THE MILITANT

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Friday, November 14, 1969

Price 150

I won't be affected, I won't be affected, I WON'T BE AFFECTED, I won't....

OPPRESSIC STUDENT MOBILIZATION CO TO END THE WAR IN VIE

7th graders hit war, budget cuts

Blame Nixon and Reagan

Halcyon, Calif.

I thought you might get a kick out of these essays, one on Pres. Nixon and the other on Gov. Reagan, written by a couple of my husband's 7th graders.

The reference to not writing in spelling books, etc. relates to a shortage of school supplies due to cutbacks in state and federal funds for education.

"The President of the U. S. is Richard Nixon. He is no good. You know, he won't even try, I mean try, to stop the war. All those people getting killed, and starving, its awful. He will not let us write in our spelling/literature books either, when we used to be able to."

"The Governor of our state is Ronald Reagan. He has played in lots of movies. But when it comes to *kids*, I don't think he ever was one. He won't let us write in our spelling books, reading books, or anything! There must be something wrong with his memory."

A correction

Los Angeles, Calif. In the Moratorium roundup in the Oct. 24 *Militant*, it was reported that the rally held at City Hall was called by the Student Mobilization Committee. This is incorrect. Both this rally and the USC Exposition Park rally were called by the regional Moratorium, although the SMC helped to build both these rallies. The SMC initiated rallies on three campuses here: Cal. State, LA; Cal. State, Fullerton; and East LA College.

Pete Seidman

Women's rights group

in England led by men

London, England I thought *Militant* readers would be interested in a recent meeting I attended here of the National Joint Action Campaign Committee for Equal Rights. This is a women's rights organization that fights mainly for equal pay and has a lot of trade unions affiliated to it.

What a shock! Most of the officers were men, and the meeting was controlled by these men in a coalition with

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Letters from our readers

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

the old ladies who were there. One of the militant young women was running for president of the organization, but she was defeated by a man.

The men and old ladies wouldn't let the more militant young women vote, even though they were leaders of local chapters. The young women were told that they were "anti-male" and should go form their own organization if they didn't agree with these methods. Most of the old people were CPers.

S. L.

Southern politicians aren't the only reactionaries

Austin, Texas
For many years, I have been trying
to build the antiwar movement in the
South, the last two of them as a member
af YSA. In the past, one of the many
stumbling blocks in working with potential southern activists has been the
self-righteousness of northern radicals
and antiwar groups in pointing the
finger of scorn at the South, leaving
the impression that southerners are to
blame for every reactionary trend in
American politics.

The article, "Oct. 15 as seen by the Dixiecrats," seems to single out the rantings of southern reactionary politicians as representative of the South. Why no special j'accuse of the northern financial establishment or the West Coast lumber and defense interest politicians and other capitalist hacks in the North and West?

The cracker-baiting implications of the article in the Oct. 31 *Militant* is unjustifiable. No mention is made of the growth of the antiwar movement in cities throughout the South nor of the thousands of activists who have made this growth possible.

I believe some apologies to southern activists are in order.

Jack Bateman

[The headline referred to was the product of convenience. That is, since the entire group of congressmen quoted happened to be Dixiecrats it simply appeared easier, under deadline pressures, to so designate them in writing the headline. No suggestion was intended of any qualitative difference between northern and southern capitalist politicians. And certainly there was no intention of deprecating the inspiring antiwar and radical movement developing in the South, a movement we have tried to report on as extensively as possible. — Editor.]

Scab wages for scab?

New York, N.Y. It was probably a typographical gremlin, but you upped the ante on Lou Salzberg's take as an FBI informer. According to his testimony at the Conspiracy 8 trial in Chicago, he was drawing \$600 a month from the feds, not \$600 a week.

H. C.

Red-baiting of New Mobe

has unintended affect

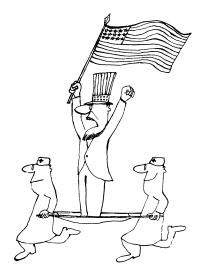
New York, N.Y.

I thought your readers might be interested in hearing of an inquiry resulting from the red-baiting attack against the New Mobe and SWP in the Nov. 3 issue of *U. S. News & World Report*. The magazine had complained that "Other members of the [NMC] steering committee include Fred Halstead and Gus Horowitz, members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—known as the 'Trotskyite' wing of Communism."

Today I received a letter addressed c/o the "Mobilization Committee (Trotskyite)" in Washington, D.C. It said: "Dear Sir: Please send me information on Trotskyite or SWP as it is known."

The information was sent and more is being prepared in anticipation of other such requests.

Gus Horowitz



el corno emplumado/LNS

Panthers launch breakfast program in Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa. The Black Panther Party here has started a free breakfast program. We fed 100 children the first day. The Black Panther Party of Philadelphia would like to start such programs all across this city and this state because we feel this is one of the ways of meeting the needs of the people. Our children and the children of the world have gone hungry for too long and this has to stop.

If anyone sees the need for a program such as this in their community, please contact me at CE 6-3358. We are asking for donations of breakfast food, money and cooking utensils. If there are any vacant buildings or church and community buildings in your community, contact me so that we may set up a program. All power to the people.

Bro. Rolando Montae Breakfast Coordinator, BPP

Misquoted in the

People's World

Seattle, Wash. In the Qct. 25 issue of People's World [West Coast voice of the Communist Party], I was incorrectly quoted as speaking with Representative Brock Adams [D.—Wash.] at a campus antiwar rally and telling him to march with the antiwar protestors if he wanted our votes. I presume this is a case of wishful thinking and not of deliberate distortion. What I actually said was that while we were happy to have Mr.

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Friday, November 14, 1969

Closing news date - Nov. 7

Adams with us, the people we had to thank for his presence were not his press agents or himself but hundreds and thousands of Americans who had forced him to attend by demonstrating in the streets. I pointed out that while we welcomed all new converts to the antiwar movement, this was not a place for politicians to court votes. Finally, I stated that if Mr. Adams were truly opposed to the war, he should get down off his podium and march with us in the streets to demand immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

I wanted to set the record straight on this matter because the only political campaign I would support is a socialist one representing a clear break with the two capitalist parties of war and racism. Thus, I am currently supporting the campaign of Tom Leonard, SWP candidate for mayor in Seattle.

Stephanie Coontz

All the elements of a

cloak-and-dagger novel

West Hartford, Conn.

Today I received for the second time an offer from a Florida cigar manufacturer to sample some of his cigars. These cigars are made from tobacco grown in Honduras with stolen Cuban tobacco seeds.

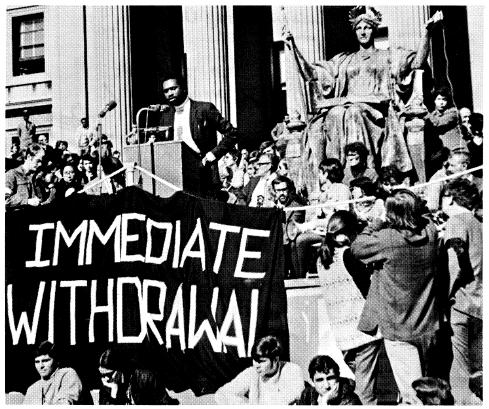
The cigar manufacturer advises he is looking for "975 gentlemen" who will be "taken back to happier smoking days. . . . If you do like fine cigars and if you recall with mouth-watering nostalgia that wonderful tobacco we used to enjoy B. C. (before Castro), then you'll be interested in a true story that has all the elements of a cloak-and-dagger novel—and beats James Bond right of the map!"

The cigar manufacturer then lauds "a daring group of expatriate Cubans, unsympathetic to Castro and the Communists," who patriotically stole the tobacco seeds so they could please the "975 gentlemen" in North America who crave Cuban leaf.

I could not believe the nerve of this man to actually *praise* the actions of those gusanos who so "bravely" stole from their own people.

I sent a reply to this crooked company with its thieving gusano henchmen whom it hails as "modern-day pilgrims." In my reply, I explained to the company the history of imperialistic bloodsucking by American companies under the Batista dictatorship and the manner in which Castro, through the Cuban Revolution, has managed to effectively break all ties with those U.S. companies that were bleeding the life out of the Cuban people and their land.

Hasta la victoria siempre!



noto by Dick Ro

MULTIFACETED CAMPAIGN. Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, addresses Oct. 15 Moratorium rally at Columbia University. He used campaign to promote antiwar and black liberation movements and to spread socialist ideas.

Prospect for successful circulation drive assured

By BEV SCOTT Business Manager

NOV 5. — On Sept. 5 we opened a two-month drive to increase the circulation of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*. We began with a goal of 4,000 new readers. But the response has been so enthusiastic all across the country, that we are now working toward 5,600 new subscribers. We are now within shooting distance of that goal, and we are confident that we will reach it in the remaining week and a half of the drive.

Three additional cities have increased their quotas this week. Chicago boosted its goal by 50 to 325, Madison went from 75 to 100, and Phoenix from 30 to 50

Subscription scoreboard

C''	•	
City	Quota	New Subs
Boston, Mass.	275	323
Newark, N.J.	35	39
Lawrence, Kan.	30	33
Boulder, Colo.	60	63
Antioch College, Ohio	30	30
Philadelphia, Pa.	250	244
Providence, R.I.	55	53
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	95
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	47
Hayward, Calif.	40	37
Atlanta, Ga.	150	138
Chicago, III.	325	293
Madison, Wis.	100	89
Kansas City, Mo.	50	43
San Francisco, Calif.	350	294
New York, N.Y.	850	722
St. Louis, Mo.	30	25
San Diego, Calif.	45	37
Columbus, Ohio	50	41
Los Angeles, Calif.	400	327
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	203
Kent, Ohio	75	61
Berkeley, Calif.	275	222
Cleveland, Ohio	250	198
Detroit, Mich.	275	215
Gainesville, Fla.	35	27
Washington, D.C.	75	56
DeKalb, III.	80	59
Austin, Texas	150	105
Bloomington, Ind.	30	20
Champaign, III.	30	18
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	15
Houston, Texas	50	29
East Lansing, Mich.	30	15
Seattle, Wash.	150	61
Ann Arbor, Mich.	75	25
Glen Ellyn, III.	15	5
Logan, Utah	25	8
Portland, Ore.	20	5
Albany, N.Y.	25	4
Carbondale, III.	25	4
General	425	289
Total	5665	4625
		-

In announcing Phoenix's quota increase, Pamela S. wrote: "Sub sales are going well, and we plan to 'blitz' the dorms in Phoenix and Tucson this week. We may even get some readers in Flagstaff, Ariz. — and if you can get them in Flagstaff, you can get them anywhere."

Paul Boutelle from New York has a bit of an advantage in selling subscriptions. As the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York he received considerable TV and radio time. On several closing programs he was able to announce the special combination *Militant-Young Socialist* subscription. Listeners have already sent in 15 new subscriptions, with more arriving in each mail delivery.

Our subscription campaign ends Nov. 15, so this will be your last chance to subscribe to America's leading socialist periodicals at this bargain rate. Fill out the subscription blank and mail it TODAY.

Black Marines face trial in Tennessee

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Four black marines are facing 86 years in the brig, in a conspiracy case unfolding at the Memphis naval air station north of here.

The men have been charged with conspiracy, rioting and some 25 counts of conspiratorial assault. The charges stem from a clash between white and black marines on July 21.

Their trials are scheduled to start Nov. 17 according to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). A fifth marine, who was to have gone on trial with them, died under mysterious circumstances Oct. 31.

The men all served in Vietnam. All were wounded, and one was awarded the bronze star. They were brought here to recuperate. After stays in the hospital, they were transferred to the "casual company" to await transfers or — in the case of two men — discharges.

The four marines are: Perry Backstrom, 21, Meridian, Miss.; Oscar Terry, 19, Paducah, Ky.; Arthur McCall, 20, Birmingham, Ala.; and Charles Nickson, 23, Memphis, Tenn. Joe Talton, 22, of Singleton, La. died before coming to trial.

Black marines here had established a tradition of getting together most evenings to drink, talk and listen to music. It is illegal to drink on the base but they had never been ordered to stop—although it was done quite openly.

On the evening of July 20, they drank till about 10 p.m. in a field behind the hospital and then started back. About eight or 10 of the men headed toward their barracks. When they were about



Muhammad Speaks

20 yards from the door, they heard someone shout: "Here come them drunken niggers, now."

As they entered the building, they encountered about 13-15 whites, holding billy clubs. One man hit Backstrom, who was in front, on the head. Backstrom took the club away and hit back.

Fighting became general, and lasted for 10 to 15 minutes. Blows were struck on both sides. Then the black marines went into a nearby bar, the Rathskeller, and fighting began there. Within 15 minutes it was all over. There were no serious injuries.

Unknown to the black marines, rumors of an impending black riot had been circulating in the company since 3 p.m. A white man, Sgt. Rogers, testified that he was told "the colored people were coming to take over the barracks." Rogers said his informant was Cpl. Carthon, a black man who has since been promoted to sergeant.

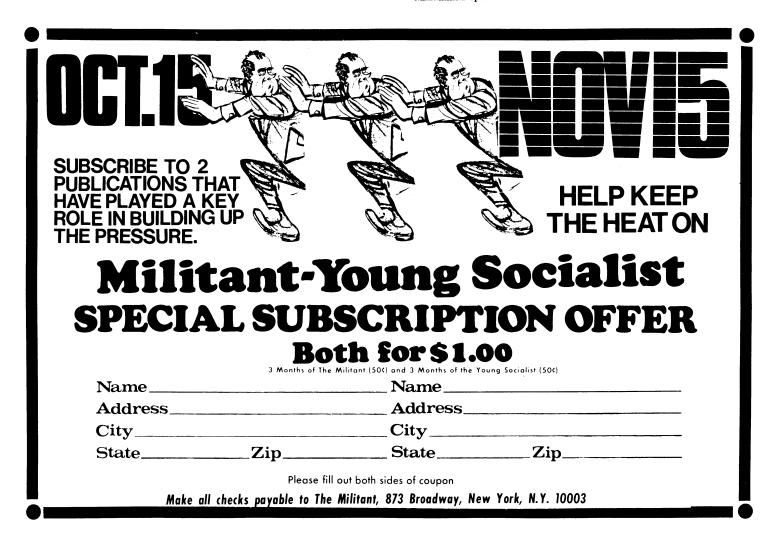
To deal with this threat, someone sawed broom handles down into clubs. Rogers said these were delivered to him during the afternoon. Thirty-eight men were assigned to security duty — an unusually high number. When the black marines came back to their barracks, part of this force was waiting for them.

Relations between blacks and whites have been tense at this base. The blacks feel strongly that racial prejudice exists.

"I am black," one of the four marines said. "I served in Vietnam, in which I was wounded. I faced death many times. Supposed to be fighting for my country. And I come back to the States and I'm treated like the same old black nigger that I was supposed to be before I left."

Black marines are in a small minority at this base and many of them find it more comfortable to stay together. (No one appears to find it remarkable, or sinister, that whites at the base stick together, too.)

"Whenever we get together, they go out of their way to break it up," another of the men said. "Whenever four, five brothers would get together, they'll come up to the group and say, 'Break it up,' Any time they see black people together, they think we must be trying to plot something. They're up tight."



What Nixon's speech revealed about American democracy

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's Nov. 3 speech, in which he stubbornly reiterated that he will in no way be affected by the demands and opinions of the majority of American people, underlined the fact that this "democratic" society is not really very democratic.

The speech made clear that the policies carried out by the government do not reflect the will of the majority and that the American people must develop their own forms of struggle in order to significantly affect the actions of this administration.

Nixon asserted that he speaks for the "great silent majority." Yet it has never been more apparent that precisely the

1,366 GIs demand a halt

NEW YORK — A call to the Nov. 15 antiwar actions in Washington and San Francisco, signed by 1,366 active-duty servicemen, will appear in a full-page Nov. 9 New York Times advertisement sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee.

The GIs' statement reads in

part:

"We are 1,366 active-duty servicemen. We are opposed to the American involvement in the war in Vietnam.

"We resent the needless wasting of lives to save face for the politicians in Washington.
"We speak believing our

"We speak, believing our views are shared by our fellow servicemen.
"Join us!"

opposite is true. The vast majority of the American people want an end to the war and they want it now.

A 12-year-old demonstrator put it clearly after millions demonstrated against the war on Oct. 15: "If they don't end the war after this demonstration, then I'll know we don't have democracy in this country."

All that needs to be added is that Nixon's reply to the Oct. 15 demonstrators was not a new departure in the undemocratic policies of the capitalist rulers of this country.

The entire foreign policy of imperialism, its global network of bases and its huge military machine, its counterrevolutionary exploits in every part of the world, have never been put to a democratic vote. In fact, to the extent that people have managed to express their pro-peace sentiment in votes, the results have been cruelly manipulated.

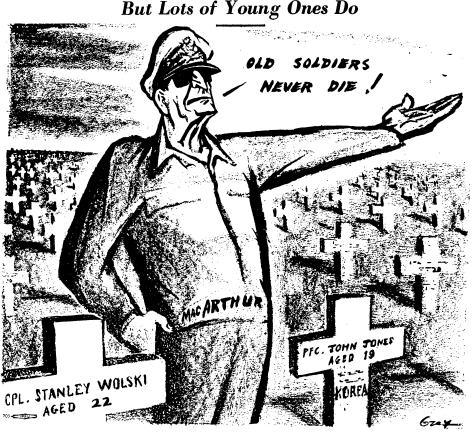
Nixon inadvertently emphasized this when, in his Nov. 3 speech, he invoked the name of Woodrow Wilson to justify his course in Vietnam.

Wilson was elected in 1916 on the slogan: "He kept us out of war." On election, he immediately plunged the country into World War I.

The history of the Vietnam war from the beginning offers examples of how the war policies of the ruling class are carried out behind the backs and against the will of the people. Nixon attempted to put forth this history as a further justification of his policies:

"In response to the request of the Government of Vietnam, President Eisenhower sent economic aid and military equipment . . . Seven years ago, President Kennedy sent 16,000 military advisers. Four years ago, President Johnson sent American combat forces to South Vietnam."

But who voted that Eisenhower should give U.S. arms and money to dictator



The Militant, April 20, 1951

AGE OF U.S. CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM

(Number of combat deaths through August, 1969)

17-19	8,509
20-22	19,528
23-25	5,376
26-29	2,214
30-34	1,465
35-39	974
40-49	307
50 and over	14

(Congressional Record, Oct. 30, 1969, p. H10324)

Diem? Who voted that Dulles should commit U. S. military forces to the defense of Diem's regime in the SEATO "treaty"?

Who voted that John Kennedy should send 16,000 American "advisers" to Vietnam, beginning in 1961? Who voted to have Johnson send 500,000 GIs into this longest war in U.S. history? And who voted for Nixon to prolong the war over a "secret" course of time?

The fact is, of course, that LBJ, like Wilson, was elected on a demagogic promise of "peace." The sentiment of the people in 1964 was unmistakable in the massive repudiation of Goldwater's hawk declarations and for Johnson's lying promises to de-escalate. They had hardly finished counting the

votes when Johnson launched a further escalation.

And in '68, Nixon beat pro-war Humphrey with crooked promises of a "secret" plan to end the war. His plan, as of Nov. 3, was still "secret."

That speech simply reiterated in all basic respects the policy previously followed by Johnson—a policy repudiated by the voters.

For nearly a year as president, Nixon has talked of his desire for "peace." But what's the record?

On Jan. 20, the day Nixon took office, total U.S. combat deaths stood at 30,-991. At the end of October, just before Nixon's speech, the number had reached 39,130.

Over 20 percent of the Americans killed in the war have died since Nixon took office.

The president's cheap pretense at sorrow over the loss of these lives reminded one of General MacArthur's classic lines so eloquently summarized by the famed Laura Gray cartoon on this page

Nixon's real aim, as he all but admitted in that speech, is to win on the battlefield what U.S. diplomats have been unable to wrest from the negotiations in Paris. And this is not "Vietnamization" of the war; it is "Saigonization"—continued rule of the hated military clique in Saigon.

Nixon would like us to stay off the streets, even though the viewpoint of the great majority has been expressed over and over again—in the "proper channels" of electing capitalist "representatives"—and that viewpoint has been ignored in Washington.

The answer to Nixon must be that we are going to continue to march, and to march in ever increasing numbers, until the war is over and the men are home.

If one lesson of history is that the capitalist ruling class attempts to free itself from real democratic rule in order to prosecute its foreign-policy adventures, there is another lesson of history Nixon should bear in mind: Stubborn defiance of the will of the people by the ruling class is a powerful educator to the need for fundamental social change.

Economics of women's liberation

By JOEL ABER

Some sharp insights into "the economy of women's liberation" are provided by David Deitch in a recent *Boston Globe* column. He focuses on why the British capitalists are uptight about a bill guaranteeing equal pay for women, proposed under pressure from the Trades Union Congress.

Deitch estimates that the bill would cost British corporations \$2.4 billion annually.

The Confederation of British Industries contends that the equal-pay law "would add an intolerable inflationary burden."

"But what inflation really means," Deitch explains, "is that the corporations won't be willing to absorb the pay increases and prices will rise. Equal pay for women ought to result in a redistribution of income," something that the corporations would never permit to happen.

The consequent inflation would be frowned on by the International Monetary Fund, to which the British pound is in hock. Thus, one can conclude, the IMF becomes another club to hold over the working women of Britain:

Women be warned! Your demand for equal pay may cause the delicate infrastructure maintaining world economic stability to come unglued and result in chaos!

In addition to the British capitalists and the IMF, Deitch suggests that the British trade-union bureaucrats themselves may be uneasy about the equalpay resolution: "Female pay equality will threaten men with new competition for jobs, promotions, and everything else that presently excludes minority groups like black people from certain industries. Women, like blacks, constitute a 'labor reserve' that the corporations can draw on when the market gets tight and let go when sales drop."

But the trade-union leaders are also subject to other pressures. A London dispatch to the Sept. 26 *Militant* reported the launching of the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights, a trade-union-based group that evolved from strike actions for equality in employment last year.

The experience of the United States, where there is now considerable federal and state equal-pay legislation, indicates that such laws, while necessary, are destined to be limited in effect. Deitch

points out that in the U.S. "the differential between the pay for men and women is reported to be widening." Women in the U.S. now earn only 58 percent as much as the average male, less than in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland or Italy.

This growing differential is partly a consequence of the exclusion of women from the higher paying jobs, rather than of wage differences for the same job. To combat this kind of inequality, the British NJACWER includes among its demands one for "equal pay for work of equal value" in all union contracts.

But Deitch's analysis suggests the way to end once and for all economic inequality between men and women. When men, he writes, "who are in the same working class as women" support unequal pay, "the question is to what degree men have permitted themselves to become the instruments of the corporate system which condones exploitation by creating artificial differences and hostility between the sexes . . . The question is how men and women can resist all the pressure to separate them and work together to change the system."

Right on.

Socialist Workers names slate

THE MILITANT

By JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES - The California Socialist Workers Party has set Nov. 10 as the kick-off date for its campaign for U.S. Senate, governor, superintendent of public instruction and other state offices. The campaign will focus on the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and self-determination for Afro-Americans and Chicanos. A legal fight is also being organized to challenge the constitution-



Gov. Reagan

ality of the election laws of California.

The Socialist Workers candidates are all experienced leaders of the antiwar, campus or third world movements. Diane Feeley, 29, is contesting for songand-dance man George Murphy's U.S. Senate seat. She was a leader of the San Francisco State College student strike last year and is currently northern California coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Herman Fagg is the Socialist Workers candidate for governor against Republican encumbent Ronald Reagan and the Democratic "law-and-order" liberals Joseph Alioto and Jesse Unruh. The socialist candidate is currently chairman of the Third World Task Force initiated by the Student Mobilization Committee to build Afro-American and Chicano participation in the Nov. 15 march in San Francisco. He is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and a teacher at Marin College.

Running for Lieutenant governor is Dave Frankel, 21, Los Angeles organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance. He was the coprdinator of the Student Mobilization Committee demonstration at Nixon's Apollo 11 state dinner in August. He is well known in southern California as a militant defender of the Arab revolution.

Antonio Camejo is the "SWP endorsed" candidate for superintendent of public instruction, a supposedly "non-partisan" office now held by Max Rafferty who recently tried to ban books by Eldridge Cleaver and others, from the public schools. Camejo is a teacher in a Latin American and Chicano studies department at Merritt College in Oakland where he has helped develop bilingual educational programs for Chicano stu-

Twenty-four-year-old Patti Iiyama, SWP candidate for secretary of state, has been a University of California at Berkeley student leader since 1961

when she joined SLATE, one of the earliest radical campus political parties. She is working to build the Nov. 15 march and will be a graduate student at Berkeley again as soon as the UC administration's illegal suspension of her is ended. She was suspended last year as a result of activity in the movement against political suspensions which developed out of the struggle to allow Eldridge Cleaver to teach on campus for credit.

Candidate for attorney general is Froben Lozada, chairman of the Latin-American and Chicano studies department at Merritt College. He has a long history of activity in the struggle for Chicano and Afro-American self-determination. He was the SWP candidate for school director in last spring's municipal election in Berkeley.

Phil Conner is the Socialist Workers candidate for state treasurer. He is vicepresident of the student body at Cal State Hayward and is active in the antiwar and third-world struggles there.

The socialist candidate for state controller is Terry Hardy, Los Angeles coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee. She organized student participation for the kick-off action of the fall antiwar offensive, the Aug. 17 demonstration at Nixon's summer white house at San Clemente.

This California election campaign will be coordinated with Young Socialist election campaigns on campuses around

Extensive trailblazing in northern and southern California and speaking tours are being organized. The socialist campaign will be a prominent part of the educational conferences being held on Thanksgiving weekend. Young Socialist supporter groups will be formed on high school and college campuses to actively support the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Buttons and other campaign material are available at SWP and YSA headquarters throughout the state. (See directory, page 15).

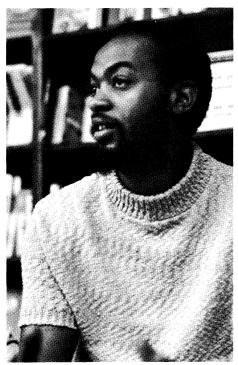


Photo by Ron Payne Herman Fagg



Photo by Judy Storbuck Diane Feelev



Photo by Ron Payne



Antonio Camejo



Dave Frankel

for such "offenses" as requesting permission to distribute an antiwar newspaper on base, if they would testify against Fine. White held out the promise of honorable discharges if they cooperated but threatened further harass-

Fine was also charged with "associating with bad characters"-the two sailors. The state embarrassedly dropped this charge when it was revealed that the Naval indictments, courts-martial and convictions that had turned the sailors into "bad characters" occur-

ment by the Navy if they refused to

be compliant.

The probation that Fine is so crudely accused of violating stems from an ear-January nine deputy sheriffs invaded the Fine home without a warrant and dragged Jim and Linda and a friend outside. The deputies testified that their illegal search and seizure had yielded "microscopic' amounts of marijuana -turned up without the benefit of a mi-

Although Fine was innocent, he the help of Judge Crews' heavy hand.

Gainesville police with his radical ideas and scaring Jacksonville Naval authorities, who don't want any of their GIs to get uppity.

Frame-up trial for Florida YSAer

By JOHN SUGG

GAINESVILLE, Fla. - Jim Fine, a founder of the Young Socialist Alliance local here and political activist for six years, faces revocation of probation and jailing after a kangaroocourt hearing before Florida Circuit-Court Judge Crews Oct. 29.

Over 200 spectators, including members of the YSA, RYM II, Worker-Student Alliance, Student Mobilization Committee, and observers from the ACLU and the Florida Defense Fund, witnessed the travesty of justice as the judge consistently upheld motions by the state and denied defense motions.

Fine's "crime" was to hand out antiwar leaflets to sailors at a naval station in Jacksonville, 57 miles away, April 1. Initially, the sole specification of alleged violation of probation was a charge by his probation officer that Fine had left the county when he went leafleting, despite the fact that the probation officer had given him permission to travel up to 100 miles away for periods up to 24 hours.

After Fine's bond was raised from \$1,000 to \$2,500, more preposterous charges were added.

The prosecution's main "evidence" was a statement, kindly supplied by the Office of Naval Intelligence, that Fine had allegedly procured pot for a Gainesville sailor. The statement had only one fault: It was not signed by the sailor, and the sailor denied its validity under oath!

Jeanette Cursio, an informer, testified that Jim Fine and his wife, Linda, gave

a dinner and pot party for two sailors and her. There was a ripple of laughter in the courtroom as she testified that Fine had offered to put the sailors on an underground railroad to Canada, had encouraged the sailors to sabotage missiles, and asked if they could get him hand grenades "so he would have something to throw at peace marchers."

Before answering each question under cross-examination by defense attorney Richard Wilson, Cursio would look for a cue from Naval Intelligence Officer White (notorious in Jacksonville for his vicious harassment of GIs), who would then signal her. She admitted that White had prepared a statement to "help me remember" the alleged pot party six months ago. Unable to explain why most of her memories from six months ago were extremely vague, she nevertheless somehow remembered in precise detail a conversation that took place while she was supposedly stoned! She could not recall whether White had used coercion to get her to agree to testify.

Several defense witnesses revealed that they had been with the Fines at an allday wedding at the time that Cursio was floating on pot, allegedly at their

The prosecution put the two sailors on the stand, but both denied that Fine had ever purchased marijuana for them, smoked with them, or encouraged them to do any of the illegal acts alleged by Cursio. Under cross-examination by the defense, the sailors also revealed that Naval Intelligence-man White had offered them immunity from prosecution,

red after their association with Fine. lier and equally crude frame-up. Last

croscope, it should be noted.

agreed to accept probation, with the proviso that charges against Linda and their friend be dropped. Apparently realizing that such a conviction could not hold up on appeal, the state is now trying to jail the political activist with

Fine's only crime is frightening the

Lebanon: a developing social revolution

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NOV. 4—The two-week war between the Palestinian fedayeen and the reactionary Lebanese government ended, temporarily at least, yesterday after agreement was reached in Cairo between Fatah and Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yassir Arafat and Lebanese army commander Gen. Emile Bustani.

The struggle erupted Oct. 18, when the Lebanese government used some "unauthorized" Fatah troop movements as a pretext to try to militarily liquidate the Palestine liberation movement on Lebanese soil. The military capabilities of the fedayeen and a spontaneous upsurge of the Lebanese masses in defense of the Palestinians defeated this government attempt.

There were strikes and huge demonstrations in several cities. In Tripoli, the country's second largest city, there was virtual dual power for several days; police and the army were unable to enter working-class neighborhoods and the port area.

But there was no Lebanese revolutionary leadership with a perspective of taking state power, and, with the exception of Syria, the Arab governments that had initially unleashed militant verbal attacks on the Lebanese rulers quickly retreated. Under these circumstances, the mass upsurge was dissipated—for the time being—and the Lebanese ruling classes were able to recover the political initiative. But their position has been significantly weakened.

The terms of the Cairo agreement have not been made public. According to Dana Adams Schmidt in today's New York Times, however, an "authoritative source" in Beirut indicates that the agreement is along the lines of the Egyptian-proposed "coordination" compromise formula. The Lebanese regime, it is reported, conceded the fedayeen the right to maintain bases in the Arkoub region, close to the Israeli border, and to maintain communications lines between Arkoub and the Syrian border. At the same time, though, the fedayeen leaders have agreed to "cooperate" with the Lebanese army in all military operations.

The Palestinians had previously demanded unconditional freedom of movement within Lebanon.

It is certain that the settlement will be only temporary, because the Lebanese government and the fedayeen represent two diametrically opposed social forces in the Arab East. The conflict between them is irrepressible.

The Lebanese government is the agent of a narrow layer of big land-owners, commercial and some industrial capitalists, and bankers. These groups are a constituent part of the world imperialist system. They serve foreign, particularly U.S., capital, and they ruthlessly exploit their "own" workers and poor peasants. While they have certain real conflicts of interest with the Zionist state of Israel, they inevitably subordinate these differences in the face of the common overriding danger: the anti-imperialist, anticolonial revolution in the Arab world.

The fedayeen are, at present, the primary embodiment of that revolution. They are the utterly crushed, most wretched of the earth, who are beginning to get themselves together to fight for their liberation. Their immediate, primary enemy is the Zionist state, for it was the Zionist colonization of Palestine, the establishment of the Zionist state in 1948 and its depredations since, that drove them from the land, that deprived them not only of the opportunity to develop a free national existencewhich under Turkish and British rule they were never permitted to havebut even of the opportunity to earn their living by being exploited!

For 20 years, the bulk of the Palestinians sat in the refugee camps with nothing but their bitterness and pain and hatred, waiting for the day when Allah or Nasser would liberate their land. They were used as pawns by the rulers of the Arab states in their diplomatic game with Israel and the imperialist powers. They were kept in line ideologically by talented demagogues who preached reliance on the Arab rulers and a virulent if sterile and paralyzing Jew hatred which, understandably enough, given the history of the Palestinian tragedy, found a ready response among the masses.

But by the early 1960s, small groups of Palestinians—largely students and other intellectuals—were beginning to organize to conduct their own struggle independently of the Arab rulers. They were jailed and tortured almost everywhere in the Arab world, because even the more progressive governments perceived clearly the serious threat to them represented by a genuinely independent, mass struggle.

During this period, the basic cadres of Fatah and the other movements were recruited. They propagandized and agitated and organized in the refugee camps around the need to wage in-

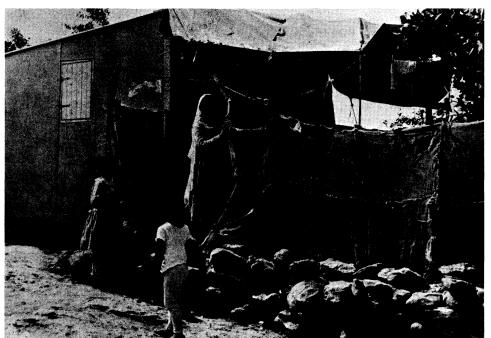


Photo by George Cavaletto/LNS

Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan



Photo by George Cavaletto/LNS

Woman in Jordan camp gives small arms instruction

dependent struggle, and they turned away, and began to help the Palestinian masses to turn away, from the dead end of chauvinistic Jew hatred. The Jewish people, they insisted, are not the enemy; the Zionist state and world imperialism are.

By 1965, Fatah was able to begin mounting commando raids into Israeli territory, and it was partly in response to these raids—then few in number and small in scale—that Israel unleashed her aggression against the Arab countries in 1967. The six days' war was a major turning point in the development of the Palestinian struggle. For in the collapse of the Egyptian and Jordanian armies, and in Syria's failure even seriously to fight, as the Israeli armies swept across the Jordan West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai and into the Golan Heights, the Palestinians experienced the collapse of the illusion that Allah or Nasser would liberate them. In the months following the war, Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine became mass movements.

The response of the Arab masses to the Palestinian movement has been enormous. Ten years ago, the Algerian freedom fighters were the great source of inspiration and hope to the exploited and oppressed of the Arab East. Today, the Palestinian fedayeen have that honor. The Arab rulers can no longer hope to crush the Palestinian movement by imprisoning a few leaders. They must somehow come to terms with a mass movement. They are trying desperately to tame and co-opt the Pales tinian movement, thus far unsuccessfully. And reactionary states like Lebanon and Jordan try to crush it militarily whenever what appears to be a favorable opportunity arises. It was just such as attempt that touched off the war in Lebanon two weeks ago.

Lebanon clearly showed the explosive consequences of the interaction between the fedayeen and the Arab masses. For the Palestinians are not merely fighting a Palestinian battle, and they are objectively not merely fighting the state of Israel. Objectively, they are fighting the whole system of imperialist domination of the Arab East. This is why the Arab masses rush spontaneously to their defense.

The events of the past two weeks in Lebanon show the urgent need for revolutionary vanguard parties to lead the masses in the ever sharper clashes with the reactionary forces of the region that are sure to occur in the future. The struggle against Zionism and imperialism cannot be finally successful

without a successful struggle against the reactionary and, eventually, even the more progressive but nonsocialist Arab regimes.

At least two of the fedayeen organizations—the Popular Front and the Democratic Popular Front—recognize these truths in their programs, and many elements in Fatah—the largest of the Palestinian groups—share this view. The Palestinians are today the vanguard in rallying the Arab masses. They may well become, in addition, the vanguard in developing the kind of political organization and program required to create a unified Arab East, freed of imperialist domination and feudal and capitalist exploitation, in which all non-Arab peoples enjoy full rights and can join with their Arab brothers in building a free, socialist society.



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDAR-ITY. The front cover of Al-Hadaf (above), voice of the guerrilla organization, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, published in Beirut, features a Young Socialist Alliance poster in defense of the Arab revolution. More recent issues contain Arabic translations of Peter Camejo's speech, "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," which first appeared in The Militant, and Jon Rothschild's speech, "The Arabs, the Jews and History," in the July Young Socialist. The magazine commended these articles for their clarity, scientific approach and courage of presentation.

Photo by Hermes

Key problems facing antiwar forces

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

Following the overwhelming explosion of antiwar sentiment on Oct. 15 the momentum has continued to mount toward the massive Nov. 15 March on Washington and San Francisco. Millions are taking part in this tremendous new outpouring of opposition to the war policies, lies and arrogance of the government that was supposedly elected to represent their interests.

The new forces entering the antiwar struggle are overwhelmingly committed to the immediate end of the war, and are willing to build a movement capable of achieving that. After five years of promises that the war would "soon" be over, they do not look very favorably on vague talk of withdrawing "most" of the troops in a "couple of years" and similar proposals.

As a by-product of the growth in popular sentiment for withdrawing the troops from Vietnam the antiwar movement has also now attracted to it a good number of individuals, primarily Democratic and Republican politicians, who are less interested in withdrawing troops from Vietnam than in winning the votes of the multitude of Americans who want them withdrawn.

All of these politicians are committed to the social system which produced the Vietnam war. Their jobs, social positions, and riches were gained through serving and defending the interests of those who own the wealth and productive resources of the United States.

It is to protect those imperialist interests that 40,000 American men have been sent to die in Vietnam already. And America's rulers, as well as the politicians who serve them, firmly believe in the "right" of the U.S. government to intervene in the internal affairs of another country, like Vietnam, if the strategic or immediate interests of U.S. capitalism are threatened. Thus, while they may disagree on how they should proceed in a very sticky situation, none of the capitalist politicians favor immediate, full U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. But the majority of ordinary Americans have no interests other than to withdraw unconditionally.

The antiwar movement certainly welcomes the additional forces now coming from all different sources and expects that they will continue to grow. But it is crucial that the movement not yield to the pressures and demands which the liberal congressmen and other politicians bring with them.

Why? What are the pressures and dangers?

First, it would be helpful to review the foundations on which the antiwar movement has been built over the last five years, the principles for which the left wing of the movement — which has been largely composed of the students — has consistently and successfully fought, and which have made possible the current mass movement against the war.

1) Nonexclusion: The principle of nonexclusion and the rejection of witch-hunting and red-baiting, whatever its source, was established with the very first mass action against the war, an SDS-called March on Washington in 1965. SDS refused to bow to pressure to exclude "communists" from participating, and the cold-war witch-hunting atmosphere that still pervaded the old peace movement was dealt a death blow.

2) Withdrawal: From the beginning, the student left wing of the movement has fought to make the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops a central one. Anything less denies the right of self-determination to the Vietnamese people. And any lesser demand can be accommodated by the government—while it continues the war unabated. Any lesser demand is based on protecting "U.S. interests"—

which are not those of the majority of Americans.

3) Mass actions independent of all capitalist parties and politicians: While the interests of some liberal politicians may on some occasions partially coincide with those of the antiwar movement—and Oct. 15 is a good example of how this can occur—the antiwar movement must remain absolutely independent of all of them.

The Republicans and Democrats and similar varieties of politicians are interested in being elected. We are interested in building a movement that can end the war now—regardless of who is elected. And that goal for which we have been fighting so long must not be subordinated to or compromised by the political needs of any office-seeker.

Key to maintaining the independence of the movement is an orientation toward mass actions in the streets demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal. Such actions provide an organizing focus for the movement and proof of the movement's power and size. They cannot be ignored.

4) Democratic norms: Only by assuring that decisions are made democratically can a viable antiwar movement be built, based on the real interests and opinions of those involved. The left wing has always been the most consistent fighter for internal democracy because in free and open confrontation of ideas there is no question the majority can be won to support of non-exclusion, withdrawal, and independent mass action.

All four of these fundamental planks on which the antiwar movement has been built are interrelated. Whenever a retreat is made on one of them, concessions on the others are invariably in the wind. For instance, those elements who are opposed to fighting for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops or mass actions because it might alienate some congressman or some other alleged supporter — inevitably find it more effective to resort to red-baiting, exclusion and undemocratic manipulation in order to get their point of view adopted than to try and win a majority of the antiwar forces in open debate.

What are the prospects for the coming period? Are these pressures on the antiwar movement real?

One good indication was contained in an article which appeared in the Oct. 26 issue of the Boston Sunday Herald Traveler, "The Who and What Behind the March on Washington." The article purported to reflect the views of leaders of the Moratorium—although it should be kept in mind that the Moratorium is a very heterogeneous grouping with many different points of view represented in its ranks.

"It is now clear," the article states, "that there never had been any real split between the two national organizations [Moratorium and National Mobilization Committee]. Instead, [Sam] Brown and several other New England Moratorium leaders. . . . feared that an element within Mobe would 'take over' the moderate movement they were building.

"These elements, described by Brown at a secret meeting last Sunday, were mainly members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), which had managed to take over leadership positions in the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC)—one of the main groups in the Mobe coalition. . . .

"What particularly irked Brown was the way that SMC had managed to get Peter Camejo, 29, a former national secretary of YSA, on the speakers' list for the Boston Common rally Oct. 15.

"In his speech, Camejo (who ran for mayor of Berkeley, Calif., two years ago) blasted the elected officials who

spoke before him. 'Now that we are a majority, they make statements against the war and want to get on the bandwagon... This movement is not for sale. Not in 1969, 1970, or any other time,' he said....

"Still, despite these coups [making Camejo the fourth rather than the second speaker at the rally(!)] Brown was worried that the movement would be stolen away. It is no secret that Massachusetts Moratorium organizers are trying to build a political base for the 1972 presidential campaign, similar to the base they built for McCarthy."

Because many of the Moratorium leaders, and others like them, are committed to the perspective and orientation of building a movement within the framework of capitalist politics, they are necessarily susceptible to the influence of capitalist politicians on all the key issues which guarantee the independence and effectiveness of the antiwar movement.

It is these capitalist politicians who have in recent weeks continued, and stepped up, their efforts to develop a red-baiting campaign against those in the movement they see as a "menace" to their political interests. The SMC and YSA have been particular targets of this.

To such witch-hunting attacks the YSA answers, "Yes, we have played a key role in building the antiwar movement, and we're proud of our record."

The SMC has answered, in effect, "Yes, we consider nonexclusion to be one of the cardinal principles on which the SMC has been built and we are proud of it. We don't exclude people from playing leadership roles because they are Democrats or Republicans, and we don't exclude them because they are pacifists, socialists or communists."

But there are forces within the antiwar movement which tend to bow to the pressure of the red-baiting for several reasons. Some now see the opportunity for "making it" with the "important" figures now flitting on the periphery of the movement. Some suffer from the illusion that by appeasing the red-baiters they can somehow persuade them to ease up—even though all political history demonstrates irrefutably that such appeasement only accelerates the witch-hunting.

Yet it is important to remember that whatever base such people do have is within the antiwar movement, and they are susceptible to that pressure as well, including pressure from the left. That makes it crucially important for the left wing of the movement to be conscious of the possible dangers of the coming period and prepared to combat them politically.

As the movement grows, the ante goes up. Those liberals who want to prevent the movement from escaping the bounds of their influence will try harder to win control over it. If they are successful in winning the leadership, on their terms, the war will go on.

The Student Mobilization Committee will play a key role in this fight during coming months as the conscious organized left wing of the antiwar movement—the role it has played since it was founded.

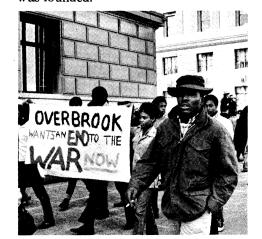




Photo by Dave Wulp

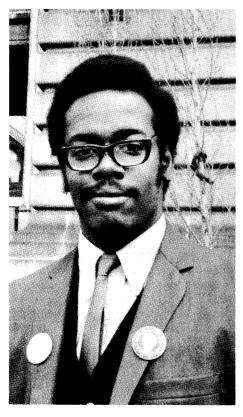
Syd Stapleton

Socialists register gains in Cleveland elections

By DAVE WULP

CLEVELAND, Nov. 5 — Liberal black Democrat Carl Stokes narrowly won reelection as mayor of Cleveland yesterday. Returns from 965 of the city's 973 elections districts gave Stokes 118,713 votes and his Republican opponent, Ralph Perk, 116,544. Unofficial returns credit Syd Stapleton, the Socialist Workers Party nominee, with some 1,400 votes.

During the last week of the campaign, Stokes, who was assured of a large black vote in any case, took a sharp turn to the right in an effort to compete with Perk on the "law and order" issue for the West Side white vote. He apparently succeeded to some extent, but at the cost of alienating some black



CONTENDER. James Harris was SWP candidate for East Cleveland Board of Education. He polled 1,258 votes in field of seven. Gloria Gould, independent black candidate for board endorsed by SWP was credited with 1,224 votes. Two front runners in race polled 3,634 and 3,257 respectively.

voters. The black turnout was reportedly smaller this year than two years ago, when Stokes was elected mayor for the first time.

Stokes even went so far in his appeal for the racist vote as to blast Perk for having "deserted the cause of law and order" in 1962, when the Republican candidate opposed the extradition of black militant Mae Mallory to North Carolina to stand trial on a frame-up kidnapping charge.

Syd Stapleton commented on Stokes' attempt to use the Mallory case at a meeting at Cuyahoga Community College: "The facts on the Mae Mallory case are clear to all concerned. She was being sought on charges trumped up by a southern sheriff, charges which resulted from a racist attack on the Monroe, N. C., NAACP. Sending Mae Mallory to face trial in those courts was a mockery of justice. The recent statement by Stokes is an incredible attempt to prove himself more of an opponent of the black liberation movement than Ralph Perk."

The SWP campaign aroused increasing interest throughout the pre-election period. A front-page *Cleveland Press* story on Oct. 29 said it would be a great mistake not to take the socialist campaign seriously. And in his own way, and for whatever reason, even Stokes paid tribute to it when he said in a radio speech: "Syd is an attractive, bright young fellow, and I'll bet in two years he'll be a young fellow to reckon with in this town."

But the best measure of the effectiveness of the socialist campaign is the fact that during the last five days, 48 people applied for membership in the Young Socialist Alliance.

A gala campaign wrap-up rally was addressed by Stapleton, Linda Jenness, the SWP candidate in this year's Atlanta mayoral election, and James Harris, Socialist Workers nominee for the East Cleveland board of education.

Gloria Gould, an independent black candidate for the East Cleveland board of education, had been scheduled to speak but was unable to because of illness.

On election night, a "victory" celebration was held at the Hotel Sheraton-Cleveland.

Syd Stapleton—C

CLEVELAND — Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Syd Stapleton met his Democratic opponent, liberal incumbent Carl Stokes, in debate before the City Club here Nov. 1. The Republican nominee, Ralph J. Perk, declined to participate in the debate. The encounter between Stokes and Stapleton was broadcast on television and on five radio stations.

Stokes spoke grandly of what his administration would accomplish if it were returned to office, and proudly of the "beginnings" his government had made in overcoming such social ills as poverty, inadequate housing, and pollution.

But virtually the only area in which Stokes could claim to have made more than a "beginning" was—"law and order." He described one of his major accomplishments this way: "We chased the prostitutes away from Euclid and East 79th Street."

The mayor was proud of the fact that he had "appointed new policemen and given them the finest training and equipment." And in explaining that his was an administration of "experts" and not of "politicians," Stokes bragged that he had not ordered his public safety commissioner and police chief "to make political points for me." Rather, he effused, "I told them to go out there and hire some new policemen, enforce the law, that no one in this city has immunity, to rid our city of hoodlums, no matter what their color, their caste, their status in life."

Stapleton opened his remarks by protesting the exclusion of women from the City Club: "I am no more in favor of the reactionary and medieval exclusion of women from the City Club than I am in favor of the exclusion of black people and Jews by the wealthy private clubs throughout the country. It reflects the widespread expectation that women in this society should play the role of loyal wife, subservient worker and underpaid employee."

Later, the chairman of the meeting attempted a half-hearted defense of the



LNS

CONDEMNED TO DIE. Ahmed Evans, militant Cleveland black nationalist, was sentenced to death last May 13 following trial before all-white jury. In a 1968 police attack on black community, four people were killed, including three cops. Evans was charged with murder. Trial prosecutor, who had no solid evidence to present, launched hysterical tirade against "black nationalist plot." Liberal black Mayor Carl Stokes asserts Evans' frame-up was a "fair trial."

City Club on this point. He explained that while women are not eligible for membership, they are welcome at the club's public forums. Stapleton responded that to "welcome" women to public meetings while excluding them from decision-making bodies is tokenism.

The SWP candidate stressed the relation between the war in Vietnam, the oppression of Afro-Americans and the deteriorating living standards of American workers, and he explained the sources of these and other severe social problems in the capitalist system.

Stapleton explained the need for a labor party and an independent black party, and described the role of the capitalist parties, especially the Democratic party, in maintaining mass support for policies and for a system opposed to the interests of the masses.

The socialist nominee blasted Stokes' refusal to help build the antiwar movement, his opposition to black control of the black community, and his refusal to support any of the fundamental social changes that are necessary to abolish the poverty and destructiveness of capitalist society.

The following are excerpts from the question and answer period of the debate.

Q. Mr. Stapleton, I've heard you compare the Ahmed Evans case to the Rosenberg case and the Sacco and Vanzetti frame-up. Now aren't you stretching the point a little?

Stapleton: The Ahmed Evans case is not the case of an individual black person who was arrested for some crime and was tried on the basis of seeking

PLAIN

Socialist Hails "

By ALLEN WIGGINS

When Eli Radish took the microphones the revolution was over. The kids looked at each other and smiled and a couple danced, g r o o f i n g with the new politics.

It was a ball in the Lewis Rom of the Hotel Sheraton-Cleveland as the Young Socialist Alliance got into Allen J. Lowe's pocket for a free room election night.

It was the victory gala for the mayoral campaign of Sydney R. Stapleton, who at 10:30 p.m. made his victory remarks. Actually, he received only about .5% of the total vote. But he made a victory statement. He quoted so mebody who had worked for the classic American Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, in a campaign against William Howard Taft.

"Taft was the winner, his opponent was the loser and Debs was victorious," Stapleton quoted.

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EARLY, the evening Stapleton ved the other candidates' election-night setups. "W, even if we had that k of money we wouldn't sd it on that," he said.

The Ra produced a musical sd comparable to the Sarancisco earthquake. en they first started plag the Stapleton kids led at each other with smsmiles waiting for the magement to come down them for the noise.

But the management, instead, sent free trays of hors d'o e u v r e s. And an anonymous benefactor sent nine free pizzas and four gallons of red wine.

FIRST TO DANCE was David Wulp, Stapleton's campaign manager. As the music played it drew occasional groups of black kids from the Stokes party, who would listen for a while, slap each others hands and be off.

The campaign this year was just the beginning, Stapleton said. Next year, the Ohio Socialist Workers party will have candidates for governor (Marcia Sweetenham), senator (James Harris, who ran for East Cleveland Board of Education this election), 22d District U.S. congressman (David Wulp), lieutenant governor (Stapleton) and attorney general Al Budka).

Stapleton declared that his campaign had accomplished some great things, especially at high schools. He said at least a hundred students had signed up to join the Young Socialist Alliance and many more were ready to get involved with the antiwar movement.

arl Stokes debate

to determine whether or not he in fact committed some crime. The Ahmed Evans case, in fact, represents an attack by the power structure of this city, of this society as well, on people who are active defenders of the rights of black people. That has occurred many times in this country, and it's becoming normal, regularized procedure. It's an assumption that when someone becomes a leader of a militant black organization, or becomes a spokesman for the needs of the black community, that he will be subjected to arrest, harassment, trials and so on.

Now I don't agree with the political viewpoint of Ahmed Evans. But unless he is defended, the case has the possibility of producing the same kind of thing that the Rosenberg case produced—the feeling that if you are going to speak out, you are going to be subjected to these things, and that there is no one, no one, to defend you.

Another side of it is that if Ahmed Evans is executed, he will be the first person to have been executed in this country for two years. I would hope that all people who are concerned with justice in this society would oppose that.

Now the alternative that we offer is that the court system which judges black people should in fact be a court system of their peers. This society is so permeated with racism that it is not possible for a white jury in this kind of case to objectively judge a black per-

And this is particularly so when the prosecutor stands up and says things like, "Wake up America! From a tiny

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acorn grows a mighty oak," and "A spoonful of ink in a gallon of water gives you a tainted color."

Stokes: Sydney, I don't know if you intended to, but you really have placed me in a moral obligation to respond to you on this Ahmed Evans issue as it has been presented. I want you to understand this.

Ahmed Evans and some men with him took rifles and shot down policemen under situations in which we are not talking about any defense. We're not talking about any aggression from the police. They literally took the weapon and ambushed the policemen under those circumstances. There is no way in the world for me in good conscience to try to make a hero out of him. He had no justification for it under those circumstances, and I want it made clear.

I don't know what Sacco and Vanzetti did, and I don't know what the Rosenbergs did, but I do know that in this case, in the absence of any aggression on the part of the police, they were ambushed. You cannot have that kind of occurrence happen in a society, if you want to try to preserve democratic processes which afford some means at least, imperfect as they may be, of working out just grievances, but certainly without everyone resorting to the animal-like way of adjusting their grievances by violence and gunfire.

Stapleton: I don't believe it has ever been proved whether or not those policemen were ambushed; and in fact it was not the function of the trial to prove it.

The evidence in the case revolved around the testimony of a convicted arsonist and dope peddler who was given time off the sentence he was serving in the county jail at that time and who was allowed to enter the Army after his testimony.

Now the fact is that the Eisenhower Commission report felt it necessary to say they didn't, they weren't able to, ascertain who fired the first shot. In this country, if you are attacked you have the right to defend yourself.

The question was never discussed during the trial, and the investigations which Mayor Stokes promised after the incident have never taken place on that question and covered it fully. In the absence of those facts, the railroading of Ahmed Evans was—a railroading.

St. Louis Free Press/LNS



Photo by Dave Wulp

Carl Stokes

Q: Would a 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$25,000 take the incentive out of the free-enterprise system?

Stapleton: Well, it's like Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin - which was quite a good invention. It made growing cotton possible, it meant that it was possible to make all kinds of advances in the production of clothes and so forth. But it didn't mean that he should be able to keep slaves; it didn't mean that slavery was a good system.

And the way that Henry Ford made his millions of dollars was not by inventing the assembly line; it was rather by preventing Ford workers from organizing a union, and taking the money that he didn't pay them and adding it to his personal fortune. Like for example, Ford came out in 1934 and 1935 after Hitler had taken power and said, "You know, that Adolph Hitler, he isn't such a bad guy. He really knew how to handle trade unions."

Now that was Henry Ford. And wheth-

er or not he had a good idea, it doesn't give him the right to control the lives of thousands of people. It doesn't give him the right to control the economy of this country. It doesn't give the industrialists of this country the right to oppress people around the world by paying off military dictatorships to keep them from organizing unions as well.

Now the fact is that people have had a lot of good ideas. The fact is that Dr. Salk, for example, discovered the polio vaccine not because he thought he could buy TV time and put on commercials for Dr. Salk's Polio Vaccine, but because he had a concern for humanity. It's our feeling that many people in fact do, and that the people in this country who don't are the owners of the major corporations and the operators of the major political parties, who have put over a sham democratic system in this country for the past 100, 200 or 300 years and have allowed economic and political slavery to continue to exist.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES

During the months of November and December, the revolutionary socialist movement is conducting several educational conferences in different parts of the country. These conferences are directed toward such topics as Imperialism, Vietnam, Cuba and Palestine; Black and Chicano Liberation; Women's Liberation; Reform and Revolution; Electoral Action and the History of the Revolutionary Movement. Participating in these conferences are such leaders of the socialist movement as Jack Barnes, Paul Boutelle, Peter Buch, Peter Camejo, Linda Jenness, Tom Kerry, Derrick Morrison and George Novack. Dates are listed where they are available. For more information about the schedule and location of the conference in your area, contact:

austin, texas University of Austin Dec. 6, 7 Contact: YSA, Rm 354

Texas Union U of Austin 78712

BOSTON, MASS.

BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA Nov. 28, 29, 30 Contact: YSA, 2338 Market St. San Francisco, Cal. 94114

Nov. 1, 2 Contact: YSA, 295 Huntington Ave. Boston, Mass. 02115

CLEVELAND, OHIO Dec. 6, 7 Contact: YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave. East Cleveland, Ohio 44112

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA Nov. 28, 29, 30 Contact: YSA, 1702 E, 4th St. Los Angeles, Cal. 90033

NEW YORK, N. Y New York University Dec. 5, 6, 7 Contact: YSA, 873 Broadway New York N Y 10003

PHILADELPHIA, PA. Nov. 28, 29, 30 Contact: YSA, 686 N. Broad St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19130

ST. LOUIS, MO. Nov. 28, 29, 30 Contact: YSA, 2986-A Lawton Pl. St. Louis, Mo. 63103

SEATTLE WASH Contact: YSA, 5257 University Way, N.E. Seattle, Wash. 98105

WASHINGTON, D.C. Contact: YSA, 1319 F St., Rm 1010 Washington, D.C. Tel: 638-0610 or 965-0253

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his campaign had accomplished some great things, He said at least a hundred ready to get involved with the antiwar movement.

NEWSPAPER

How the Berkeley 3 won their acquittal

By DAVE WARREN

OAKLAND, Calif. — One of the Berkeley 3 "conspiracy" defendants was acquitted here Oct. 31, and the trial of the other two ended in a hung jury. After 12 hours of deliberation, the jury brought in a "not guilty" verdict on Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party and announced their inability to reach a verdict on Jack Bloom and Paul Glusman, independent Berkeley campus radicals.

The three were charged with conspiracy to commit trespass, malicious mischief and conspiracy to interfere with police.

The charges stemmed from last fall's Berkeley student protest against a University of California board of regents attempt to prevent Eldridge Cleaver from presenting a course of lectures he had been invited to give on the campus by faculty and students. After exhausting all "official" channels of protest, the students resorted to direct action, and on Oct. 23, 1968, Moses Hall was occupied. The next morning, the cops moved in and made 55 arrests.

The trial of the three lasted only nine days — including three-and-a-half days for jury selection - because the prosecutor, "Buzz" Devega, presented such a weak case, the defense decided to put only two witnesses on the stand. Devega's only "evidence" was tape recordings of public meetings addressed by Bloom and Glusman and of a campus rally chaired by Camejo.

In his summation, the prosecutor tried to make up for the absence of evidence by slandering the defendants: He called them "phonies" who were not really interested in the issues of the protest but were only trying to "build their political image" among the students.

Defense attorney Arthur Wells demolished the prosecution arguments by pointing to the lack of evidence. He showed that the prosecutor had manufactured a "conspiracy" in an attempt to punish the defendants for their political views and perfectly legal activities.

There were some anxious moments toward the end of the trial. The jury came into the courtroom and the foreman reported they had decided on one defendant but could not yet reach a decision on the other two. The foreman began to explain the problem: "How can only one be. . . . " The judge stopped him from prematurely revealing a verdict. The prosecutor, however,



Photo by Manuel Russell

Peter Camejo

jumped up and shouted: "But your honor, one can be convicted of conspiracy."

The judge called a conference in chambers with counsel, and the prosecutor emerged from the conference obviously elated; he was sure he had at least one conviction. The judge instructed the jury on law — they could indeed deliver a one-man verdict - and sent them back to the jury room.

A short time later, the jury filed back into the court. The foreman rose and handed the jury record to the clerk for reading. "The People of the state of California . . . find the defendant Peter M. Camejo not guilty!" The jury was unable to agree on the other defendants, though it was eight to four for acquittal.

A new trial date for Bloom and Glusman is scheduled to be set in two weeks. It is expected, however, that the district attorney will drop the case.

West Coast march plans move ahead

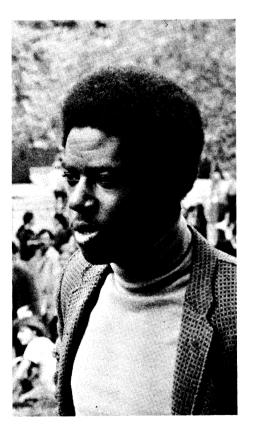
SAN FRANCISCO - The march against the Vietnam war here Nov. 15 promises to be the largest West Coast demonstration ever held. Differences have, hopefully, been settled between the bulk of West Coast activists and a part of the New Mobilization Committee's Western leadership, which has tried to bureaucratically impose its reformist concepts of what the march is

At yet another of its behind-closeddoors meetings here last night, the NMC-West "steering committee" voted to add Corky Gonzales, militant Chicano leader from Denver, and student leader Dan Seigal from UC Berkeley, to the speakers' list. The activists had pressed for this. They also added an International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) speaker and an elected liberal officeholder, as yet unspecified.

Other speakers are the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dolores Huerta of the grape strikers, former Senator Wayne Morse, Rennie Davis of the Conspiracy Eight, and Black Panther David Hilliard.

The NMC also agreed to pay all Nov. 15 organizing expenses for the New Mobilization Membership Committee, which the activists established themselves after the NMC leaders pulled out of the office Oct. 17 in the middle

Despite the differences, and the difficulties the officers have caused for publicity and fund-raising for the march, significant advances have occurred. The Women's Task Force (WTF) has done much to publicize the march through news conferences, interviews and talk shows. The Third World Task Force



ACQUITTED. Wayne Green, Ber-Vincent Hallinan.

has held its own news conferences and, like the women, printed and distributed their own leaflets. And the Labor Task Force has gained endorsements from a wide range of unions.

But the most impressive work has been done by the Student Mobilization Committee, now organized on most college campuses and many high schools throughout California, and working with antiwar groups on virtually all campuses, including many outside the state.

An example is an SMC-sponsored resolution passed unanimously by the California State College Student Presidents Association calling for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and another calling for the formation of antiwar groups such as SMC on all campuses.

The Nov. 14 SMC-called student strike promises to be even more of a success than the Oct. 15 Moratorium, when in San Francisco absenteeism in high schools was reported almost double the usual rate.

SMC has also undertaken a fight in San Francisco to gain constitutional rights, such as the right to distribute leaflets, for high school students.

And the New Mobilization Membership Committee (also known as Bay Area Peace Action Council) continues its distribution of 100,000 leaflets weekly, plus stickers and buttons. Its own silk-screen operation, run by volunteer labor, has resulted in a variety of posters. T-shirts, armbands and bumper strips publicizing the march. Volunteers are needed; the office is at 2170 Bryant Street, San Francisco, Telephone: 415-282-4741.



300 in Boston hear socialist lecture series

By STUART SINGER

BOSTON — A conference, "Dynamics of World Revolution Today," held at MIT Oct. 31-Nov. 2 brought together about 300 people to hear talks and to participate in workshops on socialism and many aspects of the current radical movement.

The largest session of the conference was Saturday afternoon when Peter Camejo spoke, having just returned from being acquitted at a conspiracy trial in Berkeley, Calif.

Over \$350 worth of radical literature was sold, in addition many subscriptions to The Militant and Young Socialist magazine.

Conference speakers included Marxist scholar George Novack, Jack Barnes, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant, and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party 1964 presidential candidate.

After the conference, a meeting was held of YSA members from Worcester, Mass. and it was decided to establish a regular local of the YSA in that city within a week.

Afro students at Tufts win shutdown of building site

By MARK FRIEDMAN and ROY INGLEE

MEDFORD, Mass. - Reinforced by black students from Brandeis, Boston College, Boston University and Har-

Right-wing thugs attack SWP hall

CHICAGO - A gang of about 15 thugs, announcing themselves as Minutemen, invaded the Headquarters of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party here Nov. 1. Armed with clubs and a Macelike spray, the right-wingers overturned book displays, tore out telephones, and vandalized the hall, while attacking the four people who were there at the time (others were out participating in a demonstration in support of the Conspiracy 8.) Injuries were not serious. The four attacked included two Black Panthers who were looking through the bookstore display.

vard, the Tufts Afro Society on Nov. 5 shut down the new dorm construction site at Jackson College, the female branch of Tufts.

In spite of a steady rain, over a hundred black students and a dozen white supporters occupied the construction site, barricaded the gates and halted work on the building.

White workers were not allowed on the site. The four black workers presently employed as tokens on the job joined the demonstration. The construction company is owned by Nixon's secretary of transport, former Massachussetts Governor John Volpe.

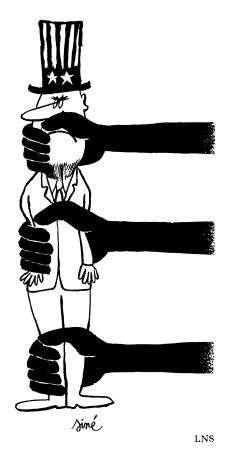
The Afro Society demands that 20 percent of the construction crew be black or third world people and that the Urban League Labor Committee police the hiring practices of the company.

On Nov. 4, the Tufts administration announced its support of the eight Afro committee demands but said construction would continue while the case was settled in court. The Afro Society then acted to close down the site.

The school has now reversed its token support of the eight demands by obtaining an injunction against the student demonstrations. The Afro Society and the Tufts YSA slated a joint rally for Nov. 7 to build campus-wide support.

keley Afro-American campus activist and Resistance organizer, was found not guilty of attempted murder Nov. 5. After police attacks on Young Socialist Alliance's Telegraph Avenue rallies in July 1968, Berkeley cops arrested Wayne Green and falsely accused him of throwing a firebomb. Green was successfully defended by well-known attorney

Afro students wage fight for liberation flag



By JOEL ABER

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 - New York authorities have turned Brooklyn's Franklin K. Lane High School into an armed camp in support of a racistminded principal determined to prevent black students from displaying a flag representing black liberation.

A classroom sit-in and march through the school's corridors erupted Oct. 23 when Principal Morton Selub forced students to remove from their classroom wall the red, black and green flag of national liberation.

"The Americans had their flag during the revolutionary war," one student de-

"And King George didn't allow them to fly it in their classrooms," the principal responded.

The flag had been hoisted by students in a black studies course. The principal ordered it replaced with the red, white and blue flag that has come to symbolize oppression to radicalizing youth of the oppressed Afro-American nation, just as the Union Jack symbolized oppression in colonial America.

The principal apparently believes, like King George, that democratic rights are not justified. Thus he told newsmen that flying the black liberation flag "would be taking a political point of view that would be unjustified even if it was certain that the flag had the approval of every black person in the country" (emphasis added).

The number of demonstrators in the halls of Franklin K. Lane quickly swelled. In typical King George fashion, the principal responded to the students' demands with further repression. He called in the cops. On Oct. 31, a melee broke out, two cops were injured and the principal closed the school for the

Franklin K. Lane High School rapidly became an electoral issue, with "progressive" incumbent mayor John Lindsay and mayoral aspirant Mario Procaccino each trying to outdo the other with fervent appeals for "law and order."

"I am putting the students involved in these disturbances on notice," the mayor said, "actions of lawlessness and destruction will not go unpunished."

Even more sinister threats came from United Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker. The rabid anticommunity-control union bureaucrat said that "extremist tactics" had been used to provoke violence at Lane and called on the federal government to establish a "strike force" to combat "or-

ganized bigotry and hatred" in public school systems.

A letter of protest was sent to the principal by the Republic of New Africa, signed by Sister Ibidun, Deputy Minister of Information, Brooklyn Consul-

The RNA reminded the principal, "The flag that you so arbitrarily ordered these students to remove has a history and a tradition going back to the days of the Honorable Marcus Garvey . . . symbolizing the nationalistic aspirations of more than 25 million black people held in colonial status in America. It represents the hundreds of years of Black blood that have been spilled in the building of America into the greatest power the world has ever known. It represents the land that we are entitled to through years of free toil. . . ."

The school is open again - occupied by about 100 uniformed and plainclothes police. And the issue of the flag remains unresolved.

They wouldn't make false pledge

NEW YORK—The New York Student Mobilization Committee released a letter it received from Gigi Gordon, 12, a seventh-grader at Queens Junior High School 217. She and three classmates were suspended, from school for refusing to stand or accept being ejected from the classroom during the pledge of allegiance. Two of them, Mary Frain and Susan Keller, were reinstated in school by a temporary federal injunction which the ACLU is now seeking to make permanent. Gigi Gordon's letter follows:

Jamaica, N.Y. Brothers and Sisters,

I want to get involved with your group, but so far I haven't had a chance. To show you how anti-war, anti-false morals we are, I'll explain something to you: Susan Keller, Mary Frain, Elizabeth Wassell and Gigi Gordon (that's me) got suspended because we would not stand up and pledge allegiance to the flag. When by our homeroom teacher we were told to stand up or leave, we refused and we were suspended. But I was reinstated because my parents and Elizabeth's said we would stand or leave the room.

So we came back and gave the peace sign, walked out with 18 other kids from our class during the pledge, slammed the door.

Seven kids now say the pledge. Susie and Mary sit down and are back in school waiting for a court hearing on whether we will be allowed to sit down.

Our reasons: (1) There isn't liberty and justice for all. (2) I don't believe in God. (3) I don't think I should pledge myself to a country that is participating in things I don't believe in (Vietnam war). (4) Leaving the room is a punishment, and by abusing our right of sitting down, which we feel is right, we are being punished.

Please send me some papers (in bulk) to give out around my neighborhood (FAST!).

> Love, Gigi Gordon

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Sit-in by Afro students wins gains at Vassar

By ED BEECHER

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y. - The black students at Vassar College won a significant victory Nov. 1 when the administration of this most prestigious women's educational institution acceded to most of their demands following a threeday sit-in by 35 students, a majority of Vassar's black enrollment.

For two years the Afro-American Vassar women had been negotiating with the college administration—demanding some control over their own education and lives - with no tangible results. Finally, they resorted to occupation of the ground floor of the administration building in the early morning hours

In the past, a spokesman told me, the administration would readily agree to the black students' demands in principle but would never implement them. In fact, college authorities conveyed the attitude that the students' proposals were to be viewed as an experiment, not a program to be dealt with seriously. The demonstrating black women made it clear that they were serious and determined: "We don't want to attend any more meetings; we want yes or no answers."

By the second day of the occupation, the administration had verbally agreed to some of the demands. But the students remained in the building until the next day, when a representative of

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the board of trustees agreed to affix his signature to a written, binding agreement, thus assuring that there could be no reneging or "misunderstanding" by the administration later. The administration agreed to insure the following:

- 1) Students will have the opportunity to concentrate in the field of black studies, with full academic credit.
- 2) The number of black faculty will be increased.
- 3) The downtown urban center for black studies-started two years ago but then permitted to deteriorate—will be enlarged.
- 4) A bus will be provided to transport Vassar black women to the urban
- 5) The budget for black studies will be increased.
- 6) A black guidance-placement counselor will be hired.
- 7) Afro-American students will have the right to housing that is "contiguous," but not necessarily in entirely separate buildings as demanded.

The settlement apparently does not include acceptance of the black students' demand that black enrollment be increased from the present 57 to 200.

Tangible support for the Afro-American students among faculty members and white students was instrumental in the quick vctory of the sit-in. A support meeting of 400 of the 1,600 student body occurred on the first day of the occupation. The faculty voted overwhelmingly to bar calling police onto the campus or taking any court action.

Extremely important, and perhaps decisive, was the growing support from the nearby urban Poughkeepsie black community with which the students had been

While not complete, the victory was considerable, showing the power of militant, united action.

YSA sets convention

By DAVID THORSTAD

The Ninth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance will be held at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis Dec. 27-30. It promises to be one of the largest gatherings of revolutionary socialist youth in American history.

This convention comes at a time when thousands of newly-radicalized young people are looking for the revolutionary alternative offered by the YSA. It follows on the heels of a massive fall antiwar offensive which the YSA has actively helped to organize from the

The convention will provide an invaluable opportunity for young revolutionists from all over the United States to evaluate the effectiveness of their political activities in the last year and to make plans for stepping up the struggle against the capitalist system in 1970.

A major arena of activity for the YSA has been in support of the Vietnamese revolution. The YSA has consistently built the Student Mobilization Committee and defended the right of GIs to oppose the war. Several leading GI antiwar activists have been YSAers.

The YSA has also become an influential force on many college campuses and in high schools. A focal point of its activity has been in support of the struggles of black and third world students for control over their education and for black studies departments.

The YSA has been the foremost defender on the campus of the Cuban and Arab revolutions. In the past year, it has organized scores of meetings, teach-ins and demonstrations in support of these revolutions.

It has supported mayoral and other electoral campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party in several cities. It has run its own campaigns on a number of campuses and won its first victory in this field by electing a YSA slate to the student government at Harpur College in Binghamton, N.Y.

From these and other activities, the YSA has recruited a significant number of revolutionists to the fight for a socialist America. All its chapters are currently discussing and evaluating all phases of YSA work. These discussions will be continued at the convention which will decide on the policies and activities for revolutionary youth during the coming year.

The convention will include reports and discussion on the antiwar move-

D.C. YSA slates

By TOMMYE WEISE

WASHINGTON, D.C. - The Washington Young Socialist Alliance will host a socialist educational conference on the weekend of Dec. 5-7. The theme of the conference will be, "Revolutionary Strategy for the 1970s."

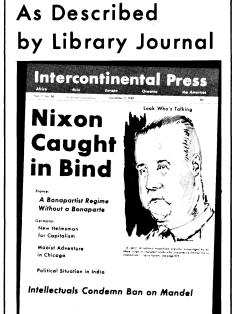
Featured speakers will include George Novack, noted Marxist scholar, on "The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them"; Tony Thomas, national field secretary of the YSA, on the struggle for black liberation; Peter Buch, author of "Burning Issues of the Mideast Crisis," on the Palestinian liberation struggle; and Linda Jenness, recent mayoral candidate in Atlanta, Ga., on the revolutionary struggle for women's liberation.

Also speaking will be Peter Camejo, former national secretary of the YSA.

For further information on location, housing, schedules, etc. call 638-0610 or 965-0253 or write to YSA, 1319 F St. NW, Room 1010, Washington,

ment, the black and third world liberation struggle, the national and international political situation, and the tasks of revolutionary Marxists. Leading revolutionary youth from around the world will be in attendance. There will be panels on several issues including women's liberation, black and third world liberation, the GI and civilian antiwar movement, and socialist electoral strategy in 1970.

Many young radicals who are interested in completely changing American society, but who have not yet joined the YSA, will be attending this national convention of young socialists. Scores of others will join between now and the convention. Both should send in the accompanying coupon right away.



The November 1 issue of Library Journal, one of the foremost publications in the library field in the U.S., described Intercontinental Press as follows:

"Specializing in 'political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements, 'each 24-page issue represents a global kaleidoscope of radical activity—and the often savage repression it evokes. The contents, assembled by editor Joseph Hansen, a 'revolutionary Marxist' (but anti-Stalinist), include formal documents and bylined reports, as well as reprints and translations from hard-to-come-by sources like the Los Angeles - published Laging Una, 'voice of the Filipino people,' and Literarni Listy, weekly organ of the Czech Union of Writers. A single number may encompass the full denunciation of Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia by 'leading members of the International War Crimes Tribunal'; the original proposals by eminent Czech Communists that would have underpinned 'proletarian democracy' (and in large part prompted the Russian invasion); a vivid, first-hand account of the October 2nd, extra-Olympic 'slaughter' (as a British sportscaster termed it) at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Mexico City; dramatic renderings of last Fall's giant anti-war demonstrations in both London and Japan; a virtual autopsy on the French CP by Paris-based Pierre Frank; and a critical sketch of Luis Taruc, the onetime Huk Supremo lately released from a Philippine jail. An artist named 'Copain' supplies competent line-drawings and occasional water color portraits.'

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educational meet

Should the radicals escalate their antiwar slogans?

By ELIZABETH BARNES

One of the most significant aspects of the gigantic growth of the antiwar movement this fall has been the unprecedented increase in the number of people who consider themselves revolutionaries or socialists of some kind. This growth in radical consciousness poses the question of what role these larger revolutionary-minded forces can play within the antiwar movement itself and in building a revolutionary movement against the social system responsible for the war.

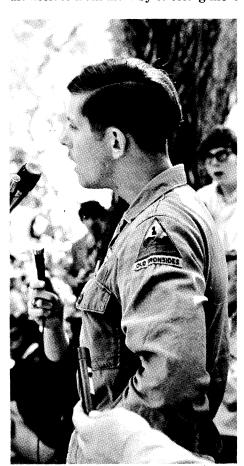
One answer to this question was given by Stanley Aronowitz in articles which appeared in the *Guardian* Oct. 25 and Nov. 8. Aronowitz's view is worth considering because it reflects the thinking of a number of people and groups within the radical movement.

A primary task ahead, Aronowitz correctly states, is to prevent the liberal politicians who have recently joined the movement from co-opting it and using it for their own purposes.

He points out, equally correctly, that to counteract the conservative influence of capitalist politicians it is necessary for radicals to take part in the movement, to participate in the mass demonstrations—but at the same time to differentiate themselves from the liberals.

But, in discussing just how radicals should go about differentiating themselves, Aronowitz makes a political error which is quite common among ultralefts in the movement today.

For him, the problem boils down to a question of slogans. The slogan which has divided the radicals from the capitalist politicians has been that of immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. But now, Aronowitz argues, the liberals have taken over the withdrawal slogan and the radicals must separate themselves from them by stressing more



GI addresses Austin rally

"militant" "anti-imperialist" slogans and demands. That is, they must escalate their slogans.

One of several things wrong with this argument is the simple fact that the liberal politicians have not by any means taken over the withdrawal demand. As a matter of fact, one of the greatest dangers to the movement at this time is precisely the tremendous pressure which is being put on the movement by these same politicians who want to water down this demand. There is not one single prominent capitalist officeholder who has stood up for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops, and there is good reason for this.

When Aronowitz speaks of "the easy co-optibility of the demand for immediate withdrawal," he expresses a serious underestimation of the deep radical implications of the struggle which is going on in this country between the antiwar movement which is demanding withdrawal of troops on the one hand and the ruling class on the other. Very high stakes are involved in this struggle.

The immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam under the pressure of the antiwar movement would represent a colossal defeat for American imperialism. The Vietnam war is now the focal point of the world wide struggle between capitalism and socialism. A victory for the socialist forces (and that is what withdrawal would be) in this crucial test of strength would give inspiration and impetus to oppressed peoples throughout the world.

The withdrawal of troops would also provide a tremendous precedent which would undermine future attempts by the U.S. to protect its imperialist interests abroad by military means. Further, the antiwar movement is educating thousands of people in this country about the reality of American foreign policy—that this policy is not based on the defense of democracy and freedom, but on the defense of the right to politically subjugate and economically exploit other nations. These lessons will not be easily erased.

Moreover, the lies and deception and the maneuvering used by the U. S. government to hoodwink the American people into supporting the war has given millions of Americans a good lesson in the real nature of "democracy" within the U. S.

Because we have been able to win over a majority of the American people to opposition to the war, the antiwar movement now has the potential for forcing the government to withdraw the troops. But this can only happen if we keep the pressure on, if we continue to unite ever greater numbers of people in independent mass action around the demand that the troops be brought home.

It is precisely the radicals within the movement who must play the crucial role in keeping the movement on this militant course. Aronowitz comments in one article that, "The primary role of the revolutionary in this period when the liberals and reformists are carrying the main burden of organizing is to make the explicit connections between



RADICALIZATION PROCESS. Student Mobe Moratorium rally at University of Texas in Austin, suggests extent to which involvement in antiwar movement has radicalized students in all parts of the country.

the war and imperialism." (Emphasis added.)

But, the fact is that the reformists and liberals are not carrying the "main burden" of the organizing of the movement—it is the radicalizing youth who are playing this role. Left to their own devices, these reformists and liberals would botch, muddle, and, finally, derail the movement.

The radicals must continue to be active in the organization and leadership of the movement as a whole—not just its consciously anti-imperialist left wing. And they must spearhead the fight to keep immediate withdrawal and non-exclusion the central demands of this movement.

The slogans which revolutionaries should raise, and the movements we should put our energies into are not determined by what is abstractly "correct" or "militant." It is determined by what is most effective in concretely radicalizing people and in mobilizing them for one of the most important tasks in the revolutionary movement today—the defense of the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam.

And there is no contradiction whatsoever between carrying out this task and educating greater numbers of people to the nature of imperialism. On the contrary, the two tasks go hand in hand. While building the antiwar movement, socialists and radicals have the best opportunity to put forward their ideas and win people to them.

Not only can they educate about the nature of imperialism, as Aronowitz properly urges, but they can and should go further and participate actively in the task of organizing a revolutionary movement to change this society.

This is the approach which is taken by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Members of these revolutionary socialist organizations have been involved up to their necks in building the movement against the war and fighting within it for the perspective of mass action around the slogan of withdrawal. At the same time, the members of the YSA and SWP believe that if a person really means business about changing this society, he will not only educate others about imperialism and build a movement to end this imperialist war, but he will join the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party and help carry out the overall struggle against the capitalist system which breeds imperialism and war.

At the Young Socialist Alliance convention to be held this Christmas, plans will be made to carry out revolutionary struggles on all fronts during the coming year—in the antiwar movement, the black liberation movement, the women's liberation movement, the union movement, and in all the important struggles going on within this society today.

A key aspect of this revolutionary activity will be the launching of a series of socialist election campaigns which can challenge the Republican and Democratic parties in the electoral arena as well as in the streets. These campaigns, run by the Socialist Workers Party, will show the need not only to demonstrate against the policies of the capitalist parties, but to organize a political alternative to them.

As socialists, our task is both to help organize and lead struggles around concrete issues which can, through action, educate the masses of people about the nature of the system, and to build a revolutionary party which can eventually eliminate the system itself. Only by doing both can we be successful in the long run.

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How the U.S. exploits Puerto Rico



Puerto Rican students march on courthouse

Photo by Cine Pueblo/LNS

By BENJAMIN ORTIZ

Benjamin Ortiz, a representative of the Committee Against Political Repression in Puerto Rico and a member of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), spoke at the New York Militant Labor Forum Oct. 24. The first half of his speech, printed below, provided historical background for the current upsurge of the independence movement. The second half will be published next week. It discusses the sharpening confrontation between the radicalizing Puerto Rican students and the government.

Last Sept. 26 our comrade, Edwin Feliciano, became the first Puerto Rican sentenced to a one-year prison term for refusing to be drafted into the North American Army. That was the beginning of what has been happening lately in my country.

But before we go into the facts of the current struggle, it is necessary to understand the political situation that has unfolded and the historical roots of the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico.

In 1898, our island was invaded by U.S. troops as part of the Spanish-American War. Four years later—in 1902 - a civil government for the island was established by the U.S. Congress. And in 1917, through a law called the Jones Act, the Puerto Ricans, I'm sorry to say, were granted "American citizenship."

The main reason for this gracious act was that soldiers were needed for the First World War, and the soldiers had to be "citizens." In this way, the colonizer used the colonized in his ar-

Another law was enacted in 1950, supposedly granting a constitution to the Puerto Rican people, creating what they call now the "Commonwealth" of Puerto Rico. This happened two years after a nationalist rebellion directed by Dr. Albizu Campos. Precisely a week from now, the 30th of October, we commemorate the date when one of the towns on the island was won by the

By James P. Cannon THE I.W.W.

Reminiscences of a participant

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Merit Publishers 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003 revolutionary armies of Albizu Campos.

Later the rebellion was defeated, but as a result we were granted the concession of a constitution and the right to elect a government.

I have just described the laws that establish the political relationship between U.S. Congress and the colony. But you are probably more familiar with names like Munoz Marin and Luis Ferrer than about the history of Puerto Rico.

Munoz Marin's party, was supposedly an independence party according to its 1940 program. And he became famous for his phrase, "Independence, we are just reaching it." But Munoz was, and is, a demagogue. He used this slogan to get into power.

After winning office, Munoz was precisely the one responsible for giving the economy of our island to the North American capitalists. The Popular Party that he directed was responsible for the so-called Operation Bootstrap that made special concessions to North American corporations willing to establish themselves in Puerto Rico.

They don't have to pay local taxes. They don't have to pay the minimum wage that they pay to the worker in the states. In fact, they pay only onethird as much to Puerto Ricans as to North Americans.

From 1945 to the present there has been progressive economic infiltration of U.S. capital in the island. U.S. interests changed from simply sugar-cane agriculture and sugar refining to a variety of small industries. By selling our work force, the Puerto Rican government has put 80 percent of our economy totally into the hands of North American corporations. The latest data show that \$170 million leave the island and end up on Wall Street or in Chicago each year — \$170 million profit at the expense of the Puerto Rican peo-

A second phase of U.S. investment is being encouraged. Since the clothing, shoe and other light industries didn't solve Puerto Rico's huge unemployment problem, they are now trying to attract heavy industry. They already have three petrochemical complexes, one functioning for the past ten years and the other two about to begin operation. Now, the petroleum and chemical industry, being technologically advanced and rationalized, is also incapable of ending the chronic unemployment.

According to a North American economist for the Commonwealth government, real unemployment in Puerto Rico is now 30 percent! This North American economist used the huge unemployment figure as an argument for not having a minimum wage; the ar-

gument was that the minimum wage would take from North American corporations the incentive to invest in Puerto Rico.

To add to the misery of our people, we have a very high cost of living, because we can import goods only from the United States, whose production is the most expensive in the world. Although our island is so small -3,400square miles - the 2.5 million people there present the third biggest market for the United States in Latin America and the fifth biggest U.S. market in the world precisely because it is a monopoly market. Being an island, we also have to pay a very high maritime cost, which is made even higher by the fact that the only merchant marine that services us is in North America. We can use only North American ships.

This economic role of our island is an integral part of the background of our independence struggle. U.S. control of our economy has important political and even cultural consequences.

The independence struggle, which, as I mentioned, was a formal part of the Popular Party's 1940 program, was abandoned by that party in 1946. It became instead the responsibility of a petty-bourgeois, electoralist opposition party, the Pro-Independence Party. This new party ran in elections and tried to struggle against the regime from within the regime, with people elected to the House and Senate. By 1956 this party was practically destroyed.

While advocating independence for Puerto Rico, the Pro-Independence Party was part of the political structure of the island, integrated into the general $% \left(x\right) =\left(x\right) +\left(x\right)$ colonialist point of view.

In 1956, the Student Federation for Independence was organized. From then until 1960 only the students were taking up the fight for independence. The Pro-Independence Party had lost all representation in the legislature, and the Movement for Independence (MPI) did not yet exist.

It was in 1959 that MPI was organized, indirectly inspired by the Cuban Revolution, by FUPI students (Federation of University Students for Independence), and by people who had come from the Pro-Independence Party and the Communist Party.

The MPI is radical in principle. We believe in the total control of the Puerto Rican economy by the Puerto Rican people. We support the revolutionary struggles of people everywhere. And we understand a basic contradiction in Puerto Rico: There are two irreconcilable interests — the interests of the Puerto Rican people and the interests of North American investors.

Since the Puerto Rican people are virtually synonymous with the Puerto

Rican workers — with no national bourgeoisie to come into conflict with the North American investors, the only road to independence is through the taking of power by the workers.

In other words, we believe in the class struggle and consider it the only path to independence. We must get the workers and peasants organized to achieve political and economic power. Thus we have begun organizing political struggles and forming political organizations among the working people and the student movement.

The recent focus of the struggle has been the war in Vietnam and the 1917 Jones Act that makes it obligatory for Puerto Rican youth to serve in the North American Army.

(To be continued next week)

Socialist review tocuses on issues of political strategy

NEW YORK — Thousands of young people are becoming radicalized in struggle after struggle that is taking place across the country today, in high schools and universitites, in community struggles, in one or another arena of the fight against the Vietnam war.

One question that is very quickly posed is how to coordinate all these activities? Which, if any, is most important? How can one bridge the gap between many different day-to-day struggles and the fight for a socialist America?

The new issue of the International Socialist Review could serve as a helpful beginning point in answering these

It contains three major resolutions of the Labor Day weekend national convention of the Socialist Workers Party: "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation"; "The American Antiwar Movement"; and, "The Course of U.S. Imperialism and the Revolutionary Struggle for a Socialist America."

These resolutions provide a Marxist analysis of the history and present stage of the main arenas of the fight against capitalist rule in this country. They outline programs and policies for intervening on all fronts and at the same time offer suggestions for linking these present-day battles to a unified national and international struggle for social-

The International Socialist Review is a bimonthly magazine which sells for 50 cents a copy and \$2.50 a full-year (six issues) subscription. Its address is 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

The Great Society

Top secret - The inside dope in New York is that Nixon's secret troop withdrawal timetable is being worked out by the Long Island Railroad.

In a sense it is - Federal guards in the Census Bureau in Washington removed a poster from the wall behind an employee's desk. It was the Student Mobe poster with a picture of Nixon and the query, "Would you buy a used war from this man?" On inquiry, the employee was advised by the head guard that the poster was confiscated because it was "obscene."

How we've decayed - An airline pilot who was among the passengers on the plane hijacked to Italy by a Marine told newsmen: "He just didn't look like that kind of person. He was an American — very clean-cut, good looking, light complexioned."

Who would even think so-"Small clouds of radiation" escaped from an underground nuclear blast in Las Vegas and drifted across a major highway. The AEC said it posed no health hazard.

The march of civilization - The Defense Department awarded a \$600,000 research grant to the U of Mississippi to determine if doves, crows, ravens, pigeons, vultures, mynahs or chickens could be trained to steer missiles, detect mines, engage in search and destroy missions and otherwise "replace humans for activities that are dangerous, difficult, expensive or boring." And, presumably, they wouldn't be spending a lot of time protesting and demonstrating.

Bed and bored? — An old joke used to credit the Simmons mattress company with the slogan, "The Playground

of America." Apparently trying to live up to that, Simmons turned up at a furniture exhibit with a \$25,000 bed with seven-foot high transparent head and foot boards with a plastic roof and base with built-in pink, orange and gold neon lights. Much more reasonable, and for some perhaps just as frisky, Macy's offered a circular 90" mattress and box spring for \$750.

Reverse play - In Catch 22, major army functions were turned over to private enterprise. Now Gen. David Thomas, surgeon general for the army in Vietnam, proposes: "If the military were permitted to run houses of prostitution as part of the post exchange system, we could cut venereal disease to a very low figure." It does sound like a great additional operation for some of those PX-operating lifers with Swiss bank accounts.

Kettle responds to pot - Florida's Gov. Claude Kirk, who once tried to turn the police department over to private enterprise, called Dr. Margaret Meade "a dirty old lady" for favoring legalization of marijuana.

He purely does—One of LBJ's final acts as president was to get a choice piece of federally owned land in Austin turned over to some of his Texas cronies for free so they could build an allegedly "non-profit" home for the aged. One crony explained: "Lyndon just naturally cares for old folk and poor peo-

Thought for the week-"The American people want peace. We believe in peace. We have fought four wars in this century because we wanted peace." - President Nixon.

-HARRY RING

MOVIE REVIEW

Best Vietnam film yet



Scene from "In the year of the Pig"

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

Emile de Antonio's In the Year of the Piq is without any doubt the best documentary film on the Vietnam war that has yet been produced. The picture is absolutely engrossing from beginning to end. (The national premier of the film will take place at the New Yorker in New York City on Nov. 10.)

Using film clips from a variety of sources, filmed interviews with politicians, newsmen, former U.S. and French diplomats, bureaucrats and specialists, de Antonio documents the history of the Vietnamese struggle beginning with the fight against the French in the 1930s.

Pictures of the ferocious brutality of the French and American war efforts and of the truly heroic war of resistance by the Vietnamese people are counterpointed by shots of Johnson, Humphrey and Nixon giving their justifications for the war.

(Segment from a speech by former Pres. Johnson [Piously]: "Every day someone jumps up and shouts and says, 'Tell us what is happening in Vietnam; and why did you get us into Vietnam?' [Then ferociously smug] I didn't get you into Vietnam. [Bending over to belt out the last words] You've been in Vietnam ten years.")

Some of the most revealing items about the whole nature of the war are the excerpts from public statements by the various U.S. puppets in Saigon. The incredible reactionary opacity and insensitivity of Diem, Madame Nhu, Ky and the rest is a wonder to behold-even when one is already acquainted with the facts.

The movie is also very good on the depiction of how brutalized the mentalities of many of the gung-ho officers and men have become.

Which brings us to a weakness in the film. It gives very little indication of the other side of this matter, namely, that most of the men who have been forced to fight for U.S. imperial interests in Vietnam are not now and never have been gung-ho about the war. Moreover, there is almost no evidence in the film of the growth of outright antiwar sentiment in the army, both here and in Vietnam. The other important weakness of the film is that it gives no indication whatsoever that there is a mass antiwar movement in this country. This failure allows the Washington Post reviewer to get away with a comment like, "In the Year of the Piq will be worth seeing 'after Vietnam,' for it raises questions about Americans that will be asked as long as we are a superpower." This is merely a repetition of the typical liberal cop-out of identifying the American people with the "superpower" that rules over them.

Nevertheless, these shortcomings not-

withstanding, the various commendations already made by other reviewers -"an overwhelming statement," "poignant footage," "a devastating comment" - are all true and the movie is well worth going out of your way to see.

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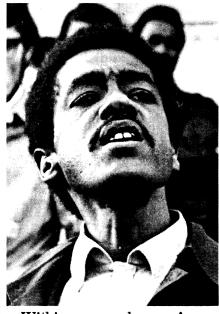
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THE MILITANT

Demand freedom for Bobby Seale

– An editorial ——



Within one week, an American court of "justice" has gagged, shackled and beaten a black man and sentenced him to four years in prison without a trial. His "crime"?—demanding the right to legal counsel of his choosing and the right to cross-examine his accusers.

Rarely has there been a more shocking case of political persecution than the treatment of Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale in a Chicago federal court.

Rarely has there been a more blatant frame-up than the railroading of Bobby Seale, which is part of a nationwide racist witch-hunt against the Black Panther Party for seeking to defend the rights of the oppressed Afro-American people.

Rarely has there been a more transparent attempt to make the victim appear the criminal, and the criminal the victim. Indeed it is consistent that this society's judicial system selected such a warped man as Judge Hoffman to sit in judgment of human beings.

The American people must stop this outrage. Bobby Seale and the Chicago Eight must be freed.

Belgian youth march against Vietnam war

By SUSAN LIND

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Oct. 25 — About a thousand protesters, mostly young, conducted a spirited march against NATO and the Vietnam war down the main avenue in the center of Brussels today. Belgium is the seat of NATO, and NATO headquarters (SHAPE) is located on the outskirts of Brussels.

Shouting "SHAPE out," "Victory to the NLF," Two, three, many Vietnams," and "U.S. go home," the marchers waved red banners and the flag of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

The police were out in as large numbers as the demonstrators, but they did not attack the march.

The action was organized by an ad hoc group initiated by the Young Socialist Guard, a revolutionary socialist youth organization. Other left youth groups here have tended to abandon the fight against NATO and the Vietnam war. The YSG has had to bring the international fall antiwar offensive to Belgium.

Int'I forces act on Vietnam

The fall anti-Vietnam-war offensive is assuming an international character. Big demonstrations have already taken place around the world during the past two months, and more are planned, many to coincide with the Nov. 13-15 actions here.

Japan is now in the midst of a series of large, militant demonstrations protesting U.S. aggression in Vietnam, U.S. occupation of Okinawa, and Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's forthcoming visit to the U.S., and demanding abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "security" treaty.

More than 30,000 people were in the streets of Tokyo on Oct. 10. On Oct. 21, there were demonstrations in more than 800 cities and towns across the country, with more than a million participants. At least 16 unions staged short strikes or factory rallies that day. More than 100,000 turned out in Tokyo alone.

The Japan Congress Against A- and H-bombs has announced that two representatives, Toru Oohara and Sieryo Azuma, will tour the U.S. around Nov. 13-15 to express the Japanese anti-imperialist movement's solidarity with the U.S. movement.

Some major slated Japanese actions are:

- Nov. 5-11: marches in Okinawa demanding the immediate end of U.S. occupation.
- Nov. 13: nationwide protest action against the prime minister's visit to the U.S.
- Nov. 16: mass rally and street demonstrations in Tokyo against U.S. occupation of Okinawa and aggression in Vietnam.

The Student Mobilization Committee has announced that it will call protest

actions against Prime Minister Sato's visit. The call will be issued as soon as the exact date of his arrival in the U.S. becomes known.

In England, a coalition of organizations, including the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which initiated last year's huge Oct. 27 action, have formed the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. The committee has called a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London, and a march for Nov. 23. On Nov. 15, a March Against Death will take place in London.

In France, activists grouped around the revolutionary socialist journal Rouge have called for militant demonstrations across the country on Nov. 14.

A coalition, of mass organizations including the French Communist Party and the General Federation of Labor, and of prominent individuals like Jean-Paul Sartre has issued a call to street demonstrations "in the principal cities of every department" of the country on Nov. 15, in solidarity with the U.S. actions.

The German movement has discovered that U.S. nerve gas is stored in Mannheim. A campaign against the nerve gas is being mounted in connection with a campaign against NATO and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Oct. 20-25 was declared Vietnam Week in Denmark by the Danish Vietnam Committees. The Left Socialist Students and Revolutionary Action held an anti-NATO demonstration of 2,000 in Copenhagen in September. These two organizations, together with the National Student Union, have called another Vietnam Week for Nov. 25-29, culminating in a demonstration on Nov. 29.

The International Liaison Committee of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam has issued a call for Swedish actions on Nov. 15 in support of the U.S. fall offensive.

In the Netherlands, an international conference on NATO has been organized for Nov. 21-22. The Mobiele Eenheid Actiegroep Vietnam is planning a demonstration to coincide with the Nov. 15 demonstration here.

In New Zealand, the Auckland University Socialist Society, together with the Progressive Youth Movement, is planning demonstrations for Nov. 15. The PYM in Wellington is likewise calling an International Day of Mobilization on Nov. 15.

In Canada, on Nov. 13-14, there will be teach-ins and rallies to build the mass march and a rally in Toronto on Nov. 15, called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

To D.C. demonstrators

If you would like to help bring revolutionary socialist ideas to the people in Washington Nov. 15 by joining in the sale of The Militant and Young Socialist call the following Washington numbers to find out where to get your bundles:

638-0610 or 638-0611

GE strikers stand tough, united

By FRANK LOVELL

NOV. 5—The vast productive network of General Electric's 280 plants in 33 states was abruptly halted in the first week of the nationwide strike called Oct. 27 by a coalition of 13 unions united behind wage demands of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), an AFL-CIO affiliate.

Strikers stopped production throughout the GE empire despite efforts to keep all plants open. On the first day company spokesmen claimed 25 plants were operating normally and 92 others showed effects of the strike. Among those "showing effects" were the big plants in Schenectady, N. Y., and Lynn, Mass., where pickets clashed with nonstriking supervisors and other salaried employees. Also in Burlington, Vt., and Conneaut, Ohio, fighting was provoked by company scabs who tried to force their way into plants there.

Court injunctions were sought by GE against the Schenectady strikers. City police in Conneaut knocked down two women strikers, members of the independent United Electrical Workers union (UE) which is conducting the strike there.

Clearly this is no "gentlemen's strike" such as the 1967 UAW-Ford strike in the auto industry. There are no ground rules here whereby the company makes no attempt to operate, except "government defense work" and supplier plants that are kept open by agreement.

Spokesmen for GE have asserted: "We will not make a deal with anyone to compromise the constitutional right of our employees to come to work."

In the name of the unions, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, char-

acterized the GE strike a "fight for survival of the American trade union movement."

Working men and women in the vast GE complex have demonstrated their ability to surmount organizational jealousies and jurisdictional divisions that have in the past period thwarted their efforts to bargain with this giant corporation. Through the coalition of their 13 separate unions, they have now brought production to a halt for the first time since 1946, almost a quarter century ago.

This new demonstration of union power comes as a surprise and shock to GE management. The arrogant attitude of company negotiators who are accustomed to call in union officials in order to read off the "take-it-or-leave-it" terms of a company-drafted union contract has now been effectively challenged. And the challenge comes in the language that employers everywhere understand — no production.

Behind the strike is GE's alignment with the Nixon administration to hold the line on wages in anticipation of the effects of their efforts to induce a "minirecession."

Before the GE strike is finally resolved the new generation of young worker militants who are now getting their first experience on the picket lines may find their opportunity to influence some decisions that are made in industry and in their unions



Photo by Stuart Singer

Lynn, Mass. GE strikers resist scabs, cops