are holding a press conference at Little Commons, Clark University, Worcester, to inform the public of the formation of our organization.

Women's a

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

SAN FRANCISCO—Women will march behind their own banner—"Women Against the War in Vietnam"—on Nov. 15 in San Francisco. The women's contingent is being organized by the Women's Task Force of the Student Mobilization Committee.

The Task Force was formed at a "Women and the War" workshop at an SMC regional conference in September and is working at involving women in mass action against the war. A leaflet directed to women, asking them to march in the women's contingent Nov. 15, is being distributed at shopping centers. A speaker's bureau has been set up to go to women's organizations and ask them to endorse the march and write their own leaflets.

The next project is to bring the war to the society pages of the newspapers.



Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

New York's Bryant Park Oct. 15



Photo by Manuel Russell

Boston-area SMCer at work

Antiwar contingent in S.F.

Women's page editors have been asked to a press conference where GIs' wives, women professionals, welfare mothers and women's liberation activists will discuss how they are affected by the war.

Count Marco, whose column in the *San Francisco Chronicle* once stated that it is scandalous and unfeminine for women to demonstrate, has been invited. We want him to see that masses of women are organizing in opposition to this war!

Another columnist, the roving "Question Man," has agreed to use several questions submitted by the Women's

Task Force—"Is it ladylike for women to march against the war?" and "Are women affected by the war?" Women in the group have also written letters to "Dear Abby," describing how they intend to march Nov. 15, though their husbands insist they stay home and take care of the children.

Ten radio stations have asked for interviews with women from the Task Force.

The Liberation Women's Union has endorsed the march and is organizing child care in churches along the march route so that mothers are free to participate.

Northern Calif. SMC meet maps plans for Nov. 15

SAN FRANCISCO — Students representing 26 high schools and colleges attended the northern California regional Student Mobilization Committee coordinating committee meeting at Cal. State College in Hayward Oct. 26. They represented schools throughout northern California from Humboldt to Stan-

islaus. The meeting finalized plans for the student contingent for the Nov. 15 march in San Francisco, urged a student speaker at the march, and raised proposals for other actions during the fall offensive.

The week of Nov. 8 through 14 is projected as a week of intensive antiwar activity, including debates, rallies, antiwar fairs (to help raise money for buses), and a Nov. 10 vets rally. Nov. 11, a legal holiday, will be used to leaflet GIs. Early on the morning of the 14th, there will be a march on to the Golden Gate Bridge with "Bring all the troops home now" banners.

Many campuses will have rallies on the morning of the 14th and then go out into the community to urge all to join the Nov. 15 march. Many schools are also planning a response to Nixon's Nov. 3 speech with debates and symposiums.

The next coordinating committee meeting will occur after the march. Plans for December include a war crimes tribunal and the schools are at work on the research now. Such a tribunal will be made up of GIs with indictments based on subcommittee reports from high schools, junior colleges, state colleges, state universities, private schools, women and third-world students.

Nov. 15 march keeps building

By RICHARD FEIGENBERG

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Despite efforts by the Nixon administration to divide and isolate the antiwar movement through red-baiting, the momentum for the Nov. 15 mass march continues.

These attempts have not been successful; they have not stopped organizations like the Vietnam Moratorium Committee from supporting the march on Washington.

In an Oct. 21 press conference, the coordinators of the Moratorium Committee vowed to be marching on Nov. 15 and urged their constituencies to be in Washington or San Francisco.

In the local Washington area, SMCs and other antiwar groups aligned with the SMC are springing up on campuses and in high schools every day. There are now such groups on at least 11 campuses and in over 50 high schools and junior highs. Countywide SMCs exist in Montgomery, Fairfax, Prince George and Washington counties. Besides individual school- and countywide meetings, regional meetings every week draw over 200 activists. Similar enthusiastic reports also continue to come in from all areas of the country.

One of the most promising reports is from DeKalb, Ill. The Northern Illinois University student government has pledged \$7,500 to the local SMC to help transport people to Washington for the Nov. 15 march.

Internationally, the SMC has been in touch with groups and individuals in nearly every country in the world. Demonstrations in coordination with the U.S. fall offensive are planned in: Japan, England, New Zealand, Canada, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Australia and France.

In conjunction with the Japanese antiwar movement, the SMC is planning a demonstration against the war in Vietnam, against the U.S.-Japan security treaty and against U.S. occupation of Okinawa around the time of Japanese Premier Sato's visit to the U.S. later this month. The treaty, which gives the U.S. the right to establish bases in Japan, comes up for renewal next year. Premier Sato is coming to the U.S. to discuss extending the treaty in its present form on Nov. 17. The Japanese antiwar movement has already had a number of large demonstrations protesting the treaty, and more are planned, culminating with a send-off demonstration for Sato Nov. 17.

Capitulating to these demonstrations, Sato has now called for reversion of Okinawa, but continues to favor allowing the U.S. to keep its bases there and use them for bombing raids on Vietnam. Gensuikin, the Japan Congress Against A and H Bombs, is sending two representatives to the U.S. to take part in the Nov. 15 march on Washington. They will also take part in the SMC demonstration against Sato's visit.

The fight against the U.S.-Japan security treaty and U.S. occupation of Okinawa is an integral part of both the Japanese antiwar movement and the American antiwar movement.

Nixon will be going on television to try and stop the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam. Various rumors have been leaked about what he will say on Nov. 3. Whatever he says, the SMC will answer him in a press conference that evening. Nothing that Nixon says will prevent Nov. 15 from being perhaps the largest antiwar demonstration ever held in this country.

Plans are now being made in Washington to accommodate a half million or more people. Among other things, the SMC is planning movement centers on Nov. 13 and 14 where activists can go for political discussion and entertainment.

St. Louis groups working toward Nov. 15 turnout

ST. LOUIS—After a successful Oct. 15 rally of 7,000 at Washington University and a march in downtown St. Louis, the Greater St. Louis Peace Coalition has announced a series of Moratorium activities planned for Nov. 13 and 14, including street-corner leafletting and petitioning and a mass Nov. 13 evening send-off rally for the first busses to Washington for the Nov. 15 demonstration.

Planned for the morning of Nov. 14 are campus and high school strikes and picketing of war-related industries.

Transportation to Washington is being handled by the American Friends Service Committee, 447 DeBalivere, 862-8070. Round-trip bus fare is \$30 for students, \$35 for others. Buses leave 6 p.m. Thurs evening and 1 p.m. Friday. For information call 862-5735 or 725-3209.

Set Nov. 9 action in Houston, Texas

HOUSTON — As a stepping-stone to the Nov. 15 mass demonstration in Washington and the next stage of the fall offensive in Houston and Austin, the antiwar movement here has outlined plans for a Houston March for Peace, to take place Nov. 9, beginning at Emancipation Park (Dowling and Elgin) at 1 p.m. The march will be sponsored by the Houston Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the University of Texas Student Mobilization Committee.



Photo by Brad Lytle

RESPOND TO AGNEW. D. C. Student Mobilization press conference. Left to right: Lynn Glixon, SMC staff; Allen Myers, SMC's GI Press Service editor; Carol Lipman, SMC executive sec'y; Norman Goldstein, SMC staff.

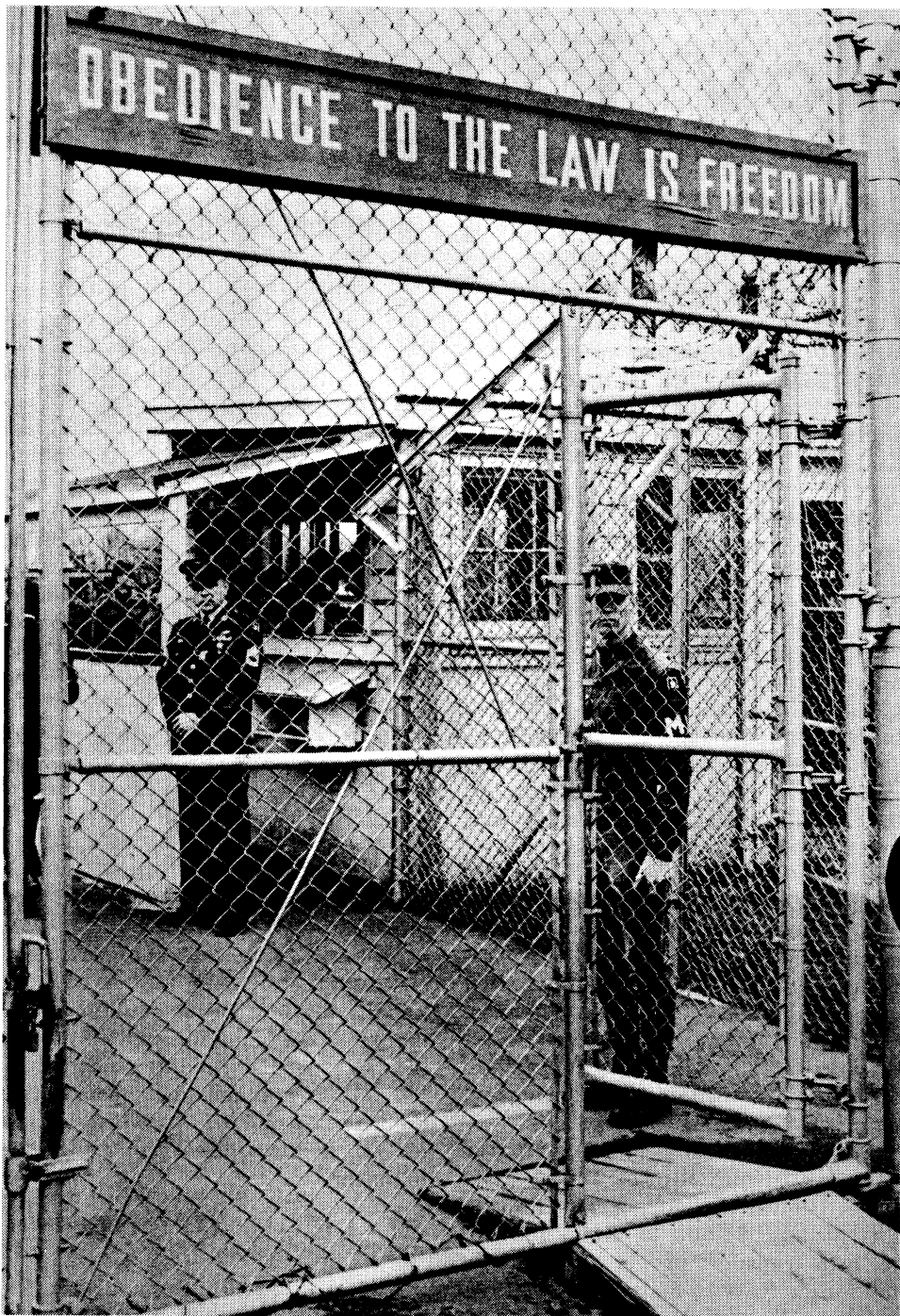


Photo by David Fenton/LNS

Entrance to Ft. Dix "freedom" stockade

Brutality in Dix stockade reported by congressman

Representative Mario Biaggi (D — N. Y.) who has been investigating conditions at military bases for several months told reporters that prisoners in the Ft. Dix, N.J. stockade received "the most inhuman treatment" he had ever witnessed.

He was referring specifically to a special diet, known as "disciplinary chow" which is given to prisoners being subjected to extra punishment. The "diet" includes a typical breakfast of two dry pancakes, two pieces of dry bread and a glass of water, and a typical lunch of one baked potato, one tablespoon of corn, one leaf of lettuce, two pieces of dry bread and one glass of water.

The base information officer defended the diet as "standard Army procedure," but Biaggi commented that "if this food were served to our prisoners of war it probably would be a violation of the Geneva Convention." The Representative also told reporters that he had received complaints of beatings by guards and failure by authorities to provide medical attention.

Biaggi's findings paralleled those of the ACLU which demanded an investigation of the Ft. Dix stockade last Jan-

uary, and simply confirmed what supporters of the antiwar GIs being held at Ft. Dix have been saying for months.

It was the intolerable conditions at Ft. Dix that sparked the stockade rebellion last June 5, in which more than 200 prisoners participated, leading to the case of the Ft. Dix 38. On that day, men from two compounds had been forced to stand at attention for five hours in the hot afternoon sun. That evening, a prisoner who asked for some water was thrown into solitary confinement, and as the word spread, the anger and frustration of the men broke loose.

Pressure from the antiwar movement has forced the brass to drop or reduce the charges against most of the 38 GIs. Four of them, however — Terry Klug, Bill Brakefield, Jeff Russell and Tom Catlow — are still facing courts-martial and will probably go on trial in November.

Tuesday, Nov. 4 has been set as the date for the opening of the first general court-martial growing out of the June 5 rebellion at the Ft. Dix Stockade. Jeffrey Russell, a Buddhist and conscientious objector, will be tried on charges of riot, arson, conspiracy, and solicitation to riot. If convicted, Russell faces a 60-year sentence.

Russell is being defended by Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League. Judith Vladeck and Curtis F. McClane are co-counsel.

Russell has been held in "disciplinary segregation" since June 6, has generally been kept on the starch and water diet, and has been allowed only one half hour of exercise daily.

BOOK REVIEW

Malcolm X anthology

MALCOLM X, The Man and His Times. Edited by John Henrik Clarke. Macmillan. 1969. xxiv. 360 pp. Cloth \$7.50, paperback \$1.95.

This is a generous collection of articles, speeches and discussions about Malcolm X by more than 20 people, some of whom knew him well, plus material by Malcolm himself. Some of the contents is printed here for the first time, some has appeared previously in books, pamphlets or periodicals. The quality is uneven—some chapters are fascinating, while others make you wonder why they are included. Although the book does not add much new light on Malcolm for readers of the previously published literature by and about that great revolutionary, it should be a welcome introduction for others — that is, the majority of the population.

The editor, John Henrik Clarke, has made an intelligent division of the book into five parts: Malcolm X, The Man in Retrospect; Malcolm X at Close Range—Personal Views; Dialogues with Malcolm X; Malcolm X Abroad; Malcolm X in His Own Words.

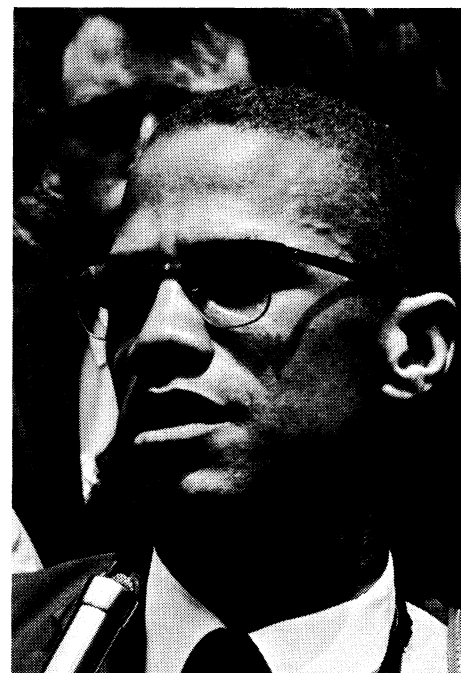
Taking them in reverse order: The fifth part is quite good, although more than half is reprinted, but it is by no means "the basic writings and speeches of the man himself," as the cover calls it. Some of Malcolm's most important ideas and insights, especially from his last year, are simply not included in these 60 pages.

"Malcolm X Abroad" is the best of the five parts, in this reader's opinion. Leslie Alexander Lacy's report on Malcolm in Ghana and Lebert Bethune's on Malcolm in Europe, while very different in style and approach, are equally revealing, and Ruby M. and E. U. Essien-Udom's long essay, "Malcolm X: An International Man," really does justice to that theme.

Two of the four dialogues are texts of television shows, both from Malcolm's Black Muslim period. They exhibit what the editor correctly calls "the quickness of his mind and the sharpness of his articulation," even when weighted down by an obligation to defend Elijah Muhammad's dogma. The highlight of this section, however, is the transcript of a tape recording Malcolm set up under a couch when two FBI agents came to his home in an attempt to buy him. (The date given for this encounter—May 29, 1964—is obviously wrong because it occurred during the period of his suspension as a Black Muslim, which ended March 8.)

The best of the "Personal Views" are those by Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, entitled "Malcolm X as a Husband and Father" (not to be confused with her article in *Ebony* last June), and "The Last Days of Malcolm X," by Earl Grant, who was one of the leaders of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

"The Man in Retrospect" section seems like a good opportunity missed. Two of the articles, by Wyatt Tee Walker and C. Eric Lincoln, are obnoxiously condescending and could well have been omitted. I don't say that because they were opponents of Malcolm—there would be a place in such a book for opponents who had something to say worth debating—but because their stuff



Malcolm X

is trite and their point of view more than well represented in the press of the ruling class.

I call it a good opportunity missed because this could have been a forum for conflicting and clashing appraisals of Malcolm. Rev. Albert Cleage's well-known speech on "Myths About Malcolm X" is reprinted here from the Merit Publishers pamphlet of that name. Omitted, however, is the other half of that pamphlet—George Breitman's reply to what many have considered to be a one-sided presentation by Rev. Cleage. Presumably, this is because the editor limited his contributions to non-whites, but an Afro-American could easily have been invited to write on the subject.

Half of James Boggs' article in this section is, as usual, devoted to belaboring the Marxists. That isn't objectionable—the revolutionary movement can only benefit from debate and confrontation of ideas—but it would be more enlightening if he would quit lumping genuine Marxists and spurious ones in the same bag. A genuine Marxist could have been found in the black community to present a Marxist evaluation of Malcolm.

Charles E. Wilson's article, "Leadership: Triumph in Leadership Tragedy," is one of the most interesting in the book; in some parts it is brilliant. But Wilson's assessment of Malcolm's leadership qualities is very controversial (and in my opinion, wrong). The book would have been much more effective and useful if another writer, with an opposing view, had been invited to challenge this part of Wilson's analysis.

There are a number of factual errors in the book, especially of dates. It is to be hoped that they will be corrected in a future edition. The subject of this book deserves nothing but the best.

—ALEX HARTE

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GE forces nationwide strike

By FRANK LOVELL
OCT. 29 — Striking electrical workers across the country who tied up the huge General Electric Corporation early Monday morning, Oct. 27, may have started a far more basic struggle for wage guarantees than either their union leaders or the company spokesmen realized when the showdown came.

Immediate aim of the strikers is a 35-cent-an-hour increase above the previous \$3.25 average hourly wage. Beyond this is the issue of protecting present wage standards against rising prices, thus challenging the administration's wage restraint policy.

Because workers in GE's many plants are divided into different, often feuding, unions, their solidarity is being tested. The unions, until now pitted one against the other, are using for the first time the method of "coalition bargaining."

Also at stake is the bargaining concept of GE known as "Boulwarism," whereby GE since 1949 has simply confronted the unions with a wages and working conditions offer on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis.

In addition, this first nationwide strike since 1946 against GE raises the question of government intervention to force a settlement. The extent and effectiveness of the strike, combined with the fact that GE is one of the chief beneficiaries of defense contracts (manufacturing some of the most sophisticated of the aerospace systems), will surely evoke congressional demands for "strike control" legislation and enforcement.

Wage issue

In accordance with its customary procedure, GE on Oct. 27 offered a 20-cents-an-hour across-the-board raise, and an additional 5 to 25 cents an hour for skilled workers. This wage scale would be in effect for one year after which time the question of wages would be renegotiated. Company negotiators have refused to budge from this offer.

The unions have demanded a basic 35-cents-an-hour raise, with an addition of 50 cents for skilled workers, for the first year of a 30-month contract. In the unions' demands, wages would increase 30 cents the second year of the contract, and go up another 25 cents at the start of the third year. Provisions are also made for cost-of-living adjustments to meet the continuous rise

in prices.
Economic uncertainty
Both sides are seeking, each in its own way, to hedge against economic contingencies. The union officials are anxious to nail down a wage settlement for the next 30 months with a modified cost-of-living clause similar to that incorporated in the 1967 contracts in the auto industry. They are willing to settle for what appears to them "equitable wages" with an added compensation to be paid somewhat in accordance with rising prices.

GE insists upon keeping all options open. It claims 20 cents an hour is its "best" offer, refusing to consider a cost-of-living escalator clause.

Moreover the electrical trust does not want to be bound by any wage agreement for more than one year because there is no certainty about the future. Many economists foresee the possibility of an economic downturn by the time another year comes around. In such an eventuality, GE anticipates that it may be in a very much stronger bargaining position with the increase of unemployment. Even if the inflationary spiral continues to climb at the present rate, a cutback in production and the accompanying increase in unemployment would place the employers in a position to launch a broadside against the unions and drive down the standard of living of the workers.

There is no guarantee that such an opportunity for the employers will present itself in the course of economic developments, but it is part of GE tradition never to close off in advance any possible opportunity to cut wages and raise profits.

Boulwarism

Among the giant corporations in this country GE has been most free to conduct its labor relations in a manner that was the envy of all the others. This was possible because of the weak, rival unions within its vast empire. This resulted mainly from the bureaucratic, cold-war expulsion of the United Electrical workers from the CIO in 1949 and the organization of a rival CIO union, the International Union of Electrical Workers.

This circumstance of dual and feuding unions made possible the GE labor policy known as "Boulwarism," thought by some to be a clever formula for big business to deal with organized workers.

The term derives from a former GE vice-president in charge of labor relations, Lemuel R. Boulware, who simply took advantage of union weakness and disorganization to dictate his own terms.

That long period of union weakness appears now to have been overcome, at least for the beginning stages of the present strike.

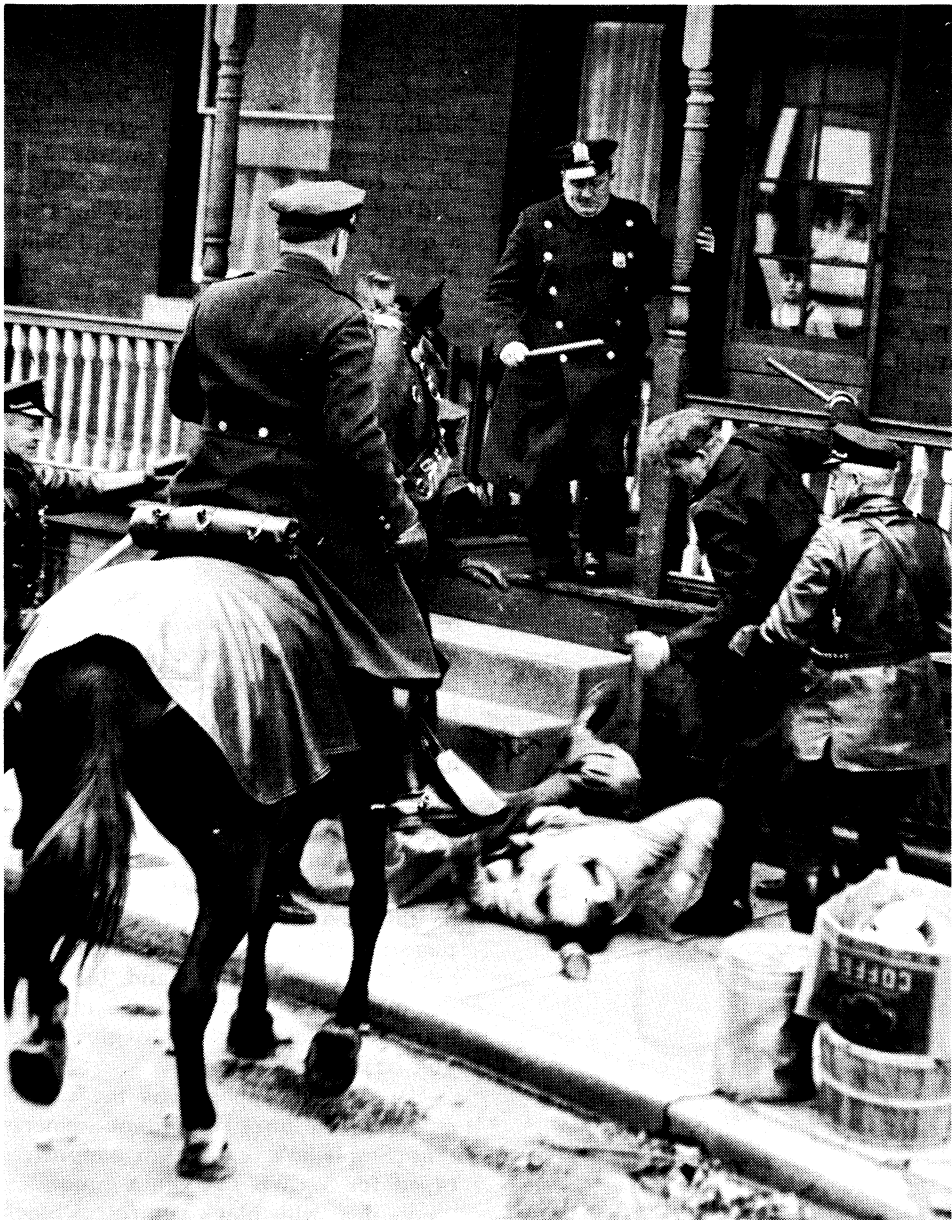
Coalition bargaining

This strike was called by a coalition of 13 unions representing GE workers, most in the AFL-CIO. These 13 include: Independent United Electrical Workers (representing 88,500 of GE's 310,000 employees), the International Association of Machinists, the Carpenters, Steelworkers, Plumbers, Sheetmetal Workers, Technical Engineers; also (not in the AFL-CIO) the United Auto Workers, and the Teamsters. In addition, the United Electrical Workers (independent), representing the second largest group of GE employees (16,000) is striking in collaboration with IUE.

The fact that all these unions could reach agreement on a common action is a great advance over their previous condition of disunity and disorganization.

Government intervention

Even though the Nixon administration piously claims it wants to avoid



FEB. 28, 1946: Famed photo of cop violence in last nationwide strike against GE.

interference in the "free collective bargaining process," it was clear from the beginning that ways were being sought by government agents to strengthen the hand of the corporation.

A team of government mediators, headed by Walter A. Maggiolo of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, attempted to extend negotiations beyond the strike deadline. Both sides rejected these efforts.

However, the unions under the leadership of IUE president Paul Jennings offered to submit all questions in dispute to arbitration. This was rejected by GE.

The outcome of such arbitration proceedings as proposed by the unions in this instance have rarely resulted in major gains for workers, especially when undertaken to avoid a strike. The failure of government spokesmen to score GE's arrogant attitude for its outright rejection of arbitration clearly shows how sympathetic and completely subservient these government agents are to the attitude and aims of the corporation.

President Jennings of IUE has charged in the first day of the strike that Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz plays along with GE by advancing arguments long ago dropped by corporation spokesmen, such as the timeworn one that the company cannot afford to pay union wage demands.

Union power

There are no clever means for winning over government agencies to the union side. The success of union negotiations depends in the final analysis upon the independent power of the unions and their ability to keep the 280 GE plants in 33 states tied up.

Even though GE announced its intention to challenge this power and has for the past two decades kept the unions off balance, the present strike clearly demonstrates a new relationship.

Everywhere the strikers have set up mass picket lines and are keeping the scabs — supervisors as well as non-union production workers — out of the

plants. This has led to some picket line clashes and at the huge Schenectady, N. Y., plant there were arrests of strikers. A strike leader there was reported to have told police, "If you want a war, we'll give you a war." This undoubtedly expresses the sentiment of the membership in all the unions now battling General Electric.

In Philadelphia where another GE plant was closed, one of the strikers, referring to prices in an A&P store window across the street from the picket line, said, "That's why we're out here."

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Westinghouse sets price hike

On the very day strikers closed General Electric plants, GE's principal competitor in the household appliances field—Westinghouse Electric Corp.—announced a price increase on all 1970 model refrigerators, washers, dryers, ranges, waterheaters, etc.

Company spokesmen said the exact price hikes would be announced as the new models are introduced.

This must be the electrical industry's answer to Nixon's "fight inflation" letter of Oct. 18. They are saying that any wage gains will be passed on to consumer in the form of higher prices . . . with enough extra to keep all-time high profits up.

Westinghouse's contract with the electrical workers union expires Nov. 9.

Campaign windup

Stapleton and Stokes to debate

By DAVID WULP
CLEVELAND, Oct. 27 — Carl Stokes, incumbent Democratic Party candidate for mayor, has agreed to debate Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Syd Stapleton before the City Club Nov. 2. Such a debate between mayoral candidates is traditional in big city elections here. The Republican challenger, Ralph Perk, has refused to appear.
As the campaign moves into its last week, it has gotten harder and harder to differentiate between the positions of Stokes and Perk. Both candidates are hitting the "law-and-order" ques-



tion equally hard. Recently Stokes has gone beyond calling for more police and suggested that the source of the problem is "permissive parents." He has even indicated, in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, that the solution to the problem is "more whippings."
On the campus, the mayoralty campaign will have its greatest impact Oct.

Japanese protest H-bomb flights from Okinawa

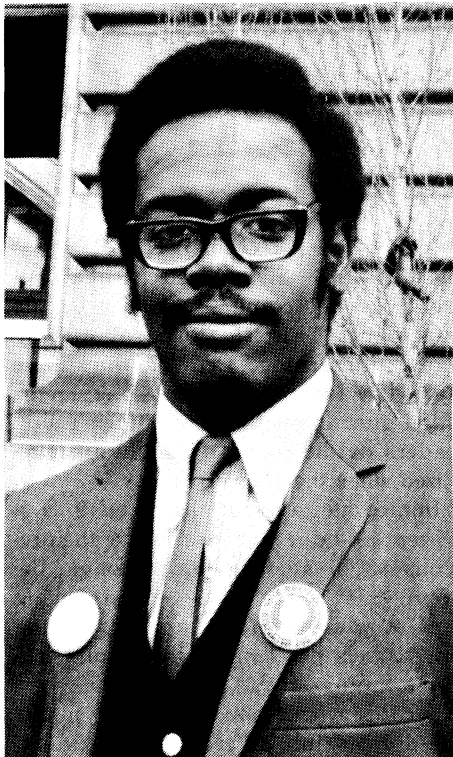
U.S. B-52 bombers based on Okinawa have been carrying H-bombs on regular patrol missions in the vicinity of China and North Korea, the Japanese news agency Kyodo cabled October 23.
The agency claimed to base its report on "reliable sources" in Okinawa. According to these sources, the B-52s fly out of Kadena air base at 2:30 p.m. in a six-plane formation, always accompanied by KC135 refueling tankers. The first two planes in the formation are believed to carry the H-bombs.
The Kyodo report touched off a wave of protest on the American-occupied Japanese island where the bombers are based. Even Chobyoy Yara, the liberal chief executive of the Ryukyu chain, which includes Okinawa, declared: "I am very shocked. I do not know why patrols have to be carried out, but they are desirable neither for Okinawa nor for the peace in Asia." Yara said that he would demand withdrawal of the bombers.
The Okinawa Reversion Council, which demands return of the island to Japan, has called for a strike November 13 — the same day the second round of fall antiwar actions is scheduled to begin in the U.S. — to protest Tokyo's complicity in the continued use of the territory as a military base.

31. On that day there will be a mock election for mayor and a series of referendum-style questions on the war, black control of the black community, and lowering the voting age to 19 — a question that is on the general ballot as well.
Stapleton has made support for lowering the voting age an important part of his campaign. "The right to vote can be an important weapon in the hands of young people," he says, "but like any other weapon it must be pointed in the right direction to do any good. For this reason I ask young people to consider the ideas of my campaign, to support us now."
Stapleton has had a series of dorm meetings at Case-Western Reserve University. At each of these meetings, people have volunteered to work on the campaign.
One of the most popular parts of the Stapleton campaign has been a militant attack on the Cleveland United Appeal Drive as one of the many devices used by finance capital to get workers to underwrite social services that should be financed by big business. The propaganda campaign for this appeal has hit everywhere in Cleveland, including the grade schools, where the children learn songs and cheers to give, give, give or else.
The United Appeal was the subject of one of the three spot announcements that Stapleton's campaign supporters taped for WEWS-TV. Other announcements deal with black control of black education and the war in Vietnam. Stapleton is using much of his free media time to promote the November Moratorium.
It is difficult to give the full flavor of the imagination which has gone into these announcements. However, one of the scripts will give some idea of the ways in which socialist ideas can be presented if socialists have access to the media:
Businessman: Once again it's time to dig deeply into your pocket to help the poor and needy. The Appeal appeals to you to give generously.
Worker: All right, all right. How much am I supposed to give?
Businessman: Your yearly income is? Worker: \$6,000.
Businessman: According to our schedule, you should pay \$72.
Worker: Hey, that's a lot of money.

Dissident officers reported jailed in Soviet Union

According to the Oct. 24 *New York Times*, three Soviet naval officers were arrested last June for "anti-Soviet" activities after writing an appeal calling for democratization of Soviet society.
The three were reportedly arrested in Tallinn, capital of Estonia, where they were reproducing a "program of the democratic movement of the Soviet Union" for distribution. This is the first reported case of active-duty Soviet officers arrested for recent antibureaucratic political activities, although a retired general, Pyotr Grigorenko, was arrested May 7 for supporting the Crimean Tatars' demands for self-determination.
Two of the officers were tentatively identified by the *Times* as Gavrillov and Paramonov; the third was unidentified.
The same three officers, the *Times* believes, signed an earlier letter condemning the August 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Businessman: You work for me, don't you? Well we want 100 percent in this plant. Last year we had 100 percent, and this year we want 100 percent. None of my workers are going to get out of it.
Worker: You win, sir.
Stapleton: Excuse me. I'd like to make a comment. You told your employee to give \$72 to the Appeal. That's 1.2 percent of his income. Since your corporation made \$200 million last year, you should give at least 1.2 percent, or \$2,400,000. Then he could keep his \$72. It's like taxes. If corporations were really taxed, then working people wouldn't be bled dry.
Businessman: What are you, some kind of a communist?
Stapleton: I'm Syd Stapleton, socialist candidate for mayor. I urge everyone who believes in taxing the corporations and the rich instead of the working people to support my campaign."
In addition to these spots, Stapleton has made other radio and TV appear-



James Harris

ances in more sedate format. On Oct. 31, there will be a campaign rally featuring Linda Jenness who was SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, Syd Stapleton, and two candidates endorsed by the SWP who are running for East Cleveland board of education, James Harris, an SWP member, and independent candidate Gloria Gould.

Cleveland SWP urges vote for Harris and Gould

CLEVELAND — Speaking for the Cleveland Socialist Workers Party, James E. Harris, Jr. issued the following statement:
"I want to ask everyone who believes in quality education to vote for me and Mrs. Gloria Gould for the two vacant seats to be filled on the East Cleveland board of education. The racial character of East Cleveland is changing, and so are the educational facilities and programs. They are getting worse.
"The major response of East Cleveland officials to this change has been to institute vocational training programs. These programs do not talk to the basic educational problems that black people face, both in East Cleveland and elsewhere. They simply train black people for marginal jobs and for a life of poverty.
"Mrs. Gould and I are the only candidates who call for black control of

black education. We know that the black community is quite capable of deciding for itself what black children should be taught and are also able to see that teaching programs, once decided on, will be carried out.
"None of the other candidates have shown any real knowledge of the educational problems that black people face, much less a real solution for these problems. My party, the Socialist Workers Party, joins with me in urging all East Cleveland voters to vote a Harris-Gould slate."
Harris noted that both he and Mrs. Gould would be speaking at the Stapleton campaign rally later in the week and urged all the supporters of his campaign to attend.



Carl Stokes

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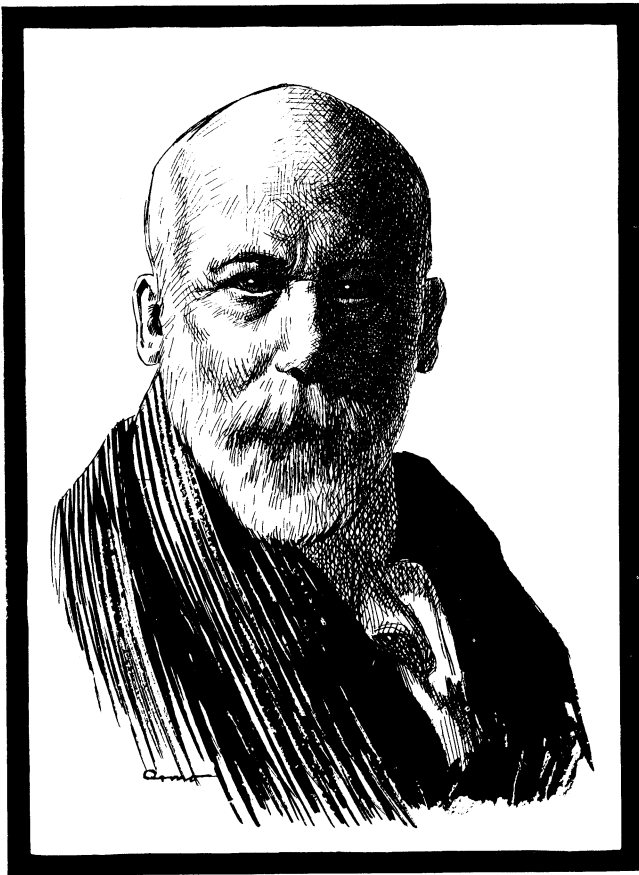
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SLP dissidents turn toward mass movement



Daniel DeLeon

By ROBERT LANGSTON

The Socialist Labor Party is splitting. Groups of dissident, former members of the party have been formed in at least five areas across the country, and most SLP sections appear to have lost some members.

The last time a major split occurred in this oldest of U.S. socialist organizations was in 1931. At that time, a faction opposed to the SLP's traditional, sectarian trade-union policy departed to form the Industrial Union Party. Those dissidents were responding to the beginning of the massive working-class upsurge that led to the formation of the CIO. They wanted to be out where the action was instead of standing on the sidelines declaring every gain won by the workers to be a fraud.

And the only other significant split in the SLP's 93-year history took place around the turn of the century, when a group headed by Morris Hillquit walked out to join with Eugene Debs' social democrats to form the Socialist Party. In the years that followed, sharpening working-class struggle and the rebellion of the small farmers led to the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, a multitude of small-farmer and lower-middle-class protest movements, and the building of the numerically strongest socialist movement the country had ever seen before—or has seen since.

It is tempting to formulate a law: When the SLP splits, something big is about to happen.

Like the previous dissidents, those who are leaving the SLP today seem to be responding primarily to the party's lack of internal democracy, its theoretical ossification and, above all, its hidebound sectarianism in relating (that is, failing to relate) to existing mass struggles.

The rebellion inside the SLP is not a matter of a few recent recruits—though apparently the bulk of the dissidents are younger members. One of the rebels is Eric Hass, who resigned from the party last April. Hass was a member of the party for 40 years; since 1938 he had been the editor of the SLP's organ, *The Weekly People*; he was its presidential candidate in four elections; and was unquestionably the SLP's most prominent public spokesman.

In an article entitled, "Why I Resigned from the SLP," published in the July issue of *Socialist Forum*, Hass detailed his reasons for leaving the party he had served so loyally for 40 years:

"I am personally convinced that there are SLP members who are secretly at odds with the National Office over its hostile attitude toward the Vietcong and toward antiwar protesters. I believe there are SLP members who disagree with the party's antagonistic attitude toward militant blacks and

radical student movements, and who believe that, instead of trying to keep the party 'pure' and antiseptic by forbidding any contact with such groups, the party ought to be wrestling with the question: How can we get SLP ideas across to them?

"And there are members who have misgivings over both the erosion of party democracy and the intellectual stultification that is a logical consequence of the substitution of dogma for dialectics, and indoctrination for education. But few actually raise voices of protest, or express their doubts."

Most of the dissidents are motivated by the same considerations as Hass. They want to relate to the antiwar,

student and black movements.

The Socialist Committee of Correspondence participated with its own contingent in the Nagasaki Day demonstration in New York last August. And last April 5, the Daniel DeLeon League, consisting of dissident DeLeonists from the old Industrial Union Party and some recent departees from the SLP, marched in the New York antiwar demonstration.

In the Bay Area and Los Angeles, former SLPers now organized in the Socialist League for Industrial Government are working to build the Nov. 15 demonstration in San Francisco.

The SLP was formed in 1876, largely by Marxist German immigrant

Fla. woodworkers strike; students build support

By DOUG JENNESS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — More than 280 of the 300 workers at Tallahassee's largest factory, Elberta Crate and Box Company, are on strike. It is the first strike against this company in its 70-year history. The workers, most of whom are black, are members of International Woodworkers of America, Local 5-181. They walked out on Sept. 23 demanding a ten-percent wage increase across the board, an end to racial discrimination in pay, wage increases with the rise in cost of living, and about a dozen other improvements in working conditions.

In a leaflet distributed by picketers to company scabs, they state, "Twice every day, six days a week, a line of 20 or 30 old rusted cars and trucks go through the gates of Elberta Crate and Box Company. In these worn-out old vehicles, ride worn-out workers who, after a lifetime of service to the box factory, have nothing to show for their toils except rusted old cars and a dismal old age on social security. They do not even have a retirement plan. . . ."

"Jack Simmons [owner of Elberta Crate and Box Co.] is not interested in the lives of workers. He is interested in seeing the continuation of the war in Vietnam (which is killing *your* sons and brothers), so that he can continue to supply the crates in which the M-40 and M-50 shells are shipped. . . ."

A temporary injunction was brought against the union when strikers attempted to keep the scabs out of the plant. This injunction hasn't daunted the workers. At an Oct. 10 meeting, union leader Nero Pender told the workers that if they don't get a substantial part of their demands the trains carrying lumber into the factory will have to be stopped.

Picketing is organized and rallies are

held at the local's union hall directly across the highway from the factory. Every day one can hear for blocks around the spirited chanting of the picketers, "On strike—Shut it down!"

The SDS chapter at Florida State University has helped organize support on the campus for the strike and has helped man the picket lines. They have also organized a couple of marches in Tallahassee in support of the strikers, the largest of which was about 200 people.

SMCers in Gainesville arrested for leafleting

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — Two members of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam were arrested for distributing antiwar leaflets here Oct. 10. In addition, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance is accused of violating parole for leaving the county without permission.

SMC activists David and Judy Rossi were distributing leaflets announcing the visit of Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson Eight to the campus of the University of Florida when a campus cop took a leaflet, dropped it, and ordered David to pick it up, shouting, "Hey, boy." Later the cop told David he was under arrest for resisting arrest, handcuffed both David and Judy, manhandled them and dragged them to the city jail. There they were charged with "disorderly conduct by use of words"—words allegedly uttered on the way to the jail. They were denied a copy of the charges.

A hearing on the case is scheduled for Oct. 28, and the Young Socialist Alliance has called for a defense rally

workers. In 1890, the astonishing Daniel DeLeon joined it.

DeLeon possessed one of the most powerful minds in the history of American Marxism. He was also one of the most stubborn, self-righteous, and autocratic men in American radical history. His mighty personality shaped the SLP, and though he has been dead these 55 years, he remains the party's unchallengeable leader.

DeLeon saw with a clarity unusual among Marxists of his time that reforms tend to dilute the class consciousness of workers. He correctly stressed that it is the business of revolutionaries to expose mercilessly the inadequacy of all concessions made by the ruling class. But from these correct premises, DeLeon tended to draw the false tactical conclusion that socialists ought therefore not to participate in the workers' daily struggles for immediate gains and should carry out their propaganda from the sidelines of the real struggles.

DeLeon also understood more clearly than most Marxists of his time the role of trade-union bureaucrats as misleaders of labor. Some of his analyses—and excoriations—of the behavior of AFL leaders retain their full validity to this day and are among the most incisive and biting polemics in socialist history. But from his perfectly sound analysis, he drew the false tactical conclusion that socialists ought not participate in existing trade unions under any circumstances.

Rather, DeLeon insisted, they should try to build at all times and in all places socialist industrial unions, committed to the full program of the SLP. They would constitute the basic units of economic and administrative organization of the new, socialist society.

As DeLeon grew older, all these tendencies towards sectarianism and isolation from the mass movement became more pronounced. And after his death, his doctrine and especially his errors were sanctified by the epigonal leaders of the party as holy writ, eternal and inviolable. Not surprisingly, the once real if modest influence the SLP had among radical workers shrank to the point where the SLP became an isolated sect, wholly unable to intervene in any mass movement.

Today, there are elements within the SLP who want to change all that, who want to separate DeLeon's real achievements from his crotchets, and who want to make his ideas and other ideas of revolutionary Marxism once again a living reality in the U.S.

Some who left the SLP in the 1930s or who were recruited into the Industrial Union Party found their way to authentic revolutionary Marxism and the Socialist Workers Party. It is likely that some of the present-day rebel DeLeonists will do likewise.

outside the city hall at that time.

The second case involves Jim Fine, a YSA member who was placed on probation earlier this year on a frame-up charge of procuring marijuana for sailors on an April 6 peace march, a charge that had no basis in fact. The authorities claimed at the time that they had affidavits from sailors against Fine, but later admitted that no such affidavits existed.

After Fine appeared on a television show, speaking before the Jacksonville Human Rights Council, he was charged with violating his parole by leaving the county without permission, despite the fact that his probation officer had informed him that he could travel within a radius of 100 miles of Gainesville without permission. Fine's parole hearing is Oct. 30.

To defend these three activists framed up by a repressive local government, financial assistance may be sent to: Florida Defense Fund, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Lebanese events show power of Arab revolution

By ROBERT LANGSTON

OCT. 29—The events of the past week in Lebanon may well mark a turning point in the development of the revolution in the Arab East. For the first time since the June 1967 war, the masses of an Arab country have in large numbers challenged their rulers in direct defense of the Palestinian liberation fighters.

To a greater extent than ever before, the Palestinian revolutionary organizations have appealed to the Arab masses over the heads of an Arab government. And at this writing, it appears that the time-honored method Lebanese rulers have used to hold the masses in check—the appeal to divisions between the Christian and Moslem communities and the hysterical invocation of a manufactured "Syrian threat"—may be losing its effectiveness. The Lebanese masses are infuriated by government efforts to appease Israel by curbing the commandos.

At the same time, the actions of the various actors in these events reveal with remarkable clarity the fundamental alignments in the Arab world.

On the one hand, there are the semi-feudal landowners, the capitalists and

their retainers. These groups rule directly in such countries as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon. They are an integral part of the world imperialist system, and they normally act, whatever their huffing and puffing, as capitulators to Zionism.

With interests diametrically opposed to these reactionary elements are the masses of the Arab people—the poor peasants, the workers and, especially, the Palestinian refugees who have lost everything as a result of the Zionist colonization. They constitute the potentially consistently revolutionary groups in the Arab East; as yet, however, with the exception of the Palestinians, they largely lack independent organization and adequate leadership. But they have been the strongest base of support for those measures that regimes like the Syrian, Egyptian and Iraqi have taken against imperialism and domestic capitalism.

By far the most politically advanced of the Arab masses are the Palestinians. In large numbers they have taken up arms against their oppression, and they possess in the guerrilla and commando groups—Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Popular Front, etc.—organizations that are largely independent of the existing Arab regimes.

Vacillating between these two basic forces are the regimes of the more progressive Arab states like Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Their rhetoric is often super-revolutionary and super-anti-imperialist, they have dealt some real blows at imperialism and some sections of domestic capital, and they are sensitive to mass pressure. But at key moments, their tendency is to compromise with imperialism, Zionism and domestic capitalism to further the interests of the ruling strata of army officers, state bureaucrats, better-off peasants and those capitalists closely connected with state industry.

The touchstone of governments and parties in the Arab East today is their attitude towards the Palestinian struggle. And in Lebanon this past week, the various forces have run true to form.

On Oct. 18—two days after the Beirut office of the Palestine Liberation Organization was demolished by bazooka fire—the Lebanese army attacked units of Al Fatah near the village of Majdal Selm, close to the Israeli border. During the next three days, there were further bloody encounters between fedayeen—Palestinian guerrillas—and Lebanese troops.

Following these attacks, Fatah took the offensive. In the north on Oct. 22, the Palestinians fought the Lebanese army near the Nahr-el-Bared refugee camp and seized a police station at Baddawi. The following day, fedayeen attacked three customs stations on the Lebanese-Syrian border and detained 24 border guards. The same day, refugees, under Fatah leadership, battled police near Beirut.

On Oct. 24, Fatah occupied Bint Jbell, a town of 50,000 four miles from the Israeli border. The army put Bint Jbell under siege and seized Deir Mimass, 15 miles north of Bint Jbell, to prevent a similar Fatah occupation.



Photo by Joel Aber

PROTEST AT LEBANESE MISSION. Arab students in New York protested Lebanese government attacks on Palestinian guerrillas with demonstration at Lebanese UN mission Oct. 27. Iranian Students Association and Young Socialist Alliance members took part.

The Fatah units already stationed in Lebanon were reinforced by 300 additional ones equipped with heavy mortars and armor, that entered the country from Syria on Oct. 25. Lebanese, Israeli and U.S. sources at first began to talk of a Syrian invasion, but that line was soon dropped. The 300 were overwhelmingly Palestinian.

Since Oct. 26, fighting between the fedayeen and the army has been sporadic, and it is hard to estimate the military situation. Writing in today's *New York Times*, Dana Adams Schmidt summarized the situation: Guerrillas of the Fatah organization in the last week have greatly strengthened their position in Lebanon in offensives in the southern, central and northern parts of the country.

Their ability to do this has, of course, been made possible by the spontaneous, massive support of the Lebanese people. Huge demonstrations have occurred in Beirut, Balbeck, and other cities, but above all in Tripoli. In that port and industrial city of 300,000—the second largest in Lebanon—there is a situation of virtual dual power.

Writing in yesterday's *Le Monde*, Bernadette Marchal described the city last Sunday: "The port and the lower-class quarter of El Mina are isolated, their entrances guarded by policemen. The army will not risk entering the area. Nor will it venture into the old city, which is held by the 'rebels.'" Writing in the Oct. 27 *New York Times*, Eric Pace reported that the rebels "hold sway over neighborhoods" comprising a third of the city.

In the absence of a leadership with the perspective of taking power in Lebanon, it is unlikely that the Lebanese masses will be able to push their advantage far. Bernadette Marchal writes in the Oct. 28 *Le Monde* that the dominant force in the leadership at this moment is the Baath Party, which is ideologically aligned with the Syrian regime. Rather than seeking to lead the masses towards sharper struggles, this leadership seems to be trying to rein the masses in. According to Bernadette Marchal, the Tripoli Baath Leader, Dr. Rafei, explained that "strikes, demonstrations, leaflet distributions should cease in expectation of a political solution." "The parties of the left have made their point, Bernadette Marchal summarized, "they are hoping to obtain their goals without any more violence."

To their credit, the Baath leaders have not (yet?) backed down in their support of Fatah's demand for complete freedom of movement in Lebanon. But by retreating from the mass mobilization, they are weakening the struggle for that demand.

Unable to accomplish its goal of liquidating the guerrilla movements on Lebanese soil because of the upsurge of the Lebanese masses and the military abilities of the fedayeen, the Lebanese government is seeking to return to the compromise worked out with the guerrillas following last spring's unsuccessful attempt to liquidate them: The guerrillas are to be restricted to an area in Mount Hermon, they are to maintain only training installations; no operations against Israel are to be mounted from Lebanese soil.

President Nasser of Egypt, consistent with the character of his regime, has intervened in an attempt to mediate the conflict. Press reports indicate that he is trying to bring the two sides together on a "coordination" formula: more extensive freedom of movement to the guerrillas, but on condition that they "coordinate" their actions with the Lebanese army.

Thus far, the guerrilla leaders are standing firm on their demand for complete freedom of action. Fatah is appealing more forthrightly than ever before for the support of the Arab masses over the heads of their governments.

Massive popular demonstrations in support of the fedayeen have been reported in Syria, Iraq and Jordan. The Syrian and Iraqi governments have given vigorous verbal support to the fedayeen's demands. But the action of the Baath in Tripoli—closely aligned politically with the Syrian government—shows, perhaps, how much can really be expected of Damascus. And while Radio Bagdad has spoken of the possibility of placing the Iraqi army under fedayeen command, the Bagdad government has not yet even lifted its ban on fedayeen activity in Iraq.

Arab lawyers in Israel protest rights' breach

[The following are excerpts from a statement by nine prominent Arab Israeli lawyers presented to the first Jewish International Congress of Lawyers and Jurists, which met recently in Jerusalem.]

* * *

Some of us were detained administratively on June 5, 1967, or soon thereafter. No charge was preferred and no trial took place.

Others are ordered to report to a police station once a day and remain indoors one hour after sunset until sunrise.

These measures are against human rights and a disgrace to our profession as lawyers and defenders of rights and of accused persons.

We are unable under these circumstances to fulfill our duties towards our clients and uphold law and justice.

Hundreds of Arab citizens in Israel are administratively at present subjected to these restrictions depriving them of freedom of movement or ordered to house arrest or detention.

These regulations which were promulgated by the British Rule in Palestine in 1945 were applied against the Jewish and Arab peoples in Palestine with the purpose of maintaining the British Colonial Rule.

We would be grateful if you support our struggle in the manner and means you find fit with a view to abrogate the military orders and restrictions against free movement in our country imposed administratively and arbitrarily against us.

By James P. Cannon:

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The official court record of James P. Cannon's testimony in the 1941 frame-up sedition trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis truck drivers' union. A founder of the American Trotskyist movement and the party's national secretary at the time, Cannon was the chief spokesman for the defendants.

His testimony constitutes one of the most persuasive statements ever made of the goals and methods of revolutionary socialism.

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The Great Society

Free-worldism begins at home—Vice President Agnew's daughter Kim, 14, wanted to march in the Moratorium but big daddy said no. "She was unhappy for a day," the veep said, "but she got over it. Parental-type power must be exercised. Some parents have forgotten how."

T. S. Dep't—The antiwar movement will have to go it alone Nov. 15. The Young People's Socialist League, which supported the Oct. 15 Moratorium "critically" (They felt the Moratorium leaders were too far left), will not support the Nov. 15 D. C. march because, they said, the New Mobe and Student Mobe leaders "are more committed to an NLF victory than to peace." Meanwhile the Saigon dictatorship's "national assembly" adopted a resolution assailing the U. S. antiwar movement.

Seeks reason—The president's son-in-law, David Eisenhower, in a letter to the Amherst campus paper, said he and his wife Julie would have joined in Moratorium day observances "had we felt a real possibility for rational discussion existed." They sought refuge for the day in that sanctuary of rationality, the White House.

The planners—J. Gordon Roberts, operator of a dairy farm near the SAC base in Omaha, Neb., not only has air raid shelters for his family and employees, but a third one for 200 cows and two bulls. A company spokesman explained: "What's the use of having a lot of people left after a nuclear attack if we can't feed them? By keeping pedigree animals down here we are assured of building up good herds again."

Do the best you can—"PIG" has been added to the list of such three-letter words as SEX, BRA, BVD and GOD

which are banned from California license plates. HOG is permitted.

Apt title—We were a bit nonplussed on opening the morning mail to find an invitation from *Business Week* to *The Militant* to attend a special management conference on "Money and the Corporation." A registration blank was enclosed. The fee for the entire two-day get-together, including lunches but not hotel rooms, \$325. At those rates we won't be able to send more than two staff members.

Want to stick around—An insurance company reports a brisk sale of a policy which includes a discount for non-smokers. Principal customers, they report, are business execs who average 40 years in age and \$26,000 in income. Like they used to say, if they can't take it with them, they ain't going.

Conscious commuters—So many commuters on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy line have kicked the coffin-nail habit that the railroad plans to put on fewer smoking cars and more nonsmokers on its morning and evening rush-hour trains.

Shop early for Xmas—While they last, Saks Fifth Ave. is featuring 1 1/4 ounce bottles of perfume in a flask specially designed by a French sculptor, all ensconced in a Moroccan leather case. Only \$850.

Thought for the week—"WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—Industry spokesmen told federal officials today that they were all for the abatement of water pollution but that it should not be carried to the point of trying to make waterways too clean too soon or causing too great an impact on company profits." — *The New York Times*.

—HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-0430.

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

Hayward: YSA, 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 Standliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 1816 19th, 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 7818, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Maffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

DeKalb: YSA and bookstore, 317 Wood St., Apt. B, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. (815) 758-1511.

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, 547-8557.

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 Schmidlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64110. 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 Allan Pump, 158 Hamilton St., E. Orange, Newark, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 674-3144.

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

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N. C. 27510. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

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

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Janet Gogolick, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. 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: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

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: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon.—Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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Reading for revolutionaries

Revolutionary wit and wisdom

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. By James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers. 362 pages. \$2.95.

I don't know of another book quite like this. It is a collection of over 100 articles and letters written by the founder of American Trotskyism. The subject matters range from the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair to movies, boxing, labor struggles and many other things.

Many of the events Cannon writes about were landmarks of American labor listory in which he was a participant. Other articles are commentaries on important developments over a period of about 30 years. Still others discuss events that may not have been prominent in the public eye but from which the author drew important lessons. In other words, we have in this collection a vast variety of subjects, incisively commented upon and often spiced with the ironic and witty style of a gifted writer.

The volume begins with the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Cannon was national secretary of the International Labor Defense, Sacco and Vanzetti's principal defenders, and editor of its publication, *Labor Defender*. The eleven articles in this section all date from the 1920s, when the long and eventually unsuccessful fight to save the lives of the two men took place.

Throughout the book, there are articles dealing with prominent individuals in the labor and socialist movements. Some of these are Eugene V.



Charlie Chaplin

Debs, the famous leader of the Socialist Party in its early days; C. E. Ruthenberg, a founder of the Communist Party and its leading figure in its first years; "Big Bill" Haywood, the famous union and IWW leader; Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, who spent about 20 years in prison after being framed-up in the San Francisco bombing of 1916. Cannon also writes scathingly about labor leaders of another stripe: William Green, president of the AFL; Daniel J. Tobin, head of the teamsters union; and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

The subject matters range over the vast panorama of America and the world. The great strike movements of the 1930s in Minneapolis and San Francisco, the Korean War, Stalinist ideology, justice in the United States, crime, Whittaker Chambers, the Catholic Church are only some of these.

A section on the witch hunt of the 1950s, which goes by the name of McCarthyism, its relation to fascism, and how the struggle should be conducted against such abominations, is instructive today in the light of present interest in that question in radical circles.

Some book reviews and comments on Chaplin's film, "Monsieur Verdoux," are included. There are also a few appreciations of individuals in the Socialist Workers Party such as the famous legless veteran James Kutcher, the late Laura Gray, who contributed so many fine cartoons to *The Militant* and Joseph Vanzler, better known as John G. Wright, his pen name, who was a leading scholar, educator and translator of many of Trotsky's works.

—MILTON ALVIN

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Vote Socialist Nov. 4

The following Socialist Workers Party candidates will be running in the Nov. 4 local elections around the country:

New York City (write-in):

Mayor
President of City Council
Comptroller
Councilman-at-Large
Manhattan Borough President

Paul Boutelle
Jeff Mackler
Alfredo Pena
Patricia Grogan
Derrick Morrison

Cleveland (on ballot):

Mayor
East Cleveland Bd. of Education

Syd Stapleton
James Harris, Jr.

Seattle (write-in):

Mayor

Tom Leonard

Philadelphia (write in):

District Attorney
City Controller
Judge of Traffic Court
Judge

Mareen Jasin
Michael Walker
Frederick Stanton
Richard Feigenberg



Paul Boutelle



Syd Stapleton



Mareen Jasin

Des Moines cops attack blacks for "shoplifting"

DES MOINES, Oct. 27 — On Oct. 26 at about 11 p.m. five black citizens including four workers and a mother of two were beaten, harassed and jailed — in addition to being viciously maced — while shopping at Farley's Market.

This unjust act was sparked by an

off-duty "rent-a-pig" cop who was employed at the store and who falsely accused Sister Brenda Humbert of shoplifting. When his allegation was challenged by Brenda Humbert and others, Mr. Rent-a-Pig put them under arrest. Then, after shoving Brother Lonnie Bibbins and pulling his gun, the cop ordered the store locked until the police force (about four squad cars and a police wagon) arrived for the "big arrest."

When the cops arrived, they began pushing the brothers and sisters around, and they became especially angry when they could not find proper evidence of shoplifting. When Brother Paul Walker inquired about the unjust arrests, he was quickly maced and hurled into the police wagon.

Such is "justice and rights" in Des Moines. We wonder what happened to that famous clause: "Innocent until proven guilty!" People have a right to be treated as human beings — not dogs or subhumans — even if they are suspected of some "alleged crime."

Charges brought against four brothers and sisters include resisting arrest, use of loud and profane language, injury to city property, interfering with the duties of an officer, and shoplifting. Total bail came to \$2,200.




Let's support these brothers and sisters by sending letters of protest to Governor Robert Ray, to the Human rights Commission, the State Civil Rights Commission, the Chief of Police and the Civil Liberties Union asking for a total investigation. A carbon copy of letters should be sent to Black Mobile Street Workers Assn., 1210 University, Des Moines, Iowa 50314.

New York SMC urges backing to GE strikers

NEW YORK — The New York Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has issued a statement urging students to support the demands of the striking G. E. workers as "basically an effort to maintain a decent standard of living in the face of skyrocketing living costs."

The statement points out that the war in Vietnam and the huge military budget have helped to bring on the current inflation and the tremendous increase in the cost of living.

"We are strongly opposed to any attempt to cut the living standards of American working people in order to finance a war nobody wants," the SMC said. "American employers, General Electric included, who have been enriching themselves on war profits, can easily afford decent wages and working conditions, decent low-cost housing, free medical care, full employment and free education for all."

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|---|---|---|---|
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| | 1 | ASSOCIATE JUDGE OF THE COURT OF APPEALS Vote for one | James Gibson 1A |
| Paul Boutelle | 2 | MAYOR Vote for one | John J. Marchi 2A |
| | 3 | COMPTROLLER Vote for one | Floravante G. Perrotta 3A |
| | 4 | PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL Vote for one | Sanford D. Garelik 4A |
| | 5 | BOROUGH PRESIDENT Vote for one | William F. Larkin 5A |
| | 6 | DISTRICT ATTORNEY Vote for one | Frank S. Hogan 6A |
| | 7 | COUNCILMAN AT LARGE | Lester Baum |

ATTENTION NEW YORKERS: To register your vote for the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, press the silver button at the top left of the voting machine. The machine will then reveal a vertical column for write-ins to the left of the column listing the offices for which candidates are running. Write Paul Boutelle's name in the slot to the left of the word "mayor," as indicated in this drawing.

Calif. paper company picketed by women

By VILMA SANCHEZ

ANTIOCH, Calif. — Women Inc., a women's caucus of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, has begun picketing installations of the Fibreboard Corporation, protesting sex discrimination in hiring, firing and promotion.

Picket lines were formed Oct. 22 at San Joaquin Plant No. 7 and two other mills here in Antioch, another papermill at Stockton, and two headquarters buildings in San Francisco.

The Oct. 22 demonstrations may well have been the first pickets ever by an organized trade-union women's caucus against economic discrimination based on sex. It was also another significant first: the first Bay Area women's movement coalition demonstration.

Members of Women's Liberation and the National Organization for Women (NOW) left San Francisco at 5 a.m. to join the picket line at Antioch Oct. 22.

The early-morning picket lines at the three plants in Antioch, led by Women Inc. spokesman Dorothy Noyes, caught the workers coming off the graveyard shifts. Later, six women picketed in Stockton. Meanwhile, Juanita Filetti and Women Inc. president Hazel Hill were leading a picket line at Fibreboard's main building in San Francisco.

Pickets included a Shell oil worker from a plant that had been on strike a few months ago, a nurse's aid and a woman who works in an electronics plant. The husband of one of the women came out of the plant to walk the picket line for a while. Several women on the swing shift walked the line before entering the plant.

The Fibreboard management uses a variety of discriminatory practices against women. In one plant, men and women are placed on different layoff lists. The men, but not the women, are told to report to the personnel office to sign up in a recall pool.

Some Fibreboard plants have separate seniority lists for men and women. Women cannot get certain jobs although they have more seniority than the men who are selected to fill the jobs.

Fibreboard plants have laid off women by rewriting their job descriptions so as to include activities proscribed for women by a state protective law, then giving the jobs to men, with the actual job functions remaining the same as when the women held them.

The state's protective laws are supposedly designed to prevent the exploitation of women through grueling overtime work and strenuous heavy lifting, but Fibreboard is deliberately

using the laws as a method of further sex discrimination against women. Women Inc. is therefore demanding that the protective laws be extended to cover male employees.

Hazel Hill, Women Inc. president and also vice-president of her AWPPW local, recently filed a grievance signed by 43 union men protesting the discriminatory lack of coffee breaks for men and calling for extension of the protective laws to cover men.

Women Inc. was formed as a caucus soon after the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers rebelled and broke from the corrupt and bureaucratic International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers in 1964. Several years ago, Women Inc. won a \$500,000 equal-pay increase for 2,000 members in California, Oregon and Washington. However, Women Inc. vice-president Marge Hart points out that equal pay without job security is worthless.

In addition to charges raised against the Fibreboard Corporation, the women at Plant No. 7 also accused Local 713 of the union of giving them no support, a charge denied by Local president Pollard.

Charles Newport, AWPPW area representative, mentioned that the union has twice unsuccessfully sought to put the question of a shorter work week at 40 hours pay on the agenda of the Uniform Labor Agreement.

The shorter work week would have maintained all jobs and protected the women. The classical reactionary answer to unemployment—in the pulp and paper industry and elsewhere—has been to drive women out of the labor market and back to the home, an action they rationalized by arguments that the woman fulfills herself by becoming a breeder.

In a shrinking labor market, with increasing unemployment, women are used as a reserve labor force—last hired and first fired. A shorter work week with no reduction in pay would cut across sex discrimination in job security by ensuring work for all.

Women Inc. has a court case pending against Fibreboard, charging sex discrimination under Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But their children need food and they must take action before waiting for the outcome of a lengthy court case.

By demanding job security, an end to sex discrimination, extension of the protective laws to men, and a shorter work week, this fighting women's caucus is setting an example for women all over the country.