

THE MILITANT

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International Women's Day

—see pages 4-6—

Student rebellion spreads; L.A. high schools struck



Photo by Sharon Sweeney

Rose Mary Freeman, indicted U of Minnesota student leader, addresses protest rally.

In Los Angeles thousands of black and Chicano high-school students are leading a militant struggle against that city's racist school system. Across the country thousands of other students are demonstrating and struggling around a variety of issues.

In New York, 4,000 high-school students marched on the office of Governor Rockefeller demanding that cuts in the state's educational budget be rescinded. In Minneapolis, the frame-up indictment of three black University of Minnesota student leaders brought mass student protests.

In Paterson, New Jersey, black students at the Eastside High School staged a sit-in demanding a black administrator, the removal of security guards from the school, and that the flag of Marcus Garvey's movement be hung beside the American flag in the school.

Even at Princeton, students last week occupied the administration building to dramatize demands that the university refuse to invest in all companies doing business in South Africa.

While the university struggles continue to deepen and intensify, more and more the student protests are spreading to the high schools, involving larger and larger numbers of students in coordinated, often citywide struggles under the leadership of black and other Third World students.

For first-hand accounts of this week's news highlights on these struggles, see page 16.

AN EDITORIAL

How the antiwar forces knocked out LBJ

Current revelations about why the Johnson administration switched on Vietnam provide a powerful confirmation of the tremendous effect of the organized antiwar movement and the massive demonstrations it has staged. The present newspaper disclosures confirm that the antiwar movement was a major factor in compelling Johnson to decide to negotiate with Hanoi, give up the presidency and halt the bombing of North Vietnam.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland had requested 206,000 reinforcements in March 1968 to make up for the ground lost to the Vietnamese during the mighty Tet offensive launched one month earlier. Johnson had planned to make a speech on March 31 promising the first divisions of these reinforcements.

But, "it would tear the country apart, Defense Secretary [Clark Clifford] argued, to hear a speech that promised only more war," the *New York Times* has revealed. Continuing the escalation policy, he warned, could bring "civil war."

Clifford and other representatives of the "Eastern Establishment" succeeded in convincing Johnson of this estimate of the mood of the country. Johnson's March 31 speech, instead of a promise of more troops, was an abdication and an announcement of

the administration's intention to begin negotiations.

However, the same sectors of the U.S. ruling class which blocked Johnson seem to fear that Nixon is planning to return to Johnson's dangerous course of escalation.

In answer to Nixon's assertion that the NLF "broke" November's "bombing halt agreement," the *New York Times* editors replied on March 9:

"Pentagon figures show that from November to January the number of allied battalion-sized operations increased more than one-third, from 800 to 1,077 . . .

"The United States cannot have it both ways. It cannot demand the right to press the fighting with increased vigor itself while charging double-cross whenever the Communists do the same."

The recent NLF response to stepped up U.S. aggression brought a heavy toll of 453 American deaths and 2,593 servicemen wounded in one week—figures that are actually higher than the comparable figures for the first week of the Tet offensive last year, because the NLF concentrated more heavily on U.S. military installations.

Further, the *Times* charged on March 13 that "in case after case . . . the intensity and results of the current enemy offensive

were understated in communiques and by official allied spokesmen." This was done "by omitting important details about the attacks from official accounts—or even by denying them."

The NLF response led the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Stennis, to declare, "I don't believe present policy is getting us anywhere . . . We'll have to stay there for 10 years at best."

Such perspectives held by many of these ruling politicians are a far cry from the sentiments of the vast majority of Americans who oppose the war and want the boys home. To bring pressure to bear on Washington policy-makers, it is essential that this antiwar sentiment be consistently organized and mobilized on a mass scale, as the April 5-6 regional actions proposed for this coming Easter weekend.

The antiwar movement still has a lot to do. Over 535,000 U.S. troops remain in Vietnam. American GIs and Vietnamese civilians are dying in this unjust genocidal aggression every hour of the day. The antiwar movement must continue to mobilize masses of Americans against the war until every last man is home. And the revelations of how it put LBJ on the ropes demonstrates it can be done.

Support U of Wisconsin students

Legal defense group requests aid

Madison, Wis.

The students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison who have articulated through their protest and demonstrations their dissatisfaction with the administration's lack of response to the needs of the black students on this campus are now faced with severe repression from the state legislature, the courts and the university administration. A legal defense fund has been established here to defend those students (black, white, Indian, Mexican Americans and Third World people) who are faced with actions from these three bodies.

First, we must stop the state legislature from initiating a HUAC-type hearing. This legislative witch-hunt would result in indiscriminate character attacking and maligning of numerous innocent students, teaching assistants and faculty members.

The state legislature has proposed several bills which would result in the summary expulsions of students and the firing of teaching assistants and faculty members for participation in any demonstrations without review. Some of these bills have been passed by the assembly and will be voted on by the senate soon. The constitutionality of these bills must be challenged.

Thirty-two people were arrested during the student protests in which 8,000 to 10,000 people participated. Those arrested were picked out of crowds in a haphazard manner. They require legal defense.

The third step in the legal defense is to defend those students who will be brought before a University of Wisconsin disciplinary hearing because they participated in the protest. These cases will be numerous.

The legal defense fund is not used for lawyers' services; these are gratis. The expenses include court costs and out-of-pocket expenses, i.e., Xerox, secretarial, paper, discoveries. Ten thousand dollars is needed for this legal defense fund.

Contributions should be sent to:

Wisconsin Legal Defense Fund
P.O. Box 1082
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Colonial power

New York City
Liberal spokesmen and papers

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.

have joined with radicals in protesting the outrageous action of a U.S. immigration official in barring the Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes from coming off a ship in Puerto Rico because Fuentes is in the U.S. black book of political "undesirables."

While protesting this continuing witch-hunting practice, virtually all of those who have spoken out seem to have overlooked a significant aspect of the matter. That is the fact that U.S. authorities have the power to determine who may and may not visit Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican people, apparently, have no voice in such matters.

H. C.

Another spring at Columbia U

New York City
At Columbia University it's looking more and more like a spring perhaps even more turbulent than last year's, as militant black and antiwar students lay the groundwork for their struggles.

An indication of the strength of the antiwar and antiracist mood on campus is the respect with which the university administration is treating it. Two recent, major victories demonstrate how much the administration is constrained by this sentiment.

In the first place, in the great bulk of the more than 1,000 legal and disciplinary cases against last spring's strikers, charges have either been dropped or the sentences suspended.

Secondly, the administration has been compelled to halt permanently construction of the proposed Morningside Park gymnasium. The Harlem community's opposition to the construction of the gym sparked the student strike

last spring, and work on the building was temporarily stopped during the strike.

Two militant actions have already taken place on campus this semester. On Feb. 27, leaders of the Students Afro-American Society took the floor during a session of the college's only Afro-American history course and read an SAS statement criticizing the course and calling it only an attempt to pacify SAS.

The black students announced that SAS was demanding the immediate establishment of a planning board, whose members would be subject to SAS approval, to begin to establish an autonomous Black Studies Institute, to recruit students, hire staff, decide course content, and arrange degree programs up to and including the PhD.

The SASers requested support from the white students, declared a boycott of the course pending administration acceptance of their demands, and walked out en masse. As white students began to leave the class, the instructor, himself a sympathizer with these demands, dismissed the class and suggested that SAS sympathizers meet in another room to discuss how to support the demands. More than a hundred whites — virtually all the non-SAS students in the course — met to plan support action while SAS met to discuss its next moves.

On the same day, a rally called by SDS to demand abolition of ROTC and an end to university expansion into the black and Puerto Rican community drew some 700 supporters. Immediately following the rally, SDS called a two-hour sit-in in as many buildings as needed to hold the participants. About 600 students took part in the peaceful and nondisruptive sit-in in the hall outside the offices traditionally used by military recruiters and in Hamilton Hall, the school's main academic building and the first building occupied last spring.

Robert Gebert

Black capitalism

Midlothian, Md.
If the black man becomes a black capitalist, the white capitalists will build competition around him and take every penny he has invested. That is a scheme to keep the black people on the very lowest level.

All black people should know that white capitalism brought them the sorrow and suffering they are having, and as long as any kind of capitalism exists that will be what they will have — exploitation.

William Cecil

Against language 'purification'

Detroit, Mich.
When our ancestors, the ancient hunters, were stumbling around in dark forests looking for game and looking out for predators, they were glad of whatever illumination they could get. The reason they preferred light to darkness is that there were a lot of delicious and dangerous animals who could see in the dark better than they could. One of the results of that universal prehistoric experience is that languages are loaded with metaphors in which the connotations of light are good and the connotations of black are bad.

Most of the imagery of light and dark preserved in our vocabulary is not evidence of ancient racism. "Black Teacher," who wrote the letter "Language and racism" in the March 7 *Militant* to protest use of the word "denigrate," is probably wrong. The word more likely preserves primordial hu-

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Friday, March 21, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was March 14.

man feelings about day and night and about bright, fair days and dark, cloudy days.

The origin of the word can be guessed at if we consider a parallel example. What is behind the metaphorical expression "to blacken a reputation?" What lies behind it is the idea that a respected person is illustrious; his reputation is like a burnished shield or a jewel which sparkles in the sunlight. Cover that reputation with any material which absorbs light, and its brilliance will be obscured; I do not believe that this is racist imagery.

If we try to get rid of the imagery of light and dark in our language, we won't have any energy left to make the real revolution. Furthermore, we will fail. Such efforts to "purify" language have never succeeded, nor should they. If we can destroy the economic and political matrix of racism and end racist conduct, the problems of racist language will also be solved through struggle. But it will never be solved through a drive to purify vocabulary.

All such a drive could lead to would be a repudiation of much of the glory of the revolutionary struggles of the past. We would have to attack the men of the **Enlightenment** who fought against medieval **obscurantism**. We would have to censure Lenin and Trotsky, who in **Iskra** (Spark) and **Znamia** (Dawn), attacked the **Black Hundreds**. We would have to discount the struggles of Italian workers against the **Black Shirts** and of American workers against the **Black Legion**.

That would be a **benighted** thing to do.

D. H.

[There can be varying views as to the origins and precise meanings of particular words. However, it is a fact — and a completely understandable one — that members of oppressed minorities have a particular sensitivity to language since so much of it has, or acquires, a racist meaning or connotation. We deem it our responsibility as revolutionaries to recognize and respect that sensitivity — Editor]

Suggestions galore

Chicago, Ill.
I would like to see some sort of article about the alleged beatings of the men on the Pueblo, and also one on Nixon's appointments. As for the Pueblo, it seems to me important that it be clarified what really happened.

The Nixon article could be very interesting, especially to young people just beginning to radicalize. For instance, it was reported that Nixon is seriously considering making Art Linkletter the Ambassador to Australia. Linkletter owns one million acres of land in Australia, bought very cheaply because a great deal of it is wilderness now, but in the future very, very high returns are expected.

I'd also like to suggest that **The Militant** not be afraid to experiment with new art forms and new compositional ideas, which could further add to the paper's improvement in the last two years. Of course, you'd want to stay out of the hippy bag of psychedelia, which would limit your audience

and would cause workers especially to stereotype **The Militant** as another hippy-type paper. But don't you stereotype the workers as being unwilling to accept any new art forms. Use more imagination!

I look forward to the analyses in each week's **Militant**. Considering how important it is for the antiwar movement to continue, however, I think **The Militant** should not write as if everyone reading knows the origin of the war. A perspective must continually be given, not just on criticisms on current events, but on the whole war since 1961.

H. B.

SWP, YSA smeared as 'anti-Semitic'

Albany, N.Y.
The SWP and the YSA at the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA) have been attacked by M.J. Rosenberg, a Zionist student, for being anti-Semitic because of their non-support of the state of Israel and their support of the Palestinian liberation movement, especially Al Fatah. Rosenberg's attack appeared in his column, "Off Center," in the **Albany Student Press** (the **ASP**), Feb. 11 and Feb. 14.

Rosenberg wrote on Feb. 11, "They [the SWP] are mostly WASPS with a smattering of foot-shufflin' Jews who will tell you that they have become so liberated that they are now almost anti-Semites. . . ." and on Feb. 14, "The Socialist Workers (read National Socialists) can wallow in their anti-Semitism."

A half-page ad for the Hebrew Students Alliance in the Feb. 11 **ASP** listed reasons for the formation of the group. One was that at Albany State "the violently anti-Semitic Socialist Workers Party (it supports the Al Fatah gangster movement) is spreading its anti-Israel hate under the guise of 'progressivism' and with the aid of racists and self-hating 'Uncle Toms' Jews."

Another reason given for the formation of the HSA was that "the Arab Students Association has created a beachhead for what it calls 'anti-Zionist' propaganda."

Support has come to the YSA from many people, including large numbers of Jewish students. There is no way of determining the numbers who agree with Rosenberg, but students believe that he and his supporters are a distinct minority. One reason may well be that he has accused Jews who disagree with him in this matter of being themselves "anti-Semitic." One Zionist student, who obviously disagrees with YSA policy on Israel, deplored the attacks as reminiscent of Germany in the 1930s and also thought they did Zionism no good on this campus.

The YSA has issued a statement affirming its support of the right of students to form ethnic organizations, including, of course, the HSA; to have whatever courses they want; and to hold and disseminate ideas. We are holding open meetings in which we explain our position, and we are replying to Rosenberg by explaining our position in "The Red Flag," the YSA column in **ASP**.

Carol French

I'd like a big job please.



IF YOU SUPPORT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

BLACK POWER

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

JOIN THE YSA

clip and mail

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

I would like more information I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

Chicago maps April 5-6 plans

Midwestern GI-led march and rally set

By Kitty Cone

CHICAGO — The Chicago Peace Council has drawn up its plans for the massive regional April 5 GI-Civilian Antiwar Demonstration, with participants coming from the entire Midwestern region. Plans include a march led by GIs down State Street, the major thoroughfare in Chicago's Loop area, to a rally at the Chicago Coliseum. Tentative speakers for the rally are Coretta King, Stuart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee, a GI and a high-school student. There will be an open microphone for GIs.

High School Students Against the War, with representatives in over 120 area high schools, has been actively building for the demonstration. They mapped out plans at a meeting March 8, which was held following a spirited demonstration in defense of one of their activists, Paula Smith who was expelled from school for activities building April 5. Plans include a high-school antiwar rally, a high-school antiwar week leading up to April 5 with teach-ins and antiwar protests, and a day of wearing black armbands with April 5 buttons. They voted that Paula Smith be the high-school speaker at the April 5th rally.

The HSSAW and Student Mobilization Committee have already distributed tens of thousands of leaflets for the demonstration. The SMC office has become crowded in the past several weeks with activists piling in to pick up materials and help out with the work. The SMC has generated much support on the college campuses from students, faculty and newspapers. It has helped organize "Antiwar Basic Training Days," with GI, veteran, and civilian speakers, Army and antiwar films, attempting to reach students who are facing the draft.

Preparations are underway for a student-faculty sponsored GI coffee house at Northwestern University in Evanston, which is near both Ft. Sheridan, an Army base, and Great Lakes Naval Training Center. Campus support for antiwar GIs has made possible daily leafleting teams to Sheridan and Great Lakes and to the major transportation terminals. The SMC, Vets for Peace, and womens' peace groups are planning a GI teach-in and party Saturday, March 29 to strengthen ties between antiwar GIs and civilians and to increase GI participation in the demonstration.

At a Third World meeting last week, with representatives from black and Latin-American groups, a Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam was formed and has issued a leaflet to build April 5.



MORE TO COME. New York high-school students in antiwar demonstration last April. Continuing radicalization of high-school students assures they'll be a big contingent this Easter.

Prof. Peck recommends way to 'support Sid Peck'

The following excerpts are from an open letter by Dr. Sidney Peck to the movement dated March 11, 1969. Peck, an officer of the National Mobilization Committee and a leader in the Cleveland antiwar movement, is facing trial in Chicago on charges arising from the demonstrations there last August.

* * *

My case is one of a number of political trials going on all over this land. The

New York busy with plans for April 5 action

By Albion Urdank

NEW YORK — Fourteen GIs from Forts Monmouth, Dix, Wadsworth, Hamilton, and two marines from Camp Lejeune met here March 9 to plan GI participation in the April 5 demonstration. They decided on hats and banners for the GI contingent, a party for GIs to be held on Saturday night, and a GI conference on Sunday, April 6, to discuss the legal rights of GIs in carrying out antiwar activity.

On March 12, some 200 students attended an "Antiwar Basic Training Day" at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. The "day," sponsored by the Polytechnic Radical Action Group and the New York SMC, provided future draftees with the necessary information about antiwar activity in the army and placed emphasis on building the April 5 demonstration.

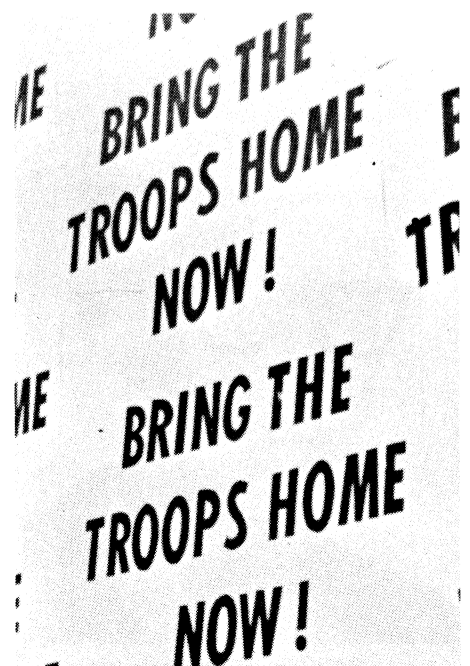
Featured speakers were Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League; Matilde Zimmermann, national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, and Rick Wadsworth, of the New York Student Mobilization Committee staff. Political entertainment was provided by the 6th St. Guerrilla Theater—and entertainment of a different kind by the film, "Why Vietnam," a nauseating propaganda piece put out by the ruling class to justify its Vietnam aggression in the name of anti-communism.

Another "Antiwar Basic Training Day" is scheduled March 21 at Columbia University. Speakers will include Ralph Schoenman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; attorneys Florence Kennedy and Conrad Lynn; and Fred Cohen of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's Military Law and Draft Panel. The program will also include slides of GIs in action against the war, a lawyers' panel on GI rights, guerrilla theater, the above-named film, and a taped interview with four members of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, a group of more than 80 antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson, S. C.

Boston Four, the Oakland Seven, the Milwaukee Fourteen, the Catonsville Nine, the Presidio Twenty-seven—and so on. There is a pattern of legal harassment and political repression against some of the most active opponents of the war. What is important to understand is that the legal attacks are directed against the movement as a whole—and not at this or that individual person. That is why the best legal defense must be a full response by the whole movement. The aim of the attack is to make the movement to end the war ineffective—to destroy it. The objective of the legal defense is to make our movement even more effective—to keep it vital, alive and growing at every moment.

The April action around the country—and the April 5-6 GI-civilian demonstrations in several major cities are ways in which we continue to expand the momentum of opposition to the war and keep the movement active and energetic. The very best way to "support Sid Peck" is to be with thousands of others, GIs and civilians, marching in unison, calling for the U. S. military to "Get out of Vietnam, Now!" There is no better defense for movement activists like myself than an active movement energetically expressing the powerful demands of the people as a whole, that we want an end to the aggression in Vietnam. A demand that is powerful because it contains within it the corollary demands that we want an end to militarism, racism, poverty, and political repression as well. The best way to be a free people is to act as free people.

Join with the GIs in the April 5th Demonstration in Chicago. Support the struggle from within the military to oppose the war. Express your solidarity for the courage of these young soldiers, sailors and marines in standing for their rights to oppose military aggression.



Beatrice Hansen dies suddenly

Beatrice Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died suddenly in Los Angeles March 9.

A member of the national committee of the SWP and a former business manager of The Militant, she was at 43 a tested veteran of the labor and revolutionary socialist movements. An active socialist since her early teens, she was for a number of years an auto-plant assembly-line worker and active unionist.

She played an outstanding role in educating and integrating into the revolutionary movement the leading cadres of the new, young generation of revolutionaries who now constitute the central core of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In New York, a memorial meeting will be held on Wednesday, March 19, 8 p.m., at the Militant Labor Forum hall, 873 Broadway.

Our next issue will deal extensively with this outstanding revolutionary whose loss is such a grievous blow.

Easter weekend protests slated for Seattle

By Wendy Reissner

SEATTLE—The Seattle antiwar movement is following up its very successful Feb. 16 antiwar march and rally, attended by more than 200 GIs and 3,500 civilians, with plans for another mass protest against the war on April 4, 5, and 6.

In support of the national call for antiwar actions over the Easter weekend, plans have been laid for a GI-Civilian Antiwar Basic Training Weekend in Seattle.

The weekend will be kicked off by a "Pain in the Brass" action on April 4, featuring massive leafleting of Fort Lewis by civilians from the northwest. Squads of leafleters have helped build previous actions by spreading the word on the area bases. This time a call will go out for a massive penetration of the base on the night of April 4. Support is expected from all over the Northwest for this activity.

The April 5-6 Antiwar Basic Training Weekend will be divided into two parts. Saturday, April 5, will be devoted to a mock trial of the brass, speeches by GIs and civilians on the causes of the war, methods of opposing the war, and the connection of the antiwar movement with the black struggle and student movement.

During the mock trial of the brass, testimony will be taken on the Presidio case, the Robert Hinkle case at Ft. Lewis, the suppression of GI civil liberties at Ft. Jackson, S. C., and the harassment of antiwar GIs at Ft. Lewis. General Beverley, the commanding officer of Ft. Lewis, General Westmoreland, and others will be invited to present testimony in their own defense.

Sunday, April 6, will be devoted to workshops to discuss future plans for activities and organizing campaigns, as well as other topics of interest to the movement. Workshops will be held on GI defense work, the relation of the civilian movement to the GI movement, GI organizing etc.

The April 4-6 weekend will end with a plenary session where suggestions coming out of the workshops will be discussed and acted on.

The GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace (GI-CAP), which is spearheading Seattle's April actions, grew out of an October 27 GI-civilian conference on the war and continues to grow and involve new GIs. 40-50 GIs regularly attend weekly meetings of GI-CAP in Tacoma, near Ft. Lewis. In addition, a coalition of civilian groups in Seattle is actively supporting the plans. Present at regular planning meetings are members of the SWP, YSA, Seattle Women Act for Peace, Mothers and Fathers Against the Draft, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, SDS, University of Washington Vietnam Committee, GI-CAP, the Resistance and independent antiwar activists.

CALENDAR

BOSTON

GIs AND THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speakers: Brian Donnelly, ex-marine, Vietnam veteran; Barbara Munnick, coordinator, GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace; and an antiwar, active-duty sailor. Fri., March 21, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—A FIRSTHAND REPORT. Speaker: Gus Horowitz. Fri., March 21, 8 p.m., 302 S. Canal. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

WHAT ARE BLACK NATIONALISM AND BLACK POWER? Speaker: Clifton DeBerry. Fri., March 21, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—A FIRSTHAND REPORT. Speaker: Gus Horowitz. Sat., March 22, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Rm. 240, Minneapolis. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

For Cuban women the revolution means a new world

By Linda Jenness

(Linda Jenness spent five weeks in Cuba during the January celebration of the 10th anniversary of the revolution. She is presently speaking throughout the South on her impressions of Cuba. Information about speaking engagements may be obtained from the Young Socialist Alliance, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309).

Before the Cuban revolution, Cuban women suffered the same indignities that millions of women throughout Latin America still undergo today. As a predominantly Catholic country, Cuban women were not only victims of unjust social and property relations but of the stifling moral and chauvinistic attitudes of Catholicism as well.

I have lived in Mexico, Bolivia, and Spain and have seen the repressed status of women in these societies. I have an idea of what it must have been like in Cuba before 1959. To visit Cuba today, however, is like visiting a fresh, new world. In 10 short years, and against tremendous odds, Cuba has integrated and advanced the development of women in the life of Cuba immeasurably. Before the revolution, unemployment was rampant, wages were on a subsistence level or lower and one-fourth of the population could neither read nor write. Women played a tiny role in the labor force and were economically dependent on the ill-paid, insecure, and poverty-stricken male population.

Freed of American domination and with a nationalized economy, the role of the working class today is reversed. Instead of chronic unemployment, there is now more work to do than hands to do it. Labor is put to socially constructive use—

and this involves the maximum participation of women in the labor force. There is no longer a need to divide the working class through racism and chauvinism. Everyone can work, and everyone does.

The Cuban government is working feverishly to establish nurseries throughout the island. Women can take their children there from the time they are 45 days old, and they are clothed, fed, given medical attention, and educated — all of which is free!

In addition to the nurseries, feeding facilities are being set up in the schools and factories. These two measures are basic necessities which allow women to participate in the building of the Cuban economy while taking the burden of domestic chores off their backs.

An example of the conscious effort of the government to deinstitutionalize discrimination against women is its preferential hiring policy. Any available job that can be performed by either men or women must be given to a woman if she applies. The result of these policies is that more and more women are playing leading roles throughout the island. In the Sierra Maestra I visited the Hospital of Chivirico, and the director was a middle-aged, black, woman doctor. The Antonio Rojas School in the Sierra Maestra is directed by a 22 year-old woman, and the staff consists of six women and four men. The director of the Moncada Barracks School is a black woman in her mid-thirties, and a veterinary hospital on the Isle of Youth is almost completely staffed by women. There are female tractor brigades and women brigades that run calf farms — and the list goes on.

Perhaps one of the most significant new roles that women play in Cuba is in the Committees to Defend the Revolution



Cuban militiawomen

(CDR). These are voluntary block committees that perform a multitude of functions. They are in essence the basic organ of self-government on the local level, involving the people in each block in the problems of the community. The CDR are not armed, but they patrol their areas and guard against terrorist acts by counter-revolutionaries.

The militia is a voluntary civilian army, and large numbers of women participate. It is based on work centers and universities, and the militia units guard their own factories and universities. It was certainly a pleasant contrast to the United States to see black women students with guns slung over their shoulders guarding their universities.

Women may belong to the rebel army if they choose, but they are not drafted into it. Military training in the schools, however, will be made obligatory for both men and women next year. Up until now it has been obligatory only for men. So the Cuban woman is well integrated into

the defense of her country.

Nearly 50 percent of the students in the universities are female. (I can compare this to the University of Guanajuato in Mexico where I studied for six months a few years ago. Out of 5,000 students, only 250 were women!) At the University of Oriente in Santiago women make up 90 percent of the students in education, 50 percent in medical science, and 30 percent in engineering.

The Cuban woman is also taking her place in the political life of the country. Perhaps a graphic example of the changes taking place is the fact that while there is only one woman on the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party, over half the members of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) are women! Women are accepted political spokesmen in many of the villages I visited, and their numbers in the UJC clearly indicate that in the next 10 years this will become even more common.

The Cuban revolution is still in transition and so are the processes going on within it. Although much progress has been made, complete equality still does not exist. Marriage and divorce laws have been changed so that simply by mutual consent and a very small fee people may marry and divorce as they choose. Abortions are generally available to women who have had more than five children, and this restriction is due to shortage of doctors, not "moral" considerations. The interuterine device is available to any woman desiring it, with the guarantee that if it doesn't work, she can have an abortion. (Compare that to the hassle that goes on in the United States!)

Many women in rural areas are still reluctant to take advantage of the nurseries, hospitals and schools that are now available to them. Campaigns are carried out by the Federation of Cuban Women, the Red Cross, and the UJC to educate and explain the advantages to these women. No one in Cuba is forced to take advantage of these facilities!

In many factories the percentage of women is still low, and chauvinistic attitudes still exist in personal relations.

Countering this personal chauvinism is a very popular movie name Lucia that I was able to see while I was there. It is lively and dynamic with a clear anti-male-chauvinist theme. It has created much discussion and controversy in Cuba. The movie ends with the present-day Cuban woman fighting back and holding her own and the next generation of women looking on and laughing. The movie is an indication that no one claims male chauvinism has been completely done away with — yet.

The important thing is that real progress has been made that can be seen and felt everywhere in Cuba. A conscious effort is still being made to have women take their rightful place in society, and any resistance to this process is fought. Male chauvinism has been deinstitutionalized. In the new Cuban society, where the economic need for racism and chauvinism no longer exists, they can be effectively fought and eventually conquered.

L.A. SWP states view on Bradley

(The following is a statement issued by William Hathaway, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.)

There is an outside chance that a black man will be the next mayor of Los Angeles. Thomas Bradley is attracting support from sections of the minorities, the youth, the liberals, and those who want to "bridge the gap" between the races.

These voters are supporting Bradley because they think his election would mean a break with the status quo in city government.

The trouble is that Bradley would not change the status quo because he is part of it. He has been a part of the status quo since he became a cop in 1940. He not only remained on the force for 21 years, but he rose to the rank of lieutenant under the regime of the notorious police chief, Thomas Parker. Bradley has remained a part of the status quo as a councilman since 1962. He is very much a part of the status quo as a member of the state Democratic central committee.

Bradley's program does not go beyond minor reforms in the status quo. He calls for better communications between the police and the ghetto, but he is not for black and brown people controlling their own police. He wants the parents of minority children to express their ideas to the board of education, but he would not restructure the school system so that Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans control their own schools.

Bradley would divert some federal income-tax revenue to the cities, but says nothing about shaking up the tax system to put the bite on the big industries that reap their profits from the decaying city.

Bradley has so far offered no program for the 550,000 people who subsist miserably on welfare payments in Los Angeles County.

Nor has he said a word about the Vietnam war which is robbing our cities of \$30 billion a year, as well as the lives of our young men.

To begin to solve the problems of Los Angeles we would have to completely overturn and reconstruct the city's political and economic structure. Bradley does not even contemplate anything so drastic. To effect meaningful change will require the mobilization of many tens of thousands of minority and white workers in new organizations that will wield mass power independent of and opposed to the political organizations of City Hall.

Bradley is in no sense a part of the new militant organizations of the brown, black and student movements. As a member of the state Democratic central committee,



William Hathaway

Bradley is part of the present power structure. He will oppose any organizations of struggle that cannot be absorbed into the system.

The political system has lost the confidence of minority people and others in all the big cities around the country. The big property owners are desperately concerned over this crisis of confidence. That is why they have supported Afro-Americans like Mayor Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind. These are black politicians who can win some support in the ghetto, but they are so tied to the political machine they cannot make any really significant changes. We can see this in Cleveland and Gary, where life goes on much the same under a black mayor as under a white one.

Nothing much will change in Los Angeles if Bradley becomes mayor. The black and brown militants sense this. The Brown Berets and the Black Students Union saw Bradley take no action when they were embroiled with the school board. He made no offers to help the embattled students.

Militants of all races want to build a coalition of the great minorities of Los Angeles. Together, they comprise over 41 percent of the voters. Joined with dissatisfied whites they have the political muscle to transform the city. But if their votes are corralled into the Democratic Party, even behind a black mayor, we will all be in for a great betrayal.

Only candidates who call for independent black power in the ghetto and brown power in the barrio, and for a complete break with both parties of property, can begin to offer a solution to our city's problems.

That is the principal plank in my platform, together with a demand that U.S. troops get out of Vietnam now and a call for a new socialist order of justice and equality.

Women's emancipation

By Mary-Alice Waters

The last year has seen a sharp rise of interest in "the woman question," or the "women's liberation movement." This interest has been manifested in numerous ways: an article in the *New York Times Magazine*; a resolution passed by the SDS; a series of articles in the *Guardian*; the emergence of far out groups like SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men) and WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell).

This growing concern among American women over the role they are forced to play in society is not surprising. In part, it is one more sign of the deepening radicalization. Just as glorification of the family, motherhood and the church increases during periods of reaction, such as the 1950s, so periods of radicalization and deepening social unrest tend to call them into question. The generation of the 1960s is trying to analyze and understand the complex of problems and issues raised by the relegation of women to an inferior social status.

Nor is it surprising that this has become an issue in the student movement. In the United States today there is an ever growing number of women with a high level of education, millions more than at any other time. Recent advances in the field of medicine, particularly the development of safe, virtually 100-percent effective contraceptive devices, give women greater control over their lives than ever before in history.

Yet these same women, when they look for a meaningful way to utilize their talents and abilities, find themselves brought up sharp against the socially accepted norms, and their mythology. They are warned that "human nature" dictates a woman cannot achieve personal fulfillment and happiness if she does not perform her social function of childbearing; that her "biologically determined" role is to marry, raise a family, and run a home; and that if she makes the arrogant mistake of thinking she can use her productive abilities as well as her reproductive ones, she will find herself miserable and alone, rejected by men and society, especially as she grows older.

The degree to which this all-pervasive mythology is ingrained in every girl from infancy on is enough to make most of them recoil instinctively from leaving the well-marked road.

Working-class women, and especially black women and women of other minority groups, usually have even less choice. They are confined to the most menial jobs at the lowest pay, with no compensation made for the fact that they probably have a full-time job at home as well.

For the revolutionary movement the "women question" is also important because a correct appreciation of the issues involved is a prerequisite to releasing the full creative

energies of half the potential revolutionary forces available. But the "woman question" is one of the most emotionally charged issues with which the radical movement has to deal, because it touches on questions of sexual relationships, family ties, and other personal questions to which people often tend to react irrationally. The attempt to achieve a scientific understanding of the role of women in society, to place it in a correct historical context and analyze it as a class question meets with tenacious resistance.

While it would take a book, or more accurately several books, to deal adequately with the topic, it is worthwhile to indicate certain aspects which the Marxist movement has always considered fundamental to an understanding of this question. One of the handicaps immediately encountered is that with the exception of Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, there are few easily accessible works that give a Marxist approach to the question.

Even to get the necessary historical and factual material is difficult. But it would be a serious error to look at the problems of women simply as they exist today and fail to see them in their long historical perspective.

Engels summarized the historical materialist approach in his preface to the first edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. "According to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is of a twofold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite therefor; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social institutions under which men of a definite historical epoch and of a definite country live are conditioned by both kinds of production; by the stage of development of labor, on the one hand, and of the family, on the other."

While the history of humanity goes back a million years or more, the family in any form even remotely resembling the present institution has existed for only a few thousand years. The roughly modern form of marriage and its "nuclear family" did not evolve until the rise of capitalism. In other words, the family is an institution that emerged when class society came into being, and its forms have evolved along with the changing stages of class society from slavery through feudalism to capitalism.

Historically, the subjugation of women was directly tied to the emergence of the patriarchal family, private property, and the state. While women have, obviously, always played the same reproductive role in society, they have not always played the same productive role. Even at the edge of recorded history, women were the main producers in society and often the "governesses" as well. Society was organized on the basis of maternal kinship, and paternity (if known) was relatively unimportant as long as the father did not come from a proscribed group.

While the men were basically hunters and warriors in man's prehistory, it was the women who became the first tillers of the land, thereby establishing the basis for the historic advance from savagery to barbarism—from food gathering and hunting to food raising and domestication of animals. But agriculture demanded fixed communities, tied to definite areas of land, and it was only during this period of human history that the material conditions were created for the transition from a matriarchal form of society to a patriarchal one.

As communities became fixed, husbands rather than brothers became the central men in each basic social unit. The clan began to narrowed down to an "extended family" comprised of a mother, father, children, and spouses, often spanning several generations.

As man's productive capacities grew to the point where it was possible to create a sizable and sustained surplus of goods—the basis for private property and class divisions—the divisions between rich and poor emerged. The need for clearly identifiable heirs to this wealth assured the historical ascendancy of the patriarchal fami-

ly. Only later did the state emerge to codify and legalize the "rights" of private property and the life-and-death control of each patriarchal head of family over his slaves, wife and children.

Throughout the historical periods of chattel slavery and feudalism, however, marriage was largely an institution for the nobility and the rich. Its prime purpose was the protection and expansion of property, as the frequent legal marriages between children, even infants, testified.

It was only with rise of capitalism that marriage and the current family system became universalized.

Under capitalism, the family unit, stripped of land to live on and all economic security, was reduced to the molecular unit of mother, father, and children. The woman, no longer able to play a productive role as she did even on the farms and in the days of "cottage industry," is reduced to a purely reproductive function, and the man is made solely responsible for the entire unit, come death, disease, unemployment, starvation, or whatever. In other words, the family system was utilized by capitalism as an additional form of exploitation and oppression of the working class. At the same time it was dressed up as a sacred moral and legal absolute supposedly based on nothing but ideal "love."

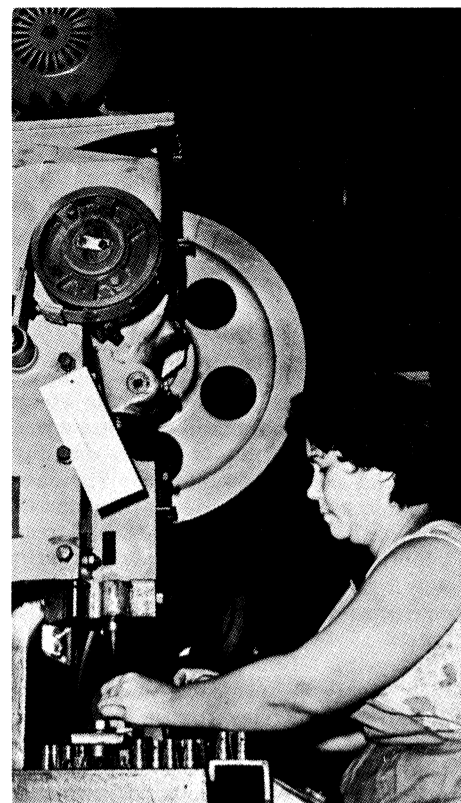
Such a historical overview, sketchy as it may be, says some obvious things about the role of women in society.

- It explodes the myth of the biological inferiority of women—that because of their reproductive functions, they are incapable of playing a major productive or governing role in society. They have played such a central role before and will again, when society is organized on the principles of social ownership and production for use not profit.

- It places in historical perspective the popular mythology surrounding eternal, sacrosanct marriage and the holy (patriarchal) family.

- It clearly establishes the historical roots of male domination and the relegation of women to an inferior social status. This domination is a result of the emergence and development of class society, which has existed for only a few thousand years.

A historical view also helps answer the question of how to eliminate the oppression of women. The triumph of the world socialist revolution, the establishment of a classless society based on levels of human productivity surpassing anything currently known, will provide the material basis for the social liberation of women by freeing them from sole responsibility for the day-to-day care and raising of children. It will give them economic independence and se-



ROAD TO LIBERATION. In 10 years the Cuban revolution has made great strides toward integrating women into the productive process and freeing them from the home. Above, a Cuban woman in factory making pressure cookers. Below, left, a factory technician at a drafting board. Below, right, a medical worker.

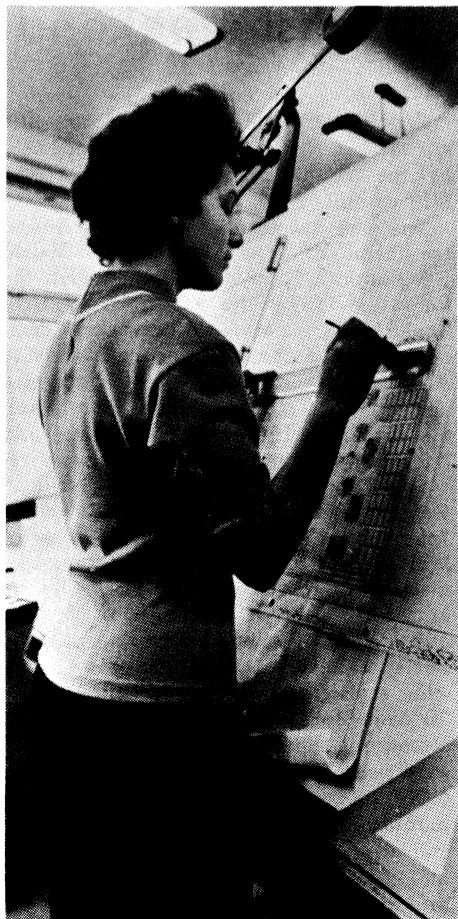
curity by integrating them into the productive processes of society.

It will eliminate the material basis for the family in its current form—a tiny nucleus, surviving (as does the rest of capitalist society) on the basis of cut-throat competition, greed, avarice, and all the other norms of our society.

In the past, women have struggled and won many valuable and important democratic demands—the right to vote, hold property, defend themselves in court, etc. And it is only through continued struggles that further gains will be won. In so doing women can help to advance the revolutionary struggle as a whole and bring closer the day when the emancipation of women will become a reality.

But the struggle of women is interrelated with all the other great issues of the world revolution today, and to achieve ultimate victory a coordinated and interrelated struggle must be waged. To lead such a struggle and help organize it requires a revolutionary party of men and women, one that educates and fights incessantly against the insidious pressures of racism, male chauvinism and the myriad other weapons of the ruling class.

It is also through contributing to this struggle for socialism that many women find the best opportunities for developing and using all their productive and creative abilities.



Do hours laws aid women workers?

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—Are women helped or handicapped by a Michigan law barring women from working more than 54 hours a week or more than 10 hours in any one day? The state's Occupational Safety Standards Commission was all set to drop the 60-year-old law on Feb. 15 when a court injunction froze the situation temporarily. A full trial will take place March 24 to determine the fate of this protective legislation.

Favoring repeal of the law are the UAW Women's Department, the American Association of University Women, and the Business and Professional Women's Clubs. They claim that the law discriminates against women because it prevents them from competing equally with men for job promotions and denies them the extra earnings they could gain from unlimited overtime work. At a public hearing Jan. 21, Mrs. Helen Gorrecht, a line worker at the Grey Iron Chevrolet Foundry, testified that she lost over \$3,380 in overtime pay because the state law barred her from working unlimited overtime.

Demands to keep the protection against unlimited overtime have come from the Communication Workers; Local 705 of Hotel-Bar-Restaurant Employees; Service Employees Union; Musicians Union; the National Council of Catholic, Jewish and Negro Women; YWCA; National Consumers League; Church Women United; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Women's Division of the Packing House Workers; and the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. These groups, plus many individuals, have formed the Ad Hoc Committee Against Repeal of Protective Legisla-

tion and were successful in obtaining the court injunction. Their suit argued that unlimited overtime would endanger women's health and safety, prevent working mothers from providing proper care for their children, and keep working wives from carrying out their domestic chores.

Myra Wolfgang, secretary-treasurer of Local 705 of the Hotel-Bar-Restaurant Employees, explained, "The right to protection against involuntary overtime must be preserved particularly for the thousands of women who have only the state laws to protect them. Whatever happens to the structure of opportunity, women are increasingly motivated to work—and they want to work short hours on schedules that meet their needs as wives and mothers. They want fewer hours a week because emancipation, while it has released them for work, has not released them from home and family responsibilities." She reported that the union has "received many, many letters from women workers throughout the City of Detroit for our efforts" to keep protective legislation.

UAW Local 3 chief steward Edith Fox, writing in the *Dodge Main News*, stated, "Many of our brothers have also expressed sympathy with the efforts to retain the 54-hour limit. Because the work schedule in our plant has to conform with the law governing women, men find this a small measure of protection against inhuman work schedules. . . . If the (UAW) Women's Department is concerned that men should have equal protection, why is there no suit on behalf of male workers who are denied equal protection under the state statutes? Wouldn't Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act—which prohibits discrimination due to sex make a strong legal case for extension



A MILITANT TRADITION. Members of Flint United Auto Workers Women's Auxiliary backing sit-in strikers during 1937 strike. They also demanded equal pay for equal work.

of protective legislation for men? Why must it be repealed?"

In an interview with this reporter, Sister Fox explained, "Women's rights is really not the issue here. It's a question of company prerogatives; does the company have the sole right to determine the work schedule? Working people have historically struggled to limit the company's power in this respect."

Sister Fox was part of a delegation from Local 3 who joined with 300 others to testify at the January public hearing on

the 54-hour law. She, along with many other union women, called for the following: against repeal of the 54-hour limit; for extension of protective legislation to men; for voluntary overtime over 48 hours for all workers; for the exclusion of the professional, executive and administrative women from these limits.

Also testifying at the hearing was Stephanie Prociuk, Local 3 shop steward and committeewoman, who is the principal petitioner in the court suit to keep the 54-hour limit. She explained what happened when the law was briefly lifted during 1967-68. Chrysler Corp. forced her to work 69 hours a week, she was unable to properly care for her 81-year-old invalid father, and women dropped over with fatigue and exhaustion daily and had to be taken away on stretchers.

It was testimony like this that persuaded the judge to grant a temporary injunction. The opposing forces are preparing for the March 24 trial. Caroline David, head of the UAW Women's Department has announced that if the 54-hour-limit law is retained, the UAW will file suit to kill the law under provisions of the federal Civil Rights Act, which bars discrimination based on sex. A recent decision of the California Supreme Court upheld the precedence of federal law in such cases.

On Feb. 25, Edith Fox announced that her local had voted to request a hearing from the international board of the UAW, at which Local 3 will ask for support for a 54-hour-week limit for women and possibly a referendum throughout the UAW on the question.

250 at Boston-area socialist weekend

By Tom Fisk

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Over 250 youth attended a New England conference held by the Young Socialist Alliance at the MIT campus Feb. 28-March 2.

The very successful conference followed the theme of "The Dynamics of World Revolution Today," and included the following topics: the economics of U.S. imperialism, the struggle for workers' democracy in Czechoslovakia, the history of Afro-Cubans in Cuba and the socialist achievements of the Cuban Revolution, the May-June 1968 revolt in France and reform and revolution in American history.

Speakers at the conference included George Novack, associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*; Derrick Morrison, national executive committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff member and managing editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Of the 163 participants who registered for the full three days, 70 came from outside the Boston Area. Numerous bundles of antiwar literature were passed out at the conference to help build the April 5-6 GI-civilian antiwar mobilization in New York City. By the end of the three days, the participants had bought \$285 of socialist literature and eight had signed up to join the YSA.

A recommended way of life

Rose Karsner Cannon, who died a year ago this March at the age of 78, was one of the foremost revolutionary women in the American Trotskyist movement. Her activity as a revolutionary spanned 60 years—her entire adult life.

Caring little for personal acclaim or official titles, she undertook all assignments the movement asked of her and contributed much by her example and achievement.

In her youth, she was a participant in the suffragette movement. At 18 she joined the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs. A year later she became secretary of *The Masses*, a well-known semi-official magazine of the Socialist Party.

The Russian Revolution produced profound changes in the early American socialist movement, separating the genuine revolutionists from the opportunists. Rose Karsner Cannon took her stand unhesitatingly with the revolutionaries and joined the newly formed Communist Party.

With the rise of Stalinism in the international communist movement, she became in 1928 a charter member of the Left Opposition in the United States. She took on a good deal of the administrative responsibilities in those days, becoming business manager of *The Militant* and, later, the manager of Pioneer Publishers, which had the important task of publishing the books and pamphlets of the revolutionary movement.

In 1952 she and James P. Cannon moved to Los Angeles, as younger party leaders took on the day-to-day leadership of the movement. In her last years she retained all the revolutionary spirit which she held her entire life and her great confidence in the future of the revolutionary movement.

In a 1962 speech, excerpts of which are reprinted below, she forecast the present growing influence of the Socialist Workers Party. The speech was given at a banquet celebrating the publication by a commercial publisher of James P. Cannon's book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*.

In 1962, when only the first signs of the present radicalization were beginning to appear, it was significant that a commercial publisher was willing to publish such a book. But, as Rose Karsner Cannon predicted in this speech, subsequent years have seen the publication of a number of books written or edited by such Socialist

Workers Party leaders as George Novack and George Breitman.

* * *

This dinner not only honors the pioneers of the founding of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., and later of the Trotskyist movement—but we are also celebrating. We celebrate the publication of the first book published in the U.S. by a commercial publisher written by a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

This in itself assures a broader reading public of our ideas. Furthermore, the very fact that a commercial publisher would invest hard cash in promoting a book by an outspoken Trotskyist leader is, I believe, a straw in the wind. A small straw; a small wind, perhaps. But nevertheless, a sign of a changing attitude in a section of the reading public. Otherwise, why would a sharp businessman consider a true story of Communism and Trotskyism of sufficient interest to warrant an investment in its publication. Businessmen are very, very leary of giving out hard cash. They watch every penny, as you all know.

Jim [Cannon] does not fully agree with me on this analysis. He thinks Lyle Stuart, that's the publisher of the book, just took a wild chance. I challenge that opinion. Businessmen don't operate that way. They take wild chances, but only when they have some reason to believe there is a market for the product. . . .



Rose Karsner

Why LBJ backed off on Vietnam

By Joseph Hansen

[The following is abridged from the March 17 *Intercontinental Press*.]

At least three separate accounts, all of them in substantial agreement on the main points, have appeared in the press telling the inside story of why Johnson decided just one year ago to back off from further escalation of the war in Vietnam toward the north, to call a bombing "halt," and seek negotiations with the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Besides their historic value — they confirm the conclusions drawn by the antiwar movement at the time — the accounts are of unusual interest in showing how major policy decisions are actually made in Washington. The revelations also unquestionably have an immediate bearing on the current heaving and hauling among different sectors of the capitalist class over the tactics they want the Nixon administration to follow with respect to Vietnam.

The first, and shortest, account was written by Mary McGrory. It appeared in her column in the March 1 issue of the *New York Post*.

A longer account was published in the March 10 issue of *Newsweek*. It was written by Contributing Editor Charles Roberts, who "talked at length with Johnson Administration officials who participated in the backstage battle that preceded the President's decision."

Times account

The most detailed account appeared in two long installments in the *New York Times* (March 6 and 7). It was written "by Hedrick Smith in collaboration with William Beecher, and incorporating reports by Peter Grose, John W. Finney, E. W. Kenworthy, Roy Reed, Benjamin Welles, Edwin L. Dale Jr. and Max Frankel." The *Times* evidently considered the story so important that it went to unusual lengths to get the facts.

The crisis in the Johnson administration was precipitated by the success of the Tet offensive which opened on Jan. 30, 1968. The American command in Saigon had insisted previously that "the enemy" was exhausted, weary, and on the run, and that victory for the Stars and Stripes was within sight. The Tet offensive, involving coordinated assaults on 36 cities in South Vietnam and even a daring raid on the U. S. embassy compound, caught Gen. Westmoreland — and Washington — completely by surprise.

"Confident and secure one day," says the *Times*, "Gen. William C. Westmoreland, then the American commander in Saigon, found himself on the next dealing with a vast battle the length of South Vietnam.

"The psychological impact on Washington had outrun the event: The capital was stunned."

Urgent mission

Johnson sent Gen. Earl G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to Saigon on "an urgent mission" to find out what had happened and what should be done about it. Wheeler, upon returning February 28, paused "only to change into a fresh uniform" and hurried "through the rain to the White House to deliver a report and make a request."

"On that day at the end of February, President Johnson and his closest aides assembled for breakfast around the Chippendale table in the elegant family dining room on the second floor of the Executive mansion. Before rising from the table, they had set in motion the most intensive policy review of the Johnson Presidency — and one of the most agonizing of any Presidency."

Intercontinental Press

In 1968 *Intercontinental Press* published 1,176 pages of reports from correspondents in 30 countries. This included 125 pages of dispatches direct from France during the May-June revolt; 54 pages of eye-witness accounts from Mexico during the student strike; and 50 pages of reports and translations from the radical press in Czechoslovakia. *Intercontinental Press* is the only source in the U. S. for many documents of interest to the radical movement, including official statements of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$7.50 for 26 issues.

Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010.

Wheeler offered a reassuring picture. There had been no military defeat, he claimed. "The enemy had been thrown back with heavy losses and had failed to spark a popular uprising against the South Vietnamese regime. Not only had the Government in Saigon and its army survived the hurricane, he continued, but the offensive has 'scared the living daylights,' out

affairs, Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence; General Wheeler, General Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, former Ambassador to Saigon and a Presidential adviser on Vietnam; Paul H. Nitze, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; Paul C. Warnke, Assistant Secretary of Defense

cated in the three accounts.

"The Tet offensive," says the *Times*, "had punctured the heady optimism over the military progress reported to Congress by General Westmoreland and by Ellsworth Bunker, the Ambassador to South Vietnam, in November, 1967. Not only had the pool of disenchantment spread by late February to fence-sitters in Congress, to newspaper offices and to business organizations. It had also reached the upper echelons of the Government.

"If tolerance of the war had worn thin, so had the nation's military resources — so thin, indeed, that there was almost nothing more to send to Vietnam without either mobilizing, enlarging draft calls, lengthening the 12-month combat tour or sending Vietnam veterans back for second tours of duty — all extremely unappealing.

"Congress was in such ferment that the process of legislation was partly paralyzed. The dollar was being battered by the gold crisis in Europe and inflation at home.

"More fundamentally, the nation was seriously divided. The fabric of public civility had begun to unravel as opinion on the war polarized."

The *Times* refrains from going into the symptoms of the deepening polarization such as the massive antiwar demonstration involving hundreds of thousands of participants in the major cities of the country. The *Times* confines itself only to allusions to what was happening. For instance: "The public was increasingly impatient with the war." Again: "The country was in turmoil and the dollar was in danger."

"Almost conspiratorial"

In face of Johnson's unloving attitude, "Clifford's response . . . was, perforce, almost conspiratorial," according to *Newsweek*. "Quietly, he rallied what he called his 'strategy group.'"

But the going was not easy, *Newsweek* continues. "Meantime, the hawks were maneuvering for their own counterattack. This force was led by Rusk, Wheeler, Rostow and retired Gen. Maxwell Taylor. One result was that Harry McPherson [Johnson's speech writer] suddenly found himself systematically excluded from top-level White House meetings on Vietnam. Another was that the President was bombarded with urgent, hard-line messages from Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Saigon."

The hawks appeared to be gaining ground in the battle to sway the thinking of the crown. But Clifford, "the silent hero," as Mary McGrory describes him, thought of a strategist.

"He recalled," says *Newsweek*, "that the President had summoned a dozen non-government 'wise men' — mostly members of the Eastern Establishment — in November 1967, to discuss the war. He proposed that the President convene another such advisory group for the critical policy review at hand. Mr. Johnson agreed, and on March 25, a Who's Who of prestigious Americans, most with experience in government, met secretly at the State Department."

More discreet

The *New York Times* does not use the label "mostly members of the Eastern Establishment" to describe this mysterious, but evidently very powerful, body. The main newspaper of the Eastern Establishment says that it was a "secret council of trusted advisers" constituting "a 'who's who' of the American foreign-policy establishment." It lists fourteen as being present at the March 25 meeting:

"Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under President Truman; George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, retired World War II commander; McGeorge Bundy, special assistant for national security affairs to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Arthur H. Dean, President Eisenhower's Korean war negotiator; (Continued on page 10)



of non-Communists, and they were beginning to cooperate."

Westmoreland's view

In addition, it was Gen. Westmoreland's opinion "that massive reinforcements would guard against a quick repetition of the Tet offensive and would allow the allies to regain the initiative, to exploit the enemy's losses and to 'speed the course of the war to our objectives.'"

"General Wheeler gave the Westmoreland request his personal endorsement. It added up to 206,000 more men."

The actual figure was, it appears, not mentioned among the breakfasters around the Chippendale table. Wheeler merely submitted a "shopping list."

"Once the plan was fed through the Pentagon computers the precise number emerged. It became so secret that to this day some officials will not utter it — a reminder of the President's wrath when it did leak to the press during the March debate.

"The sheer size of the request — a 40 percent increase in the 535,000-man force committed to Vietnam — stunned Mr. Johnson and the civilians around him, though the initial impulse was to see how the commander's needs might be filled."

This top level group met at 1:30 p.m. March 1 "around the oval oak table in the private Pentagon dining room of the Secretary of Defense," according to the *Times*.

The roster

Besides Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, the group included "Walt W. Rostow, the President's assistant for national security

for International Security Affairs; Phil G. Goulding, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs; William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, and, for financial advice, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler."

On what basis was this council of 12 chosen? None of the accounts say. Johnson do doubt picked them. Nonetheless, this small secret group, meeting like conspirators around the oval oak table in the private Pentagon dining room, took up questions of life-and-death importance to everyone in the United States, Vietnam, and, for that matter, the entire world.

"There were shadings of viewpoint on most questions," says the *Times*, "but two broad coalitions emerged:

"One favored continuation of General Westmoreland's strategy of wearing down the enemy by intense military pounding. . . .

"The other group challenged the very premises of the old strategy. Its members urged a less aggressive ground war, called for new efforts to open negotiations and, implicitly, laid the groundwork for political compromise."

Losing confidence

In this meeting, Clifford appears to have gone along with the hawks. But apparently he was already harboring doubts.

The current accounts picture Clifford as a genuine hawk who changed his mind, despite Johnson's anger, as he saw the evidence. According to this view, Clifford emerges as a statesman who rose in stature as he played the difficult part of a wise vizier to an idiot emperor.

Changing domestic climate

The changing political climate in the United States, registered in the polls as an erosion of Johnson's "popularity," is indi-

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Some Berkeley radicals flunk a test

PL and ISC balk on Third World self-deter

By Antonio Camejo

(The author is a member of the steering committee of the Berkeley campus strike support committee. He is Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Berkeley City Council.)

BERKELEY — The Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California, Berkeley is the longest and most militant struggle in the history of the campus. The strike has won widespread support on campus and in the Third World community and has drawn in the American Federation of Teachers (teaching assistants) Local 1570. Like the strike at San Francisco State, it has generated widespread controversy and discussion among radical youth.

In spite of the strike's dynamism and militancy some white radicals have been uneasy with the strike's goals and tactics, particularly the Independent Socialist Club (ISC), the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the strike correspondents for the *Guardian*. Their dissatisfaction stems from a false conception of the meaning and revolutionary significance of the demand for self-determination.

One of the reasons that Third World people are often mistrustful of whites is that they question the degree of white commitment to the principle of self-determination. Almost everyone, inside and outside the radical movement, pays lip service to self-determination—witness the rationale for the war in Vietnam. Now, however, when more than fine words are called for, when the struggle has hit their own campus, some white student radicals have begun to hedge in their support of that principle.

Whites upset

Some white radicals are upset because Third World people, not whites, are leading the struggle and deciding strategy and tactics. In the March, 1969 *Independent Socialist*, for example, Mike Urquhart states: "... the TWLF at Berkeley has at times tried to limit white participation in the fight strictly to 'strike support,' without the right to make policy decisions or raise their own demands. The TWLF veto over all white activity undermined the credibility of the white radical movement on the campus, and made it difficult to build a real base for the strike among the majority of the students. Demands for support but only support fostered a feeling of alienation from the strike on the part of many white students who were otherwise in complete sympathy with the demands of the TWLF."

To back up their demand that whites should have more of a policy-making role, members of the ISC and others have said that since white students supporting the TWLF are putting themselves on the line and risking arrest, they should therefore have some control over TWLF strategy and tactics.

The clearest indication of this feeling among white radicals was illustrated by a motion, presented to the Strike Support Committee on Feb. 26, that three whites be placed on the Central Committee of the TWLF.

The TWLF leadership has not only been open to suggestions and ideas about strategy and tactics, but has actively sought these ideas from white students, particularly from the Strike Support Committee.

But since the beginning of the strike the TWLF has insisted—absolutely correctly—on the right to lead it. A TWLF communique stated: "This strike . . . differs from previous actions on the campus because it is being led by a coalition of Third World people, the Third World Liberation Front. The strike is centered around the TWLF demand of self-determination, and inherent in that demand is the right of the TWLF to determine the strategy and tactics used to win that demand."

Tramples on right

Insisting that even one white sit on the central committee of the TWLF strikes at the elementary right of Third World people to lead their own struggle. It was precisely because whites had in fact been exerting control over the struggle of black people through the years, in organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, etc., that Malcolm X called for building independent black organizations, led and fully controlled by black people. Tied to white liberal concepts of what was proper for the black struggle, the fight had been limited to reformist electioneering, lawsuits, non-violence, etc. The emergence of militant black nationalism changed all that.

The revolutionary potential of the black liberation struggle became clear only after black people took the path that Malcolm X stood for. In place of white-dominated organizations, black people organized independently, and exerted full control over the tactics and strategy of the struggle. The struggle for black self-determination, for full control over the black community, also necessitated full control over the organizations of the struggle. The old, non-militant forms of struggle all fell by the wayside as black people took control of the struggle in their own hands.

When white radicals demand to have some decision-making power over the Third World struggle, even if such demands are raised in the name of "militancy," that negates the meaning of self-determination, and really calls for a return to the past. Supporting the right of self-determination means doing so without placing any conditions whatsoever on that right. (And that's apart from the possibility—perish the thought—that maybe the ISC or PL line for the struggle might not aid it at all.)

Another argument which the ISC has raised is that to mobilize white students requires "white" demands. Urquhart says, "The TWLF veto over all white activity . . . made it difficult to build a real base for the strike among the majority of the students."

Mobilized whites

First of all, his argument is factually incorrect. The several thousand students who have been marching on the picket lines and supporting the strike have been mobilized entirely on the basis of support to the TWLF demands and by the example of militancy set by the TWLF. They have

not been alienated because whites are not in the leadership, or because there are no separate "white" demands.

What is really implied by those raising the issue of additional "white" demands is that the Third World struggle to control Third World education is really not very revolutionary, or at least not very significant to the struggle of all students. Therefore, they say, white radicals have to raise new demands which relate to the "important" issues affecting their own "constituency."

This idea was also expressed by Bruce and Randy Rappaport in the March 1 *Guardian*, where they criticize the tactics of the TWLF. Both the ISC and Progressive Labor agree with much of their criticism:

"At the leadership level, a major problem is that the TWLF focus is almost exclusively on winning the third world college . . ."

One must ask in bewilderment, what else should the focus of the Third World students be, other than winning the demands they are struggling over? The Rappaports go on to tell us:

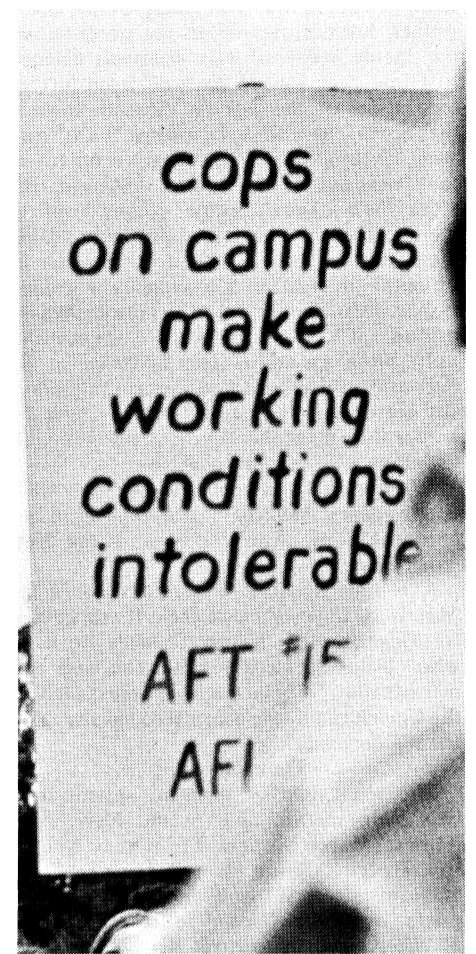
"The white leadership, on the other hand, while fully in support of the third world college, is not as eager to discourage situations like those that have arisen in the last few days [of pitched battles with the cops] which serve to radicalize a large number of white youth, though this means emphasis on street fighting and the presence of police."

Not "revolutionary" enough

Apparently the Rappaports do not view the struggle of Third World people as revolutionary enough to "radicalize large numbers of white youth." Their point is that people radicalize primarily through the tactic of confrontation with the police, in which people get gassed and clubbed. By that logic, we should actually seek such "confrontations," because they "expose the system." The Rappaports are dead wrong on both counts.

The demands for self-determination, for Third World control over their own education and over their own communities strikes right at the heart of the problem facing the American people—ruling class control or control by the oppressed. That is why the ruling class has reacted so swiftly and with such violence to crush the Third World Liberation Front strikes at S.F. State and Berkeley (or, for that matter, the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination). The demand for control by oppressed Third World people challenges the right of the ruling class to rule over them. No wonder then, that in the course of the political fight for self-determination large numbers of youth have become radicalized.

In its educational bulletin, "The Strike Explained," the TWLF stand in seeking white support states: "The TWLF has taken the initiative for student self-determination and for the elimination of racism in education. Supporting the demands of the TWLF becomes, therefore, not simply an act of paternalistic altruism, but an act of self-interest. The struggle of the TW stu-



dents is the struggle of all students. When the demands of the TWLF are realized, a major step toward the goal of relevant education for all students and toward significant social change will have been made."

If some white students do not see it, the TWLF does—the TWLF fight has revolutionary implications for all students. The political struggle for self-determination, rather than simply a tactic of confrontation is actually the primary means through which youth involved in the struggle are radicalizing.

"Gone overboard"?

But are the TWLF leaders right in their tactical approach? The Rappaports say, "the TWLF leadership too often has gone overboard in disassociating itself from 'anarchists' and has seriously angered a large number of the strike's militant [white?] supporters."

"One of the white rally speakers responded angrily," the Rappaports report, when a TWLF speaker argued against giving the appearance of provocation. ". . . it was clear that almost all of the stone-throwing was done by militant strikers and for quite legitimate reasons."

"The white leadership," they say, "is not as eager [as the TWLF] to discourage situations like those that have arisen in the last few days which serve to radicalize a large number of white youth, though this means emphasis on street-fighting and the presence of police."

Their thought is echoed by the Progressive Labor Party. The *Berkeley PL News* states: "Because of the political perspective of the Third World leaders, they have time and time again taken the ruling class line in disavowing the militancy of the strikers. They have either claimed that the police are the only ones responsible for the violence or that the violence on the part of the students was the action of an uncontrollable mob, that is chaos and anarchy . . . Both these positions, that police or mobs initiate violence, are denying that people fight back . . . When we threw rocks and tear gas back at the pigs it is not because we're agents or an unruly mob but because we must fight every tactic the administration uses to break the strike."

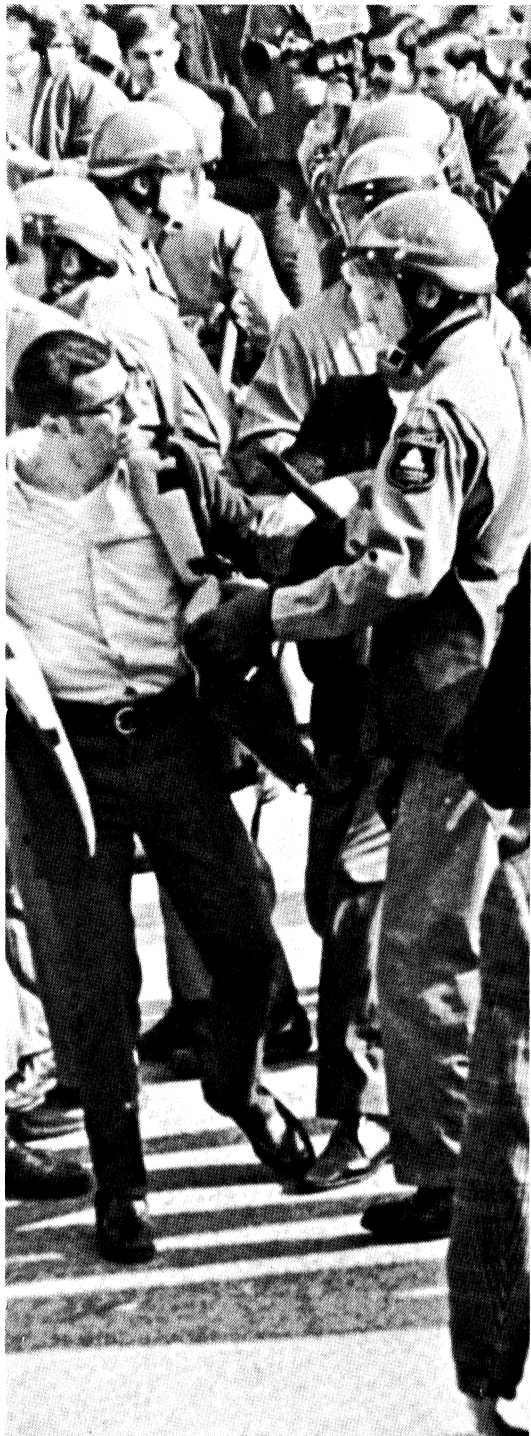
These statements are a distortion of the TWLF position.

The TWLF did not disavow the violence that occurred as the Rappaports, PL and also the ISC claim. They did, however, insist that all violence was the fault of the police and the administration. They also insisted that all participants in the strike act in a united manner, be careful to show that the responsibility for violence lay with the enemy, and win support for the strike by showing that it had right on its side.



Antonio Camejo (R) entering police van during campus arrests

nination



These photos by Ron Alexander indicate the extent to which police are being used in effort to break the Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California in Berkeley. Man being hassled by cops at left is Ron Yank, Berkeley faculty member. Cops didn't arrest him when they learned he was a professor and attorney. TWLF has worked to mobilize campus and community support against cops.

Accordingly they stated that individual acts were no substitute for united action and all individual participants in the struggle be bound by TWLF strategy and tactics.

Broadened support

Thus far, TWLF tactics have helped to broaden support for the strike. Throughout the struggle there was patient, clear explanation of the issues in the strike. The educational brochures, the leaflets, and the defensive formulations of all their actions put right on the side of the strike and made the thousands of strikers feel justified in defending their right to picket and demonstrate.

If PL and the Rappaports think that the TWLF is overly concerned about agents provocateurs, they only reveal their own lack of concern for united and disciplined action by all participants in the struggle. The "TWLF focus," as the Rappaports bewail, "is almost exclusively on winning the Third World college."

The tactics employed by the TWLF are correctly designed to win broad support for that correct focus, not to lead to unnecessary victimization or some ulterior concept of radical education resulting from broken heads.

Third World people have suffered police victimization for many years — people have been beaten, heads have been cracked, many have been killed. One of the reasons for struggling is to end that type of police violence, not to seek it out. Self-defense when attacked — of course. But serious leaders reject political adventurism which seeks to lead people into police traps with the weird notion that this is the way to radicalize them. The best defense against the material power of the ruling class is the mobilization of mass support for the struggle, and that is the road the TWLF has taken.

Clear position

The TWLF issued a statement making its position crystal clear on the violence

that had occurred and on its tactics in the strike:

"In order to be effective, we must act together in a disciplined way. Last Thursday the people who battled police were acting defensively against the police attacks and intimidation of peaceful picket lines. The TWLF affirms the people's right of self-defense when attacked. However, when the TWLF issues special directives as it did on Friday, those people who violate that direction are playing the role of provocateur, consciously or unconsciously. Individual acts of terrorism cannot substitute for organized action by the masses of people; however, the TWLF recognizes the right of self-defense."

What a contrast to the PL statement! And, incidentally, an exposure of PL's distortions of the TWLF position.

Attack by PL

The Progressive Labor Party has also attacked the very basis of the strike, claiming that the struggle for self-determination is wrong and is a diversion from the fight against racism. The **Berkeley PL News** states:

"The Third World leadership itself has often shown real weaknesses and played a bad role in the strike. It, too, has diverted the political struggle away from the fight against racism by emphasizing Third World self-determination meaning Third World student power. The TWLF leaders have taken a nationalist position: They do not see that the questions of racism and self-determination are not just Third World questions but class questions . . . To demand Third World student power is simply a bourgeois demand to be a more privileged stratum; it is actually a help to the ruling class in its hunt for more and better exploiters of Third World workers such as Carl Stokes, Ron Karenga, and LeRoi Jones."

This statement is an outright distortion

of the Third World Liberation Front's position and a slander on their struggle.

Are the Third World students aiming to become "a more privileged stratum?" Are they out to become "better exploiters of Third World workers?" Quite the contrary. From the beginning the TWLF has stressed its intention of relating the student struggle to the needs of the community. In its brochure, "The Strike Explained," the TWLF states:

"The Third World students are concerned that the university serve the needs of their communities. Much has been said about how the university has served the interests of the dominant white community and especially the business community. The TWLF is concerned with developing structures that move towards guaranteeing that the university will be involved in programs that directly benefit their oppressed Third World communities."

A "diversion"?

By fighting for self-determination has the TWLF "diverted the political struggle away from the fight against racism"? The answer to PL is so obvious it hardly bears stating. The TWLF brochure says:

"The TWLF is demanding the end of all forms of racism in the university. The end of racism requires first of all that Third World peoples are proportionately represented in terms of faculty, administrators and specific numbers of admissions. But the TWLF is demanding far more than that; they are demanding 'self-determination.' This means a recognition that racism in America has involved not only economic deprivation and the failure of white society to provide Third World people with a meaningful education, but also the systematic destruction of whole peoples and the deliberate attempt for more than three hundred years to obliterate the basic sense of dignity of entire groups of people. Dealing with racism also means facing up to racism on this level."

Co-option charge

Has the TWLF left itself open to co-option by the ruling class for failing to see "not just Third World questions but class questions"?

Again, in the words of the TWLF:

"Finally, the university is racist in that it actively aids in the suppression of efforts of Third World people to take control of and better their own life situation. This university has been deeply involved in the Vietnam morass . . . this campus is one of the centers for research on chemical and biological warfare, most of which would be used against people of the Third World. At home the university has actively intervened in the struggle between the growers and grape strikers — on the side of the growers; it has been active also in devising sham schemes like 'black capitalism' to try to co-opt Third World people and prevent them from making meaningful changes relevant to their lives."

Opposes self-determination

Progressive Labor's slanders and distortions of the Third World students' struggle stem from its opposition to self-determination. PL refuses to see the obvious — that Third World people suffer national, as

well as class oppression. Third World people are not simply part of the working class, just super-exploited workers, as PL contends. The division of all American society along national lines, the national oppression of all Third World people, is the basis on which the ruling class super-exploits Third World workers.

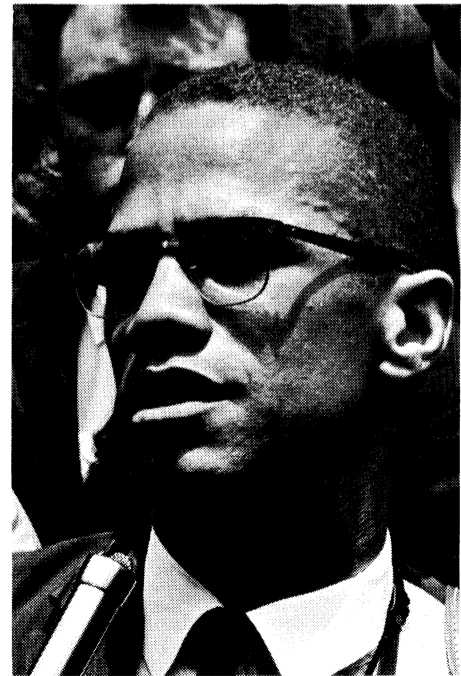
One of the bedrocks of American capitalism is national oppression, at home and abroad. The fight of oppressed nationalities for control over their own lives therefore strikes at a vital part of the capitalist system. That explains the revolutionary implications of the fight for self-determination, as we have seen in practice.

PL, however, with its false notion that only class questions are involved, places conditions on the struggle of the Third World students. PL would veto the right of the TWLF to decide for itself the content of its demands and the nature of its tactics. PL is more concerned to lecture the TWLF about its alleged lack of class-consciousness and supposed imminent co-option.

It is perfectly legitimate for white revolutionaries to express their own ideas to the Third World activists about the best tactics to be employed or the best demands to raise. But that is not the issue. The central point which revolutionaries must emphasize is support to the principle that the TWLF has the right to determine its own tactics, strategy, and demands.

Here is where PL, the ISC and the Rappaports break down. They support the principle only when the TWLF decisions agree with their own ideas. When not, then they become concerned about having a voice in the policy-making of the TWLF.

One is tempted to use a favorite expression of PL's — that's the attitude of a "fake radical."



"If we are going to work together, the blacks must lead in their own fight. In phase one, the whites led. We're going into phase two now."

— Malcolm X

...the Vietnam switch

(Continued from page 7)

Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury under President Kennedy.

"Also Associate Justice Abe Fortas of the Supreme Court; Mr. [Arthur J.] Goldberg [present by special invitation of Johnson]; Henry Cabot Lodge, twice Ambassador to Saigon; John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner in West Germany under President Truman; Robert D. Murphy, ranking diplomat in the Truman-Eisenhower era; Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, retired Korean war commander; Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a constant Presidential adviser on Vietnam, and Cyrus R. Vance, former Deputy Defense Secretary and President Johnson's troubleshooter.

Table unspecified

Johnson was presumably present, although the accounts do not indicate this, just as they fail to indicate whether the conspirative body sat around a Chippendale breakfast table, an oval oak table, or perhaps a card table.

The composition of the council deserves to be noted. It was a twin-party grouping, no attention being paid to whether the members were nominally Democrats or Republicans.

It did not include a single representative of any of the trade unions or minority movements.

The Pentagon, White House, State Department, and Supreme Court were represented, but not a single congressman was included, although the subject under discussion was the war in Vietnam and, under the constitution of the United States, the warmaking powers reside with Congress.

Nonetheless, as will be seen Johnson listened to this unrepresentative, unelected, secret council as if it spoke for the real masters of the country. In this he was, of course, dead right.

"The wise men," continues the *Times*, "heard candid briefings, some of which bordered on pessimism, and then questioned Messrs. Rusk, Clifford and Rostow and others about the extent of the Tet disaster and the plans for the future. The discussion continued late that night and resumed the next morning at the White House.

"Deeply shaken"

"For the first time President Johnson got the trend of their views. He was 'deeply shaken' one aide said, by the change of temper of the wise men, who were deeply discouraged over the war after the exalted hopes of the previous fall.

"The President was especially impressed by the fact that Mr. Acheson, McGeorge Bundy and to a lesser degree Mr. Vance had joined Mr. Ball and Mr. Goldberg in opposing further military commitments and advocating some way of getting out of the war. He was jolted when Mr. Bundy, one of the architects of intervention in the early sixties and of the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, now took an opposite tack.

"There was, to be sure, a faction that held firm in defense of the harder line — Justice Fortas, General Taylor and Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy wanted more bombing, not less.

"Ambassador Lodge, now President Nixon's chief negotiator in Paris, left the other participants puzzled. Several found him hawkish, but a least one said he was 'on all sides of the issue.' Mr. McCloy leaned toward the hawkish group.

"Mr. Dean, Mr. Dillon and Generals Bradley and Ridgway were now doubters. They were plainly war-weary if not yet ready to shift course dramatically. The waning public support of the war was a constant concern.

"No consensus"

"There was no consensus on the bombing issue. Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Ball advocated a halt as a way to negotiations. The others were uncertain but the impression left with Government sources was that the wise men as a group were saying: 'We had better start looking for another way to get this war settled.'"

Clifford followed up vigorously, his im-

mediate objective being to get Johnson to rewrite a speech he was scheduled to deliver March 31. While various drafts had been made, the basic line was unaltered.

"It was still, in the words of one participant," says the *Times*, "a 'teeth-clenched, see-it-through' speech, announcing that about 15,000 more troops would be sent to Vietnam."

Meeting with Rusk, Rostow, McPherson and Bundy, Clifford "launched an impassioned plea" against taking the course outlined by the speech.

"It would tear the country apart, the Defense Secretary argued, to hear a speech that promised only more war. What was needed, he said, was not a 'war speech, but a peace speech — the issue is as sharp as the edge of an ax.'"

Might "tear country apart"

According to *Newsweek*, "He mustered every available argument against pouring more troops into the 'bottomless pit' of Vietnam. He argued against the damage to the dollar and the inflationary spiral that another multibillion-dollar commitment to Vietnam might cause. He warned that another major escalation of the war might 'tear the country apart.'"

Mary McGrory says, "Clifford warned of civil war."

By the end of the day, Rusk had been won over. He agreed that a new speech should be written. McPherson went to work at once, and by morning had the new draft prepared. This was the speech that announced the bombing "halt."

Johnson added an unexpected peroration of his own — the announcement that he was withdrawing from the presidential race. As the *Times* blandly explains:

"The approach of the Wisconsin primary also served as a deadline for action, in view of some of his political advisers. They thought his withdrawal would be more dignified and more effective if made before the primary rather than after the expected victory for Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota."

Why now

Precisely why have these details now been made public? The ostensible reason is that this is the first anniversary of the change in Johnson's course. It is rather novel, however, to see the capitalist press display such a punctilious attitude toward history — at least history as recent as this.

A more likely explanation is that the "Eastern Establishment," that powerful coterie of the American capitalist class which very early came to the conclusion that Johnson had made a tactical blunder in escalating the Vietnam war to the north and which finally — through the deft work of Clifford — succeeded in getting Johnson to alter his tactics, is now worried over what Nixon might do.

The new man in the White House is not talking as yet, but evidence is mounting that he is inclined to take a whirl at "retaliatory" bombing of North Vietnam.

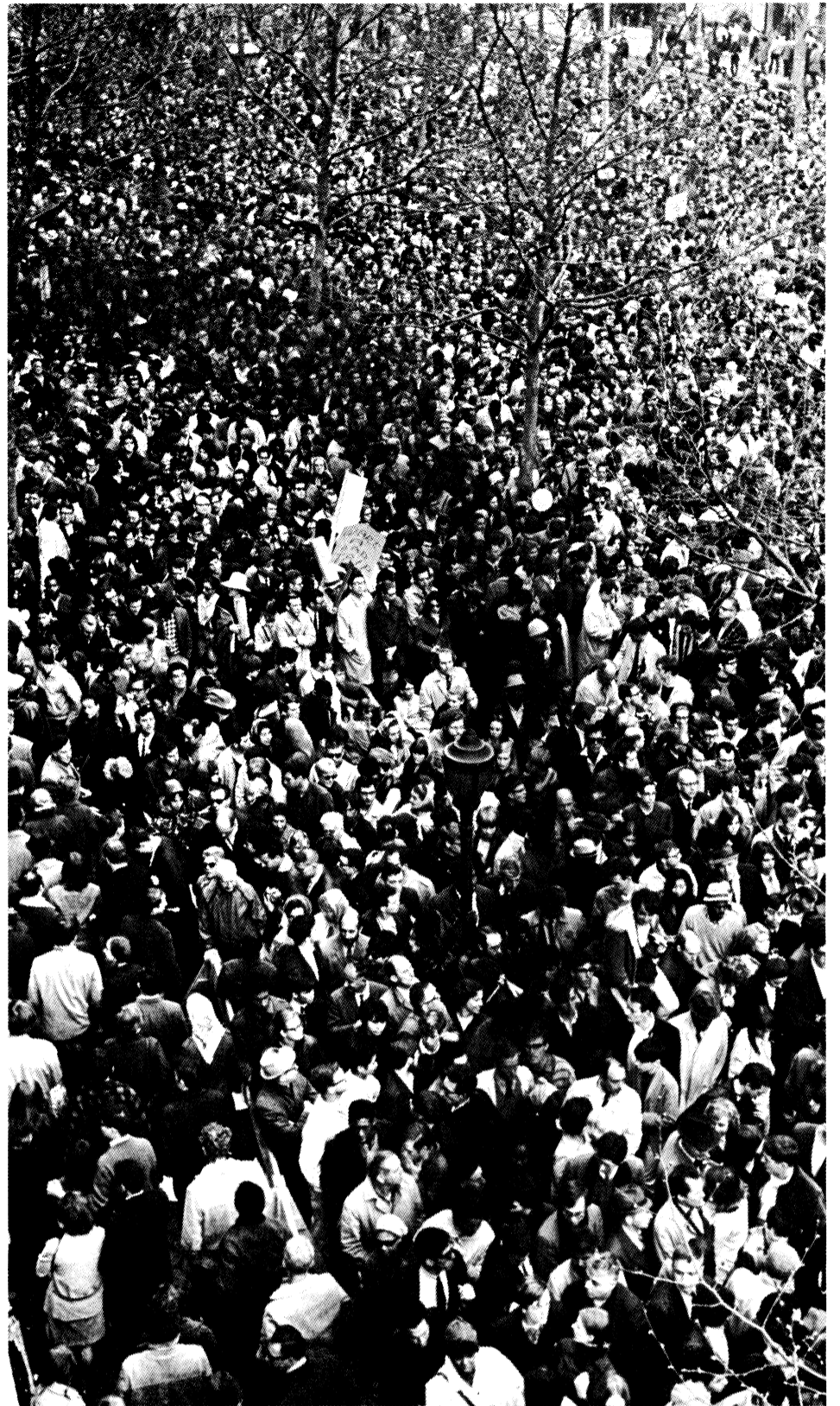
The publicity now given to the story behind the scenes, disclosing how Johnson was persuaded to change, serves to warn Nixon, in effect, that the Eastern Establishment is opposed to any such dangerous adventure. Don't misinterpret the temporary quiescence in the antiwar movement, Nixon is being told, if you fly in the face of the clearly registered basic mood, which forced Johnson to abdicate after assuming office with the greatest majority in history, you can stir up a storm which could "tear the country apart" and even led to "civil war."

Secondary factor

An incidental motive may well be to further enhance the image of Clark Clifford, the Eastern Establishment's troubleshooter, who succeeded against great odds in getting Johnson to switch his course and even deliver his own political funeral oration.

Ironically, the Eastern Establishment, whatever its differences on tactics, is committed to the same basic policy as both Johnson and Nixon — to maintain the American "presence" in South Vietnam.

Both Nixon and the Eastern Establishment, it can confidently be predicted, will soon be given a fresh reminder of this by millions of people, who will not easily be persuaded to treat Nixon more gently than they did Johnson if he thinks he can get away with escalating or even prolonging the slaughter.



NEW YORK, APRIL 15, 1967 — Segment of some 300,000 antiwar demonstrators

Economic Briefs

Inflation continued to push retail and wholesale prices up in January, the Labor Department announced. Nationally, consumer prices increased three-tenths of one percent, while the purchasing power of workers dropped 54 cents a week.

Wholesale prices increased a whopping eight-tenths of one percent in January — this would average out to almost nine percent a year. A government spokesman said:

"The Wholesale Price Index doesn't follow the retail index that closely. Its effect won't automatically mean higher retail prices next month." That is true. It usually takes several months for the increase in wholesale prices to drive up prices of consumer goods . . .

* * *

New York City remained harder hit by inflation than most of the rest of the country. Consumer prices in New York jumped five-tenths of one percent in January.

This was largely due to the fast increases here in the cost of medical care. Medical prices rose 2.4 percent in January alone for the New York area. They rose 8.7 percent in the single year of 1968.

* * *

One of the reasons for the present instability of the stock market is the speculative character of many of the corporate mergers which have dominated financial news in the last two years.

Fear on this score led Hamer Budge, the new Republican chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, to declare in Washington Feb. 25, "Those who are engineering the present wave of take-overs appear to find the short-run profits so tempting that they ignore the long-term risks."

Budge said the wave of conglomeration reminded him of the utility holding companies that were created in the nineteen-twenties.

Corporations have poured millions of dollars into conglomerate efforts in the past two years. In 1967 there were 2,700 corporate mergers; this grew to the historically unheard of sum of 4,500 in 1968. The previous historic peak of corporate mergers before 1967 was 1929, when the level was at 1,500.

This flow of millions of dollars into the stock market — a corporate merger involving investments on the level of \$50 million is getting to be commonplace — has inflated stock prices in the past year and a half.

But it is largely speculative, and many investors are well aware of it. That is one reason why the market is "jumpy," and there are increasing warnings, even from government spokesmen, to "play it cool" on Wall Street.

Those who are interested in an examination of the corporate merger boom with facts and figures, will find a helpful article in the February 1969 issue of *Fortune* magazine.

* * *

There was one place the death of King Saud was felt with grief. The former ruler of Saudi Arabia was Greece's "ideal tourist." He was said to have spent nearly \$300,000 a year for his retinue, housed in 60 of the 72 rooms of the seaside Kavouri Hotel, 15 miles southeast of Athens.

Four of King Saud's sons, according to the Feb. 26 *New York Times*, "enjoying Athenian night life, were tempted to subscribe to the more regal, if less conservative estimate of a \$10-million yearly budget."

King Saud's \$250-million fortune grew from royalties on the consortium of U.S. corporations making up the Arabian-American Oil Company. These include Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Texaco and Socony-Mobil.

— Dick Roberts

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address, including ZIP.

Why is there hunger in rich America?

By Constance Weissman

Last week *The Militant* reported on the federal survey which revealed that some six to nine million Americans suffered from hunger and starvation-diet diseases which supposedly existed only in poverty-stricken underdeveloped countries.

The facts revealed evoked considerable public response and comment. But what actually has been done?

Scanning the papers, we find that Senator Hollings of South Carolina, who hitherto had actively opposed any talk about hunger in his state and whose reactionary and racist record had always been beyond any suspicion of humanitarianism, declared that there was indeed hunger in South Carolina and that he was against it. This sudden liberal gambit

School expulsion draws Chicago protest action

By Debbie Notkin

CHICAGO—Seventy-five people, mostly high-school students, demonstrated in front of the Catholic Board of Education here March 8 to protest the Feb. 24 expulsion of Paula Smith, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and High School Students Against the War, from the Academy of Our Lady High School for her socialist and antiwar views.

Rennie Davis, coordinator of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Mike James of the regional office of SDS; Professor Staughton Lynd; and Max Primack of the Chicago Peace Council participated in the demonstration.

Staughton Lynd, Barry Kelman of High School Students Against the War, and Paula Smith spoke at a short rally following the demonstration. Paula Smith expressed the view that high-school students are becoming increasingly opposed to the war and that in many schools, both public and private, students are subject to severe disciplinary measures when they participate in antiwar activities. She stressed the necessity for high-school students to fight for the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly as guaranteed in the U. S. Constitution.

At a March 5 press conference called to publicize the demonstration and Paula Smith's case, Staughton Lynd emphasized that all people who respect the right of free political expression should actively support her struggle for reinstatement.

Petitions are being circulated on high-school and college campuses demanding reinstatement and support within the Catholic Church is being mobilized by sympathetic priests and nuns.

The Committee to Defend the Rights of High School Students has requested that letters protesting the arbitrary expulsion of Paula Smith be sent to Sister Mary Lenore, Principal, Academy of Our Lady, 1309 West 95th St., Chicago, Ill. 60643. Copies should be sent to the Committee to Defend the Rights of High School Students, 9 South Clinton St., Chicago, Ill.



Staughton Lynd

on his part made headlines, and Northern papers began suggesting that he should be considered for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in 1972.

Robert M. Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, announced he was going to make a speech about it at the Governors Conference.

In Beaufort, S. C., one of the areas where hunger and starvation diseases affected practically the whole population, a program of free food stamps was announced. But only four people turned up on the first day to get the stamps. Mrs. Helen Frazier, a mother of 10 and head of the welfare-rights organization, said a boycott had been called because the regulations are that a family can only get free stamps if its monthly income is less than \$30.

"The people here are so disappointed," Mrs. Frazier said. "They promised us in Washington they would be free."

A symposium on rural-urban migration initiated by Brotherhood-in-Action announced that up to now, no single program has been developed to deal with the tragedy of millions of migrants being forced off the land that cannot support them into cities that cannot support them.

So it is all too evident that the response of the powers-that-be to the revelations about the hunger of six to nine million Americans and resulting diseases — which stunt, cripple and kill their children — has been long on words and short on action.

Yet one continues to read articles about how poverty could be wiped out completely in this country. Some say it could be done in a few years by the appropriation of \$8 billion, others give bigger or smaller figures. Is it true? But first, what is meant by poverty? Who are the poor in America?

Under capitalism, the whole working class — except for a small privileged layer at the top — and most of the lower middle class (urban white-collar workers and family farmers) are poor. Capitalism is a system with rich and poor at each end. It couldn't work otherwise. The workers have to be poor so they will hire themselves out to the owners of the factories, mines, banks, etc. Through unions and other means of concerted action, the workers have raised the standard of living; nevertheless, they have never been able to raise it to the point where they can really do more than support themselves and reproduce themselves in the form of children who, in overwhelming numbers, also become workers. And so the cycle goes on. The Bible said the poor are always with us; capitalism decrees that the workers are always with us — and have to be or capitalism couldn't function.

Even the position of today's "affluent" worker who owns his own home and car is precarious. Not only is he mortgaged up to his neck and running into debt as the inflation continues, but economically he is at the mercy of disabling accidents, protracted illness, technological unemployment, recession or depression. Any of these can drop him suddenly down the chute from "affluence" to the poverty-stricken level.

But it obviously is not this generalized poverty of the working class as a whole, relative to the capitalist class, which anyone expects to abolish by the appropriation of eight billion dollars or so. This can only be accomplished by the abolition of capitalism itself, i.e., by a socialist revolution.

In addition to the above kind of poverty, there is a more acute level of poverty, a level so low that the people on it cannot maintain themselves as healthy labor-power for the capitalists and reproduce themselves in children capable of becoming efficient, able-bodied labor-power. These are the people usually recognized as "the poor" in the prevailing American use of the term. These are the people described in the survey. A few billion dollars could drastically change their conditions. It could wipe out pellagra, kwashiorkor, rickets, worms and the other diseases ravaging these people and crippling their children from the first month of birth.

Why hasn't it been done? Because capitalism is a system for profits, not people. It hasn't been done because there's no profit in doing it. Secondly, in many cases



there is a definite profit or advantage gained by sections of the ruling class in keeping these people in abject poverty. Thirdly, racism, which in itself brings no small amount of profit to the entire capitalist system, reinforces the callousness and vindictiveness towards these poverty-stricken people who to a large extent are black, Mexican-American or Indian.

The local ruling class, urban and rural, in South Carolina and the rest of the South benefits from having a large pool of hungry black labor. Not only can those people be hired when needed at the lowest wages, but their presence acts as a constant pressure on the rest of labor in the South (and Southern labor, with its lower wage and living standards, acts as a pressure on labor in the rest of the country). That is why the local officials resist even the pitifully inadequate federal food-stamp program in their districts. Getting such food they believe, would make this pool of labor "uppity."

The Nixon administration and the bipartisan gang of scoundrels in Congress are not going to end even the most extreme poverty in the U. S. Drastic and effective measures will only come when the working

people themselves take charge, locally by militant organization, and nationally by creating their own political instruments — black parties, Chicano parties, a labor party.

The Cuban Revolution showed what swift and effective steps can be taken to abolish poverty even in a poor country. Today you will not find people in Cuba living in the wretched conditions described in the survey of U. S. poor. What could be accomplished by a socialist revolution in this country staggers the imagination.

In case anyone thinks socialists are too utopian in their estimates of what could be done, here is what the magazine *Psychology Today* said editorially in its October 1968 issue:

"Working productively, two percent of our population could produce the food, the clothing, the housing — all the worldly goods for all of us. Right now, we could, by declaring a national wealth emergency, provide every American family with a three bedroom home, two cars, and with the means to provide for the college education of every child."

Question: Who will declare this "national wealth emergency?" The rich or the poor?

Presidio 27 trial shows nervousness of the brass

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO—The frame-up "mutiny" trials of the Presidio 27, which are an attempt by the brass to crush the growing GI antiwar movement, provide striking confirmation of the fear the brass has of mass action and publicity.

The trials stem from the military's reaction to a peaceful protest sit-in by GI prisoners at the time of the historic Oct. 12 GI and Vets March for Peace here. It did not matter that the 27 were protesting the murder of a fellow prisoner; in the words of one captain who had been observing the trial, "the Army, the real Army, the men with eagles on their shoulders and braid on their caps, have been watching what's been happening on the college campuses. And they are determined to make damn sure nothing like it ever happens in the Army."

The Army, to make an example of the case, sentenced the first three men tried to 14, 15 and 16 years at hard labor. But so great was the public outcry at such barbarous sentences that the trial of the fourth prisoner was moved from the Presidio in San Francisco to the middle of the Mojave desert. There, far from the civilian supporters of the 27 who daily watched the trials here, the brass gave him four years.

(This was clearly an attempt to pressure defense lawyers for the remaining cases to move their cases from the Presidio, too. It

is working, if only in part. Lawyers for the next five men have asked for a change of venue, claiming that the presence of civilian supporters prejudices the trial officers. And a mysterious "Capt. Jenkins" has been reported by the press as having tried to make a deal in the name of Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, 6th Army commander.)

The civilian antiwar movement has responded with strong support for the 27. Rallies have been sponsored by the GI Association, the Resistance, the GI-Student Action Committee, and other groups. A mass march on the Presidio and a rally will be held Easter Sunday, its slogans, "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Free the Presidio 27." Other GI-civilian antiwar actions are planned around the country Easter weekend, and the Presidio trials are certain to be a focus for them.

GIs at the trials here, including some of the defendants, have shown their appreciation for outside support by flashing "V" signs at civilians.

The 27 are on trial for trying to force attention on the intolerable conditions inside the Presidio stockade. The Oct. 11 shotgun slaying of Richard Bunch, a deranged prisoner, moved the prisoners to stage a sit-down on Oct. 14. They locked arms and sang freedom songs. In civilian life this "crime" could be a misdemeanor at most. The brass responded with mutiny charges, although the pretrial officer said this would be even "a further miscarriage of justice."

Why New York needs a socialist mayor

By Brian Shannon

NEW YORK — "For an increasingly large number of its people, New York is not working. . . . The problems are immediate, urgent, and immense."

This is the conclusion of a draft "master plan" for New York City issued by Mayor John Lindsay's city planning commission. For New York City inhabitants, the conclusion is hardly a surprise—they've known it all along. But the reasons for, and the solution to, these "immediate, urgent and immense" problems will loom as major issues in the 1969 city elections.

Already an unusual number of hopefuls have thrown their hats in the ring, especially for the post of mayor. But as SWP candidate Paul Boutelle commented at a press conference, none of the other candidates are capable of offering a program to solve the crushing problems of New York precisely because they are tied hand and foot to the financial interests that profit from the unlivable conditions in the city.

The problems of New York and the other large cities of the nation are, of course, not new. But the mounting intensity of the liberation struggle in the black and Puerto Rican communities has brought them more sharply into focus. The rising tide of opposition to the Vietnam war has brought more and more people to realize the injustice and irrationality of a system that spends \$30 billion a year to destroy Vietnam and its people, and nothing but pennies—by comparison—to solve the problems of housing, education, pollution, transportation, medical care, and other elementary human needs—the problems that plague the poor of New York.

As the radicalization has spread among the young people of the county in the last few years, it has found fertile ground amongst the millions of high-school and college students of New York.

This has brought new forces into the struggle to end the war in Vietnam, to gain community control of schools, and to ensure the right of self-determination for the black and Puerto Rican communities.

These are the factors in the background that are worrying the capitalist politicians—the problems are getting worse and, simul-

taneously, the black and Spanish-speaking communities of New York, and the other poor in the city, are becoming more and more vocally fed up. They are beginning to sense some of their power, and the vested interests that control the city don't like the possibilities that opens up.

Housing. The housing problem is one of the most visible. 800,000 living units in the city are judged substandard. This is one-seventh of all substandard housing in the country. Apartments are overcrowded, infested with eight million rats, and often inadequately heated or even without heat. While buildings deteriorate, the rents climb.

Inflation. New York's poor live in the most expensive city in the continental United States. Last October the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the 1966 cost of a "moderate" living for the average-size family of four was \$10,195. Yet one quarter of New York's families have less than \$4,000 a year income. (This includes many city employees themselves, like the case-aid workers in the welfare department who draw a salary of only \$4,250.) One million New Yorkers are living on relief.

Medical care. It is the poor who suffer most from illness, brought about by overcrowded apartments, inadequate diet, lack of heat, unhealthy working conditions, etc. But they share with the rest of the city's inhabitants the city's criminal hospital system. The March 3 *New York Times* reported that a man in need of a hernia operation must wait five to nine weeks for a bed. A patient with pneumonia will wait five to eight days. If one is in imminent danger of death he can "usually get a bed . . . but often in a second or third best hospital," thereby decreasing his chance of survival.

Once in, the cost of a hospital room can often exceed \$100 a day.

Police brutality. While the vicious pace of police brutality has if anything increased in the black and Puerto Rican communities, it has also become an immediate issue for many high-school and college students.

Although Daley's Chicago cops received most of the national spotlight this past year, Lindsay's "finest" certainly did a



Photo by Byron Hillblom

CONFRONTATION. Herman Badillo, Democratic Bronx borough president (left) and Paul Boutelle at March 13 Columbia University symposium on crisis in black and Puerto Rican communities. Many in the student and community audience responded sympathetically when Boutelle ripped apart Badillo's assertion that working in the Democratic Party is the road to social progress.

comparable job last spring when they went after the demonstrators at Columbia.

Massive police intervention against the struggle of black and Puerto Rican students and parents for control of their schools and for an education relevant to their needs is now being planned. Lindsay responded with a directive to Police Commissioner Leary for a "more rapid response to school disorder situations."

There has been police harassment, victimization and frame-up of militant black organizations, such as the Black Panther Party. This has been supplemented by open, organized vigilante attacks, usually involving police, such as the attack on the Panthers at a Brooklyn courthouse last fall.

Pollution. The East River and the Hudson have been so polluted for years that it would take an estimated 20 years before any normal aquatic life could return to them, even if all further pollution were stopped immediately. Most New Yorkers have learned to stay away from the rivers, but they can't keep away from the air. The polluting contents of New York's air are more lethal than in any other American city. The central Manhattan area has the highest degree of air pollution in the world. And, just recently, researchers have begun to point up the dangers of rising "noise pollution."

Transportation. New York's subways, probably among the dirtiest and noisiest in the world, are woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the millions of commuters who rely on them for their daily transportation to and from work. During rush hours near-suffocated straphangers are crushed into train after train like battered sardines.

Meanwhile, the cost of public transportation continues to mount, because the city's rulers, whose businesses profit by the millions from the public transportation system, insist it must be self-financing.

Education. The most bitterly fought-over issue in the city has been the question of black and Puerto Rican control of the schools in their own communities. While the dispute reached its highest point yet during the racist teachers strike last fall, it is certain that was only an opening round in a struggle that will continue and intensify. The leadership of the United Federation of Teachers is attempting to preserve a system in which there are only 9.3 percent black teachers, although 30 percent of the students are black, and where there is not a single Puerto Rican

principal in the entire city.

During the teachers' strike the Lindsay administration sided with the teachers' union's racist leadership on all key issues, whether it was the opening or closing of experimental schools, the hiring or firing of teachers, or the suspending of community-elected school boards. Lindsay personally called for the removal of Leslie Campbell, an Afro-American teacher under attack by the union leadership.

Lindsay's answer

The response of Lindsay has been demagogic appeals for more state funds and for greater state and federal aid to the city—while ordering budget cutbacks in the city's contributions to the city university, public schools, welfare, medicaid, city hospitals, and a general freeze on employee replacement.

In one area, however, Lindsay stands firm. The city will complete the program to hire 4,000 more policemen and 2,500 more civilians to free police for street duty.

All these problems and Lindsay's "glamour-boy" approach to them have taken their toll on his popularity. Smelling the possibility of victory and its spoils, numerous capitalist politicians have announced that they can run New York City better.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates don't promise to run capitalism better for the capitalists. They do promise to fight to improve the lot of the ordinary people and to replace the entire system with one that is based on the needs of the vast majority of the population. If you want to help, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, tel. 533-4450.

Support mounts for boycott of Standard Oil

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO, March 11—The San Francisco Central Labor Council voted unanimously last night to support the Standard Oil boycott launched by Local 1-561, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, to defend the union shop at the struck Chevron chemical plant in Richmond. The two other major central labor councils of the Bay Area, those in Contra Costa and Alameda counties, have already endorsed the boycott.

After the vote of the San Francisco council, all Standard Oil credit cards in the possession of those attending the meeting were collected. These will be returned to Standard. (They are made of a special plastic material that does not burn.)

The boycott has begun gathering momentum in the Bay Area. Already student pickets have appeared spontaneously at several Chevron and Standard service stations here. This Friday, March 14, there will be a demonstration in front of the Standard Oil offices here, called jointly by OCAW 1-561 and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The demonstration will protest Standard's strikebreaking in Richmond and its manufacture of the deadly crop pesticides that are injuring the health of the farmworkers.

A Standard Oil Boycott Headquarters has been established in the San Francisco Labor Temple. Anyone who wants to receive literature about the boycott can write to 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif., or telephone (415) 431-3447.

Police measures pressed at S.F. State College

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, March 12—Today the San Francisco State College campus is an armed camp. The "state of emergency" invoked by Acting President Hayakawa last November continues in force. Constitutional rights—freedom to speak, petition

and assemble—have been suspended. Police are stationed in every building, with sections of each marked off as "private rest areas," "eating facilities," and "intelligence centers." In the administration building, there are two information booths: one for general campus information, the other set up by the police for the needs of their apparatus.

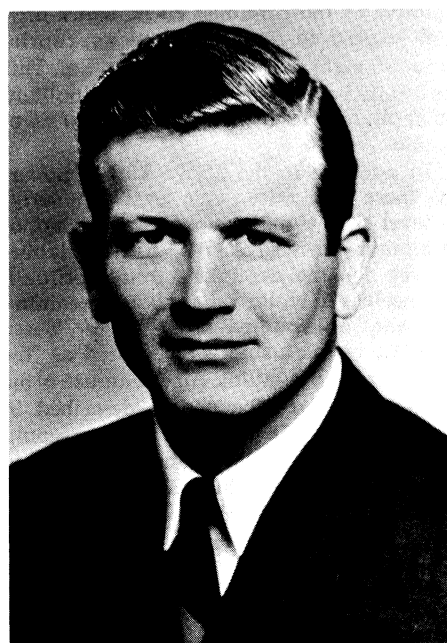
On March 10, Hayakawa suspended three student publications, including *Black Fire*, the Black Student Union monthly. Hayakawa's ire was mainly directed at the *Gator*, the campus daily. After the editor, Dikran Karaguezian, vowed to continue publishing the daily run of 8,000 copies, one of Hayakawa's public relations men, Chandler Malloy, commented that the *Gator's* editor was, after all, a Syrian and "a foreign national here on a visa. He's an Arab and very emotional on these issues. They tend to be very emotional."

Hayakawa has also set up a three-man kangaroo court which will take campus disciplinary action against the students arrested in the course of the strike. The American Federation of Teachers, as well as the striking students, will boycott the hearings of this body and are pressing for amnesty.

Over 120 arrested students have been receiving federal loans or fellowships. If convicted, they face, by order of the federal office of education, loss of these moneys. Certain conservative departments within the college have already begun penalizing students. Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance have been deprived of their fellowships and forced out of their areas of graduate study. With AFT backing, they are fighting for reinstatement.



S.I. HAYAKAWA. In announcing the suppression of three student publications, the eminent semanticist and acting president of SF State College declared he "hopes to liberate the freedom of the press to represent all students."



Mayor Lindsay

DRUM dismays fat-bellies

DETROIT — Much has been written by leaders of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) on their history, program, progress, and goals. More has been written by both friends and enemies about this movement of young black militants in the auto plants here. Up to now the Reuther bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers has said little, seeking to head off the movement with black frontrunners elevated to high-paid positions in the UAW structure and maneuvering with the auto corporations to drive the militants out of the plants and crush the movement.

To the dismay of company spokesmen and union bureaucrats this black nationalist union movement continues to win new supporters and has spread throughout the auto industry. Now known as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, it combines with DRUM similar units at the Ford Rouge (FRUM), Chrysler Gear and Axle on Eldon Ave. (ELRUM), and the Chrysler Jefferson Avenue plant (JARUM).

The fear and panic this movement strikes amidst complacent, fat-bellied union bureaucrats and their ever-present entourage of cronies and boot-licking hangers-on was most clearly revealed at a meeting here March 5 of UAW Region 1-A Skilled Trades Leadership Council.

This meeting started promptly at 9:30 in the morning, called to order by Council Chairman Allen Tuck, who is also president of UAW local 160, where the meeting was held. Present on the rostrum were Region 1-A director and UAW executive-board member, George Merrelli, and international assistant director of the UAW Skilled Trades Department, Thomas Gibson. There were approximately 80 delegates present. These delegates are UAW skilled trades committeemen, stewards, and local officers from UAW shops and plants in Region 1-A, which includes the East Side of Detroit.

This leadership council meeting was set up to accommodate 102 such delegates. Not all showed up. Of the 80 who came, nearly all were white. Only three black faces stood out, and they were staff men sent down from UAW headquarters, Solidarity House.

Usually such meetings are rather humdrum affairs where some routine resolutions are adopted concerning lines of craft demarcation for the various skills in the auto plants, and the "perpetual responsibility and moral obligation" to organize the unorganized. Such resolutions were dutifully passed at this meeting, too, and forwarded to the resolutions committee of the Skilled Trades Conference to be held April 16-17 in Cincinnati, Ohio. But it was clear from the beginning that the real business at hand was something else.

Big George Merrelli started the meeting off right with a 20-minute opening spiel against DRUM, about which most of the delegates knew nothing, and some were hearing of it for the first time. George wanted to explain. He started easy, telling how the majority of Negro people have not been given an equal opportunity. Then he said the UAW must do more to get them into the shops. The trouble, he said, is that "they" just don't have the confidence that we care, nor do they be-



WELL-OILED MACHINE. UAW President Walter Reuther and members of his machine celebrate continuation of cushy union jobs on re-election at union convention.

lieve that we will give them an opportunity.

Having stated this, Merrelli got to the important problem. "We have outside groups trying to destroy our union. We are going to take them on." As usual he gave a rather distorted history of the UAW in order to describe the problem and prescribe its cure. He said when we first organized we had to fight off the Communist Party. They (the CP) he said, had a lot of influence in the old days. Then he reminded himself that the UAW had to fight the gangsters and company finks. The problem now, according to Merrelli, is that we have other organizations "like black racist DRUM." He said we are now going to fight these people.

All in all it was quite a fighting speech old George made. He even told some of the plans he has in mind to organize the fight. He said he intends to send out a letter "to let these people and their supporters know we will not support them in the shops." What this means is that he now intends to have the corporations fire anyone in the plants who joins or supports DRUM.

His letter will have other purposes too, "explaining where they (DRUM) get their support and who the agitators are." George knows those young blacks in the plants couldn't do this all by themselves because "there is always someone else that makes the ball and has these people throw it."

One of Merrelli's most bitter complaints was directed against Wayne State University and the school paper, *South End*. He said our tax money is being spent at these universities and we have a right to say how this tax money will be spent. According to him, Wayne University has put out "34 copies of DRUM." And these "black racists" are trying to break up the UAW.

After this tirade, George made a few perfunctory remarks about skilled trades in the UAW and sat down. But others were primed to continue the attack against DRUM. One of those who spoke was Joe Kozma, bringing a first hand report from the Dodge plant.

According to Kozma, this Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) is really revolutionary, not the Russian type. He says they can't even agree with the Russians. They are, he announced, supporters of Mao. Red China, says Kozma, is sending money to DRUM. He thinks "we need to do something like we did in the old days—organize a goon squad and go through the lines that they have closed down at Dodge for no reason."

In order to rally support for this course of action, Kozma then proceeded to "tell how bad it is." He said the UAW committeeman there can't even go into his department. "An international representative came into Dodge and was stabbed in the back by one of these DRUM people." He also reported that "the committeeman had to pull one of these guys off the foreman

twice in one day." It was not clear from his remarks if this was the same committeeman who now can't go into his department.

After Kozma made his contribution, Merrelli assured the delegates, "We are going to explain all this in a letter." So, naturally, everyone now awaits the forthcoming "Merrelli letter."

Having disposed of the most important issue, the problem of DRUM, the rest of the morning was taken up with some reports on skilled trades affairs and a film, narrated by Chet Huntley, on new technology.

Usually these UAW delegate meetings are more dreary after the noon recess. The delegates have made their appearance in the morning which entitles them to collect a day's pay, "lost time," from the UAW. Then they go out for lunch, also on the UAW, which is covered under the general heading of "expense." Very often they eat too much and sometimes drink too much and otherwise find important things to do so that many are unable to get back for the afternoon session. The UAW Region 1-A Skilled Trades Leadership Council Meeting here this week was no exception in this respect. Of the 80 delegates present, slightly more than half managed to make it back for the afternoon session.

Overtones of the early morning attack by Merrelli against DRUM carried over into the afternoon. One delegate, near the end of the meeting, rose to report "something that could be worse than DRUM." At this point such a statement was surprising and shocking. What could be worse? Well, it was explained that they are setting up these training schools down in the inner city to train these people that flunk the apprenticeship examinations. And "they" get 5 points just for going. Now this will give "these people" advantage and will be undemocratic.

Before the meeting adjourned one delegate, Pete Kelly, managed to introduce a note of moderation. He observed that many delegates had left the meeting or had not returned after the noon recess, and he thought this indicated a lack of interest in the special problems of black workers. He cited his experiences of discrimination against Irish Catholics and nationalists in the North of Ireland (right now a current problem attracting much attention) and suggested that those who want to be union leaders should try to understand the problems of black workers here. He registered his opposition to threats of violence against DRUM and the organization of "goon squads." He stated that, in his understanding of the matter, all this is against the principles of the UAW, and that it is not in the interest of strong unionism to start fighting brother members. He concluded that in his opinion there should be no room for prejudice, bigotry, or separatism.

Socialist joins council race in Detroit

DETROIT—A rally here March 10 kicked off the campaign of Paul Lodico, for the Detroit common council. The nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, Lodico has already been endorsed by a number of independent radicals and black liberation fighters.

While stressing local issues, Lodico emphasized their relation to the broader national and international questions. "The war in Vietnam," he said, "black oppression and the profits Chrysler Corporation makes in South Africa, affect Detroiters as pointedly, if not as visibly, as does the corporation's abuse of black workers at the Dodge plant."

At a March 4 news conference, Lodico developed some of the issues he will take up in the course of the campaign. "In a city," he declared, "where 425,000 people live in below-code housing, where only 30 percent of the high-school graduates attempt to go on to higher education, where the welfare department does not serve the needs of the impoverished, where the police are the real cause of 'crime in the streets,' where huge profits are made by the big corporations from the war in Vietnam, and where workers, especially black ones, face miserable working conditions and racist corporation and union officials, a positive alternative to the capitalist candidates is needed. "I will be in the forefront of the

"I will be in the forefront of the struggle for students, parents and workers to gain control over their schools, communities and jobs," he said. "I will help build mass actions against the war in Vietnam. I will support the **South End**, the revolutionary Wayne State University newspaper, and the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement. I will work with high-school students who are demanding the right to organize in their schools and tenants who are striking against their miserable living conditions."

Following Lodico's talk at the March 10 rally, a number of prominent Detroiters announced their support of the socialist campaign. These included John Watson, editor of the Wayne State *South End* who was recently fired from the Detroit *News*; Clean Peoples, an East Side tenant-union and rent-strike leader; James Lafferty, president of the Detroit Lawyers Guild and Beverly Bell, president of the Association of Black Students at Murray Wright High School and an editor of the city's revolutionary high-school newspaper, *The Black Student Voice*.

Other campaign supporters include Marc Stickgold, Midwest representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Professor David Herreshoff of Wayne State University; Tommye Weise, an editor of *The Fifth Estate*; Nick Medvecky of the *South End* staff; Ronald Reosti, head of Community Legal Counsel; and Joel Landy of the Open City project.

11 are sentenced in Puerto Rico

Eleven Puerto Rican youths, among them leaders of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI), were sentenced in Puerto Rico Feb. 28 to prison terms ranging from six to 14 months on each of three counts. They were found guilty of "inciting to riot," "malicious damage," and "conspiracy"—frame-up charges stemming from a student demonstration at the University of Puerto Rico in Sept. 1967.

The total prison terms could be as long as from 18 months to three years, depending on whether the sentences are served concurrently or consecutively. Among those sentenced were FUPI leaders Alberto Perez Perez and Florencio Merced, who both received one-year terms on each charge. The defendants are now free on \$3,000 bail, pending appeal to the Supreme Court.

Nine other defendants who were tried along with the 11 on charges stemming from the same demonstration were acquitted a week earlier. Five others are awaiting reconsideration of their case by the superior court.

On the day of the sentencing, hundreds of students at the University of Puerto Rico held a demonstration on the San Piedras campus to protest the sentences.



Concessions offered in 'black lung' fight

The West Virginia soft-coal miners' strike to force the inclusion of the dread "black lung" disease under the umbrella of workmen's compensation will probably have been settled before this issue of *The Militant* goes to press.

Just nine minutes before a mandatory end of the annual session, the West Virginia state senate passed a compromise bill recognizing black lung as an occupational disease. The governor is expected to sign the bill with little delay.

The bill, as passed by the state house of representatives, would have put the burden of proof on the state. The senate bill however, reverses this premise and places the burden on the miner.

According to a report received from a reader in West Virginia, "As one might have expected, the United Mine Workers of America is not supporting the strike." But it is heartening to learn that local unions of the UMW are involved.

However, the actual organization of the Black Lung Association was originally in the hands of Democratic politicians who "climbed on the black lung wagon" to make political hay. The fact that W. A. Boyle, president of the UMW, and his handpicked executive board allowed this to happen is another of the crimes which make the miners hate him.

What Boyle will do now in the fight for workmen's compensation for black lung is another question. He has used

Students support black strikers at Chapel Hill

By Andy Rose

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., March 10—A strike of black cafeteria workers at the University of North Carolina has moved into its third week with increasing support not only from radical students but also from faculty and townspeople.

The strike began on Sunday, Feb. 23, when workers walked off their jobs at one of the university's four cafeterias, and spread within the next few days to include all four. At the height of the walk-out, 140 employees participated. Since then, from 10 to 15 have returned to work. The university administration has managed to keep one cafeteria, Lenoir Hall, in operation by using white supervisors and student scabs.

During the first week of the strike, a boycott of Lenoir was called, and students continuing to eat there were given leaflets explaining the workers' grievances and requesting them to eat at nearby Manning Hall, where the striking workers serve free lunch and dinner, and solicit contributions for the strike fund.

Strike supporters, mostly members of the Black Student Movement, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, and graduate students in sociology and political science, stalled lines in Lenoir on Monday and Tuesday, March 3 and 4. Students attempting to break the boycott pushed their way through the stalled lines and tried to start fights; campus police looked the other way while one SSOC member was hit with a sugar holder. Ten stitches were required to close the gash in his head. Every chair and table in the cafeteria was then overturned.

The cafeteria remained closed the next day, but was reopened on Thursday—with the help of 20 local police and 50 state troopers—by order of Governor Bob Scott, who also called four companies of National Guard to active duty and who apparently hopes to gain popularity by cracking down on student activists.

Many graduate student instructors and faculty members have pledged to go on strike if an acceptable settlement of the workers' demands and removal of police are not achieved soon. The university's reply was that any striking faculty members would be fired.

The workers' demands include a pay raise, time-and-a-half for overtime, compensation for back pay denied them, and improved working conditions. The administration has met with the workers only twice since the strike began and refuses to allow representatives of the newly formed Non-Academic Employees Union to be present at negotiations.

The National Picketline

the expulsion route for other large segments of the union when they dared defy him. Six locals around Hazard, Kentucky, were kicked out of the international for fighting against the closing of the union-run hospitals in that area, and more recently he lopped off the huge District 50 when that catch-all division dared organize nuclear-power workers.

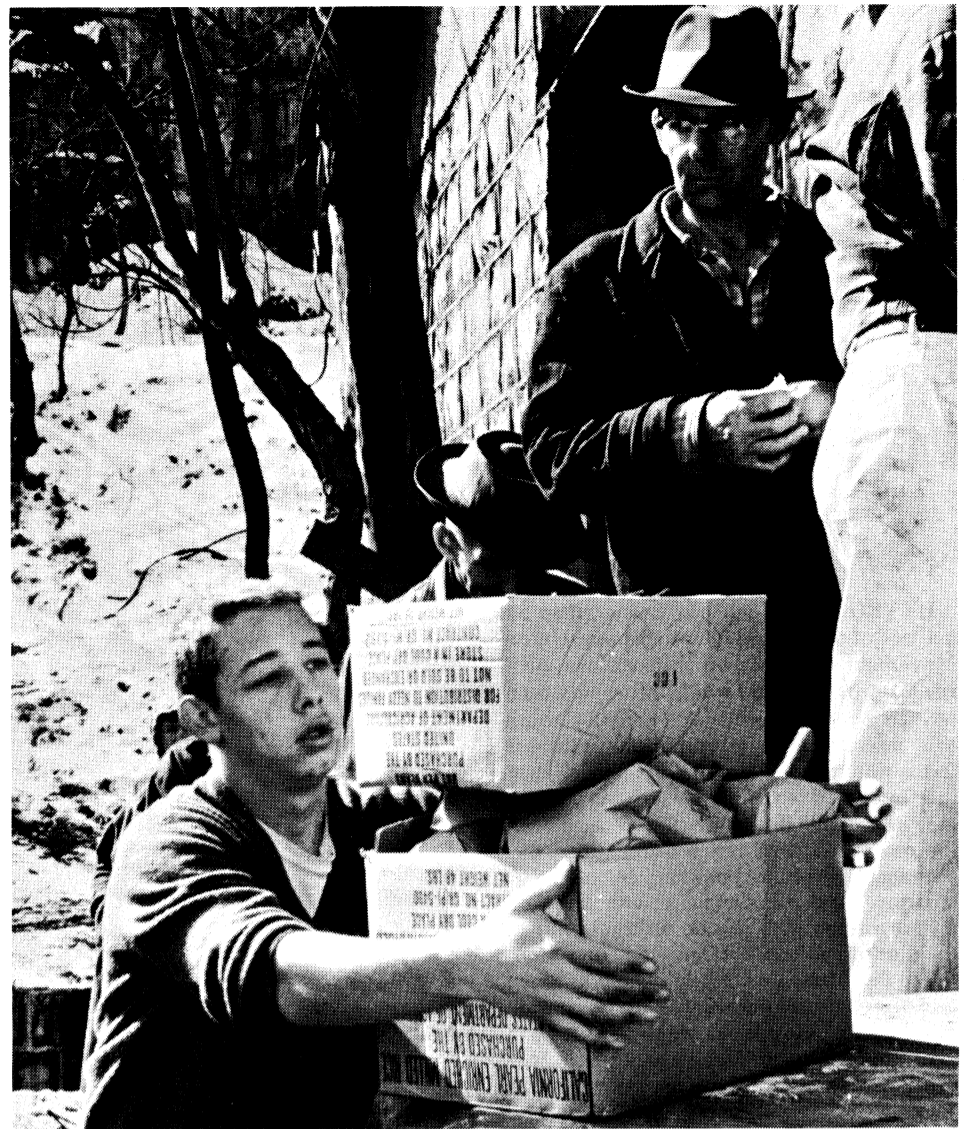
From a Minneapolis, Minn., reader comes word that 4,000 nonprofessional workers in 18 Twin City hospitals, members of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Union, Local 113, have won a new contract through direct negotiations. In all previous negotiations since the union was first recognized in 1942, issues have been thrown into arbitration.

The workers will get increases of 12 cents an hour across the board, 6 cents in adjustments and inequities, and 3 cents longevity pay for the first year, and a 10-cent-an-hour across-the-board increase and a \$10-a-year uniform allowance the second year.

Their hospitalization coverage has been doubled, year-round vacation schedules have been authorized, and labor-management meetings will be established.

The Ford Motor Company, whose chairman, Henry Ford III, assumed the top post in President Johnson's National Alliance of Businessmen—organized ostensibly to train "hard-core unemployed" for gainful employment—is now laying off hundreds of those workers in many plants throughout the country.

The UAW estimates that Ford has hired approximately 12,800 "hard-core unemployed." Now, in Detroit alone, 835 work-



A ROUGH LIFE. Unemployed coal miner receives miserable federal surplus-food ration.

ers have been tossed back on the jobless heap. These are all men who have worked a minimum of three months and are thus automatically members of the union. Nobody knows how many workers with less than three months' service have been fired.

Ford is beginning a systematic shutdown of its plants in all parts of the country for one to two days each week. It is doing this, according to a company spokesman, to cut down on its embarrassingly high inventory.

The *Wall Street Journal* says the Ford Company is embarrassed by the layoffs:

"Ford's sensitivity stems in part from its public stance early in the business community's efforts to hire the hard-core unemployed. . . . The company also stayed in the national spotlight with its strong immediate efforts to hire and train the hard-core jobless. . . .

"But economic realities apparently are beginning to make such corporate citizenship difficult. . . ."

Ironical, isn't it—the relationship between corporate profits and corporate citizenship?"

—Marvel Scholl

In passing...views and reviews

We often think of the national question in relation to the advanced capitalist countries (the Afro-American struggle in the U. S., the Quebecois struggle in Canada, etc.) or the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin American struggling against an imperialist power (the Vietnamese against U. S. domination, the Angolans against Portuguese domination, etc.).

Wilfred Burchett in his new book *Vietnam Will Win!* (A Guardian Book, \$2.45) points out that the question is by no means that simple.

"Among third world nations with mixed populations," Burchett writes, "as in many Latin American countries and in South Vietnam, in particular, the ethnic minorities occupy the strategic highlands areas, the natural guerrilla bases used in the first stages of most armed revolutions. The success of the NLF in smoothing out racial and religious contradictions thus was of extremely vital importance.

"Former Vietminh cadres have told me that not enough attention was paid to this question during the anti-French resistance war and as a result many difficulties arose in some of the minority areas—essentially the highly strategic Central Highlands which run like a spinal column down the whole length of South Vietnam's frontiers with Laos and most of the frontier with Cambodia up to the approaches to the Mekong Delta. In some areas, at that time, the Vietminh fell into traps set by France's 'divide and rule' tactics."

Throughout history the mountain tribespeople had known the Vietnamese only as tax collectors or as the police and troops who came in their wake. The French and now the U. S. have tried to exploit this anti-Vietnamese hostility.

Burchett says that the NLF is trying to solve the problem of unifying the struggle of the Montagnards for self-determination and the general war of national liberation of the Vietnamese as a whole by including in its program a proposal for an autonomous zone for the highland tribesmen.

Burchett's book provides more information on this and other topics from the point of view of one who is privy to NLF and North Vietnamese sources.

Two thought-provoking contributions to the Marxist critique of bourgeois culture appear in the November-December 1968 issue of *Radical America* (which, despite the date, is the current issue).

David Gross, in his "Toward a Radical Theory of Culture," writes that bourgeois culture "performs a valuable social function (for the rulers) by contributing (perhaps even unwillingly) to the solidification of the 'given' in society. This is clearly an unsatisfactory and unworthy role for culture to fulfill. The question now is what can be done about it." He goes on to propose a program for a counter-culture.

Jeremy J. Shapiro's "Notes on a Radical Theory of Culture" is a critique of Gross's article. One of his points is particularly cogent. Shapiro writes:

"The legitimization of the status quo by beautifying it is the chief cultural enemy of radicalism: the seduction of the masses by the erotic-aesthetic utopia of modern design, the sexual attraction of psychedelic colors." Shapiro indicates that he does not think radicals can compete with this cultural enemy on the bourgeoisie's own grounds.

I think Shapiro is wrong, however, when he states that unless radicals develop a radical psychotherapy to be integrated into a revolutionary program they will lose their constituency.

Those in the field who recognize the social roots of most psychological difficulties certainly have the obligation to combat the pernicious notion peddled by some bourgeois analysts that adaptation to the system is the key to emotional well-being. But, as with culture, there are very real limits to what can be accomplished this side of the revolution.

Wilhelm Reich's outlook on psychotherapy and analysis are worth repeating: "Because psychoanalysis, unless it is

watered down, undermines bourgeois ideology, and because, furthermore, only a socialist economy can provide a basis for the free development of intellect and sexuality alike, psychoanalysis has a future only under socialism."

(For a sub, write to *Radical America*, 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wis. 53703. \$3 a year.)

Militant readers will be interested in *The Black Dwarf*, the British socialist newspaper whose chief editor is Tariq Ali, a Trotskyist and the most prominent revolutionary youth leader in England.

The paper successfully blends traditional revolutionary journalism and the best that the underground press has to offer, integrating content and layout, choice of subject matter, and style of writing. The result is a really vibrant, high-level paper with flair.

The Black Dwarf is not the paper of a particular grouping. Fred Halliday writes in the Dec. 3 issue:

"The role that we now intend to play is a complex one, both reflecting, criticising and going beyond the left as it is now constituted. That we are not the organ of a party is a limit on what we can do, but there is a concrete role and a real need for a left-wing paper that simultaneously adopts a stance on political issues and reflects a diversity of opinions on the left."

The paper has articles on British politics, international politics, revolutionary theory, and cultural developments including rock, as well as having an extensive and interesting correspondence section. There is an absorbing article about a sculpture called *The Chair of Sociology* which depicts 85 sociologists placed in heaven, earth, purgatory or hell according to their academic respectability. Walt Rostow is way up in heaven and, naturally, Trotsky is way at the bottom of hell.

For a sub to *The Black Dwarf*, write to 7, Carlisle St., London, W.1 \$9.15 a year.)

—Malachi Constant

40 campus dates set for speaker on Cuba

NEW YORK — Students at more than 40 high schools, and colleges in New York State, New Jersey and Connecticut are organizing meetings for Dan Rosenshine, a member of the Young Socialist delegation that recently returned from five weeks in Cuba. Speaking on "Ten Years of Revolution! Cuba Today," Rosenshine began his two-month speaking tour of the tri-state area on Feb. 24 with a meeting at Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y.

In addition to the Harpur meeting, Rosenshine has already spoken to well attended meetings at St. Johns University in Brooklyn and C. W. Post College in Greenvale, N. Y., as well as to 60 enthusiastic students at Vassar College.

Rosenshine's rigorous tour schedule is largely a result of invitations from many student governments. A sizable proportion of the tour stops were arranged through mailings and direct contact with student-body presidents and student councils at schools throughout the three-state area. In most of these cases honorariums have been offered to Rosenshine which will help meet the expenses of the tour. Other meetings are being sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance campus groups, Afro-American and Puerto Rican groups, and various other student organizations.

Rosenshine will also speak at the March 14 Militant Labor Forum in New York (873 Broadway, 8:30 p.m.)

Junior and senior high-school Young Socialists from several New York schools are building a city-wide high-school meeting on Cuba for Saturday, March 22. In addition to Rosenshine, speakers at that meeting will include Derrick Morrison and Alfredo Pena, also members of the Cuba delegation, and Gavin Hill, a New York high-school student. The meeting will be held at 873 Broadway at 2:00 p.m.

To set up a meeting for Rosenshine, or for information on the tour, contact the Young Socialist Alliance, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003, (212) 982-6051.

CHICAGO — Robin Maisel, one of the team of YSA members who visited Cuba on invitation from the Cuban government during the month of January, spoke on his visit at Roosevelt University, Feb. 19.

He had an article on his visit to Cuba published in the university newspaper, *Roosevelt Torch*, Feb. 17.

Maisel also spoke at Northwestern University, Feb. 25, as part of a five-state tour he is going on, including high schools, churches, colleges and public forums.

The Great Society

New Constituency — We will stop repeating the old wheeze about starting a fire by rubbing two Boy Scouts together. A March 7 UPI dispatch from Santiago, Chile, reported: "A group of Boy Scouts seized scout headquarters today and proclaimed new directors to reform the movement 'to more effectively respond to the needs of the nation's youth.' The rebel Scouts were aided by some 20 adult leaders. The ousted directorate condemned the rebels for their 'most unscoutlike attitude' and demanded that they abandon the headquarters or face eviction by the police."

Investment Advice — "... some countries find that their economic wealth consists of copper, nickel, zinc or the like — and very little else. Which makes these countries protective of the wealth they do have. Which makes special problems for the North American companies who mine the wealth . . . the host governments sometimes nationalize or restrict foreign operations . . . Local labor is often susceptible to nationalistic appeals. Strikes can be long and violent; it's not easy to negotiate with workers who are willing to die for their mines . . ." From an ad by Dominick and Dominick, stock brokers who say they've figured out which countries are the least dangerous for mine investment.

The Strategists — Working on a \$100,000 grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, no less, Alexander Austin, research director of the American Institute on Education, is developing a question-and-answer system whereby colleges can screen out "protest-prone" student applicants. Working from a "data bank" containing information about 300,000 entering freshman, Austin concludes a student may well be protest-prone if he is intelligent, sensitive and socially conscious. The solution seems simple — a good I. Q. test that eliminates anyone above the moron category. (P. S. After writing this we read that the president of Brown University made precisely such a proposal.)

The Theoreticians — Chicago Crime Commission president Daniel Walker says it's important to distinguish between campus "idealists" and "radicals." "The idealists," he warned, "are accepting radical views that our society is sick and depraved and if we continue to stereotype them as radicals, we will drive them into the revolutionary camp."

The Far-Sighted — A March 10 News-

week article, "How to Deal With Student Dissenters," reports: "One president, John S. Toll of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, has set up his own 'student protest shelter' — a second secret office two minutes across campus from his official office. The shelter is equipped with a red carpet, Xerox machines and space for four secretaries."

Diverse Tactics — The coffin-nail industry is fighting on a number of fronts. Both American Tobacco and R. J. Reynolds Tobacco are dropping the dirty word from their name and are diversifying into other fields (cookies and bourbon, movies and hotels, etc.). They've also mapped a newspaper advertising campaign blandly asserting that it has yet to be established that smoking is a health hazard. But all of these are secondary tactics. The shrewdest is reported below.

The Addict-Makers — The Federal Trade Commission reported March 7 that new tests showed significant increases in cigarette tar and nicotine content. Senator Frank Moss of Utah called the findings "at best discouraging and at worst sinister." Noting that nicotine is closely related to the addictive quality of smoking, he said that "if the change proves to be deliberate, we can only assume that it reflects a conscious tactic to stem the trend toward giving up cigarette smoking . . ."

Keepers of the Morals — PAUSE (People Against Unconstitutional Sex Education) lost its bid for control of the Parsippany, N. J., school board in a local election but vowed their struggle will continue. A leading PAUSEman faces a libel suit for describing the school system as an "academic whorehouse" and branding school officials as displaying "mentalities of harlots, panderers and gangsters."

Witness Dismissed — The following is the conclusion of testimony of a black Pueblo crew member as reported in the *New York Times*, March 7: "Court counsel: 'Were you questioned about your life in the United States?' **Witness:** 'The duty officer would call me aside and ask me about life in the United States.' **Counsel:** 'Were they curious about your life, you think, because of your race?' **Witness:** 'Yes sir.' **Counsel:** 'What did you tell them?' **Witness:** 'I told them the way it was, sir.' **Counsel:** 'You told them the truth?' **Witness:** 'Yes sir.'"

— Harry Ring

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 552-1266.

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INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Rick Congress, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

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Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 17104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

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Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Peter Graumann, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.

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

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

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Rd., Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 476-0850.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA c/o Terrill Brumback, 18 Logan Circle N.W., Wash. D.C. 20005. Tel: (202) 387-5979.

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

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

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, Gruenhagen Hall, WSU, Oshkosh, Wisc. 54901.

L.A. schools hit by student strike

By Peter Seidman

LOS ANGELES, March 13—A police attack on a peaceful sit-in of students at Carver Junior High School here has sparked a massive revolt in the city's high schools, colleges and black community. According to eyewitness accounts, 150 club-swinging policemen attacked approximately 200 12- to 14-year-old students on Friday, March 7, when they sat down in front of the principal's office at the school to protest the "trespassing" arrest of a Black Student Union member from Southwest Junior College who had been invited onto the campus by the Carver BSU.

In protest against this assault, the meeting held that night by various groups and individuals in the black community, including the Black Student Alliance (the citywide coalition of college BSUs), the BYA (high-school Black Youth Alliance), the Black Panther Party, the NAACP, ministers and others, called for a boycott of classes to begin Monday, March 10.

This call resulted in the closing of at least two schools, Carver Junior High and Manual Arts High. There were demonstrations at all 11 junior and seven senior high schools in the south-central Los Angeles area.

There were also demonstrations and boycotts at many colleges in Los Angeles, including Santa Monica City College, Los Angeles Trade and Technical Junior College, Los Angeles City College and Cal State (Dominguez).

Absentee rates at several high schools were reported as high as 90 percent. According to the Los Angeles Times, "Normal absenteeism in the area high schools is 3,250; Monday it was 8,080. In junior high schools, normal absenteeism is 3,905; Monday it was 5,074."

Tuesday saw a continuation of the boycott. The boycott has been called indefinitely—until the demands of the BSA and other community groups are met. These demands include the exclusion of police from all campuses, the appointment of black principals and administrators, com-

munity control of the schools, punishment of the policemen guilty of violence at Carver, and creation of black studies courses.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Warren, vice-chairman of the BSA, stressed that this was a movement of the whole black community. "The citywide boycott is the natural evolution of our struggle," he said. "We have seen walkouts at single schools produce black principals, but the second-rate education remains. Black administrators can relate to the community, but as long as they are responsible to City Hall and not to us, that second-rate education will continue. The Carver incident was just a spark. Given the conditions, the boycotts would eventually have occurred anyway."

City Councilman Thomas Bradley, black liberal Democrat currently running for mayor, insisted on the need for "law and order." "Police must respond," he said, "when they are called by school authorities. . . . In this country, not even the church ground is sanctuary from the police."

When asked about the charges of violence, Warren stated, "What is violence is determined by the people in power. They don't consider the Vietnam war violence, or police patrolling their communities violence. We consider it violence that they are destroying the minds of young black children with their educational system, creating intellectual death, the furthest extreme of violence."

The BSA has attacked Bradley for what they call his "turncoat" stand. William Hathaway and Della Rossa, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and board of education, are the only candidates running in the April election who have denounced the police attack at Carver Junior High School. Their supporters are distributing a statement of support to the boycott and support of black control of the black community at high schools and colleges throughout the city.

Funds and statements of support are urgently requested by the Black Student Alliance. They should be sent to the BSA, 9804 South Vermont, Los Angeles, California 90044.

Demand community control in New York hospital fight

NEW YORK, March 12—On Monday, March 3, more than 100 workers in the mental-health services at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx took over administration of the mental-health projects of the hospital. The action came after a confrontation with the hospital administration, after four years in which the old administration failed to meet the needs of the Southeast Bronx community, which is largely black and Puerto Rican.

The workers, more than 90 percent black and Puerto Rican and most of them residents of the neighboring community, drew up 11 demands, including community control of the mental-health services' policies, effective community voice in the selection of the services' staff, and the reinstatement of four workers who had been arbitrarily fired.

The workers began to administer the entire project and obtained the technical assistance of many of the physicians, psy-

chologists and social workers who are supporting them.

Although the hospital's services were operating smoothly without the old administrative personnel, and the workers were beginning to work out procedures more relevant to the community, the city arbitrarily suspended operation of the services at Lincoln Hospital.

In an attempt to intimidate the professional supporters of the workers' takeover, Dr. Harris Peck, the official city administrator, issued a statement saying, "Professionals may be subject to possible malpractice action and may face danger of losing their licenses if they attempt to conduct services at Lincoln Hospital sites during the suspension."

On March 7, Peck ordered the workers to report to Jacobi Hospital, four miles away, for new work assignments. But as of today, the majority of workers were still at Lincoln, despite the threat to their jobs. Richard Weeks, the black administrator who was appointed by the workers, said, "We won't go," in response to Peck's directive.

The workers are mobilizing community support. They have reached 23 community agencies, numerous churches, and have effectively publicized their demands.

Prior to the action, Peck had been quoted in *Reader's Digest* as saying: "When there's a foot planted in the seat of my trousers to kick me out of here, I'll know we've succeeded. It will mean that the people want to take over the running of their own community. And that's the way it should be."

Now that his "wish" has become reality, Peck has changed his tune. On March 6 he said, "Community control is a long-range goal. But we don't think it's possible to implement it at this time."

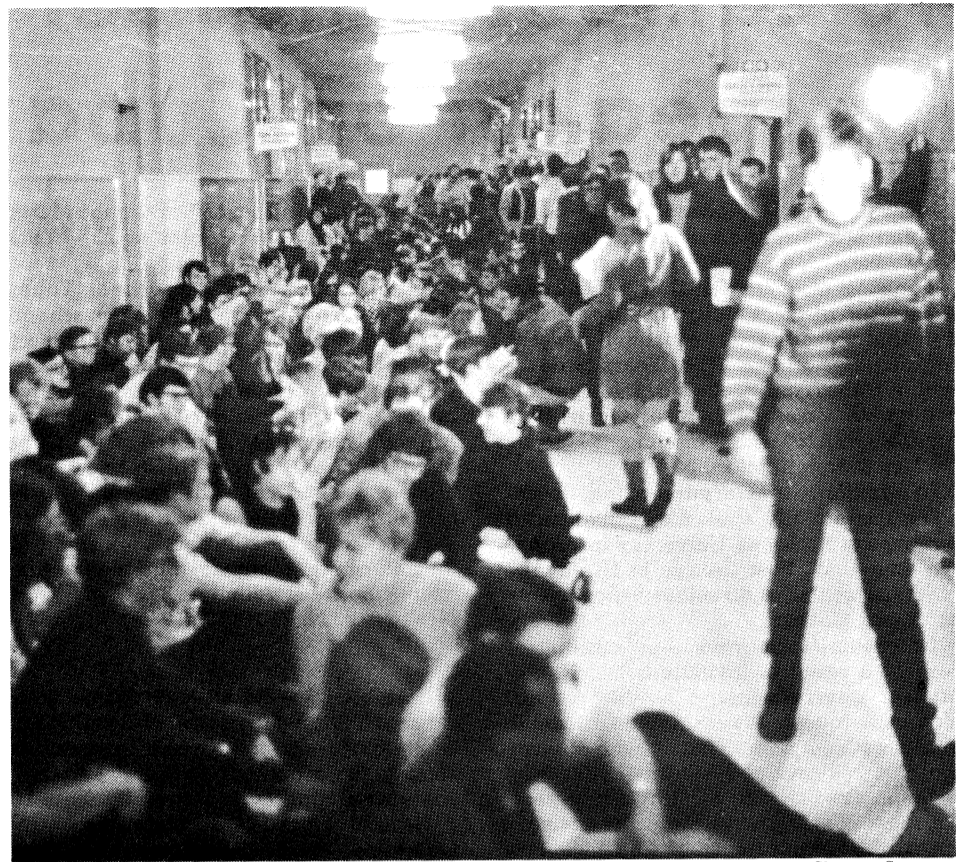


Photo by Sharon Sweeney

SEEK JUSTICE. Part of crowd of 1,000 U of Minnesota students who thronged Minneapolis courthouse demanding dropping of frame-up indictments of black student leaders.

U of Minn. students fight racist frame-up

MINNEAPOLIS, March 10—In response to a Hennepin County grand jury's indictment of three black University of Minnesota students last week, campus and community groups have united in a Liberation Coalition to "take action to mobilize the greatest possible support to oppose the indictments," including a Liberation Week March 31-April 3.

The indictments returned March 3 against Horace Huntley, Rose Mary Freeman, Warren Tucker Jr., and other, unknown persons referred to as "Richard Roe" and "Jane Doe," charged them with "aggravated criminal damage to property," "inciting to riot," and "unlawful assembly." The charges stemmed from the Jan. 14 occupation of the university administration building by members of the Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC), Young Socialists, SDS, and others. (See *The Militant*, Jan. 31).

Police arrested Huntley and Tucker at their homes on March 3 about 6:30 a.m. and Miss Freeman at about 1 p.m. that afternoon. That same afternoon, a spontaneous demonstration, which began with a black history class and grew to 300 students, marched to the courthouse and protested the indictments.

Members of more than a dozen organizations, including Young Socialists, SDS, student government, the Inter-Fraternity Council and Draft Resistance, organized for the following day a picket of the administration building, a noon rally of more than a thousand students in front of the student union, and a march of more than a thousand downtown to the courthouse. This was a surprising turn-out, considering that it was the last day of classes before finals, and the actions had been organized in less than 24 hours.

The students—chanting, "An injury to one is an injury to all" and "Drop the charges! Drop them now!"—marched down the streets, filling them from curb to curb for more than two blocks. They entered the courthouse and ran up the stairs to the county attorney's office on the fourth floor, chanting and raising their arms in clenched fist and victory salutes.

After waiting for 90 minutes to see County Attorney George Scott, who was "out to lunch," the students presented a petition with 700 signatures on it to Alderman Gerald Hegstrom. They then left in a body and marched back to the campus, chanting, "Let 'em go! Right Now!"

That evening, a meeting of representatives from more than a score of organizations, as well as individual activists, was convened by the interim steering committee elected the night before. On this committee were Joe Kroll, the Minnesota Student Association president; Diana Johnstone,

a faculty member; Sharon Sweeney, a non-affiliated student; Peer Nyberg, SDS; and Young Socialists Derrel Myers and Lee Smith. The evening meeting unanimously approved the interim steering committee's proposal for a "Liberation Week" the second week of classes next quarter (March 31 to April 3). April 3 is the date when Rose Mary Freeman has her next hearing.

On the afternoon of March 9, an expanded steering committee met to present proposals for a structure and a policy statement to a mass meeting at 6 p.m. that evening. The mass meeting approved the proposal for five working committees and a 25-member steering committee with representatives of the working committees, AAAC, student government, radical groups, fraternities and sororities, high schools, community groups, and faculty.

The meeting also adopted the name "Liberation Coalition" along with the following policy statement:

"We oppose the politically motivated indictments of three black university students by the Hennepin County grand jury.

"We demand that all charges be dropped against Rose Mary Freeman, Horace Huntley, Warren Tucker Jr., Richard Roe, Jane Doe et al.

"We will take action to mobilize the greatest possible support to oppose the indictments."

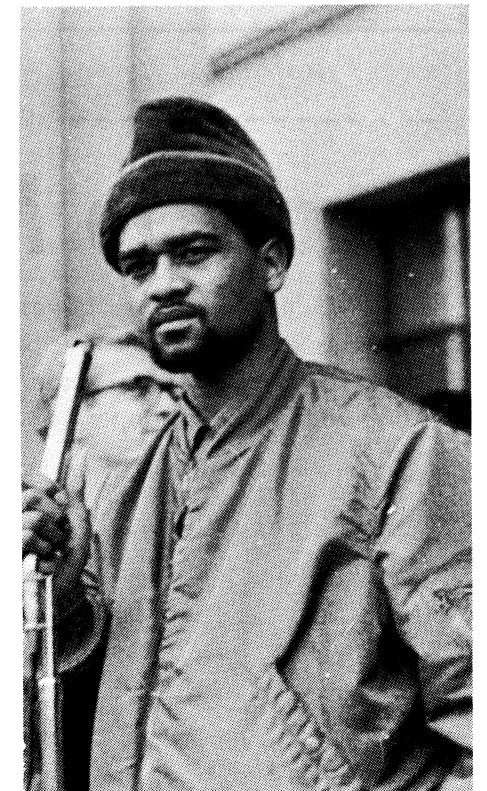


Photo by Sharon Sweeney

Horace Huntley

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, March 13—About 20 students of the Albert Einstein School of Medicine have begun a sit-in at the office of Dr. Milton Rosenbaum, director of the department of psychiatry, in support of the workers at Lincoln Hospital. Einstein is the medical school of Yeshiva University, which administers Lincoln Hospital for the city. About 30 other students are mobilizing further support against the hospital administration's policy and in support of the Lincoln Hospital workers.