

THE MILITANT

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In reply to SDS rhetoric

— pages 8-9

PL ducks women's liberation fight

— page 4

Token pullout met with demand: Bring all the troops home now!

The action taken by the Seattle antiwar movement welcoming home the first contingent of GIs withdrawn from Vietnam, and exposing the hoax that the so-called "withdrawal" represents, sets an example for the entire antiwar movement in the United States.

Nixon hopes to swindle the opponents of the war into believing that he is vigorously pursuing any and all opportunities for ending the war; that everything's all over now but the gradual withdrawal of U. S. troops down to the last man.

Nothing could be more dangerous than to accept such a myth. American men and Vietnamese men, women and children continue to die every day, every hour, every minute as the U. S. policy of maximum military pressure on the "enemy" is maintained. The only thing Nixon is "vigorously pursuing" is more freedom from pressure created by the antiwar sentiment in the U. S.

Every action, every rally, every leaflet distributed by the antiwar movement means just that much less time for the U. S. rulers to try to destroy the Vietnamese will to fight.

It is crucial that mass actions representing the antiwar sentiment of the vast majority of Americans continue to be built, continue to demand that *all* the men be brought home, not just a few thousands who would have to come home anyway.

Even the *New York Times*, not known for its sympathy to the organized antiwar forces, was constrained to report July 11 that when the Seattle demonstrators chanted "Bring them all home now," "to some people in the crowd, the chant appeared to express their private feelings." See story from Seattle, page 10.



Young Socialist Alliance greets GIs in Seattle

'Peace fiesta' in Hayward, Calif.

Three hundred in antiwar action

Hayward, Calif.

The city of Hayward was jarred from its apathy for the second time this year when the Hayward Committee to End the War staged another major antiwar activity on July 4. With the sun shining and the park filled with people, the "Hayward peace Fiesta" attracted about 300 persons. Most of those present were high school students out on summer vacation.

The major speakers included Jack Bloom, one of the Berkeley Three; David Hilliard, chief of staff of the Black Panther Party; Todd Gitlin, past SDS spokesman; Frank Grinnon and Laura Durtz, YSAers; and a GI stationed at the Oakland Induction Center.

For an antiwar gathering, it was pretty low-key. With the exception of the two YSAers and the antiwar GI, none of the speakers addressed themselves to the war in Vietnam directly. Since most of the audience were young students, it was a good opportunity to motivate them to organize against the war. Instead, Bloom, Hilliard and Gitlin chose to talk about Marxism, fascism and imperialism in the abstract, all of which those in the audience knew little about.

Frank Grinnon, a YSAer from Berkeley, and Laura Durtz, a member of the San Francisco YSA still in high school, both addressed themselves to the imperialist war and how high school students could organize against the war on their campuses. In addition, Grinnon criticized national SDS for abstaining from the antiwar movement and challenged them to prove their anti-imperialist sentiments by opposing (by deed, as well as word) the imperialist war in Vietnam.

The remainder of the program included rock music, a folk singer who sang an antiwar song, and free food. A YSA table was set up with literature, buttons, and a petition addressed to President Nixon demanded the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Many young people signed it. About 50 Militants were sold, and many Hayward Socialist Summer School brochures were handed out.

Gerald Clark

Cop riot against Rockefeller pickets

New York, N. Y.

A demonstration against Gov. Rockefeller July 9 resulted in a minor police riot along the southeast side of Central Park. The police pretext for the club-swinging and arrests was the fact that the leaders of the demonstration brought everyone out into the street, with arms linked, at 59th St. and Fifth Ave., even though it was apparent that this was simply inviting an attack.

The demonstration was sponsored by a coalition including SDS, Youth Against War and Fascism and other groups. The 300 demonstrators chanted "Jail Rocky," "Free Huey," and "Power to the People."

Claiming some rocks had been thrown at them, the cops charged the demonstrators. I personally saw one pig trip a demonstrator; three policemen severely beat one demonstrator who tried to protect his girlfriend when they attempted to pull away her sign.

Before the cops could get any more sadistic thrills, the confused mass of demonstrators and police surged up Sixth Ave., an area of several fashionable hotels and restaurants. Seeing the terror and confusion their actions were causing among the wealthy diners and strollers, the police separated themselves from the protesters and methodically herded them back into the park. Busloads of tactical

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.

patrol force remained in the area and perpetrated scattered violence against the young people until around midnight.

Twelve people were arrested and I heard one cop say that nine policemen had to receive first-aid treatment; perhaps they had to be treated for the blisters they got on their hands from swinging their nightsticks around.

Ted Parsons

Incisive comment

Columbia Heights, Minn.
Dear Reds:

Do (sic) to the fact that this letter is from the **right**, you probably won't have the intestinal fortitude to put it in your **pink** paper.

Did you **pinkos** ever stop to think why they put that wall between Germany? In case you stoops don't know, let me hasten to explain. They built it to keep their own people from escaping! Can't you see that communism is the wave of the **past**?

Don't you know that Gus Hall has it said in one of his lousy books that when the communists take over the world (Of course that will never happen!) that they will have to destroy 90 percent of the American communists because if they would **betray** their own country, we could never trust them!

Why fight to get slavery (communism) when what you got here is so damn much better. **Wake up!**
L. G. B.

Population plans

San Francisco, Calif.

Harry Ring's article on the "overpopulation" hoax (*The Militant*, May 23) was quite good as far as it went but there are many aspects of the question of ecological balance that he did not go into. He dealt only with present food surpluses and the immediate maldistribution of food. When he dealt with the future it was only with the statement that in developing countries food production is now growing as fast as the annual birth rate. He in no way attempted to deal with possible future limits of food production or with resources other than food such as are necessary to industrialize or with planning other than the idea of distribution according to need.

At present growth rates the world's population will top six billion by the turn of the century; it will be double what it is now in just 30 years. What kind of population plans should be made

and what kinds of goals established? Most workers states make five- or 10-year plans. You could make a 30- or 100-year plan. You could establish short term goals that would shift progressively toward long term goals. Eventually, given our limited environment, a goal of no increase will have to be established. Each couple would ideally, with a sense of responsibility toward their fellow man, choose to limit themselves to two children. But for women to do this means to redefine their roles. Instead of only the child-bearing and child-rearing role, their roles will have to be dual. Some other kind of meaningful work must be available and not at the lowest wages as it is in most of the world now and with little or no advancement.

Our value system calls for equality and self-determination. Women are considered citizens. To establish these values for women in the economy and power structure would mean a threat to privileged male positions and male authority in the family that is based on economic superiority, unless the whole system of work were changed. A degree of job rotation would have to be introduced leading toward the abolition of the division of labor. These problems are some of the objective factors behind the subjective militancy arising around women's rights today.

If we advocate the democratic right of free choice in family planning as a value—then why doesn't *The Militant* advocate the extension of national family planning services to the rest of the world? Right now only approximately 25 countries have such programs.

Joan Jordan

Indian liberation front

New York, N. Y.

Another voice of a third-world people is now being published in the United States—*The Renegade*, newspaper of the Survival of American Indians Association, which carries news about the struggle of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest to maintain their treaty-protected fishing rights. The state of Washington has chosen to ignore these treaties with the U. S. Government, arresting and brutalizing Indians who fished in their traditional Nisqually River fishing area.

The Renegade also has news about protests against the super-exploitation of Indians that occurs in the U. S. Army; disproportionate numbers of Indians are drafted, and their combat deaths are even more disproportionate to those of whites.

The Renegade can be obtained for \$5 a year. Address is Franks Landing, Nisqually, Wash. 98501.

At the opposite corner of the United States, *The Great Speckled Bird*, an Atlanta underground and radical weekly, had a great cover for its June 30 issue, commemorating the 93rd anniversary of an important event: "June 25, 1876—The victory of the Sioux Liberation Front over the imperialist U. S. Army led by Gen. George Custer."

James Arket

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 33—No. 30



Friday, July 25, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was July 18

A reply to the Anti-Defamation League

On June 16 Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, wrote a letter to the New York Times responding to a previous letter to the Times by Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League. On July 5, the Times published an edited and highly abbreviated version of Paul Boutelle's letter. For the information of our readers we are publishing the complete text of his letter.

* * *

I wish to respond to the letter in your May 28 issue from Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in which Mr. Forster makes reference to the Socialist Workers Party in what I regard to be a defamatory manner.

Writing in support of the idea that the Justice Department "carefully examine the activities of the estimated 10,000 Arab students in the U. S. to ascertain possible violations of visa requirements," Mr. Forster among other things asserts that Organization of Arab Students "has participated in the U. S. Committee Against War (controlled by the Socialist Workers Party) . . ."

There are two simple factual errors involved here. The first is that the Socialist Workers Party does not "control" or seek to control, any other organization. Secondly, I am quite certain that no organization called "U. S. Committee Against War" even exists. The fact that Forster drags in the name of the Socialist Workers Party is in line with the ADL's recent defamation of the SWP, falsely labeling our anti-Zionist stand as anti-Semitic. The Socialist Workers Party is unalterably opposed to anti-Semitism. At the same time, it views Zionism as politically injurious to rank-and-file Arabs and Jews alike.

The creation of Israel perpetrated a grave injustice against the Arab people of Palestine, forcing them from their homeland and creating the seeds of future wars. No standard of justice can demand that the Arabs suffer oppression because anti-Semitic barbarities were inflicted on the Jews of Europe.

The exclusively Jewish state of Israel is totally dependent on the Western capitalist nations, especially the United States. It is correctly seen by the majority of oppressed people in the world as the outpost of imperialism in the Middle East.

To end the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs and to avoid yet another tragedy for the Jews, the Israeli working people must link up their future with the revolutionary struggles and aspirations of the Arab masses. The state of Israel must be de-Zionized and a socialist Palestine established, part of a united, socialist federation of the Mideast, with full rights for the Jewish minority. Far from being anti-Semitic, our support to the Palestinian liberation struggle and the Arab revolution is simply justice.

We do not presume to speak for the Arab students who were attacked by Forster. But we would make these observations: Forster's endorsement of "some sort of inquiry" into the activities of the 10,000 Arab students in the U. S. for the purpose of deportation proceedings is indeed a witch-hunt proposal, though he may deny it.

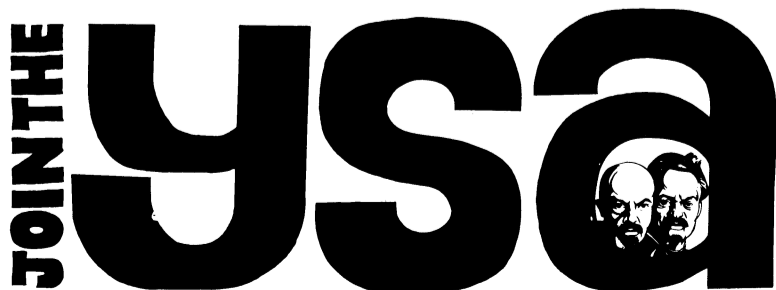
Forster's attack on the Organization of Arab Students for being against the war in Vietnam is one example. Does Forster consider antiwar activities "extremist" and cause for deportation?

Similarly, Forster attacks the O. A. S. for comparing the Arab struggle to what the O. A. S. characterizes as "the progressive revolutions of China, Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam." Thousands of Americans also have the same position.

These charges that Forster has leveled against the Arab students reveal the reactionary stance that his pro-Zionist position leads to. This should give pause for thought to those who have accepted the notion of a progressive Zionism.

And the ADL would better live up to its name if it avoided engaging in defamation of its own.

Paul Boutelle
Socialist Workers Party



IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA . . .

clip and mail

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

I would like more information I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

Panther leader wins freedom in Santa Ana case

By Bill Lindner

SANTA ANA, Calif.—Michael Lynem was released from jail July 3 after an indictment charging him with murder of a policeman was dropped at the request of Orange County district attorney Cecil Hicks.

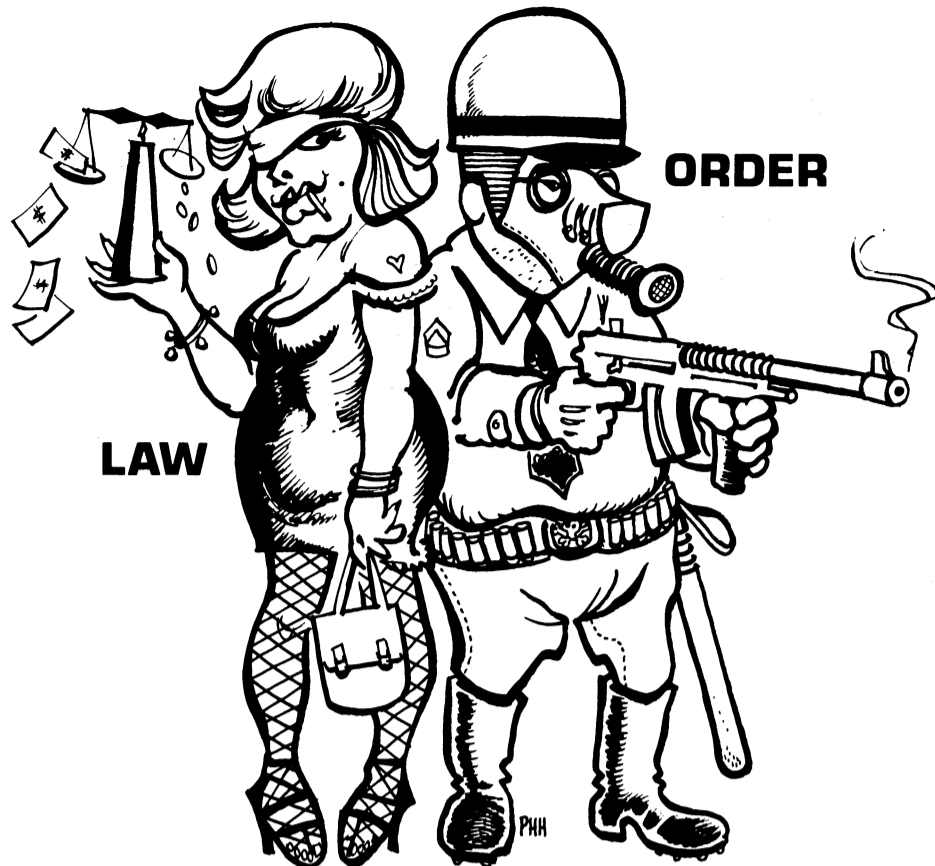
Lynem had been held without bail for four weeks while the police conducted a terror campaign in the black community and tried desperately to build a case against the three Black Panther Party members they had charged with murder. Only Lynem had been apprehended.

Upon his release, Lynem, who is Panther lieutenant of communications in Santa Ana, said, "I knew from the beginning it was political because of my activities with the party, I knew I was railroaded from the start, but I was worried. It's real good to be out of jail; now I'll continue the struggle."

The indictment against Odis Grimes was also dropped.

Still in effect is the murder indictment of Arthur League. In reporting this fact to the press, District Attorney Hicks made clear the political motivation of the prosecution. He stated that the basic facts of the murder remain the same and that the policeman "was killed as a result of Black Panther activity."

The dropping of charges against Lynem and Grimes is not only an admission of the prosecution's inability to concoct a case against them, but also a response to the public outcry against the attempted frame-up. The prosecution apparently hopes to convince the people of their objectivity at the same time that they continue



their attempt to silence the Black Panther Party.

Hicks said hopefully that dropping of charges should put to rest the suggestion that the police department is willing to prosecute anyone, as long as he is black. "This sort of talk," he asserted, "was foolish, irresponsible and false."

Hicks was backed up by Santa Ana police chief Edward Allen, who piously announced that the investigation was a "search for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth . . . The color of a man's skin has nothing whatever

to do with guilt or innocence or the relentless pursuit of the truth." That is from the same cop who stated at the beginning of the case that civil rights, lawlessness, and academic freedom "all come out the same thing."

The dropping of charges is a heartening victory for the defense, but it is a partial victory. The murder charge stands against League and the police "investigation" continues. Even Lynem is not really safe. Hicks said that whether he will be charged with any offense will be determined in the next few days.

Stock price drop points up economic uncertainties

By Ed Smith

JULY 15—Last week's plunge of stock prices on Wall Street underlined the "highly nervous and sensitive state" of the stock market. The words in quotes are those of *New York Times* financial editor Thomas Mullaney, July 13. "The market is weighed down with numerous cares and uncertainties," Mullaney continued.

In the last two months the Dow-Jones average has dropped about 116 points—or 12 percent. This is the biggest slide of stock prices since the "mini-recession" of 1966-67 when the market declined 23 percent over a seven-month period.

The "cares and uncertainties" of the men on Wall Street center on three big worries: inflation, recession and continued war. A combination of bad news on all three concerns stepped up the stock-price slide last week.

It is unusual in the history of capitalism that news of continued war and rapid inflation send stock prices down instead of up, but this all the more emphasizes the critical state of the American economy.

The rapid rise of U.S. prices, caused largely by the war itself, has placed key sectors of American industry in extreme jeopardy in international competition.

At the same time, though, the specter of U.S. "disengagement" from its South East Asian adventure is as threatening

as the specter of continued involvement. Reduction of military spending would mean the curtailment of that element of effective demand that has sustained the boom since 1965.

The business community is well aware of the mood of the American people. As *New York Times* correspondent B. Drummond Ayres put it July 13, "Withdrawal seems to be what the American public desires. Almost certainly a pullout momentum will develop." In fact, it was Nixon's less than token level troop withdrawal two months ago that precipitated the present stock market slide.

Coupled with the fears of mounting inflation and a "pullout momentum" are uncertainties of businessmen about a possible sudden reversal and sharp economic downturn with a consequent profit decline. The old saw about "the bigger the boom, the bigger the bust" is not a great exaggeration about the realities of the capitalist business cycle.

The more production increases right now—and it is soaring, along with the inflation—and the more goods and productive capacity corporations pile up, the greater will be the production cut backs and consequent lay offs when overproduction takes its toll.

Business Week spelled all this out in its "Business Outlook" column, July 12: "Despite the current strong performance of the economy, a new factor can now be plugged into business forecasts: uncertainty."

"Until now, inflationary psychology was so strong—and the signs of strength in the economy so obvious—that forecasts of slowdown were largely ignored. . . But now there are a growing number of signs to give a little more credence to economists' forecasts of slowdown—or possibly even recession."

Finally, the capitalists were impelled into last week's gloom by the failure of the Senate to quickly ratify the income-tax surcharge which the House voted through on June 30. Financiers and economic specialists in Washington alike are banking heavily on this tax measure to cool the inflationary fire.

"Although the health of the economy clearly requires the tax continuance," Mullaney commented in the July 13 *Times* article, "the Senate Finance Committee apparently intends to tie the extension bill to tax reforms. That means considerable delay—and potential chaos in the financial markets."

Atlanta socialist rejects invite to July 4th parade

The following statement was issued July 11 in Atlanta, Ga., by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta.

I was invited along with the other mayoralty candidates to ride in a "Salute to America" parade on July 4 sponsored by WSB-TV. I declined this invitation not because I am opposed to the revolutionary traditions of July 4 but rather because I feel that this parade did not in any way represent those traditions. The men and women who struggled against British rule in 1776 were revolutionary fighters with the highest of ideals. They were the liberation fighters of their generation engaging themselves in a battle against oppression and a victorious movement for national independence. There is nothing in common between these sons and daughters of Liberty and today's standard Fourth of July orators. The run-of-the-mill politicians and beneficiaries of privilege who attempt to claim the heritage of our first revolution strike me as imposters. Nobody can sell me on a parade or speaker that portrays the start as the finish and the promise as the fulfillment.

And especially at this time, when over 500,000 American troops are in Vietnam attempting to crush a national liberation struggle, those who call for less than the unconditional self-determination of the Vietnamese people have no place at my kind of Fourth of July celebration. They would have been the adversaries of our revolutionary forefathers.

On the same day as the parade, hundreds of antiwar activists from all over the country gathered in Cleveland to discuss how to combat American intervention in Vietnam and agreed on plans for a "Fall Offensive" against the war. The plans call for support to a series of actions including a demonstration on Sept. 27-28 in Chicago and culminating in a massive antiwar march on Washington, D. C. on Nov. 15.

I support these proposed actions and will dedicate my campaign to helping publicize them. These actions are genuinely in the Spirit of '76 and their success will be the best salute that can be paid to America.

Blanco urges backing for Peru victims

By Mary-Alice Waters

Following a bloody clash that took place in the city of Huanta, Peru, in which 13 were killed and at least 45 wounded, the majority of them critically, Hugo Blanco and three other political prisoners being held in the island prison of El Fronton in the Lima harbor issued a special appeal for solidarity with the people of Huanta.

According to a story that appeared in the June 23 issue of *La Prensa*, a Lima daily, the events of June 22 began in Huanta with a demonstration by peasants and university and secondary students. They were protesting the arrest of their leader Mario Cavaliante, who *La Prensa* indicated was "affiliated with the communists." Cavaliante had been arrested several days earlier, accused of instigating a week-long strike demanding free education by the secondary students of Huanta and nearby Ayacucho.

The subprefect of Huanta apparently disappeared on the day of the demonstration, and it was rumored that he was being held by the peasants in order to reinforce their demand for the release of Cavaliante.

Following the demonstration in Huanta, the crowd marched off toward the Civil Guard post. The sergeant in charge ordered them to halt, saying they could not walk along the street.

The police apparently then opened fire, killing five of the demonstrators.

According to the report in *La Prensa*, "some peasants went back towards the Plaza de Armas, while others went towards the offices of the PIP (Peruvian Investigating Police), which were empty, and, taking advantage of this fact, burned and destroyed the headquarters. At the same time the peasants blew up two bridges on the road to Ayacucho and another about 25 kilometers on the road to Mayo . . .

"At the Plaza de Armas where the peasants had dug in . . . there was another encounter with the police. There eight peasants died."

In an appeal received by the USLA Justice Committee, the four prisoners at El Fronton stated:

"Today repression, as fierce as ever, is unleashed against Huanta which had the courage to rebel. We ask the Peruvian people for solidarity with Huanta and Ayacucho . . . At this time all solidarity with Peru should be translated into solidarity with Huanta. Each minute can cost a life or a home.

"End the repression of Huanta and Ayacucho! Liberty to the prisoners of Huanta and Ayacucho!"

The so-called "revolutionary" military junta of Peru, with its expropriation of U.S. petroleum interests and promised land reform, is showing its true nature to the Peruvian people with little delay.



UNWANTED. The British government, in obvious collusion with the U.S. government, last week refused entrance to Bermuda to New York SWP mayoral candidate Paul Boutelle. Boutelle had gone to Bermuda to attend the International Regional Conference on Black Power. On arrival he, along with others from the U.S., discovered his name was on a list of 200 or 300 possible participants who were to be denied entrance. Over 100 marines were shipped to Bermuda by the British government in preparation for the conference.

CALENDAR

DETROIT

CUBA ANNIVERSARY RALLY. Dance, Food, Cuban Music. Speaker: Peter Camejo, recently returned from three-month visit to Cuba. Fri., July 25, 8 pm, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. employed 75c, unempl. and students 35c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

NEW YORK

VIVA CUBA. Authentic Cuban dinner, 6 pm, \$1.25. Films made by Santiago Alvarez, noted Cuban film artist: Hanoi, March 13 and History of a Battle. Films start 9 pm, \$1. Fri., July 25, 873 B'way (near 18th St.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

CELEBRATE THE 26TH OF JULY. Cuban dinner 7 pm. Robin Maisel, recent visitor to Cuba, will be after-dinner speaker. Party 9 pm., incl. slides of Cuba. Sat., July 26, 2228 Spruce St. (air-conditioned). Dona. \$2.50 incl. dinner. Ausp. YSA and SWP.

An unvarnished history (IX)

PL and the women's liberation movement

By Mary-Alice Waters

Progressive Labor has taken a position on the women's liberation movement which, to no one's surprise, parallels their anti-black-nationalist stance.

But a demand that universities stop their discriminatory practices and hire more women as professors, deans, top administrators, etc., is a prime example of what PL labels a petty-bourgeois, individualistic, counterrevolutionary line.

PL's approach to the women's liberation movement reveals a total ignorance of history and Marxism on this question—on the most fundamental level.

The family

In the section dealing with the family we find the flat statement, "The family does not have to be primarily reactionary.

The statement is made in the context that the wives of workers can sometimes be organized to support their husbands in strike struggles.

The classical work on this question is Engels' 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.'

PL apparently still fails to grasp almost a century later—that the family is an institution based on the needs of class society in all its forms from slavery, to feudalism, to capitalism, that it did not exist prior to class society, and that it will cease to exist in anything resembling its current form after class society has been abolished.

Just as there are some "good" individual bosses, there are also "good" individual family members among whom personal relationships are not based on coercion and hate.

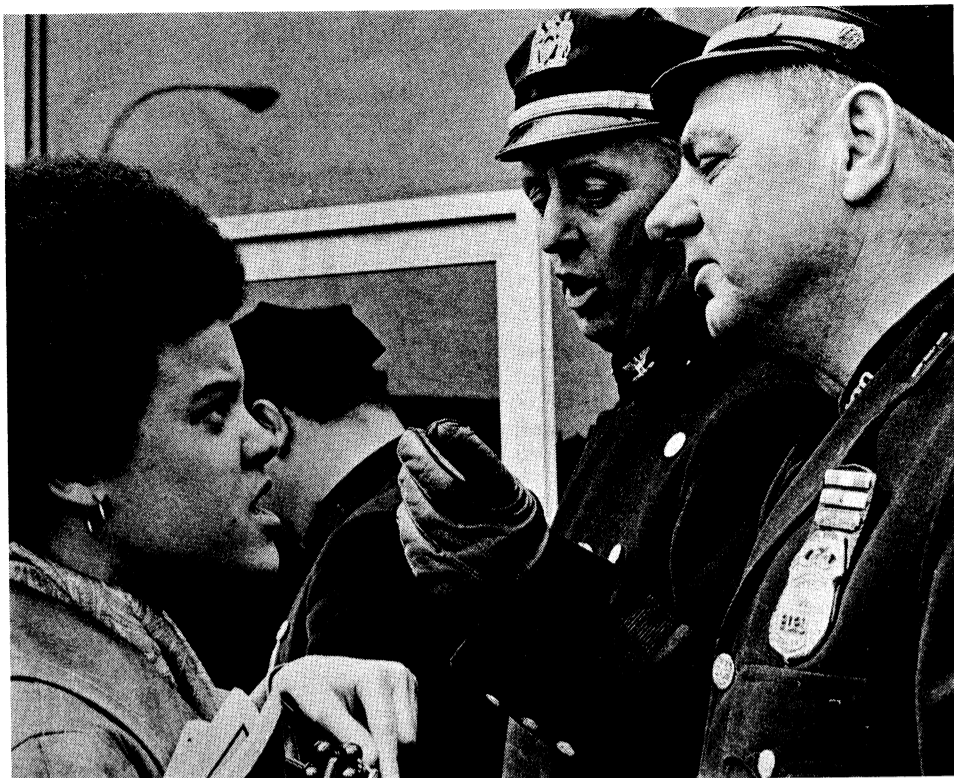
To make the example sharper, it might be added that just as some individual capitalists (like Engels!) can be won to the fight to abolish the capitalist system entirely, so individual family members (a category to which there are very few exceptions!) can also be won to the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and all its oppressive institutions, including the family.

Roots of female oppression

The family system is central to any discussion of women's liberation because, contrary to what PL implies, male chauvinism and female oppression are not the fruits of capitalist society alone, but of class society in general.

The specific form of the family—as the specific form of private property and the state—has varied according to the prevailing level and form of production, but its essence has remained unchanged as class society has evolved.

The patriarchal, monogamous family arose at that point in history when man's productive capacities had developed to the point that the product of his collective labor was greater than his minimal needs



FIGHTING BACK. Oppression of women, like racism, is a fundamental part of capitalist society. It is a sign of the deepening general radicalization that the struggle for women's liberation is growing.

of food, clothing, shelter and replacement of tools—that is the first appearance of a social surplus. This meant that some people no longer had to work, but could live off the labor of others.

Prior to the development of class society, the forms of social organization were matriarchal, productive property was communal, the state was nonexistent, heredity was determined through the mother's side, not the father's, and women held an economic and social position equal to man's.

Women and class society

But, as Engels explained, all this was changed by the emergence of private property and the institution of the patriarchal, monogamous family. Monogamy, Engels explained, "was the first form of the family based not on natural but on economic conditions, namely, on the victory of private property over original, naturally developed, common ownership.

And as a necessary corollary to monogamous marriage came the parallel institutions of prostitution and adultery—and all the neuroses, psychoses and other miseries resulting from the suppression of sexuality that is imposed on each individual from birth.

The terms in which Marx and Engels denounced the reactionary nature of the monogamous family were scathingly accurate.

"The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male. Monogamy was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth, that epoch, lasting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of the one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other.

A little later Engels states, "The modern family is based on the open or disguised domestic enslavement of the woman." While the advent of large-scale industry has opened the door for woman to reenter the productive process and gain her economic freedom, as long as the basic economic unit of society remains the family she is forever caught in the insoluble contradiction that "when she fulfills her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and cannot earn anything; and when she wishes to take part in public industry and earn her living independently, she is not in a position to fulfill her family duties. What applies to the woman in the factory applies to her in all professions, right up to medicine and law." (Emphasis added.)

a dominating position which requires no special legal privileges. In the family, he is the bourgeois; the wife represents the proletariat."

"The first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry; and . . . this again demands that the quality possessed by the individual family of being the economic unit of society be abolished."

But this will only happen with the abolition of private property, an institution as reactionary as the family which it brought into existence. When there is no need for parents to possess and control their offspring like one more piece of private property; when children are cared for, educated and loved by society as a whole; when housekeeping is turned into a social industry and women are freed to enter the productive world as equals with men—then and only then will women be liberated and free to develop as fully productive human beings.

The family and psychology

Marx and Engels dealt primarily with the socio-economic function of the modern family. But 20th century developments in the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis have since added voluminous proof of the reactionary function of the family institution in the psychological respect as well. Studies such as those done by Wilhelm Reich in the early 30s in Austria and Germany on the role and importance of the authoritarian family in relation to the sex education of children, and the sexual misery of adolescents; Reich's studies dealing with the role of the family in relation to the rise of fascism; analyses by Trotsky, Reich and other of the crisis of the family that rapidly emerged in the Soviet Union in the first years after the revolution and the speed with which the Stalinist reaction reintroduced repressive laws on sexual behavior and rights of women—such contributions provide much valuable material for Marxists who are genuinely concerned with the question of one of the most basic institutions of class society.

With the abolition of private property the authoritarian, monogamous family will not disappear immediately, any more than the state will vanish. Prejudices, habits and education are too deeply ground into human beings for them to be erased overnight. But the economic and authoritarian enslavement of women and children will be abolished, and conditions will be created in which the hatred and coercion and deep antagonisms which are built into the family relationship can be eradicated, in which it is possible for human relationships based on love, care and mutual respect to exist. Far from leading to regimentation of life and personal relations, socialism will provide for the fullest flowering of freedom and genuine human warmth between individuals.

Progressive Labor's failure to understand the Marxist approach to the family system and the role it has played historically in the suppression of women is fundamental to their inability to comprehend why it is a blow against the entire capitalist system when women begin to organize on the basis of their oppression as women and fight for equality with men. (This serial history of Progressive Labor is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will appear in the issue dated August 8.)

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

this issue

ISR Antiwar GIs Speak Interview with Fort Jackson GIs United Against the War The Worldwide Youth Radicalization (Resolution of the Fourth International)

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Contribution to a discussion

The need to develop a unified struggle

By Derrick Morrison

(In our June 20 issue we published the text of "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," a draft resolution being considered by the Socialist Workers Party and to be acted on by its national convention this fall. In publishing the document we invited discussion on it. This article, and the one below by P.H., are a contribution to that discussion.)

Some of the ideas presented here are based on looking at the Black liberation struggle through the prism afforded by the document, "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation."

If one surveys the struggle for Black liberation today, one finds an extreme amount of what I would call compartmentalization.

Struggles have been initiated around education, welfare, health facilities, the religious institutions, the right to form unions, the racist practices of the unions, imperialist wars such as the one in Vietnam, some of the more blatant cases of racism, and other manifestations of the oppressive caste position of Black people in this country.

Black student groups on the campuses and in the public schools have mushroomed over the fight for Black studies. Parents have led struggles over community control of the schools. Bitter struggles have been fought in places like Memphis and Charleston over the right of Black workers to form a union. Black caucuses like DRUM and the United Black Brothers have grown up as unionized Black workers move to defend themselves against the racist practices of unions and corporations.

United fronts have been launched, as in Detroit to defend Judge George Crockett, or as in Cairo, Ill., to lead a boycott against white businessmen. Last fall in New York, Black and Puerto Rican hospital workers took over Lincoln Hospital to protest budget cuts in health care. This spring, the National Black Economic Development Conference launched a campaign of reparations from the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. The National Welfare Rights Organization has been in the forefront of organizing and

Stresses issue of a separate black republic

By P. H.

The only comments I have to make on your transitional program for black liberation is that I am surprised you did not incorporate more of the points of the Black Panther Party program and platform and that you suggest even the possibility of there being no black state, independent from the white American workers' republic.

While racism is a creation of capitalism, at least in the present, virulent form manifested in America, it has, over the years, become an entity unto itself, and it will take generations before such prejudice can be overcome, even under a socialist system which vigorously militates against such manifestations. If the revolution comes in my life time, I would not want my children, or any black children, to be one of those generations involved in the learning process of white America.

But with my continued reading of *The Militant* and the *Black Panther*, it is obvious to me that no black state, here, in Africa or the West Indies can be truly independent unless the mother country of modern imperialism is socialist also.

articulating the demands of welfare mothers. And the Black Panther Party has launched a free breakfast program for children.

The thing about all these and many additional efforts is that they are compartmentalized, separate and divided from each other. Everybody is doing his or her own thing. Yet, everybody has to confront in one way or another one central agency, the United States government.

It is this central agency that must ultimately be confronted in a struggle around any of these issues. And yet, the Black liberation movement has yet to throw up the type of organization that can unite these various separate struggles, that type of organization being a Black political party, a mass Black political party.

As the document states: "The first big problem is how to break the hold of the white supremacist capitalist politicians upon Afro-Americans. The solution lies in promoting the formation of an independent mass black political party."

"The second big problem is how to get Afro-Americans in their majority to move faster and farther along the road to revolution. The solution lies in formulating and fighting for a program that can help transform the general discontent and general militancy of the black masses into an organized, cohesive, consciously revolutionary force. By presenting and fighting for such a program, a small vanguard can transform itself into an influential power among the masses."

So what we are witnessing today is the placing of the cart before the horse, the placing of task number two before task number one. This inversion underscores the need for a Black political party. Such a party would be a powerful and necessary complement to all the aforementioned struggles.

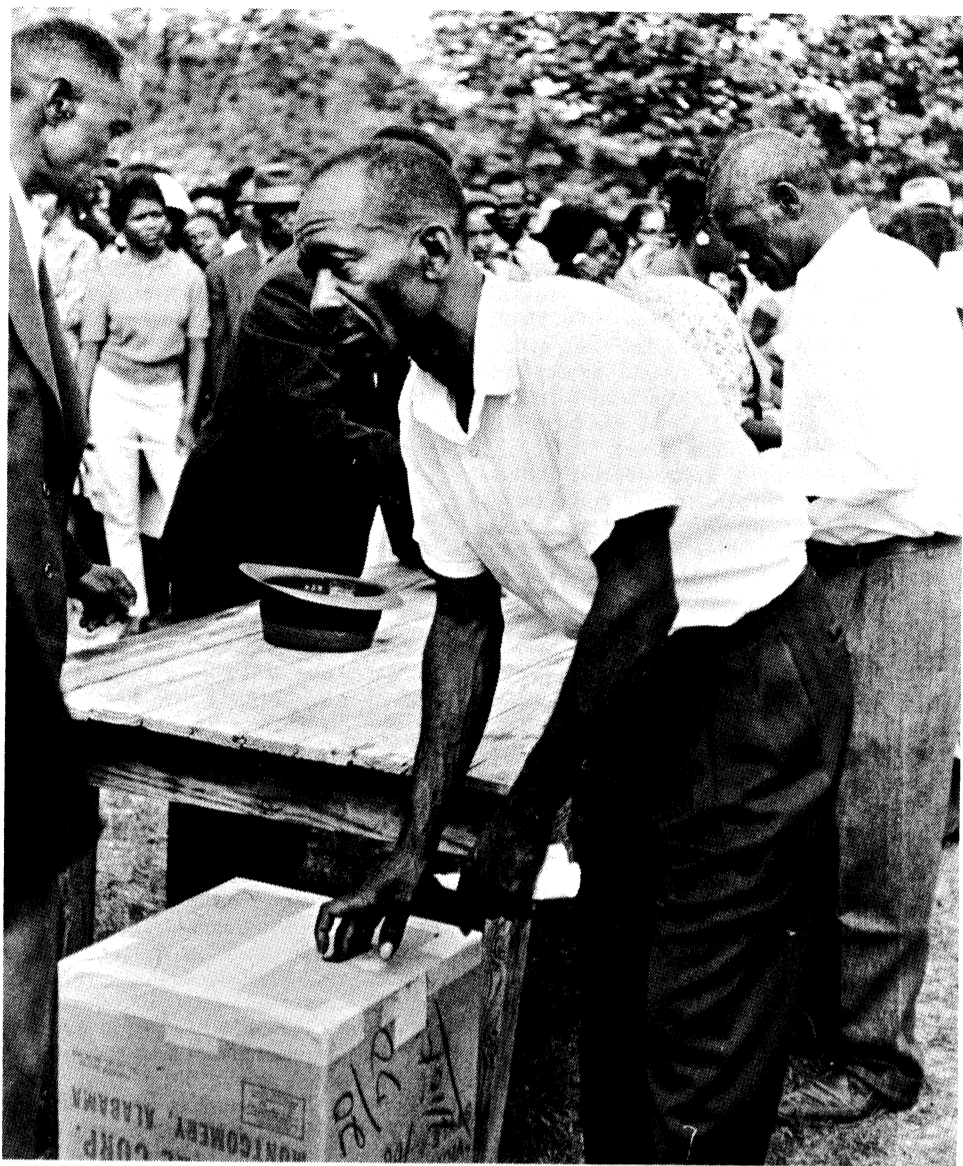
For example, the sporadic, spontaneous occupation of schools last fall in New York during the teachers strike could have gone much farther with the aid of a Black party. While the parents were able to deal with the board of education, they did not have the necessary instrument to deal with the intervention of the Lindsay government.

The chief virtue of the document is that it attempts to show how the struggle for Black control of the Black community is directly related to the struggle for a Black political party, and vice versa.

And the two major struggles out of which the cadres and forces will come for the formation of such a party are the struggles taking place on the campus and in the high schools and the struggles shaping up amongst Black labor. The struggle for community control is focused most sharply in the Black student and Black labor movements. These two movements provide the most clarity in terms of struggle and program in the generalized movement for community control. It is in these two particular movements that you find the most militants who can be won to the Black political party perspective.

At the same time, it is the general concept of Black control of the Black community that gives us a touchstone for testing all programs for Black liberation. Those programs that just deal with the effects of racial oppression, that deal in social work, that do not amount to any significant mobilization of the people, obviously do not fall in line with this concept.

Those programs in harmony with this concept are those that, to quote the document, "... can help transform the general discontent and general militancy of the black masses into an organized, cohesive, consciously revolutionary force." To quote from another section, "... struggles targeted to win control over specific institutions and agencies can pave the way and prepare increasing numbers of people for the all-inclusive goal of total control of



POINTED THE WAY. Under the banner of the black panther, the Lowndes County, Alabama Freedom Party set out in 1965 to build a party capable of representing the interests of black people against their oppressors and the Republican and Democratic parties representing that oppressor. Scene here is 1966 Lowndes County primary balloting to select slate that ran in general election that fall.

their community. These partial struggles carried out around issues such as black control of the schools, can be extremely important because through them encouraging victories can be won. These victories, even if limited to specific areas, can help to raise the confidence of the community in its own power and lay the bases for broader future struggles." It is struggles of this kind that can be advanced by a Black political party.

To get across more fully the concept of Black control of the Black community, I want to take up some examples of programs that I do not believe measure up to this concept. Because central to this community-control concept is the question of building a political party to achieve power over all aspects of life in the Black community.

One example of such a program is the free-breakfast-for-children program of the Black Panther Party.

Nothing is wrong with a free breakfast for children program as such. Integrated into a general program of mass struggle, it can be beneficial. But such a program, in and of itself, does not lead to mobilizing the masses around any aspect of control over their lives. The present struggle to prevent Rockefeller's State Building from going up in Harlem runs a lot deeper than a free breakfast program. A breakfast program will not be the axis around which a political party is built. A free breakfast program might be a subsidiary function of a Black political party, but not its major function.

In fact, a lot of programs being hatched by Black student groups have much more revolutionary impact than the Panther free breakfast program. This comparison is only being made because of the deprecation of the Black student struggles by some of the Panther leadership. But it also helps define the limitations of the free breakfast program.

Another program which I feel does not measure up to this concept of community control is the present reparation struggle engaged in by the National Black Econ-

omic Development Conference.

Maybe a Black political party would make part of its progaganda the demand for reparations from the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. But again, that would surely not be its central axis. And since a Black party has not crystallized yet, the move for reparations is surely not the road to one.

The National Black Economic Development Conference has been able to mobilize groups of individuals in its occupation of church property, but no significant segment of the mass. This is because the demands sound good emotionally, but afford no way to act in the here and now.

It is precisely because the Black student and Black labor movements do provide a revolutionary way to act in the here and now that they offer the present principal roads to a Black party. The lesson of Cornell offers much to be absorbed in terms of the correct handling and use of the gun. It is the lessons of the Berkeley and San Francisco State TWLFs that must be absorbed in terms of initiating and leading mass community struggles around concrete demands. And it is the lesson of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers that has to be absorbed in terms of moving and organizing the most powerful sector of the community, Black workers.

Afro-American revolutionaries must relate to these two forces, workers and students, in the quest for a Black party. And in the quest, our task will be the linking up of a Black party to some type of transitional program.

Transitional Program for Black Liberation

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

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Interview with leader of Oakland auto

By Paul Montauk

OAKLAND, Calif. — Kenny Horston, a member of the Black Panther Party, is the director of the Black Panther caucus, composed of workers in Local 1364, UAW at the California GM Buick, Oldsmobile and Pontiac Plant. A second generation auto worker, Horston has been working for GM six-and-a-half years. He currently works in the repair department.

Starting off as a union representative, he soon abandoned this job, because it stood in the way of organizing black workers, who constitute a large percentage of the total work force of 5,400 in Fremont and Oakland.

Horston was appalled by the total lack of democracy in the union. During elections, most members of the local, due to lack of discussion, were misled into supporting the leadership of the local, which calls itself the "blue slate." This leadership is completely under Reuther's dominance, and controls the money and books of the local without any membership consultation.

The main thrust in organizing the Black Panther caucus was directed at the younger workers, who will be working at the plant most of their lives. In an interview with *The Militant*, Horston discussed the development and aims of the caucus.

* * *

Q. About how many people work at that plant, and how many do you estimate are black workers?

A. There are approximately 4,700 workers in the Fremont plant and something like 400 workers in the plant in Oakland. Of these workers, approximately 1,500 to 2,000 are black workers, which constitutes more than a third.

Q. Is the average black worker in that plant younger or older than the average white worker?

A. The younger people are in the majority, not only black, but the whites and Chicanos too. This is why we feel it necessary for us to organize the younger workers because we're going to be there a lot longer. Simple as that.

Q. Some time back, the Black Panther Party caucus was organized at Fremont. At that time, you began building up membership, building up steam. Why was a Black Panther caucus organized in that particular plant and in the union? And how has the caucus been making out? Have you had any success?

A. First, let me start with a correction. It is not a Black Panther Party caucus, it's a Black Panther caucus made up of the workers in that local. I, myself, am the only member of the Party.

On the second point, as to the reasons, it was only about three of us that initiated the caucus, because the black workers in the plant had been tricked, hoodwinked, into voting for the present leadership of the union.

Q. Is that the "blue slate leadership"?

A. Yes, the blue slate leadership are the people who control, and when I say control, I mean control. From the president on down to the committeeman, the workhorse of the union. We have a president who is a name only. We have a vice-president who is a storefront, you might say, tokenism. The only reason that he holds the position he does is because of his color. We have a financial secretary who is, in fact, the leader of the blue slate. He is Walter Reuther's key man in our local. Not only does he control the money, but he also has his wife working in the front office, and she controls the books. So this underlines the fact that Walter Reuther has complete control at this time over our local.

Q. Is that one of the reasons why you organized the caucus?

A. This is one of the reasons, but it's minute, because at the time we were organizing, I knew who these people were, but the rank-and-file did not know who these people were. They were building and basing the formation of a caucus around the fact that the black workers were being mistreated, they were being intimidated, they were being constantly out-and-out

harassed. They were being disciplined unnecessarily. They were victims of racial remarks, racial discrimination, not only from the General Motors Corporation, but from the union. The union has gone on record as saying that there's no discrimination in that Fremont General Motors plant.

But the black rank and file can prove this is not so. We recognized at the time that the union is part and parcel of the discrimination and the attacks that have been made upon the black workers.

There has never, and I repeat never, been a case where a 6-8 grievance, which is a discrimination grievance, has been settled justly and fairly in favor of the worker who signed the grievance. Or the worker was more or less forced into an agreement, where he was forced to accept the foreman's apology, and there was never any discipline brought against management, there was never any discipline brought against the union for discrimination tactics used against the workers.

If a foreman, superintendent, or any member of supervision, makes a racial remark, such as "nigger," "boy," or "you people," whatever it is, to a worker, the worker can file a grievance, and that grievance, somehow, is usually lost, or in a year, he might hear what happened to it, or a year from now the foreman might say he's sorry.

But if a worker makes a racial remark and when I say racial remark, I mean like "racist pig" or whatever he wants to call him, which might be fitting, he is automatically disciplined. And there don't have to be any witnesses. If the foreman says this is what he said, then he's disciplined. He's suspended. There's no reprimands; you're automatically suspended from the plant for whatever time you have coming, and you have to go through the grievance procedure.

Q. How long has the Black Panther caucus in Fremont been functioning?

A. The Black Panther caucus in Fremont has been functioning for approximately 10 months—it was formed last July. Relatively, we've been quite successful when you consider the fact that up until July, there was no, and I repeat, no black organization whatsoever in that local. And this is where Walter Reuther's been able to exercise control, because up until this time, there was never any opposition to Walter Reuther, to the International, or to the local leadership.

What we want to do is to educate the workers. We want the workers to participate, to educate them to the fact that the rank and file is the key. We are the governing body of the local. Our local leadership has been discouraging this for I don't know how many years. We haven't had a local membership meeting in the last seven or eight months! Simply because the local leadership has been discouraging the membership from coming.

They have long, drawn-out filibusters which are aimed at discouraging the membership from coming. And when enough members do come, enough to constitute a quorum, then they are always sure to have a head count. And they always have the key man, the little lackey, flunkey, whatever you want to call him, to stand up and challenge the quorum. He says there aren't the number of members present that is required by the union constitution to hold a meeting. This automatically reverts the control of the union to the executive board, which is controlled by the blue slate.

Within the last year, we've had two quorums, two meetings of the rank-and-file. This was only brought about by the Black Panther caucus, and recently, the Emancipation Caucus. We were able to bring together two forces, which constituted twice the number needed for the quorum in this last union meeting.

Q. Can you tell me a little bit more about the Emancipation Caucus?

A. The Emancipation Caucus was formed for the coming elections in June. They're going to support a black individual for president of the union. This is where the Emancipation Caucus comes in. We are going to work along with these brothers. We have a coalition with these brothers.

Q. Are there any white workers in the Emancipation Caucus?

A. At this time, there are. This is what the Emancipation Caucus is trying to gear their program to. They don't want to get into this type of thing where you're branded a racist. Well, we saw this seven months ago. We're not racist either, in our caucus. But, we also know the need for black

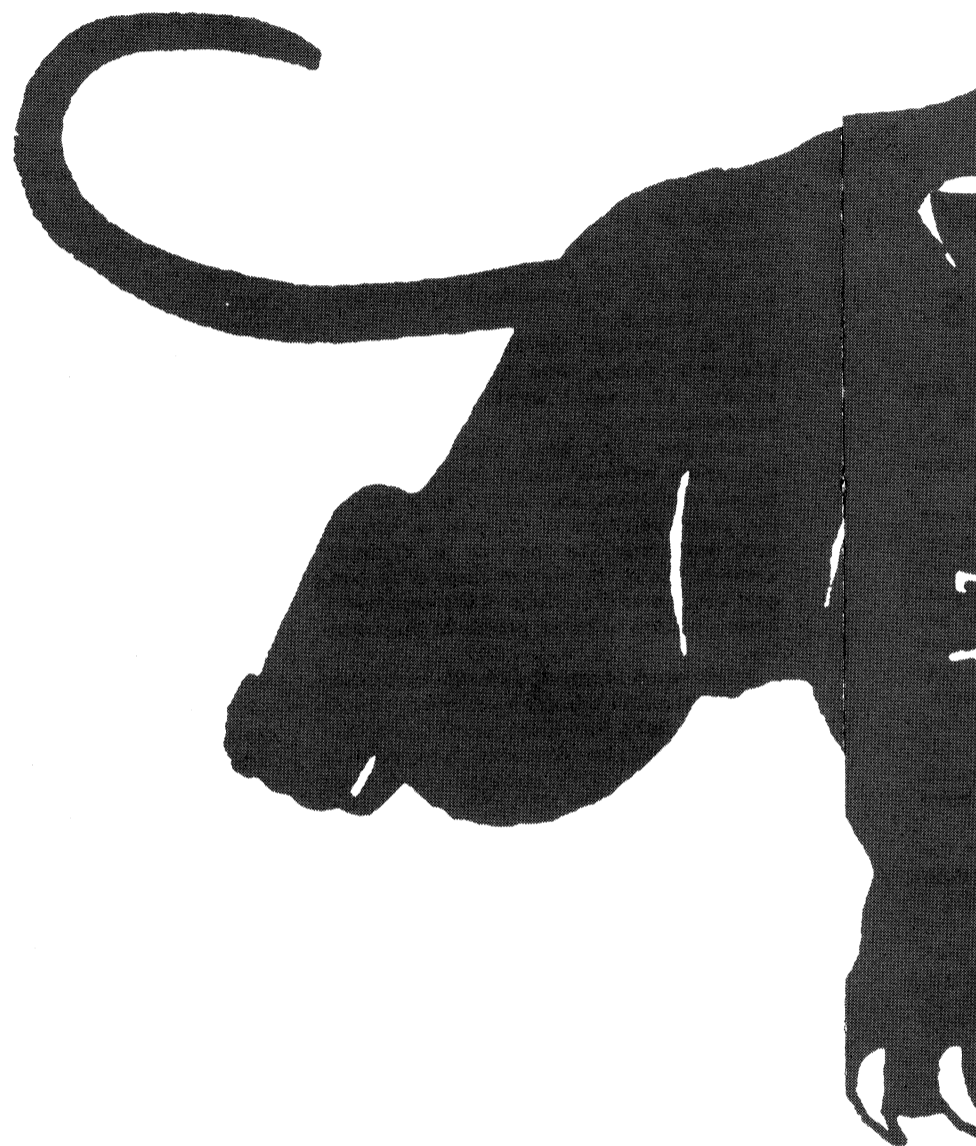
leadership, if we're going to answer the need of the black workers. If we answer the need of the black workers, we automatically answer the need of the workers as a whole, because management with the assistance of the local leadership, is bringing about the division between the black and the white workers. We want to bring about the unity of the workers as a whole.

The Emancipation Caucus, I think I could safely say, is gearing itself just to the elections. If I'm wrong, then I'll stand corrected. But we in the Black Panther Caucus want to build a political party. A political party which is going to constitute younger leadership, that is going to answer the need of all the workers in years to come, not just something that's

it's not necessary for you to become independent from the union. The thing that you have to do is get qualified people, black or white, who are going to present the workers' viewpoint to management.

These people are going to have to be people who are going to have to have the proper political education, and if they don't, they're lost, because they can automatically fall into the black nationalist bag, they can fall into the cultural nationalist bag, and all these other bags.

The only way that we feel that you're going to bring about this change is that you're going to have to appeal to the needs of all the workers. Maybe the situation is different in Detroit, because the percentage of black people in Detroit or



going to happen in June or two years from now.

Q. A little while back, John Watson from Detroit, one of the leaders of DRUM, spoke here in the area, and some people say that he gave the impression he was in favor of building independent black unions in the automobile field. What is your thinking on this?

A. John Watson is a very good friend of mine, and a member of the central staff of DRUM. I have very good relationships with those brothers in Detroit, at this time. Though, first of all, John Watson is not a spokesman for DRUM. John Watson is a member of the Central Staff of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. John Watson is the editor of the *South End*, which we recognize as being a very good, beautiful paper, for the brothers, and the people.

Actually, the spokesman for DRUM is Mike Hanlin, who is an older fellow, and I think Mike might have a little bit more clear perspective about where DRUM is going. As far as John giving the impression of DRUM forming a union within the union, or an independent union, I think this is incorrect. If you're going to bring about any change, if you're talking about changes, if you're talking about black workers only, you alienate yourself from the workers, which is what we do not believe in. We feel that if you're going to accomplish revolutionary movement, you're going to need all the workers. And

other auto-industry plants throughout the nation, might be higher. But this is irrelevant, because when a white worker is working hard, busting his ass, and breaking his back, so is the black worker. If the black worker is getting screwed somehow or other by management, then so is the white worker. Somehow or other, you have to form a caucus that is going to answer the problems and needs of all the workers in that plant.

Q. Reports have been coming in from different parts of the country on the increase in activity in the UAW, particularly on the part of the black workers. Also, there have been indications of white workers, militants and radicals increasing their activity, in attempting to build left-wing caucuses. What do you view as the essential role and task of the white militants in the union?

A. First of all, the white workers are going to have to become more aware as to what is happening, not only to the white workers, but to the black workers. When they begin to realize what is happening to the black workers it is not necessary for them to join a black caucus. This is not necessary, because racism is still on such a rampage that the hostility and the fear is still there. The thing that can be done is to form coalitions with the black caucuses and the black workers which are based upon the needs of the workers as a whole.

We are directing our attack against the white power structure, since they are the

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leader of Oakland auto union Black P

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ones that are in power. The key role that the white workers can play is by forming white caucuses, forming coalitions with the black caucuses and following the line that is needed, such as a revolutionary line, the ideology of Marxist-Leninists. Just banding together with the black workers, and clearly stating their position of supporting black workers, supporting the desires and needs of black workers, because when they do this, automatically they state the needs and desires of the workers as a whole.

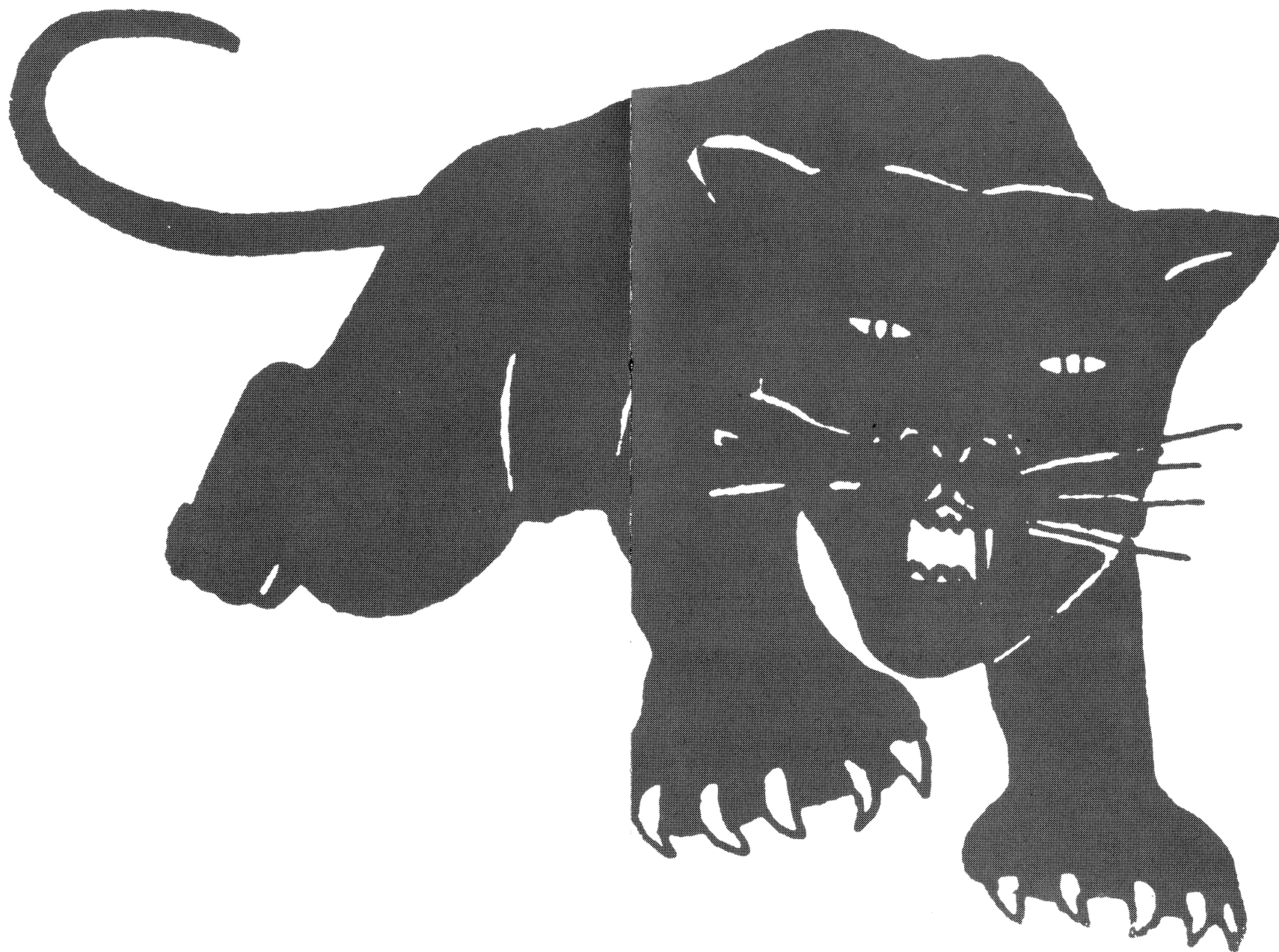
Q. I was reading some material published recently by the Free Labor caucus, in a union there. This is a caucus that grew out of the supporters of George Wallace in the last election campaign, and

Chicano leadership in our local, and we have no person who can relate to the Chicano workers as Chicanos.

Just because you left the farm don't mean utopia. Things are just as shitty here as in Oklahoma or Texas, only on an elevated scale. We need these people in our local. If we had people to organize the Chicano workers, if we had white radicals in our local, then we could move to become a very, very progressive local.

Q. The present national contract agreement expires next year. In your opinion, what are the key demands that you are attempting to educate the rank and file on?

A. One of the key demands that the workers are going to make is that this grievance procedure has to be—it is a



Auto union Black Panther caucus

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hell for him. He can't relate to our desires and needs. He can only relate to retirement, and cost-of-living. But he has even sold out the cost-of-living. He sold it out in such a way that General Motors saves all the money that is due the workers over a period of time, accumulates the interest on it, and then pays the workers the money that they owe us. Thereby GM can keep the interest that they save on this—millions and millions of dollars.

Also, when you tell me that I don't have the right to strike against a corporation that's doing us wrong, when you tell me this, I can only interpret it one way—that you're relaying a message from the General Motors corporation and from the Chrysler corporation to the rank and file. They're so much as telling us that we better sit down and shut up.

Well, this is not the way it's going to be. We're still going to maintain our stand. We're still going to demand a dental plan. We're still going to demand an insurance plan paid for by the corporation. We're still going to demand a speedup in the settlement of grievances. We're still going to demand that our cost-of-living be paid for on a weekly, hourly basis and that it be elevated to a much higher cost. We're not going to base it on what the damn General Motors corporation wants, we're still going to demand that General Motors open their books to our international staff so that they can see exactly how much money these people are making compared to how much money they're paying us.

Q. When you say open their books, what do you mean exactly?

A. We're going to demand at our sub-council meetings, in September, that these books be opened, to show exactly how much money General Motors makes off each individual that is employed and base what an employee should earn on this. We feel, in our caucus, that we should get a certain percentage of the money the company makes, and not the pennies that General Motors gives us, per hour. Because if I drive or repair 40 trucks an hour, or 45 cars an hour, then I should be paid on this scale, and the amount of money General Motors makes off of this, and not by 20 cents an hour for cost-of-living, and 15 minutes for a damn break.

Q. In the past period, there have been various reports through the press and through the labor movement about the formation of black caucuses in other unions in the Bay Area, besides the UAW. Can you comment on this?

A. Yes, we know of approximately half a dozen that have sprung up in the last five months. What I hope to do is establish a centralized office, not just for our caucus, but in the community, where other people throughout the Bay Area, throughout the nation, throughout the state, can communicate with each other. Now hopefully, this will alleviate some of the problems we're having as far as everybody trying to get in contact with everybody.

We have some brothers now who are organizing in Western Electric, which is around the San Jose area. They're victims of the same treatment as our caucus, such as suspensions and intimidations and attempted firings. We have some brothers in the municipal bus drivers in the San Francisco area. We have brothers in the steelworkers around the Contra Costa County area. Also in San Francisco we have brothers who are forming caucuses in the warehousemen's union, the longshoremen's union.

Hopefully, through the center that I mentioned before, we want to get all these brothers together, in one group, and sit down and discuss problems. We want to answer questions from other caucuses and unions, not just based upon the UAW.

We're all trade unionists, and if I have a problem in my caucus in the UAW, I'm quite sure there'll be a brother who has the same problem in the longshoremen, or the steelworkers, and he might have the solution. So this is why we advocate that all brothers, wherever they are and whatever they're doing, unite.

We have to unite, because working conditions throughout this racist society are so inhumane, so detrimental to the workers as a whole. Workers have to unite throughout the world, throughout the state, throughout the nation. It is a must, and brothers, wherever you are, if you need any information, there are people around that you can contact, and hopefully, when we get the center together, we can get all the brothers together under one roof, which will be a tremendous achievement. Never have the rank and file of all locals been able to gather together at one time and discuss these problems and evaluate these problems.

Q. If someone wants to contact you by mail, how can they reach you?

A. I can be reached through the Black Panther Party national headquarters, at 3106 Shattuck Ave. in Berkeley, Calif.

Q. What do you see as the future of your group in the union?

A. We're basing ourselves on the need for the workers in the local, in the whole UAW local, to understand and have a clear perspective on what this political structure is all about.

Once the workers understand who should be running the union, and put these people in office, then we can move against the corporation. But at this time, I can honestly say that we don't have the number of people in our caucus to undertake this task, because a lot of us are young brothers just beginning to get into the union and understand its workings, just beginning to understand who are the crooks and who aren't the crooks, just beginning to understand that you do not fight racism with racism, you fight racism with solidarity.

We're just beginning to understand the effect the union has on the community. We constitute power to the people. We constitute workers' control; we do not constitute black capitalism; we are not going to become part and parcel of white capitalism; we're not going to become friendly with management; we're not going to become friendly with the local leadership; we're not going to become friendly with the international leadership. We want unity among the workers.

We hope to have political education classes for the workers, we hope to politically educate the workers.

We believe in a prolonged struggle. We believe that if Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, can sacrifice and relate to the people, as he did, on such a tremendous scale, that the Black Panther caucus can relate basically the same things to the workers, on our scale. On a trade union scale.

SPECIAL ISSUE: Intercontinental Press Documents of the World Congress of the Fourth International

A special 72-page issue of *Intercontinental Press* containing the main documents and reports discussed at the April congress of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. Includes: "The New Rise of the World Revolution," "The 'Cultural Revolution' in China," a resolution on perspectives for the revolutionary movement in Latin America, and "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also reports by E. Germain, Livio Maitan, and a message of greetings to the congress by Jose Revueltas.

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of all

they seem to be becoming much more active today. Can you comment on this?

A. First of all, the Voice of Free Labor caucus did not grow out of the George Wallace campaign. The Voice of Free Labor caucus grew out of racism. It grew out of the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, and the Minutemen—all these other groups, not just the George Wallace campaign. It's always been there. These people have always been around. They're occupying high offices in your national government structure.

Secondly, the Voice of Free Labor, in our local, is what they call the militant arm of the Blue Slate, they are part and parcel of the Blue Slate.

Q. About what percentage of the 4,700 workers in the plant are Chicanos?

A. With 2,300 black workers in the plant, we might have 1,500 Chicano workers in the plant.

Q. In other words, a combination of the black and the Chicano workers constitutes an unquestionable majority of the work force there, right?

A. This is very, very correct. Where we see the need of organizing all the workers, we also recognize the fact that a large percentage of Chicano workers in the plant come from out of state, or come from the southern part of the country, like Arizona, New Mexico and Los Angeles.

We also see that the Chicano brothers have had to work just as hard as the black brothers, and that there's no active

must, there is no way to get around it—it has to be reorganized. It has to be streamlined so the workers can have their grievances answered immediately. Not six months away, not seven months, not a year.

We feel that the international leadership, the international executive board, has to be reorganized. Walter Reuther has to go. Leonard Woodcock has to go. Douglas Fraser has to go. And all of the international representatives have to go. This is what we feel has to be done.

The other day I, and other members of my caucus, met with some international representatives and the executive board of our local. They so much as told us that the strike clause, about going on strike, is old, and it's on its way out. Now, what they're trying to tell us is that we don't have any goddamn weapon at all to fight the company with any more. We have to try to get along with the corporation, if we're going to get anything, because General Motors is taking a hard line.

They also told us, "Well, we recognize that we gotta get ourselves together, and we recognize that the needs of the younger workers which constitute the majority have to be answered. Walter Reuther has promised to answer the needs of the younger workers." Now, you can interpret this any way you want to, but the way we interpret it is that Walter Reuther is out to do the younger workers in, because the younger workers are raising too much

—New Edition—

What Policy for Revolutionists — Marxism or Ultraleftism?

95 cents

(former title: *Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial*) by James P. Cannon and Grandizo Munis
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GIs United: an example of how to organize

(The following are excerpts from the opening speech to the Student Mobilization Committee conference by ex-Pvt. Andrew Pulley of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Pulley was one of the Ft. Jackson 8 who were imprisoned for 61 days before public pressure forced the Army to release them.)

How do we mobilize to move the mass of GIs against the war? We mobilize them around something they can understand. We mobilize them on an issue that is facing them directly.

In GIs United, some oppose the war for various different reasons. What we were concerned about was the fact that they **did** oppose the war and that with them opposing the war we could educate them to further reasons why they should oppose the war. We could not organize them around the issue of socialist revolution, because many of these GIs have not even heard of a socialist revolution.

Some GIs don't even know what capitalism is. But they do know they are faced with the war. This is why we were successful in organizing GIs United.

One other thing: You do not organize GIs with maybe five or 10, or work underground. The way you get the mass of GIs into an action, into a movement is to work above ground. For one reason, you can come into more contact with more GIs. Another thing is, if you get busted underground, you are lost, because if you get busted underground, nobody will even know about you. The only way you can be victorious in a court-martial is if you have publicity, because this is what the Army hates most of all.

If we organize above ground, we will be in more contact with all kinds of GIs, GIs who are sometimes even prowar. But by reference to their lives, by explaining the effect of the war on their lives, on the

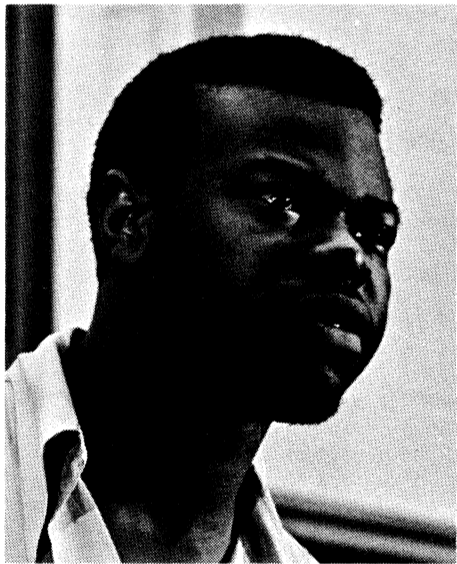


Photo by Shannon
Andrew Pulley

problems of this country, you can almost rest assured that they will take up and follow. . .

This is not the time for insurgency. The time now is to organize the mass around the issue of "Bring the troops home now." Some people think that by organizing around this issue, we are not supporting the revolutionary struggle of the people in Vietnam. But when the troops are brought home, who in the world is going to win the war? Who is going to win the war, if not the NLF and North Vietnamese?

If the war continues, people are going to get radical. If the war ends, people are going to get radical. We must learn that the victory of the people is inevitable, but we cannot hurry the revolution. The people who failed to lead successful revolutions usually failed because they jumped the gun, because they moved at the wrong time.

You've got to be patient. The movement takes time, you know. Some people jumped from a slogan like "Part of the way with LBJ" to "Fight capitalism." It's good that you have progressed in the sense of a revolutionary. That's good. But you've got to understand that there are some people who have yet to fight for their constitutional rights. To fight for your constitutional rights in the Army is revolutionary. Because people have failed to fight for their rights before, it's revolutionary. If you cannot utilize the rights which the Constitution guarantees every citizen, how in the world are you going to mobilize GIs to take up arms to be involved in a revolution?

You start by having the right to do these things. And to organize around the issue of free speech for GIs is the beginning. We know what this might lead to. The capitalists know what this might lead to. If we fail to utilize this golden opportunity that we have right here, we are going to end up in the same type of predicament that the people in Germany ended up with in 1933, that the people in France ended up with last year—no revolution. We're not going to change the establishment overnight. You've got to realize, it's very hard to fight for revolution. You've got to get the mass organized. You've got to get them organized on an issue that they are directly related to. Like the issue of the war.

Because of the war, they live in poverty. Because of the war, they lost some of their welfare checks. Because of the war their sons are going to Vietnam and getting killed. Everybody is concerned and related to the issue of the war.

And we can utilize this. It is the time now when we are at the stage of the movement when GIs are just beginning to get involved. Whether they're revolutionary or not, the thing they're concerned about now is bringing the troops home. And when we bring the troops home, we know who's going to win the war.

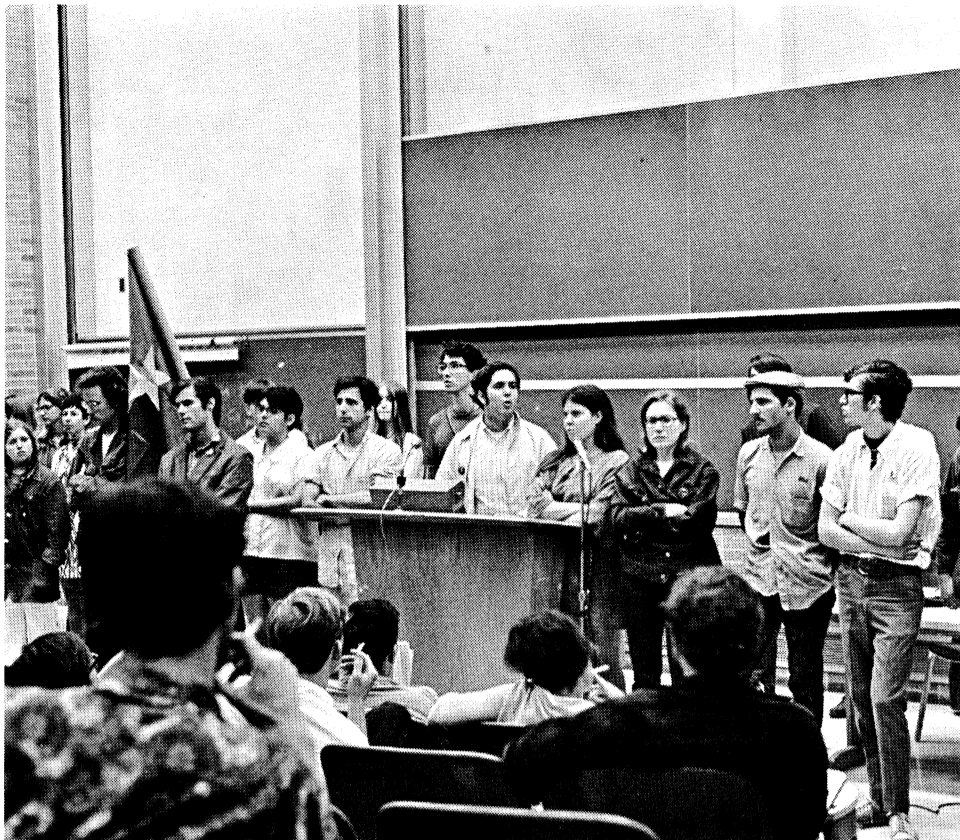


Photo by Joel Aber

SDSer, flanked by associates, addresses SMC parley

An SDSer's version of how to organize mass struggles

(The following represents about half the comments made by an unidentified SDS activist who took the platform at the SMC conference flanked by what was apparently intended as a security guard. The remainder of his speech consisted largely of rhetorical questions of the SMC as to why it had allegedly failed to participate in a variety of actions which he listed, actions which included many that in fact the SMC had actively participated in.)

At this time, how can you stand to call yourselves revolutionaries? That's a laugh. That's a laugh. Those are the kind of people we ran into at SDS convention, who tried to tell us that they were in the vanguard and not the black and brown people; those were the same kind of people who laughed. I demand that this conference support the struggle in Chicago in September. That is where the leaders of the antiwar movement are.

Why won't you come out for victory to the NLF? That's the only solution of Vietnam that's possible. Why don't you come out for the end of U.S. imperialism? Or do you want to be part of U.S. imperialism? Three years ago the slogan of the antiwar movement was correctly raised, "Bring the troops home now," not negotiate, bring them home now. That was three years ago. The majority of the American

people sympathize with that slogan; now they want to hear more, they want to hear, how about conditions on our job, how about the draft, how about the black liberation movement?

Why don't you counter ideas that are coming up, why we need the troops for the cities? Why don't you fight law and order? There was no word about that.

I want to know about these issues, because when you talk about full support for Vietnamese liberation, I guarantee you the NLF supports the Vietnamese liberation better than the Buddhists do. And you are simply Buddhists who are still praying, who are still marching around and praying when the Vietnamese have taken up guns. That's the parallel.

But what answer do you have for the people of this country to the growing crisis in the cities and the growing crisis—I don't mean the black rebellions, I'm talking about the growing number of pigs in the cities, the growing number of unwarranted arrests for not carrying draft cards, these things—where are you? The movement has grown far beyond that and we demand that you go to Chicago if you are true anti-imperialists, go to Chicago under the banners that we have raised, under the NLF banners, and carry this with you 12 months of the year, not twice a year, as SMC is prone to do, but 12 months of the year.

Revolutionary politics vs. ultraleft rhetoric

(The following are excerpts from remarks by Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party in reply to the SDS spokesmen at the SMC conference.)

I think it's very unfortunate that the members here from SDS who came to speak have all walked out, because I think that a dialogue between the point of view represented by the majority in this room and the point of view represented by SDS could help quite a bit to clarify things.

A lot of people kept yelling "How?" to the SDS speaker, and I think in so doing they were hitting at precisely the problem. The problem of changing the United States and ending the war is not a question of finding the right verbiage, the right rhetoric. You can say a lot of things that are absolutely true—I personally believe, for example, that without a worldwide socialist revolution the danger of war will always exist—but from that the point does not follow that every leaflet you put out must say that.

You might as well put each page of *Das Kapital* on placards and have exactly 1,500 people march, one with each page, and have your full program. And then of course since we've had other important developments since then in history, you'd have to have several other books march along. Otherwise you're not telling people

the "full truth," you see—if you limit it to something like "bring the troops home."

What is missing in their whole concept is the process through which a struggle develops.

They say—and you see the deep frustration reflected by the comrades here of SDS that came here to speak, the frustration they feel that they cannot succeed, and therefore they come out with these wild statements—they say, "You're just going to hold another one of those peaceful marches that doesn't achieve anything." The speaker didn't use those exact words, but he said that in essence. What he doesn't understand is that if we can get two million workers to march in the streets of the United States for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, that would have such an impact within the trade-union movement in this country that then it would become realistic to project the kind of direct action, like a strike on all supplies to the war, which would certainly help end the war.

Now, SDS does not oppose, I hope, the American workers going on strike against the war, on a single issue, and thereby ending it. That's an action, direct action, you see, without any rhetoric, to end the war.

But you can't get that strike unless you can get the masses in motion. And it just happens to be a simple fact of life—

which they refuse to recognize—that if we walk up to the American workers with pure rhetoric, pure talk, they will not comprehend what in the world we are all about. We need talk that can relate to action, principled action, action in support of self-determination for the Vietnamese.

I wish the SDSers would look into Lenin, who stayed up nights, night after night,



Peter Camejo.

reading law books of Czarist law—not Kerensky's but the Czar's law—to find a legal way to hold a strike. Now, was Lenin a big sell-out?

Lenin knew that workers risk losing their jobs, which can mean suffering and starvation to their families. He knew workers hesitate to engage in any illegal action which can lead to victimization. But if you can find a way to make it legal and then get him into the action, he's willing to do it. Lenin knew that workers had to find a way to begin action, to get them participating, to get them moving, because only out of a movement in which masses are actually in motion, participating in struggle, can you change things. And you can't change things without mass struggle. A thousand students in a riot doesn't change anything basic. But a million workers just taking the first step of walking down the street is the beginning of a struggle that has the implications that are fundamental because the workers have the power.

They can, for instance, stop bringing all food supplies to all the Army bases; what will the GIs do? Starve? No; they'll leave. And that doesn't even violate any laws.

All these SDSers are concerned about is this image, this rhetoric, of imitating the NLF, instead of dealing with the reali-

(Continued on page 9)



WHICH IS EFFECTIVELY ANTI-IMPERIALIST? Photo at left shows contingent of black Detroit youth in Oct. 21, 1967, demonstration at Pentagon which the Student Mobilization Committee played



the right is a November 1968 Union Square demonstration initiated by SDS and others as part of what was announced as a massive "student strike against the elections."

SDS in smear attack on antiwar action

By Robert Langston

At the time of the SDS national convention three weeks ago, it appeared that the Revolutionary Youth Movement SDS might be reconsidering the national organization's previous policy of abstention from the antiwar movement. This impression was strengthened by the participation of a number of RYMers in the national antiwar and Student Mobilization Committee conferences held in Cleveland over the July 4 weekend.

An article by SDS-RYM interorganization secretary Jeff Jones in the July 8 *New Left Notes* indicates that it may be over-optimistic to conclude that such a turn in SDS policy has occurred.

Commenting on the antiwar demonstration called by the Cleveland conferences for Nov. 15 in Washington, D. C., Jones writes: "The SWP-YSA forces have been trying to get the MOB [presumably, the National Mobilization Committee] to call for a one-slogan peaceful demonstration in Washington, D. C., on Nov. 15. This is a classical anticommunist move, putting up their demonstration as a peaceful alternative to the bloodthirsty SDS action in Chicago, that only confuses people with all this talk about imperialism. Fight this anticommunist opportunism every chance you get."

To the Washington antiwar demonstration, Jones counterposes the SDS-initiated national action in Chicago this fall, which, Jones says, will be built around demands that are "anti-imperialist, for liberation and self-determination, and that speak about the class nature of the society."

One might almost believe Jones wrote his piece before the Cleveland conferences. Otherwise, he would have noted that both the national antiwar and the SMC conferences voted to support and help build the Chicago action. And he would have mentioned that, far from "putting up" Washington as an alternative to Chicago, the

SWPers and YSAers at those conferences voted for the support resolutions.

The SWP and YSA, at Cleveland, supported the proposed Chicago demonstration because they agree with its stated aims as presented to the conference: freedom for the "conspiracy" defendants and opposition to the Vietnam war. It is Jeff Jones, not revolutionary socialists, who counterposes the fall antiwar action in Washington to the SDS-initiated Chicago demonstration.

It is true that SWP-YSA forces tried and are still trying to get everyone they can—not just National Mobe, but SMC, the national antiwar conference, and SDS as well—to support the Washington fall demonstration. The fact that the 900 participants in the two Cleveland conferences—the great majority of whom were not "SWP-YSA forces"—decided to issue calls for the action indicates that the majority of antiwar activists agree with the YSA and SWP on the need for a massive, fall demonstration built on the demand to bring the troops home from Vietnam now.

Jones' sneer at purported SWP-YSA advocacy of "peaceful" demonstrations is demagogic. Revolutionary socialists are not pacifists. They know the ruling class is always ready to unleash violent attacks against progressive social movements and that these movements must defend themselves. One crucial element in this defense is to deter such attacks as far as possible. Another is to assure that if and when such attacks occur, the onus for them will be placed exactly where it belongs—on the movement's antagonists. At the present time, numbers constitute the best deterrent against ruling-class violence. And the maximum number of participants can be won for any action only if the organizers avoid any suggestion that they would provoke, or welcome ruling-class violence on the fallacious grounds that "broken heads radicalize people." At the same time, only if

the organizers avoid any such suggestion can the onus unambiguously be placed on the ruling class if there are violent attacks.

It is not true, as Jones states, that the SWP and YSA favor a "one-slogan" demonstration. What they favor is a demonstration built around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam. This is fully compatible with a multitude of slogans relating the war to everything from the need to struggle against particular social evils to the need for socialist revolution.

Jones also misconstrues the SWP and YSA's difference with RYM. We do not think Jones and the other national RYM leaders are "bloodthirsty"; we simply think they are dead wrong: wrong in abstaining from the antiwar movement; in sneering at "peaceful" demonstrations; in the way they conduct debates within the movement; and in the way they try to talk to broader layers of the population.

Specifically, it is false that SWPers and YSAers think "talk" about imperialism "confuses" people; we spend a good part of our time talking about imperialism. The point is rather that it is wrong to try and make conscious opposition to imperialism as such, or opposition to a number of specific imperialist evils, a condition of participation in the struggle against any particular imperialist evil.

Revolutionaries should build the antiwar movement partly because they thereby build an arena within which people will listen to "talk" about imperialism. Within the antiwar movement, it is possible to explain to people who oppose for whatever conscious reasons the Vietnam war why their struggle against this particular manifestation of imperialism must consistently lead them to fight against every manifestation of imperialism and for the overthrow of capitalism. Outside this arena, revolutionaries may talk about imperial-

ism, but many fewer people will listen.

Stripped of misrepresentations of actual SWP and YSA positions, Jones' judgment seems to come down to this: The SWP's and YSA's efforts to build massive demonstrations around the demand for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, their efforts to deter ruling-class violence and fix responsibility for it when it occurs, and their conviction that phrasemongering is something different from revolutionary propaganda and Marxist theory, constitute "anticommunist opportunism" which is manifest in a "classical anticommunist move."

The terms "classical," "anticommunism," and "opportunism" have more-or-less precise meanings in the vocabulary of revolutionary Marxism. But these meanings have so little to do with any of Jones' expressed grievances with the SWP and YSA that it is only possible to conclude he threw them in because he had heard them somewhere, guessed they indicate disapproval, and couldn't think of anything else to say. In other words, because he needed a little slander to fill a big vacuum.

Jones handles the Vietnam Moratorium Committee in like fashion. One might suppose that a revolutionary communist would be delighted to see a new layer of college students beginning to oppose in action the imperialist war. One might suppose he would try to establish links with them, seek some basis of cooperation in action against the war, argue with them politically, criticize their false positions, and, starting from their opposition to the war, try to win them, or at least their followers, to conscious revolutionary positions.

Instead, Jones feels moved to write of "a group of student body presidents, with sneaky CIA-breath Allard Lowenstein somewhere in the middle. . ." He doesn't say anything about the nature of Lowenstein's connection with the Moratorium group; he doesn't try to argue against Lowenstein's insipid liberalism. Rather, he speculates that the reader has some recollection that once upon a time Lowenstein was associated with the National Student Association when it was receiving CIA funds. This recollection, together with Jones' unsupported charge, is supposed to be enough to discredit a movement towards opposition to an imperialist war that involves some student-body presidents (NSA types, you know) and has some unspecified connection with Allard Lowenstein.

The reason for Jones' particular fury against the Moratorium Committee is perhaps indicated in his statement, "These student-body leaders also see themselves as the basis for a nonviolent, progressive alternative to SDS on the campuses. Enough said." The procedural rule here seems to be: if someone disagrees with you politically and you don't know how to answer him politically and it looks like he might be able to get together an organization, then slander, brother, slander, and to hell with the movement.

It isn't likely that very many rank-and-file RYMers will be impressed by Jones' mixture of slander, mindless phrasemongering, and abstention from the antiwar movement. It is likely that many RYMers will work hard to build the fall antiwar action and that many more will be in Washington Nov. 15.

...revolutionary politics vs. ultraleft rhetoric

(Continued from page 8)

ties of the United States and how we can really, effectively defend and support the people throughout the world who are being oppressed.

Now, I want to remind you of a few of the actions SDS has called, concrete examples of what they projected, and we can deal with the "success." One was Solidarity Week with Cuba. Does anybody remember it? Solidarity Week of Actions with South Africa—remember that one? The National Student Antiwar Strike, election day—did you even know about it? The "We Won't Go" antidraft campaign—they were going to get millions of people who wouldn't go into the Army. They don't talk too much about that one anymore. And then there was the Ten Days to Shake the Empire. It only shook the national office of SDS. Not one of these national actions actually came off.

During that entire period, the Student Mobilization Committee was organizing massive actions in the streets, working among GIs and reaching out to working-class communities, both black and white.

What has happened is this. You have a split in the student movement, a split between people who feel very frustrated about how to reach the masses and those who don't feel frustrated about reaching

the masses.

Those who feel frustrated have adopted all the rhetoric of the last stage of the socialist revolution, where, like the last stages in Russia before the revolution, the workers were demanding to take the streets with guns in their hands, and the Bolshevik party was going to them in July saying, "No."

If the situation reached the point in the United States that the SWPers were saying to the workers in the factories, "No, you can't have an armed demonstration this week," then some of the slogans they raise—if correctly formulated; they never formulate slogans correctly—would be correct, you see.

Now, this slogan, "Two, three, many Vietnams." "Two, three, many Vietnams" doesn't mean that you start throwing bombs, that you start shooting. There used to be a group that said that; they were the Social Revolutionaries in Russia. They fought with Lenin, and everything the SDSers said about you today, the SRs said about Lenin. They said, "You're a moderate; you want to do all that single-issue stuff." If you want to talk about single-issue demonstrations, look at the mass marches which took place in Petrograd leading to the Russian Revolution.

Seattle demonstrators: 'Bring 'em all home!'

By Wendy Reissner and Gwynn Vorhaus
SEATTLE—Nixon's attempt to bring back memories of the good old days when the troops came home from Korea, met a quick resistance from the antiwar movement here.

About ten days before the event, spokesmen from the Army announced that Seattle had been chosen to host a parade of the vanguard of the 25,000 GIs being withdrawn from Vietnam. It was also announced that General Westmoreland and Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor would greet the troops.

The Nixon administration obviously intended to make national hay out of the parade in an attempt to lull the American people into thinking that the war is almost over. Seattle was probably chosen as the host city above major West Coast cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco with the expectation that there would be a smaller likelihood of large antiwar demonstrations. The parade was set for 11:30 am on a weekday when there would be less opportunity to draw people for a demonstration.

Yet the Seattle antiwar movement was able to mobilize 300 people in the pouring rain, to welcome the troops home and protest the hoax. 841 GIs, with guns on their shoulders, were paraded through downtown Seattle in formation. As they neared the public library, where they were to stand at parade rest and hear speeches, they were greeted by chants of, "Welcome Home! Bring Them All Home!" V signs

went up from the protesters. One GI at the end of the parade held up his hand and returned the salute. A number of others surreptitiously gave the sign by changing the positioning of the fingers holding their guns to a V.

Two huge banners read, "BRING ALL THE TROOPS HOME NOW!" and "WELCOME HOME GIs! WE'LL STAY IN THE STREETS TILL THEY'RE ALL HOME!" Picket signs repeated these slogans and others, like "It's a Trick Dick. Bring Them All Home," and "Welcome Home GIs, Join the Antiwar Movement."

About an equal number of "patriots" waving American flags showed up. A large girl's school had been let out and equipped with American flags especially for the festivities. The scene was emotionally charged. Many of the "patriots" really wanted to believe that the war was over, and were very upset by the demonstration which brought home the reality of the situation. An incident typified this mood. A young girl with an American flag stepped up to block a sign saying, "We Want Them All Home." She said, "How can you do this!" The demonstrator explained that the war was not over, and she was demonstrating because the token pullout was being used to fool people; that it would take 20 years to bring them home if 25,000 were withdrawn annually, and that three normal days worth of replacements could make up for 25,000 withdrawn. The girl with the flag began to cry and stepped aside.

After the rally the GIs were whisked off



Seattle demonstrators welcome GIs

in buses to Seattle Center for salmon and beer. The public was excluded from the salmon bake, but demonstrators grouped outside and met the GIs as they came out with leaflets and antiwar GI newspapers. Many were friendly to the demonstrators. They had just been subjected to four days of drilling for the parade and the speeches from Westmoreland and city and state officials. One GI summed up the sentiments of a number of his buddies when he said, "I had to fight their lousy war for them and now they bring me home and make me march in a parade!" No longer in formation, many of the GIs gave the V sign as they left the center.

Initiators of the action included: Student Mobilization Committee; GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace; YSA; American Friends Service Committee; Seattle Women Act for Peace; Clergy and Lay Concerned about Vietnam; East Side Forum; and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

After the parade and protest the press coverage was mixed. The *Post Intelligencer* carried a totally fabricated story saying that a dozen hippies demonstrated and were arrested for throwing firecrackers into the parade. The other major newspaper, the *Seattle Times*, featured a front-page picture of the demonstration, with sympathetic coverage. The television news both locally and nationally tried to play down the demonstration. But in doing so they

defeated the administration's purposes. The demonstration was such an integral part of the parade that the only way they could play it down was to play down the parade itself.

GIs, civilians celebrate 4th at Austin picnic

AUSTIN, July 4—About 100 civilians and 50 GIs gathered in Austin's Peace Park to celebrate the Fourth of July with a GI-civilian picnic. The picnic, sponsored by the University Committee to End the War in Vietnam and by the *GI Organizer* and the *Fatigue Press* (two Ft. Hood antiwar GI newspapers), offered civilians and GIs the opportunity to come together to eat, drink, and talk with one another.

At one point during the picnic, all the GIs from the different area bases (men came from Fts. Hood, Sam Houston, Waller, and Lackland AFB) met to discuss issues and actions on the various posts. Ft. Hood soldiers informed the groups of their petition drive, which is an effort to rid the base of regulations violating the rights guaranteed under the First and Fourth Amendments. "Here it is July 4, 1969," one GI said, "and, we're still fighting for the rights we were supposed to have won in 1776." The Ft. Hood men, while stating their willingness to fight, at the same time appealed for civilian support.

Men from Ft. Sam Houston, San Antonio, announced the publication of the first issue of their underground antiwar paper, *Your Military Left*, put out by officers and enlisted men of Ft. Sam.

The importance of civilian support for the antiwar GI movement was continually stressed throughout the afternoon, both by UCEWV members and the soldiers. "Without civilians behind us," said one GI, "we're nowhere; like, we're dead."

Police riot in San Diego

By Alan Stancliff

SAN DIEGO—A police attack on the black community here on July 12 left two dead and scores injured. The events which led to the deaths of Bruce A. Lewis, 19, and Willard T. Bryant, 27, began with a minor traffic incident when a cop told a black man to move his car away from a park. People in the park gathered around the police car and an argument began. Armed with teargas and firearms, 140 police from the city and surrounding communities were on the scene in no time. Police used teargas and shot indiscriminately in order to disperse the crowd.

Vietnamese women greet Seattle action

SEATTLE—Following the public announcement that antiwar forces would demonstrate at the parade of returning GIs a message was received from a delegation of North Vietnamese women visiting in Vancouver. Signed by Vo Thi The, a leader of the North Vietnamese Women's Union, the message said in part:

"We welcome the people on the peace committees who organized this demonstration.

"You are aware of schemes of the U.S. Government, and know that these troops coming back are just to appease the American public. We hope that your committees demand that all U.S. troops be brought home, and that your government ends this war of aggression.

"In the interest of the American people, and in the interest of the children of our two nations, we hope that the peace-and-justice-loving people in the United States will take multiple and stronger actions to end the war. We urge you to stop the United States from squandering the lives of young Americans. Do not let the capitalists get rich on the blood of our two peoples."

New York tunnel a monoxide menace

Crass cynicism and utter lack of regard for workers' health is as great among government employers as it is in private industry. Consider the case of the tunnel employees working for the New York City Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority.

More than three years ago, in March, 1965, the Authority received a report on the levels of carbon monoxide in the Queens-Midtown and the Brooklyn-Battery tunnels. This report was never made public, and it took the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees all this time to force Robert Morris, the commissioner, to give them the document.

The report showed that in 1965 carbon monoxide levels to which the guards and toll collectors were exposed daily was twice the level considered dangerous.

Since March 1965 the number of vehicles going through the two tunnels has increased from 179 million to 211 million.

Ventilation is adjusted in these tunnels only when carbon monoxide levels reach three times the danger level.

Anthony Mauro, president of AFSCME Local 1396, said that the union has conducted physical examinations on 22 workers from the Brooklyn-Battery tunnel. The results, he said, "show striking abnormality in blood samples." The normal level of hemoglobin is 14 grams per tenth liter of blood. The men examined had 18.1 grams of hemoglobin.

The union is fighting, so far unsuccessfully, to force the Authority to provide better protection against this deadly air pollution. But the Authority has thus far

The National Picketline

remained deaf to the demands.

An 18-day strike of 1,000 nurses at eight of San Francisco's largest hospitals was settled July 2.

Wages will go up \$50 a month, retroactive to January 1, and another \$40 next February. The nurses had earned \$600 to \$810 per month. They will also receive premium pay for night work, longer vacations, more sick leave, at least every fourth weekend off, and improved fringe benefits.

Perhaps their most significant victory—and even that was a compromise—was a greater voice in staffing and nursing procedures. Elected committees will make "advisory recommendations" to four-member review committees—committees which will consist of one member of the Nurses Association, one of the individual hospital's nursing staff, one from the administration, and one from the board of trustees.

The bitter strike of 140 members of the Minot (N. D.) Teachers Federation against that city's school board is apparently still on. The latest bulletin available, dated

June 1, from the *Minneapolis Tribune*, says, "Minot School Mediators May Report Today."

This strike began April 2 to protest the school board's breaking off of wage negotiations and the posting of 1969-70 wage schedules.

The strikers represent one-third of the total faculty of Minot's public schools. The balance belong to Minot Educational Ass'n, an affiliate of the National Educational Ass'n. The MEA members are not on strike.

The strike has been marked by the issuance of an injunction, the jailing of 22 teachers for violation of that edict, the arrest of 23 others who, hoping to test the issue in court, refused to sign a confession to such violation, the creation of a mediation panel, the firing of all strikers and hiring of replacements, and, if silence is any indication, now a stalemate.

A wave of "sick calls" that began June 30 and forced the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation to close its Pittsburgh plant, was called off and strikers returned to their jobs July 8.

There is no indication as to why the strikers returned. The *Wall Street Journal* says, "Union officials were not available for comment."

The dispute arose over a company change in an incentive pay system. Jones and Laughlin has the lowest coverage ratios in the steel industry—only 45 percent of the production workers are covered.

—Marvel Scholl

The Great Society

Next, Canines United—King, one of the labrador retrievers being trained to track Vietnamese guerrillas, is sitting in a Ft. Gordon doghouse awaiting discharge for apparently refusing to participate in the program. News about King has been hard to come by. Col. Henry Gibson, commandant at the Ft. Gordon military police school, told one newsmen, "We don't want you to represent this dog as a conscientious objector. You might say tracking VC is not his bag."

How Christian can you get?—The Archbishop of Munich vigorously defended his Auxiliary Bishop, the Most Rev. Matthias Defregger, for his role in the execution of 17 Italian villagers during World War II. Defregger, then a captain in a German antiguerrilla unit, had sanctioned the killing of innocent villagers as a retaliatory measure. Justifying this, the Archbishop said the action was in accord with the laws of the time and that, further, Defregger had acted with true Christian mercy. "Thus," he said, "he let the women and children be removed to spare them the terrible sight."

Sports Dep't—A recent fur show featured a mink football muffler. \$1,200.

Free balls he'll give 'em—A group of black youth from an antipoverty center in Wyandanch, N. Y., were given a graphic summary of what this system has to offer when they met with Richard DiNapoli, director of Babylon Town park beaches to present certain demands. They asked for a water fountain at a local park, indoor and outdoor basketball courts and year-round courses at the center in Swahili, African history, sewing and cooking. DiNapoli offered them free ping-pong balls.

Death on the cheap—Those not overkilled by the bomb may have to face the plague, an apparently thriftier form of genocide. Spending only about \$500 million a year on germ warfare, the U. S. has reached the point of oversupply where it is trying to bury some in the Atlantic.

The pursuit of happiness—As we chomped on a medium-rare piece of gristle

at Tad's, we read about Maurice C. Dreicer who, accompanied by "a coolly efficient blond" secretary, travels the world in pursuit of the perfect steak. To satisfy his particular kick, he carries a battery-lighted magnifying glass, a set of pocket scales, a meat thermometer and, for the ultimate test, a silver butter knife. Founder and sole member of the Order of Great Dining Establishments of the World, Mr. Dreicer has invested an estimated \$600,000 in his search for a slab of properly marbelized beef.

Shrinking market—The seventh annual God, Family and Country Rally, which ended in Boston July 7, was the smallest yet. The 700 at the gathering represented about half of previous turnouts. Among the missing were an entire panel of an announced civil rights seminar entitled, "Who Speaks for the Negro People."

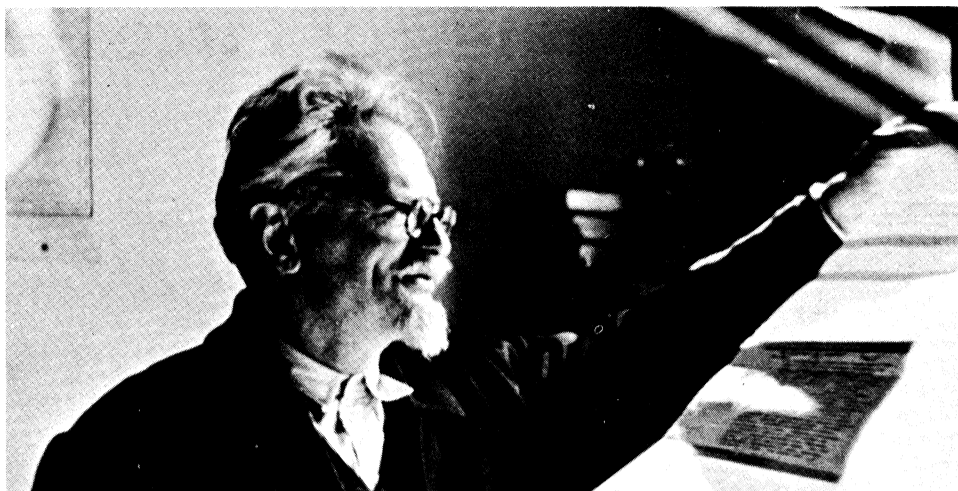
Defection—Among the participants in the annual God, Family and Country Rally was Miles McClelland, a former Birch Society chapter leader who announced he had defected to become a "moderate Republican." Among a variety of Birch front groups McClelland said he had headed was the Revere Friends of the United Nations. Explaining the sneaky title, McClelland said, "We were unusually deceptive here, posing as UN supporters. The idea was to get the unsuspecting to join and then hit them with the anti-UN literature put out by the Society." Whatever you might think of their politics, you have to admit those Birchers have real clear minds.

What better proof!—Just before blast-off, the three spacemen were handed the torn halves of four \$1 bills for comparison with the other halves when they return. This is to assure that the ones who return are the same ones who took off.

We never thought of that—"The major sticking point in the negotiations has been disagreement over who should run South Vietnam after the fighting ends." —The July 7 Wall Street Journal.

— Harry Ring

Reading for revolutionaries Revolution and morality



Trotsky

Their Morals and Ours, by Leon Trotsky. Merit Publishers. 95 cents.

The question of morality usually arises in relation to important political issues. Most often it is dragged in by conservative elements who find the methods of those trying to change things lacking in morality. This sort of thing is invariably a smoke screen designed to conceal the opposition of the conservatives to any changes. Thus rebel students and blacks are faulted for supposedly not having the moral right to do some of the things they have done in recent times.

However, the question of morality can arise in various other connections. For example, many people are opposed to American intervention in Vietnam because they think it is morally wrong. Another example is the struggle for black equality conducted by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, who relied almost entirely on the idea that the oppression of Afro-Americans was morally wrong.

The question of morality has an immense political importance; those who believe, and correctly so, that both the war in Vietnam and the discrimination against minorities are morally wrong, in many cases can be convinced that these wrongs can be righted only through political action.

The work by Trotsky on this question is the only fully rounded exposition of the position of revolutionary Marxism on the question of morals. It is a sharp, even a biting polemic against those who discovered the alleged amorality of revolutionary socialists and in some cases discovered as a result that there is no difference between Stalinism and Bolshevism.

In the course of this work the author deals specifically with many of the outstanding political events of his time and in the process explains the role of morality in these events. He goes into the ever-present question of means and ends and discusses the question, "Does the end justify the means." He explains the inseparable interrelationship between means and ends. He deals with the question of civil war, the taking of hostages, the so-called eternal

and universal moral precepts that are supposed to be binding on both sides of a struggle regardless of who is in the right and who in the wrong. In the process he throws a shining light on how revolutionaries can determine what means are necessary to gain their ends and what are not. The discussion does not ignore the ends, the goals, which in all serious political disputes are different.

Revolutionaries must understand the relation of means and ends. Only in such an understanding can they fully explain their ideas to others who have been taken in by capitalist propaganda that seeks to suppress certain activities on moral grounds.

Once the question of means and ends has been fully unraveled, it is easy to cope with such other questions as violence in present-day society, the question of self-defense and many other questions that are relevant today. Trotsky's work is a great contribution to understanding this complex and sometimes elusive question.

—Milton Alvin

Merit publishes historic record of IWW gathering

NEW YORK—Merit Publishers announced the release of an important new book, **The Founding Convention of the IWW.**

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

In this volume are recorded the words of the 112 delegates who took the floor. Among them are the speeches of such figures as Eugene V. Debs, Daniel DeLeon, Big Bill Haywood, Lucy Parsons and Mother Jones. Also included are communications read, resolutions passed or defeated, committee reports, and the tabulation of roll-call votes.

The works reviewed in this column are generally available from Merit Publishers. For a free catalog write to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 669-4025.

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

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 443 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103

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WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3218 Wisconsin Ave. N. W. #3. Tel: (202) 362-0037.

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

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Spock conspiracy acquittal victory for antiwar forces

By Joel Aber

The reversal of the conspiracy convictions of Dr. Benjamin Spock and three other antiwar spokesmen is an important victory for freedom of speech and for the antiwar movement.

The First U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the convictions of Dr. Spock, Michael Ferber, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Mitchell Goodman July 11, sending the latter two cases back for retrial while freeing Spock and Ferber from further prosecution. The four had been charged with "conspiracy" to aid and abet draft evasion. The three circuit judges were split 2-1, with the dissenting jurist favoring acquittal rather than retrial for all four defendants.

Diane Schuder, one of the attorneys for Dr. Spock, told *The Militant*, "The victories in these four cases were especially important in the light of resurgence of the use of 'conspiracy' laws as weapons to muzzle dissent, particularly expressions of opposition to the Vietnam war."

Conspiracy laws have been used historically as a means of political persecution. These laws are tailored for the use of witch-hunting prosecutors because they require no evidence of commission of a crime in order to convict.

"The modern crime of conspiracy," said former Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, "is so vague that it almost defies definition." Its vagueness is its strength in an atmosphere of witchhunt hysteria, since it permits the authorities to make the dragnet as big as they want through guilt by association and the use of innuendo to imply advocacy. But the atmosphere in the United States is different today. Mass opposition to such crucial government policy as its imperialist war in Vietnam helps create an atmosphere in which most Americans realize that the authorities have no right to prevent them from exercising freedom of speech.

Yet the government is constantly searching for ways to somehow gag the opposition to its unpopular war and put a damper on the struggle of third-world people against racial oppression. Thus the use of conspiracy laws in the cases of the Oakland 7, the Berkeley 3, the Panther 21 in New York and the eight indicted for participation in demonstrations when the Chicago cops rioted at the Democratic con-



Dr. Benjamin Spock

vention last year. But public opinion is such that it isn't easy for the government to make the victim appear to be the criminal, and it isn't easy for them to put dissenters behind bars. No major "conspiracy" case has recently been upheld in the courts.

In overturning the convictions of Spock, et. al., the judges attached added import to their decision by noting at the outset that they were dealing with cases of people who had opposed the Vietnam war. Several possible important precedents may have been set by the judges' ruling, including the following:

- Statements by alleged co-conspirators cannot be used as evidence, thus striking a blow at the guilt-by-association ploy used by the prosecution, which in these cases had included as "evidence" statements and deeds by numerous other opponents of the draft and the war who happened to speak at rallies and meetings attended by the defendants.

- Mere expressions of admiration for those who take militant stands cannot be construed as aiding or abetting such persons to violate the law.

- Signing of a petition advocating acts that may be construed as illegal is not proof of "conspiracy" to commit such acts.

Brass continues harassing of antiwar GI activists

NEW YORK, July 17—In continuing attempts to harass antiwar GIs, Army authorities convicted a GI of distributing "unauthorized literature" and gave undesirable discharges to three others.

Spec/4 Jack K. Riley, a Vietnam vet from Mississippi and member of GIs United at Ft. Bragg, N. C., was framed up on the word of one witness—a plainclothes Army agent—that he had passed out the GIs United statement of aims June 26. Actually Riley had been distributing the Bill of Rights, which the Bragg brass had "authorized" as okay for GIs United to give out.

An indication of the flimsiness of the Army's case was the light sentence imposed.

Riley is restricted to his company area for 30 days and was reduced one grade in rank, from Spec/4 to E-3. Riley was defended by Peter Rindskopf of Atlanta in conjunction with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Meanwhile, Pvt. Joe Cole and Pvt. Tommie Woodfin of the Ft. Jackson 8 have been notified of undesirable discharges. Cole was ordered not to remain on post beyond July 18. In addition, Pvt. Edwin Glover, a socialist antiwar GI whose "private war" with the Ft. Benning, Ga., brass received nationwide publicity last fall, was discharged July 10. All three plan to appeal, demanding honorable discharges, since discharges are supposed to be based solely upon military record, not on expression of political beliefs.

The Riley, Cole, Woodfin and Glover cases are all being handled by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Contributions for the defense may be sent to the GI CLDC at Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York 10011.

Pvt. Ken Cross was given the mild sentence of two months at hard labor with no confinement after an initial harsh sentence for distributing unauthorized literature—*Short Times*, the Ft. Jackson, S. C., GIs United newspaper. At his special court-martial at Ft. Jackson July 14, Cross was at first given the maximum sentence possible: six months at hard labor, the first three in the stockade, six months forfeiture of pay and busting to the rank of E-1. In a routine review that normally upholds the original sentence, brigade commander Col. Thomas Maertens reduced the sentence July 16 following two days of civilian demonstrations at the gates of Ft. Jackson demanding Cross' release.



Photo by Shannon

Jole Cole

A socialist candidate's day at induction center

By Syd Stapleton
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for mayor of Cleveland

CLEVELAND—As happens to many young men, I received "Greetings" from Uncle Sam and was ordered to report for induction July 9.

While not ecstatic about this turn of events, since we had just turned in 20,000 signatures to put me on the ballot as socialist candidate for mayor, my supporters noted that we wouldn't be really losing a candidate, but gaining an army.

At a July 7 press conference, I made it clear that if inducted I would use my free speech rights to publicize the need to bring all the GIs home now and the need for black control of the black community. In celebration of my induction, the Young Socialists for Stapleton and Harris (YSSH) would organize a gala send-off rally.

The major point of the rally was that induction of a socialist into the Army wasn't the occasion for a funeral. Through media publicity and directly to the inductees we were making a clear indication of the enormous confidence that we have in the level of antiwar sentiment in the Army—and its potential. In spite of all that, I don't think anything could have really prepared me for the response from both the inductees and the GIs working in the induction center.

On July 9 at 6 o'clock in the morning at the Federal Building in downtown Cleveland over 50 people demonstrated their support, including the YSSH Red Army Marching Band. While the band played "From the Halls of Montezuma" and "Anchors Aweigh" on kazoos, young men reporting for induction were handed leaflets and brochures explaining the aims of the socialist campaign. The response from the young inductees was always friendly—they didn't seem eager to enter the Army and be sent to Vietnam. After singing the International, James Harris (socialist candidate for East Cleveland Board of Education) and I walked into the Federal Building, where Harris was turned back by a couple of the many different varieties of cops on the scene for the rally.

Once past the cops and into the elevator, the atmosphere began to change. A young inductee introduced himself and said that he had seen TV coverage of the campaign and liked it very much. He said that he was a law student and interested in preparing materials on GI rights.

In the assembly room about 20 of us sat in front of the three GIs responsible for briefing us and administering the "loyalty" oath. Brochures on the campaign protruded from every pocket and, most surprising of all, two of the three GIs were reading the brochure and openly smiling, nodding their heads, and bitching about the Army—all within sight of the new inductees. In an office area adjacent to the briefing room there was a heated debate going on over what the meaning of "socialism" was.

Finally the processing began with one of the GIs reading a prepared statement on the loyalty oath. The unusual part of the ritual was that he grimaced and chuckled every time he came to something about "subverting the sacred trust of our defense apparatus." When the briefing

was over I was separated from the others and sent to the security office.

On my way to the security office I discussed the campaign with a young GI who worked at the induction center. He told me that he agreed with our defense of Ahmed Evans, the black nationalist framed with the killing of white cops. He told me that one of the prosecution's key witnesses, Walter Washington, had been passed through the induction center after testifying against Ahmed Evans in spite of the fact that Washington was not qualified for induction into the Army. Washington, who was under indictment for glue sniffing and first-degree murder, was offered enlistment in the Army and the dropping of all charges if he would testify against Evans. It was his testimony which linked Evans to the shootout with the cops during the Glenville Incident last July. Pressure exerted by City Hall was the determining factor in the requirements being waived, the GI said.

At the security office I was told that any decision on whether I was a "security risk" would be made in the security headquarters in Virginia. I was then routed over to Military Intelligence. Here I was told that a series of questions on my political associations would be put to me for my benefit and "for the benefit of the United States, to gain information to prevent subversion of the defense effort." The Military Intelligence officer agreed with me that this was a pretty phony reason for invading my privacy and violating my First Amendment rights.

However, since he did want something to put down I disclosed my past membership in several organizations, namely the Cub Scouts and the Boy Scouts. Dutifully he put these on the sheet together with the dates of membership. Then they fingerprinted me and sent me out, giving me time to wander around the building.

What was really impressive about my induction was the extremely friendly response of GIs and inductees alike. I had several discussions with GIs on the campaign. People would give me the thumbs up sign wherever I was routed in the induction center.

Finally, they called me back to the security office. There I was told that, on recommendation of the Virginia security headquarters, my induction was to be deferred. At that point the Information Officer stuck his head in the door and said, "Mr. Stapleton, you're wanted in the lobby by Channel Three." In the lobby I gave an interview to Channel Three and we had a friendly discussion of the socialist campaign.

That night the interview was shown on the 6 o'clock and 11 o'clock news programs.

Perhaps the highlight of the whole induction day was the conversation I had on the campaign with a GI who escorted me to the lobby. On the way down this GI told me:

"Deferring your induction means that the Army is scared shitless of you. If I lived in Cleveland I'd vote for you. The guys who conducted the briefing want you to know that they hope you win."

Join the Socialist Campaign in Cleveland! For more information write to: Socialist Campaign Committee, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio, 44112.



Photo by Dave Wulp

ROCK AND REVOLUTION. The Eli Radish provides entertainment at recent SWP election rally for Stapleton and James Harris at Case-Western Reserve University.