

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 32

Friday, August 8, 1969

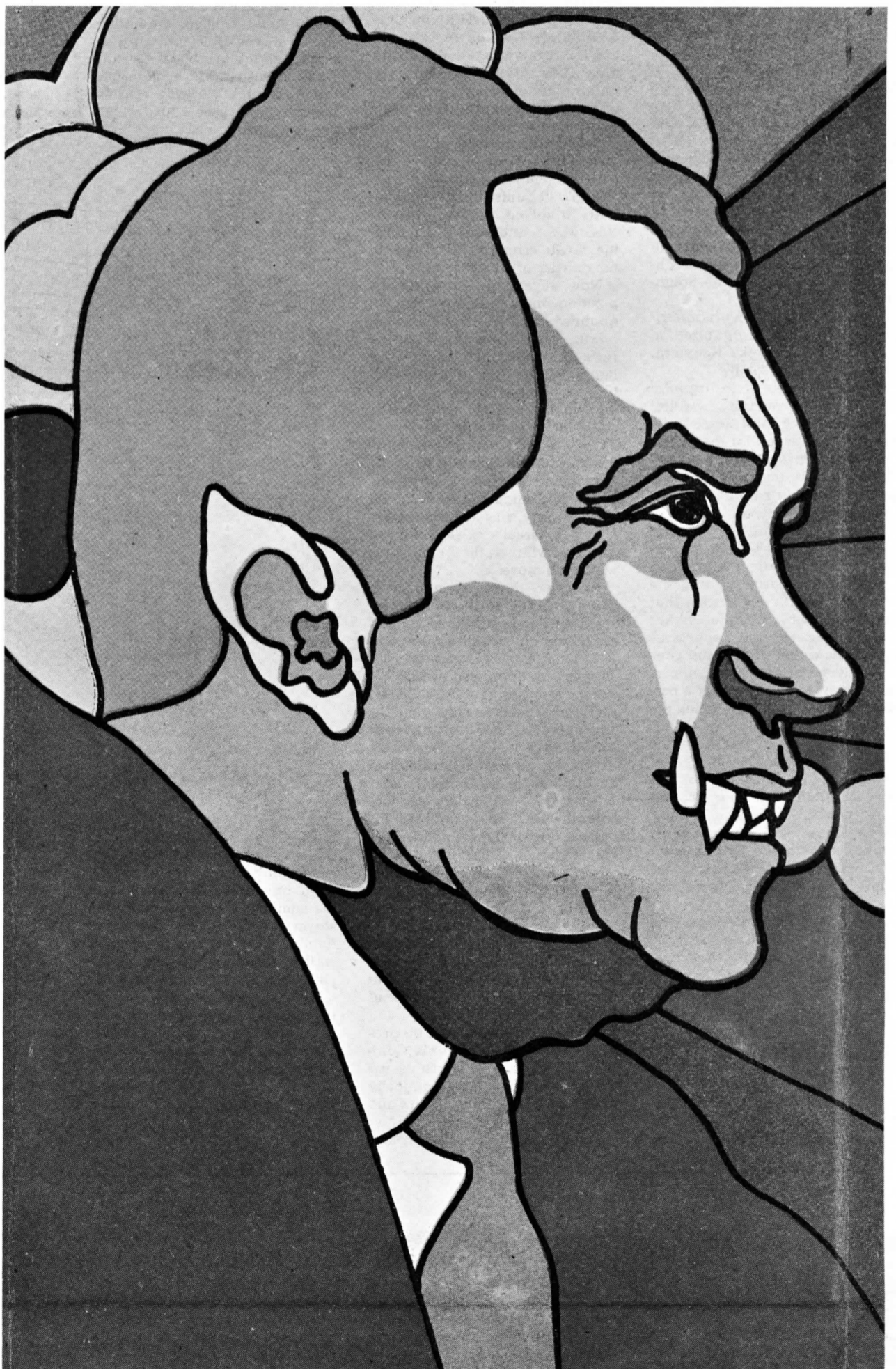
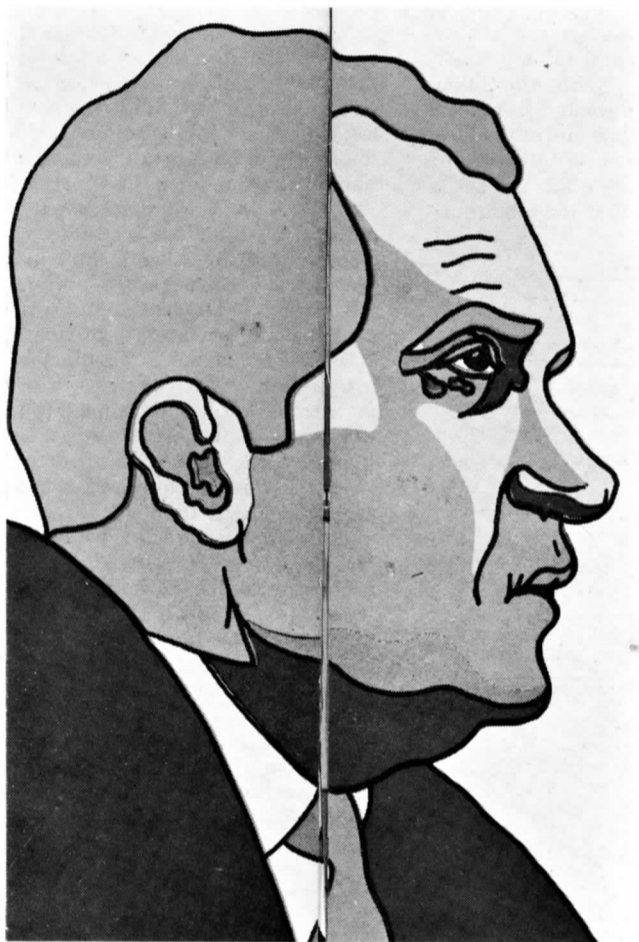
Price 15c

Cops attack Chicago Panther offices

BULLETIN—As we went to press, it was reported that Chicago police had made an unprovoked savage attack on the local Black Panther Party headquarters. Claiming they had been fired on, they shot their way into the headquarters and proceeded to burn and wreck the place. Five of the cops reportedly received minor wounds from Panthers who tried to defend themselves. Three people were arrested and held on stiff bail. Witnesses in the street said the cops started the shooting.

Nixon's scheme to defuse U.S. antiwar movement

—See page 5



The President of the Free World on a foldout poster by the Organization of African, Asian, Latin American Solidarity (Tricontinental).

Florida black revolutionary jailed

JOMO leader on hunger strike

Brenham, Texas
Joseph Waller, a founder of JOMO (the Junta of Revolutionary Organizations) and JOMO's ambassador-at-large, surrendered himself to St. Petersburg, Fla., police on frameup charges of using obscene language, verbal abuse of a police officer and assaulting a patrolman.

Waller wrote an open letter to the black community announcing that he will go on a hunger strike. His letter was quoted as follows in the **St. Petersburg Times**: "Today I write to you from the bowels of hell. Again I am in the white man's jail. But jail is nothing new to me as it is nothing new to any black man who has resisted America's racist way of life. . . For me there can be only one choice. I will either live as a man or die as a man. It's that simple.

"For the entire period that I am in their jail, I will neither eat their food nor drink their water. And they shall release me alive—or they shall keep me for as long as it takes for a man to die without food and water.

"Under these conditions they may have my body. But my soul belongs to the black folks."

I have talked to the JOMO people several times. JOMO is a sincere revolutionary organization and apparently is bringing consciousness to a large number of people in Florida. It is an answer to the humiliating and inhuman conditions blacks face in the Southern city ghettos.

"It is the first revolutionary group in the South organized on this scale," says Zeke Kenyatta, prime minister of JOMO.

Their program is to organize the black community, protect black property and teach true history and respect for their race.

Sam Shatchete, minister of education, put it this way: "We are sick of living in rat-infested, disease-breeding houses. We have too many little children growing up in the ghetto with no breakfast before school, with ragged clothes and learning only the man's trash. It's the system that keeps it that way, that makes whitey racist, that oppresses people the world over. It just goes back to the bag of being imperialist; they have to exploit a person as blacks are now being exploited."

There are problems with the cops. According to Kenyatta, "They are trying to destroy us. You can't do anything around here without the pigs coming down on you and busting heads. We have members of the organization who have been busted for night prowling—in their own back yards."

Financial help is welcome and can be sent to JOMO, 2450 Harrington Ave. South, St. Petersburg, Fla., care of Zeke Kenyatta.
R. H. B.

Special offer for GIs

Kansas City, Mo.
I have read a few copies of **The Militant** but have never got-

Letters from our readers

ten around to subscribing.

In the July 15 issue I read that military personnel could subscribe for \$1 for six months. Hope this still holds. Please send the sub to my civilian address.

U. S. Coast Guardsman
[Yes, the offer remains good. See subscription blank, page 11.
— Editor

A "proletarian Jewish nationalism"?

Philadelphia, Pa.
To the Arab student M. S. [whose letter was published in the July 4 **Militant**], I would reply that I am for two states, similar to the UN 1947 resolution plan. The nationality of Israeli Jews is entitled to sovereignty, to self-rule, self-determination, national rights, where there will be no possibility of Arab, non-Jewish (that is, gentile) domination.

Who will punish the Jewish criminals involved in Deir Yassin? Yes, M. S., and who will punish the Arab criminals involved in the murder of Israeli Jews?

Now, regarding **The Militant's** position on the subject, I am acquainted with A. Leon's work on the Jewish question. But the Jews are a nationality, not a religion. I have a double nationality—an American and a Jew. I am not an Israeli Jew, but I share their nationality.

The Israeli nationality was 2,000 years in forming from the elements of an exiled people. The genocide coming from non-Jewish class society was the imperative factor in Israel's existence. When all states whither, the Zionist state will be no more.

However, the stress on the term "Zion" by **The Militant** comes instead of the Leninist recognition of the right of self-determination.

As long as there is class society, Jews are an oppressed people. We are the scapegoats of class society, and of caste society, as the bureaucracies of Eastern Europe would have it. Can there not be a proletarian Jewish nationalism as opposed to a bourgeois one?

Anyway, Arab rulers are not equalitarian. They manage the oppression of Jews as do other ruling classes. A half million Jews in exile from Arab lands fear the possibility of another subjection to an Arab majority in a so-called democratic state of two peoples.

Jews will be won for the existence and prosperity of a Palestinian Arab nation-state, but not over our terrorized dead bodies.

Trotskyists must accept the program of the Sneh-Mikunis Communists in Israel, which is for the existence of a Jewish majority nation of Israel, for a Hebrew and Yiddish culture.

Before scientific socialism and

before utopian socialism came the socialism of the Jewish rabbis in the Talmud, of the Old Testament prophets.

Incidentally, **The Militant** is undoubtedly right that destruction of Arab dams and nationalized property will inflame the Arab masses by aggravating their miserable economic circumstances. Their grievance will be exploited by Arab reactionaries to maintain the belligerence threatening Israel.

May an Arab-Jewish peace-and-friendship coalition set Middle East extremists back.

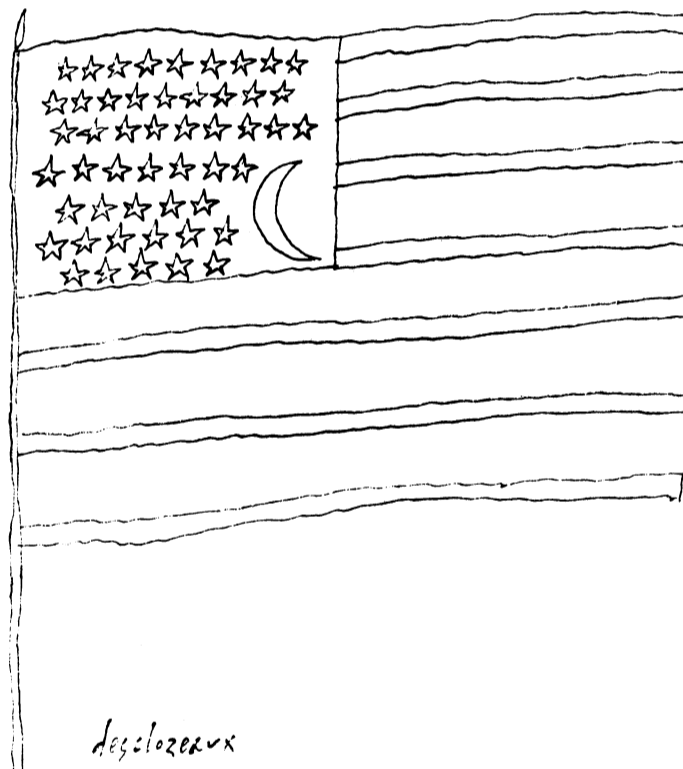
May Esau recognize his brother.

Hana Niel

Thoughts of Chairman Daley

Berkeley, Calif.
Your readers might be interested in the following: According to KCBS radio there is a new book out entitled **Quotations From Mayor Daley**. When questioned about the book recently, Daley reported that he "knew nothing about it." After a few moments reflection he added, "I was probably misquoted."

Rick Feinberg



Le Monde

Men on moon, men in subways

New York, N. Y.
The moon shot cost billions of dollars, but not one damn cent is spent for the needs of the people.

On one of the hottest days of the summer, when a sudden rain storm arose, the downpour flooded part of the subway and stalled trains for miles in the terrific heat. The street temperature was 100 degrees, and 30,000 people were caught in the subway without ventilation, with cars packed as tight as possible in the homeward rush hours.

People became sick, falling down, leaning upon one another, terrified in the sweltering underground heat—working people,

young and old, exhausted after working a full day in the heat.

Men go to the moon but we have an underground railroad system that has not been changed from its original construction at the turn of the century. People are packed in dilapidated cars with no room to spare. The city has grown but not the subway system.

And the irony of it all is that those 30,000 people who were trapped were not at all to blame for their plight. The city officials have called for an investigation. Yes, let's have a real investigation. Let the laboring people speak.

Otto Thomas

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Vol. 33—No. 32

Friday, Aug. 8, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Aug. 1.

Scientist speaks on morality of ABM

New York, N. Y.
The debate over the ABM system among U. S. congressmen and civilian and military "experts" is conducted almost exclusively in terms of military effectiveness.

The "crackpot realism" of this debate has been pointed up by Dr. Ernest Sternglass in the June 1969 issue of **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists**. He replies to Dr. F. J. Dyson, who in an earlier issue of the same publication, argued for an ABM system based on "defensive" missiles.

Dr. Sternglass says that there is a "fundamental fallacy" in the views of Dr. Dyson and others who "regard nuclear weapons as basically nothing more than large explosive devices or fire-bombs accompanied by a flash of radiation, whose effect may be more-

or-less judged by the local destruction they produce on the targets at which they are aimed, with relatively minor long-range radiation effects on distant populations or succeeding generations that pale in comparison with the immediate effects."

Dr. Sternglass points out that existing data from the very limited peace-time testing of nuclear weapons shows that even a society whose cities and populations survived nuclear war could "come to an end as the infants born to the survivors die in their first year of life due to damaged reproductive cells and developing early embryo." By the time the test ban came into effect in 1963, "the U. S. infant mortality reached about twice the normally expected value. . . in a manner directly correlated with the amount of strontium-90 in the milk and infant bone." As a result, about "one out of 100 children born died before reaching age one."

Dr. Sternglass concludes that the installation of ABM systems, with the proliferation of multimegaton warheads, would "seal the doom of mankind ever so much more firmly if the now unstabilized deterrent should ever fail."

The real question for us is not "defensive" vs. "offensive" missiles according to Dr. Sternglass, but: "Does any nation have the right to destroy the lives of innocent children in countries throughout the world in a vain effort to insure the survival of its own particular ideology and way of life, by weapons that release an indiscriminately-acting, long-lasting biological poison into the world's atmosphere."

B. S.

"Dogmatic" on SDS?

Atlanta, Ga.
I don't appreciate the extra-dogmatic analysis of SDS that appears regularly in **The Militant**, but wish to resubscribe.

J. R.

Men on moon, more men in subways

New York, N. Y.
On Friday, the weekend of the moon landing, a New York subway train was stalled for several hours underground between stations when rain leaked down into the tracks. Result: one man dead, scores ill and hospitalized.

Monday, the day of Nixon's National Moon holiday, the number of trains operating was drastically reduced to comply with the "holiday" schedule. While the VIPs running the government and the banks took the day off to congratulate themselves on their "great leap forward," the crowds on the subway platforms, on their way to work as usual, waited impatiently for trains that had been canceled.

The few trains that did operate were more jam-packed, overheated and unbearable than ever.

On their way to work, some expressed this view: "Now we know the real meaning of the moon shot for us—just some more of the same hell." One commuter commented, "It's easier to get to the moon than to get to work. The astronauts are right on time, and they get a seat."

Howard Mayhew

JOIN THE **YSA**

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

clip and mail

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

I would like more information I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

Atlanta socialist backs TUFF action

ATLANTA, Ga. — Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, took part in a militant rally and march here July 21 sponsored by Tenants United For Fairness (TUFF). She and other marchers carried signs calling for tenant control of public housing.

Atlanta's public housing projects have more than 31,000 tenants—this is more public housing than in any other city of comparable size, and is considered a very progressive and impressive record. Nonetheless, conditions of high rent, poor maintenance, prison-type rules and penalties have led to discontent and a growing militancy on the part of tenants.

For example, tenants receiving welfare payments are caught in a situation of having their rent automatically raised to eat up any increase in the welfare check. In fact, any initiative to earn a little more is squelched because tenants know their rents will be increased correspondingly. Tenants are charged for any damage to apartments, regardless of how the damage was caused. Tensions have been further raised by the fact that some housing projects are still racially segregated.

Some 150 to 200 tenants, along with their supporters from the Emmaus House, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, marched several times around the offices of the Atlanta Housing Authority carrying signs reading "Public Housing Is Hotter Than You Think," "Give Tenants More Control Over Their Lives," "Roaches Like Public Housing," "Public Housing is One Big Slave Plantation."

At the march, Linda Jenness issued a statement, which was circulated among the participants by her supporters. In it she condemned the housing bureaucrats for running the public housing program in such a way as to actually perpetuate poverty and called for "Tenant control of the Atlanta Housing Authority," "End racist war in Vietnam—use money for decent housing," and "Rent ceiling of 10% of tenants' income!"

"Thirty billion dollars of our tax money this year is paying for the racist war in Vietnam," she said. "I urge that we bring all American men home and use the vast

26th of July is celebrated in Atlanta

By John Staggs

ATLANTA, Ga. — The 16th anniversary of the July 26 attack on Moncada barracks by a small band of Cuban revolutionaries was celebrated by meetings in Atlanta which attracted over 100 people. The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party had a joint solidarity meeting on Friday with Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, as the featured speaker.

The meeting was attended by 35 people, including several young Cubans who were friendly to the Revolution.

Mrs. Jenness emphasized the need for unity among revolutionaries in the defense of the Cuban revolution. She pointed out that the Cuban leadership understood this and that Fidel had criticized division in the face of the enemy.

Recalling her recent trip to Cuba, she described how the revolution had changed the lives of the people of Holguin. Since the revolution the large sugar mill there has been expanded and provides year-round employment for the workers instead of for three months, which was the norm before.

"Two, three, many Vietnams," is the slogan that characterizes the consistent internationalism of the Cubans. Ending on this point she singled Cuba out as the only workers state today carrying out a genuine internationalist foreign policy in the manner of the first years of the Russian Revolution.

On Saturday, Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement-SDS and Newsreel presented four Cuban films. The films gave the 80 people in attendance a rounded view of Cuban art, politics, and culture. A lively discussion period followed the showings.

The YSA and SWP had proposed a united meeting with RYM-SDS and Newsreel to strengthen the defense of the Cuban Revolution. Unfortunately, RYM turned down the proposal, because of "political differences on other questions."



Photo by Andy Rose

Linda Jenness carries SWP placard

sums being spent there for improving living conditions here at home. We could build enough adequate new low-cost housing units for every family in this country with only a fraction of this money."

With reference to the proposed 10 percent rent ceiling, she commented: "When I visited Cuba in January I learned that, despite its relative poverty compared to the U.S. and a severe economic blockade, it has reduced rents to a maximum of 10 percent of a tenant's income. They plan to abolish all rents by 1970. This is certainly not too much to demand in Atlanta!"

Bus fare issue

The next day, public hearings were held on a proposed increase in bus fares. The Atlanta Transit System, a privately owned monopoly which operates the bus system, claims that the fare increase is needed because of a recently negotiated contract with the drivers' representative, the Amalgamated Transit Union. "The substantial increases in labor costs alone require an immediate increase in fares." At the same time, the Transit System admits that it pays drivers substantially less than the national average.

The proposed fare increase has met considerable public resistance. Representatives from the National Welfare Rights Organization, the local domestic workers' union, a senior citizens' group, Georgia State

College Students for a Democratic Society, *The Great Speckled Bird* newspaper and several community organizations testified at the public hearings. They said that increased fares would be an intolerable burden for working people, especially from the black community, who are absolutely dependent on bus transportation and who already feel the squeeze of inflation in many other areas.

Linda Jenness attended the hearings, and issued a statement in which she said, "I am strongly opposed to the proposed fare increases and urge that the Public Service Commission reject the ATS petition."

"I am further of the view, however, that bus transportation in this city should not be operated on a profit basis by a private monopoly nor should it even be expected to pay for itself. Bus transportation is a service that should be under public control and free to all.

"This service should be financed by a genuine progressive income tax aimed more directly at high-income individuals and corporations. My election platform includes a program for a progressive tax structure which if adopted would be able to make free public transportation possible. I call for a 100 percent tax on incomes more than \$25,000 per year, increased corporate taxes, and a 100 percent tax on all war profits.

The American Way of life

With equal justice for all

We have been thinking in recent days of a group of black poverty-agency staffers who were the subject of wide newspaper publicity in New York a while back. A number of them had been friends and schoolmates in Durham, N. C., and, according to the press, were known as the "Durham gang." It was charged they had been a bit fast and free with poverty-agency funds. This was considered quite newsworthy even though such misappropriation of public funds is not precisely the rarest feature of American political life.

One of the things that stuck with me was how greatly impressed the papers were with the fact that these young men apparently enjoyed having a good time and reportedly held parties where good wine and attractive women were not unduly scarce. The idea of such goings-on among these black federal employees seemed to hold a particular fascination for the press.

In thinking about these young men and how the press handled them, (I'm not aware there were ever any actual legal proceedings against them) the notion occurred to me, just suppose these young men had found themselves in a situation roughly like this:

They decide to go back to Durham for the annual fair (presuming they have one). Sentimental types, they invite a group of unmarried poverty agency secretaries along for the ride. (Their wives, for one or another reason, can't make it.)

They reserve motel rooms outside Durham for the week and a nearby cottage for a weekend roast. The night of the roast one of the group leaves to drive one of the young ladies home. The car goes off an embankment into the river.

The man escapes, the girl is trapped.

The next morning fishermen spot the car and the girl's corpse is removed. Shortly after this is publicly announced the young man contacts the local police to inform them he had been involved in the accident. Later he pleads guilty to leaving the scene of an accident and a Durham judge hastily explains that a poverty worker of his status should not be subjected to cross-examination.

Some questions remain however. So two national TV networks offer the young black man time to explain to the American people what happened. In a moving address, he tells them about the accident and how, in a state of shock, he went back to the party and got two of his friends to come help dive for the girl. They proved as unsuccessful as he was and they call it quits. He tells them to go back to the party but not to tell the other girls. Don't spoil their party. Still in a state of shock, he swims across the river back to the motel. About an hour or so later he seeks out the night manager to complain about noise next door and to ask him the time, explaining he doesn't have a watch.

The next morning he borrows a dime from the girl at the desk for a phone call. He's pleased when she recognizes him.

A few questions remain. Even if he was too shocked to notify the police, some hard-nosed people ask, why didn't his two friends do so. The head of the North Carolina Bar Association volunteers an explanation. Both men are lawyers. Therefore it would have been unethical for them to do so without the permission of their friend.

More facts could be added to this fantasy. But these certainly would be enough

TV edit seconds Jenness on fees

ATLANTA, Ga. — At a July 17 press conference, Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta protested, and declared her intention to challenge, a ruling establishing a \$5,000 filing fee for mayoralty candidates. On July 22 the follow-up editorial was presented to its viewers by Atlanta's WAGA-TV, channel 5.

There's a real danger that politics will become a rich man's game if the rules aren't changed and we think some serious attention should be given to the rules in Georgia. The Atlanta election this fall serves as a good illustration. Everybody knows it costs thousands of dollars to wage a city-wide campaign. But the cost of just getting into a race will keep a lot of hopefuls out.

Entering the mayor's race will cost \$5,000, vice mayor, \$1,400. The aldermanic board, \$1,200. The board of education, \$600. The fee equals two months salary of the office. Once paid, no part of the fee can be returned for any reason.

The fees are paid the last week in August for the election October 7. This IS the election, not a primary for the political parties. All candidates run on one ballot, without party identification.

TV-5 long ago raised questions which socialist candidate for mayor Linda Jenness has raised about the entry fees. The time is past when the cost of elections or primaries can be financed by fees charged the candidates. The fees and other rules should help keep publicity-seekers and non-serious candidates out. They should not be so high that they become barriers to those serious about public service. The public interest in this whole issue is clear, and it calls for some healthy reform—not only at the city level but in our County and State elections as well.

to satisfy the press and certainly the authorities that the whole unfortunate matter should be forgotten. After all, if the case were pursued, people might think we have a double standard of justice in America. Not to speak of morality.

— Herman Chauka

A Tennessee pool is integrated

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn — Black children successfully integrated a city swimming pool in this Southwest Tennessee cotton-belt community July 9, according to a news release issued by the Fayette-Haywood Workcamps. The workcamps were set up seven years ago, and are engaged in voter registration drives in Fayette and Haywood Counties as well as distribution of newsletters and helping fight against harassment by local whites.

Following the integration of the pool, Virgie Hortenstine, the coordinator of the workcamps, was roughed up by cops, who confiscated from her purse a camera with which she had been photographing the activity at the pool. Mrs. Hortenstine's camera was returned to her the next day when she went to the city hall with a delegation of 25 black people. Police Chief Darrell Bull informed her that there were no charges against her.

Brownsville's mayor Julian Welch had given in to demands to integrate the pool despite a campaign in the local newspaper and by the servile Negro pastor of the First Baptist Church against the workcamps.

Reform Democrats on Lindsay job wagon

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK—The lineup of capitalist politicians running for mayor appears to be fairly well set. John Marchi will run as the candidate of the Republican and Conservative Parties; Mario Procaccino is the Democratic candidate, and incumbent John Lindsay will run on the Liberal Party line, and most likely with an additional ballot designation as well.

Procaccino and Marchi are both running as "law and order" candidates, with Lindsay as the candidate who is against "fear" and for "hope." This produces a striking illustration of the total sham of capitalist politics. The "liberal" Lindsay has a four-year record of attack against the black and Puerto Rican communities, the student movement, and the labor movement.

Yet, the liberal politicians (with the Communist Party tagging along) and labor bureaucrats cover this over, conceding at most that perhaps Lindsay may have made "mistakes" in the past, but these are of a minor nature, and his intentions are really good. He should be supported against Procaccino and Marchi, we're told, who would institute some frenzied sort of "law and order" which would be qualitatively different from anything Lindsay has done.

Among Lindsay's labor supporters, for example, there has been no discussion of his actual record. John DeLury, head of the Sanitation Workers in New York has indicated possible support of Lindsay without, of course, putting the matter to a rank-and-file vote. In the spirit of contributing "hope" to New York, he has refrained from discussing Lindsay's call for the National Guard to be used against the sanitation strikers last year.

In the same spirit of "hope," Transport Workers Union officials announced endorsement of Lindsay the same day that it was announced that bus and subway fares in New York may rise from 20 cents to 25 cents the beginning of next year. The union leadership, which did not consult the rank-and-file, gave no explanation of the endorsement. Neither did they refer to the 1966 transit strike, where Lindsay also threatened to call in the National Guard, and jailed nine leaders of the union.

Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers, is planning, according to the July 27 *New York Times* to endorse Lindsay,



Photo by Shannon

"DEMOCRATIC" GATHERING. Uproar ensued at New York meeting of New Democratic Coalition when chairman Paul O'Dwyer gavelled down a spokesman for Puerto Rican group who sought to present motion that would have gone counter to endorsement of Lindsay.

seeing an atmosphere of "hope" and "progress" in the city's hospitals.

According to the June 2 *New York Times*, city hospitals, which in 1967 had only 1,200 registered nurses to fill 3,890 vacancies, recruited 400 more last year. However, in spite of this "progress," there are still a few problems. According to the *Times*, it took two extra years to renovate a nursery at Metropolitan Hospital because the city's Purchase Department could not reach agreement with a contractor. There also was a delay of one and a half years in buying 4,000 extra beds because the Purchase Department could not agree with the Hospitals Department on the size of guardrails.

Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of District Council 37 of AFSCME in New York, the first union official to endorse Lindsay, does not feel it important to discuss conditions in the city hospitals, although his own union brought them to public attention a year and a half ago, and more than 10,000 of the union's

members work in them. Needless to say, Gotbaum's endorsement was not brought to a rank-and-file vote.

Lindsay also has the endorsement of Democratic Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman elected to Congress. In her endorsement speech she said, "Mayor Lindsay has made mistakes . . . But they have been tactical errors made in the quest of sound goals. I believe, on the basis of the actions and words of Mr. Marchi and Mr. Procaccino, that their mistakes would be the fundamental errors of intent. They would negate the tone of progress that has dominated the Lindsay administration . . . John V. Lindsay has brought to many of the progressive thinkers here a sense of hope so badly needed."

Apparently, Lindsay's addition of 5,000 cops to the police force, his opposition to black control of the schools, his failure to prevent the welfare budget cuts, his opposition to the demands of black college students at CCNY, etc., etc., at their very worst are to be viewed as mere "tactical

errors made in the quest of sound goals."

Paul O'Dwyer, a leader of the Reform Democrats in New York, was more blunt. O'Dwyer was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Senate last year, and linked his campaign with that of Eugene McCarthy. The New Democratic Coalition, which O'Dwyer is a spokesman for, met July 16 to endorse Lindsay. Perhaps one might expect such "socially conscious" politicians to be concerned with such things as Medicaid cuts, the abysmal quality of hospital care in New York, the lack of decent housing, the dangerous mechanical conditions of the subway system, and so on. But the July 17 *New York Post* disclosed that in order to obtain the group's endorsement, Lindsay was obliged among other things, to do the following:

- Support the position that U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau should be retained until the end of his term.

- Give the NDC an important role in the campaign, and a voice in operating city agencies.

- Endorse Democratic candidates for city, state and federal legislatures.

Herman Badillo, another leading Reform Democrat and the city's highest Puerto Rican elected official, has also endorsed Lindsay, and according to the July 30 *Times* has asked Lindsay to "institute administrative steps to decentralize some governmental services, perhaps by establishing pilot projects giving selected middle-class neighborhoods some control over services like refuse collection and the police." (Emphasis added.) Mary Perot Nichols writes in the July 3 *Village Voice* that other Reform Democrats are concerned with such vital issues as supporting reform Democratic Councilwoman Carol Greitzer and Congressman Edward I. Koch, plus guaranteeing the Reform Democrats three Criminal Court judgeships, and control of the city housing agencies.

The Reform Democrats apparently assume they can get no patronage from Marchi or Procaccino. Since Lindsay probably needs reform Democratic support to win the election, they assume he will have to pay a price for their support, not in terms of repudiating his past record, or dealing with city problems, but by giving them jobs, supporting their candidates, appointing them to task forces, study groups, etc.

In 1965, many liberals and even some radicals, were so desperate for a solution to New York's problems, that they supported Lindsay for mayor. The SWP at that time said they were mistaken, that Lindsay could no better solve the city's basic problems than any other capitalist politician. The only way to solve New York's basic problems is by taking on the industrial, financial and real estate interests which control this city—something no capitalist politician would do. Four years of Lindsay have confirmed this. We hope that people will not be taken in again, and that this time they will support a mayoral candidate with a meaningful anticapitalist program—Paul Boutelle of the Socialist Workers Party.

Third world liberation notes

Puerto Rican demands trial in Spanish

Florencio Merced-Rosa, a member of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement in San Juan, is challenging the right of the Federal government to conduct his draft-evasion trial in English.

Brother Merced-Rosa's lawyer, William H. Crane, argued that conducting the trial in English would deprive him of the right of due process as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Although Brother Merced-Rosa speaks some English as a result of his studies at the University of Puerto Rico, many of the jurors and witnesses speak only Spanish. And since it has been shown that the translators miss legal phrases and nuances in the English to Spanish transference, it means that the jurors and witnesses lose a lot of the trial.

In response to this challenge, the judge said that he would rule at a later date.

In addition, Crane is also moving to get the whole trial dropped since the U.S. Supreme Court has not yet ruled on cases before it of conscientious objections on the basis of moral rather than religious grounds. This is the position that Brother Merced-Rosa took in his refusal to be drafted.

Last spring, Brother Merced-Rosa went on a brief speaking tour in this country in defense of the 25 indicted Puerto Rican students of whom he is one. The 25 are being charged with the death of a taxi-cab driver who was killed by police when the police attacked a student demonstration.

In a pamphlet published by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Mrs. Mary Kochiyama relates her experiences in the initial incarceration of 109,000 Japanese-Americans at the beginning of World War II. The pamphlet is entitled, "Concentration Camps USA—It has happened here—It could happen again."

Even thought 109,000 Japanese-Amer-

icans were thrown into make-shift concentration camps throughout Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Wyoming, and Arkansas, there was no move against the Italian-American and German-American. And the incarceration of the Japanese-American was carried out under orders from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself. As Mrs. Kochiyama states, "On March 18, 1942, President Roosevelt established the War Relocation Authority and promulgated Executive Order 9102, the directive to formulate and effectuate a program of relocation, maintenance and supervision."

Mrs. Kochiyama, who was then 20 years old and residing in Los Angeles, recounts how, even before this move, FBI agents came to her house two hours after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941, and carted her father off to a federal penitentiary. By the end of the day, 1,300 civic, business, professional, and religious leaders of the Japanese-American community had been arrested as supposedly "dangerous aliens." Mrs. Kochiyama's father was in the fishing business. When they seized him, he had just undergone surgery for a bleeding ulcer.

On Jan. 20, 1942, her father was returned home in an ambulance. Less than 14 hours later, he was dead. And then the FBI had the gall to call the family to tell to tell them that anyone attending the funeral would be under surveillance. Despite what was done to her father, Mrs. Kochiyama's twin brother was accepted into the Army.

After she and her family were removed from Los Angeles, they were finally moved to a concentration camp at Denson, Arkansas.

Following her story, the pamphlet goes into existing anti-immigrant legislation such as the McCarran Act.

The pamphlet can be obtained as single copies or 20 for \$1 or 100 for \$3. Order

from: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21st St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

There is a new publication and organization in Canada centered in Toronto. The publication is **Black Liberation News**, and the organization is the Black Liberation Front of Canada.

On the front page of the newspaper, there is an article by the late Brother Ted Watkins. He was shot down by a white bartender in California last summer.

Another article reports on the victimization of a brother by the Montreal police. The major article deals with the history and objectives of the BLFC.

Copies, contributions, and \$1-a-year subscriptions can be obtained by writing to Black Liberation News, P.O. Box 967 Station "F", Toronto, Ontario.

The following is a reprint from **El Grito Del Norte** which reprinted it from **The Cherokee Examiner**. It's entitled, "Indian Boy's Essay On Soil Problem."

"Not long ago the editors of the Farmer-Stockman printed a picture of a deserted farmhouse in a desolate, sandswept field, then offered a prize for the best 100 word essay on the disastrous effects of land erosion. A bright Indian lad from Oklahoma bagged the trophy with this graphic description:

'Picture show white man crazy. Cut down trees. Make too big teepee. Plow mill. Water wash. Wind blow soil. Grass gone. Door gone. Squaw gone. Whole place gone to hell. No pig. No corn. No pony.

'Indian no plow land. Keep grass. Buffalo eat grass. Indian eat buffalo. Hide make plenty big teepee. Make moccasin. All time Indian eat. No work. No hitch-hike. No ask relief. No build dam. No give dam. White man heap crazy.'

—Derrick Morrison

Detroiters hold July 26th rally

By George M. Bouse

DETROIT, July 25—About 150 people attended a Cuban July 26 celebration here. Peter Camejo, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and recent visitor to Cuba, spoke on the progress of the revolution there in bringing the Cuban masses out of the poverty and backwardness that Cubans once shared with their Latin American brothers and sisters. He also pointed to the Cubans' internationalism—their willingness to sacrifice all in defense of the heroic Vietnamese struggle.

Food and dancing followed the talk. While in Detroit, Camejo was interviewed by Lou Gordon, producer of a local talk show. The program will be aired Sun., Aug. 3 at 10 p.m.

Subscribe to

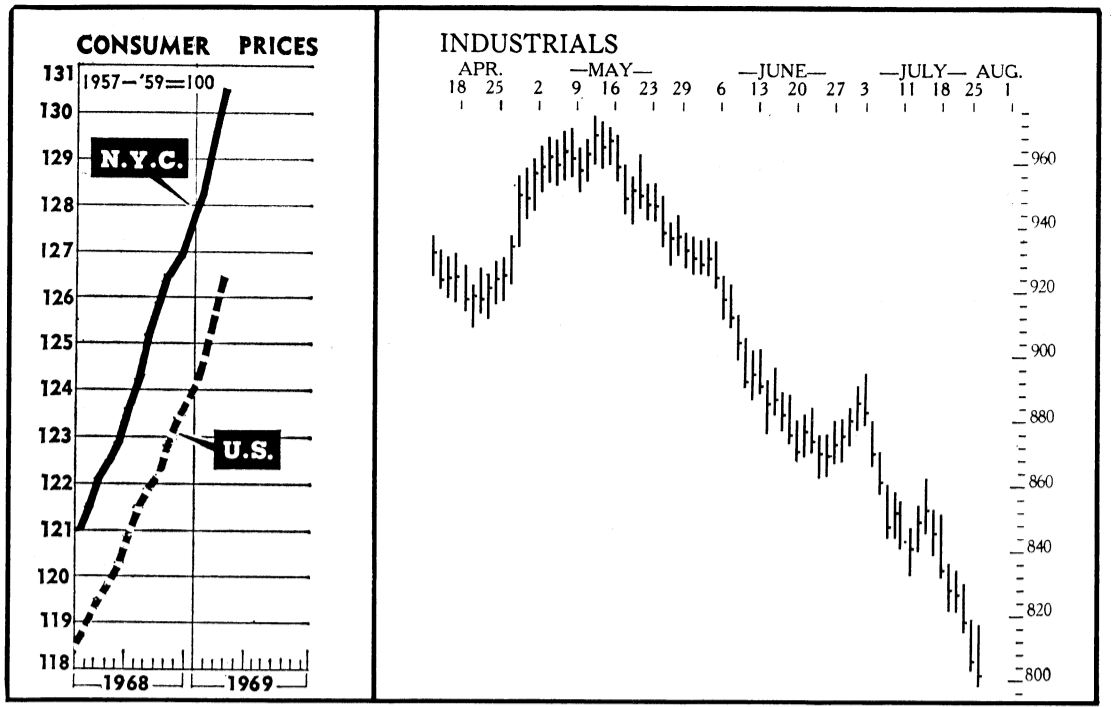
GRANMA

Weekly Review from Havana

\$6.00 per year

Fair Play for Cuba Committee
165 Spadina Avenue, Room 32
Toronto 2b, Ontario, Canada

Conflicting trends in U.S. economy



WHAT'S THIS? Unusual for capitalism, the stock market (Dow-Jones industrial average on right) is sliding while consumer prices (on left) are soaring. The one thing commentators in the financial press are certain of is that the future of the economy is uncertain.

By Ed Smith

JULY 29—Gloom prevails in New York financial circles this week as the U.S. economy continues to be buffeted in opposite directions simultaneously: on one side toward seemingly uncontrollable inflation; on the other toward economic slowdown, possibly even leading to recession.

As the report came in that the consumer price index chalked up a stiff 0.6 percent increase in June, the stock market was ending up its eighth week of decline.

"The worst inflation in 18 years is still raging and showing no signs of an early demise," *New York Times* financial editor Thomas E. Mullaney wrote July 27. The fact that Apollo 11 did not produce "even a transitory psychological lift" on Wall Street "was telltale evidence of the deep-seated bearishness that is gripping the investing community."

In addition to uncertainty about the future of the war and the direction of the economy, the stock-market slide was helped along by tax legislation that is being considered in the House of Representatives.

The House Ways and Means Committee passed a bill to cut oil-depletion allowances from 27 to 20 percent. Another bill pending in the House would make a small dent in the tax exemptions enjoyed by holders of municipal bonds.

On top of this, corporate profits for the second quarter registered a low increase in comparison to recent periods.

The rise of consumer prices in June brought the rate of price advance to almost 6.5 percent this year compared to 4.8 percent in 1968. Meat prices jumped a phenomenal 3.8 percent from May to June—an annual rate above 45 percent!

It was not surprising to read of the re-appearance of wholesale food-buying clubs in Ohio. In 1966-67 inflationary food prices brought a national wave of picket-lines in front of supermarkets. These were a strong support to workers negotiating wage contracts in that period.

Against this background Labor Secretary Shultz felt it necessary to warn workers not to "assume a continuation of the present rate of inflation when negotiating multiple-year contracts," the July 28 *Wall Street Journal* reported.

"Just as goods can be priced out of the market, you can price labor out of the market too," Shultz piously declared.

The government official singled out for attack wage gains that have been won this year. The wage-and-benefit package increases average to 7.1 percent in 1969 compared to 6 percent in 1968.

But Shultz neglected to mention that the 1969 negotiated wage increases account for only 1.4 million workers out of a labor force of over 75 million. Further, a straight wage increase of 7.1 percent would barely keep up with the 6.5 percent increase in prices just mentioned.

And Shultz glossed over the fact that for the whole labor force, real wages—in terms of the purchasing power of the dollar after you account for higher prices and taxes—have been declining in 1969, as they have for the last four years. (See *The Militant*, July 18.)

But the ruling-class concern with inflationary prices that Labor Secretary Shultz speaks for is real enough. U.S. industry, weighed down by the high prices of its goods, is slipping in the all-important battle for world markets.

A fresh chill on this score was sent through the U.S. business community last week with the report of big profit declines in the auto industry for the second quarter of this year: Ford, 3.6 percent; General Motors, 17 percent; American Motors, 44.5 percent; and Chrysler, a whopping 51 percent. Over one million foreign cars flooded into this country in 1968 eating up around 15 percent of the U.S. market.

The Nixon administration, following the "Keynesian" policies pursued in Washington since the second world war, is keeping to the formula of tight money to cool the economy.

Restriction of the money supply allows bankers to drive up interest rates and this eventually cripples production in those industries most sensitive to high interest rates, housing particularly. A slowdown in the housing industry eventually "multi-

plies" back through the rest of the economy: Workers who lose jobs in construction reduce total purchasing power and this influences other sectors of industry as well.

Housing starts have fallen from 1,845,000 in January to 1,423,000 in June. "The top policy-making body in the Federal Reserve System decided at its secret meeting last Tuesday to maintain severely tight money," Thomas Mullaney revealed July 20.

But in addition to the effect of high interest rates, the economy will eventually be slowed by the very upsurge itself: Goods will inevitably be overproduced and there will have to be production cutbacks and layoffs to clear the warehouses. A decline in car sales hints that this process may be beginning.

A more significant indication of this, however, was the fact that the real gross national product is increasing at steadily slower rates. After increasing at the rate of 2.8 percent in the first quarter of this year, it showed to 2.5 percent in the second quarter.

"In a recent poll of some 25 leading private economists, about 15 raised their hands affirmatively when asked whether they expected an actual recession to develop from the current stringent fiscal and monetary policies," Mullaney reported in his July 27 financial column.

Mine-Worker chief Boyle seeks FBI aid

Every time someone like W.A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers union, pulls a new low-down caper, it almost seems they cannot possibly get any further into the mire. But they always come through with an even dirtier maneuver.

This time Boyle has called in the FBI to help him stop his rival candidates in the Dec. 9 election for the union's top post.

According to the July 23 *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, two of Boyle's henchmen wired the Justice Department, asking FBI help "to keep goons from illegally denying" W. A. Boyle nominations from locals he needs to get on the Dec. 9 ballot. The wire was signed by James W. Kelly, UMW District 5 president, and the president of Local 6548, Joseph Penek.

Boyle's chief opponent, Joseph Yablonski, won the nomination of Local 6548 but this is being challenged.

Yablonski, who has been an official of the UMW since 1934, was fired from his post as political director of the union's Non-Partisan League (a legislative lobbying arm of the union) just 10 days after he announced his candidacy. On July 19 a federal judge ordered Boyle to reinstate his rival, pending a hearing on a permanent injunction to keep Boyle from firing Yablonski permanently from the post.

The other two candidates who are fighting to get the necessary 50 local union nominations needed to gain a place on the ballot are Basil Callen of Morgantown, W. Va., and Steve Kochis of Clarksburg. Neither of these men is considered any threat to Boyle, mainly because neither of them has the financial means to conduct a wide campaign. Yablonski, however, is a serious contender. So Boyle has pulled out all the stops.

The National Picketline

On July 10 the Honorable Albert Watson, of South Carolina, introduced a bill into the House of Representatives which would abolish the National Labor Relations Board, set up under the Wagner Act in 1935, and replace it with a 15-judge Federal Labor Court.

In his introduction of the bill, Mr. Watson charged the present NLRB with being labor-biased, totally unfair to the poor employers in this country, and even, maybe, just perhaps, communist-dominated by such labor officials as Walter Reuther, George Meany and I.W. Abel. Of particular interest to him are the officials of the Textile Workers of America.

As a prime example of this pro-labor "bias," Watson pointed to the case of the J.P. Stevens Co. which has 40 or more textile plants in the Deep South. More than 100 Stevens workers were fired for joining the union. Not only were these workers fired from their jobs, but any of their relatives who helped them out with food, housing, financial assistance, also found themselves on the outside looking in. Most of the towns in which Stevens mills are located are company towns in the old-fashioned sense—company-owned houses and utilities, company stores, etc. When a worker was fired he was also immediately evicted from his home. His credit at the company store was cut off.

His name was entered on the blacklist so no other textile firm would hire him.

In four separate cases, the NLRB charged the Stevens Co. with unfair labor practices, ordered it to reemploy its discharged workers. In all four cases the company took the cases to the U.S. Supreme Court (after losing in the lower courts) and in all four cases the union won.

One of the Supreme Court decisions not only ordered the rehiring of fired unionists, it also ordered the company to post on its bulletin boards a confession to its employees that it had been guilty of unfair labor practices.

All of which has Mr. Watson very angry indeed.

But Mr. Watson also has a stated concern for the "American workingman, the industries which employ him, and the consumers who depend on his magnificent efforts."

This concern is shared by the Honorable Mr. Paul J. Fannin, Republican Senator from Arizona, who on June 20, introduced in the Senate an article from the *U.S. News and World Report* on a concerted drive by more than 100 employer organizations, headed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the "curb the NLRB on the grounds that its [NLRB's] rulings have been giving the unions the breaks."

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has set up 25 meetings of employers throughout the country, called "labor-reform workshops."

Anthony J. Obadal, in charge of the Chamber's labor-management relations, said the workshops will "emphasize the need to remove from NLRB jurisdiction unfair-labor-practice cases and assign them to either federal courts or a special labor court.

Twenty-one points are included in the Chamber's program. But the primary one, according to a poll taken among local chambers of commerce and trade associations, is to give top priority to the proposal to strip the NLRB of the power to rule when an employer or a union has committed an unfair labor practice as defined by law.

Another plank in the program, considered of vital importance, is extension of the ban on secondary boycott by groups acting in sympathy with striking workers. (The successful boycott against California table grapes, which is costing the growers millions of dollars, has already been used as the basis for several anti-boycott bills already in the Congressional hopper.)

The Chamber of Commerce says the proposed changes are necessary "if employers are to be given a fair break with unions under the labor law."

Anybody got a spare handkerchief? Mine is tear-soaked.

—Marvel Scholl



George Meany

An unvarnished history (X)

PL's theories of 'revisionism'

By Mary-Alice Waters

When the leaders of Progressive Labor split from the American Communist Party at the beginning of the '60s, they were considered a Maoist faction. In their early years, however, they placed little public emphasis on their sympathies with Peking. But as the divisions between the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies deepened, and as the factional struggle inside China increased, PL began to stress its ideological ties with Maoism.

As we pointed out in the first chapter of this history, the most decisive factor in their subsequent evolution was their failure to correctly analyze their own roots and the causes behind the degeneration of the entire international Communist movement after the mid-1920s. Because they never developed an understanding of what Stalinism is, never honestly assessed the roots of "revisionism" in the Soviet Union, they simply switched their allegiance from one current in the Stalinist movement to another.

PL's various analyses of "revisionism" are quite contradictory. For example, one article (*Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1) states that "revisionism" has been the chronic weakness of the American CP since its inception. In another article dealing with "revisionism" in the Soviet Union, John Ericson indicates that the decisive growth of "revisionism" probably occurred sometime between the late '30s and 1950. (A rather large time span!) Still other analyses, adhering closely to the orthodox Peking line, claim the revisionist degeneration of the Moscow leadership occurred only after the death of Stalin in 1953.

Before going into these various theories in more detail, it is worth dealing with some questions of terminology. In Marxist vocabulary certain words have always had very precise, scientific definitions—like imperialism, fascism, bureaucratism, and revisionism. This is not for pedantic reasons, but to enable people to communicate intelligently with each other.

In both the Moscow and Peking branches of the school of Stalinism, this Marxist practice is disregarded, and words which were previously endowed with exact meaning have been transformed into verbal abstractions capable, as the occasion demands, of being invested with the most diverse meanings.

Revisionism, for example, has historically been associated with the theories of Eduard Bernstein, author of *Evolutionary Socialism*, who attempted to provide theoretical justification for the adaption to capitalist parliamentarism, especially of the trade union bureaucrats who became a power in the Second International during the prolonged period of imperialist expansion and "prosperity" in the latter part of the 19th century up to the outbreak of World War I.

According to the Maoist dialectic, however, in which everything including theory, divides in two—never three or four, but always exactly in two—the tendencies in the world socialist movement are neatly separated into two compartments: revisionism and Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionism is elevated to the status of an abstract term which includes everything the particular speaker or writer does not consider Marxism-Leninism. Reformism, sectarianism, dogmatism, opportunism, ultraleftism, each or all can be included or may be referred to in the general term. Thus, instead of a precise term defining a specific tendency, it has been transformed into an epithet, generally directed against the leaders of the Soviet Union or pro-Moscow CPs, applicable to almost any act or any period of their history, and flexible enough to be applied to almost anyone else as well, if the need arises.

"Revisionism" number one

Thus, the previously cited *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly* article indicates that "revisionism and its political manifestation, class collaboration, has been the chronic weakness" of the American CP since it was founded. Revisionism is used



Joseph Stalin

in the abstract sense, and in this instance defined as class collaborationism.

But they are wrong. Internationally, the question of class collaborationism was the dividing line between the newly formed Communist parties in the early 1920s and the reformist socialist parties. In fact, if anything, in the early years of the new Communist International, the main weakness, far from being class-collaborationism, was ultraleftism. It was against this weakness that Lenin wrote his polemic, *Ultraleftism, an Infantile Disorder*. Class collaboration was indeed one of the major betrayals of the CP in later years, but not at the beginning.

The one period of CP history that PL singles out for real praise as relatively free of "revisionism," is the early 1930s. "During the 1929-33 years of deepest crisis," the program of the American CP, "came closer to being a correct Marxist-Leninist program for the U.S. than anything that had been developed during the past 70 years," states Fred Carlisle in an article on William Z. Foster in the same issue of *MLQ* mentioned earlier.

This is the period that has gone down in history as the Stalinist "Third Period," when the Kremlin bureaucracy made a sharp ultraleft turn, liquidated the Kulaks, instituted forced collectivization in the rural Soviet Union, and established the first five-year plan for rapid industrialization. Internationally, the Third Period was marked by the fatal refusal of the CP in Germany to join in united actions with the social democracy to combat fascism.

Labeling social democracy the "twin" of fascism, and proclaiming, "After Hitler, our turn," Third Period Stalinism led the German working class into the jaws of fascism without a struggle.

In the United States, one of the most notable features of Third Period Stalinism was the policy of pulling the Communist Party militants out of the existing trade unions and putting them in "real," "revolutionary," "red" trade unions—the Trade Union Unity League. The old AFL union bureaucrats were, of course, delighted to get rid of their main opposition, and the CP militants remained futilely isolated from the bulk of the organized workers in the U.S.

Thus PL holds up for emulation that supposedly "nonrevisionist" period of CP history that led to the greatest defeat ever suffered by the world working class, the rise of German fascism. Little more need be said about the merits of that particular analysis of "revisionism."

"Revisionism" number two

In another article attempting to deal with the roots of "revisionism" in the Communist International ("Origins of Revisionism in the USSR," *PL*, Oct-Nov. 1966), John Ericson takes up one of the key points—the growth of social privilege and differentiation in Soviet society, particularly for party members. (In this article "revisionism" is defined as "petty bourgeois influence.")

Ericson points to several phenomena. One was the growth of the number of professionals and technicians in the Soviet party. Another was ending the party practice whereby party members who were professionals had accepted the same wage as blue-collar workers.

But, he says, it is impossible to determine when this "inexplicable" decision was made. "The Chinese seem to think that the change occurred in the 1945-50 period . . . but it may have been adopted earlier, in the late thirties."

In reality the changes took place long before the late '30s, and they were far from being inexplicable. Trotsky and the rest of the left opposition began warning against the implementation of incorrect economic policies and the growth of a privileged bureaucratic caste as early as 1923. By the mid-'30s, when Trotsky (by then exiled from the Soviet Union for his revolutionary opposition to Stalin's policies) wrote *The Revolution Betrayed*, he was able to describe in some detail the economic privileges enjoyed by the ruling bureaucracy, in terms of not only wages, but also food, housing, clothing, transportation, and virtually every other sphere.

Ericson also notes in passing such other important phenomena as the growth of a privileged officer caste, the use of nationalistic propaganda, etc., in the years prior to World War II. But in the end he fails to analyze why any of these things happened, except to say that they were probably necessary in order to defend the country. Why was it "necessary," 20 years after a socialist revolution, to appeal to the most reactionary chauvinistic sentiments of the workers to mobilize them to defend their revolution? Why was the old officer corps of the Red Army totally liquidated in the 1930s along with virtually every other living member of the leadership of the original Bolshevik party? Such questions are not even raised, much less answered.

Then, without attempting to draw some of the obvious conclusions from even the facts that are mentioned, Ericson simply says, "In conclusion, since 1955 the petty-bourgeois wing has gained temporary control of the CPSU."



THE CHIEF 'REVISIONIST'? PL claims Khrushchev, not Stalin, originated the Soviet policies of collaboration with imperialism and sabotage of world revolution.

"Revisionism" number three

While the article itself tends to belie the conclusion, the conclusion at least has the virtue of dovetailing with the official Chinese CP position. It lacks precision but it will get by.

Peking's analysis ("Open Letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU," *On the Question of Stalin*, Sept. 13, 1963) makes it clear that "in repeating their violent attacks on Stalin, the leaders of the CPSU aimed at erasing the indelible influence of this great proletarian revolutionary among the people of the Soviet Union and throughout the world, and at paving the way for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin had defended and developed, and for the all-out application of a revisionist line. Their revisionist line began exactly with the 20th Congress and became fully systematized at the 22nd Congress." (Emphasis added.)

This theory, of course, makes things much easier, eliminating the necessity of examining anything that happened before Stalin's death—including the policies followed by the Chinese CP under Mao's and Stalin's tutelage—and ignoring the fact that the policies implemented by the Khrushchev leadership were fundamentally the same as those followed under Stalin—defense of the interests of the ruling bureaucracy at home and abroad.

The contradictory and confusing nature of these various theories on "revisionism" stems from the fact that the Maoists cannot offer a revolutionary alternative to Soviet policies, because the policies of Peking are themselves based on the interests of a ruling bureaucracy, not the interests of the world revolution. We will return to this question.

(This serial history of the Progressive Labor Party is appearing on alternate weeks. The next installment will appear in the issue dated Aug. 22.)

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS AND THE YOUTH RADICALIZATION. Speaker: Art Kunin, publisher, L.A. Free Press, Fri., Aug. 8, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. 269-4453. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

FAMOUS SHISH KABOB. Sat., Aug. 9, refresh. 4 p.m., dinner 5-7 p.m., party to follow. 3341 Descanso Dr., dona. \$2.75, students \$2, children under 12 \$1.25. Call 663-0387 for info. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PREPARING FOR THE YOUTH RADICALIZATION IN THE '60s. Sun., Aug. 10, 4 p.m. Dinner 5:30 p.m. THE THIRD CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1946-49, 8 p.m. Socialist Summer School, 1702 E. 4th St., 269-4953. Dona. 50c/class.

NEW YORK

Film: SALT OF THE EARTH. Based on Chicano miners' strike in New Mexico. Followed by commentary by Ed Shaw, NYC SWP branch organizer. Fri., Aug. 8, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.) Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

HIROSHIMA DAY COMMEMORATION: U.S. out of Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa, Fri., Aug. 8, 7-9:30 p.m., Rittenhouse Square, 19th & Locust. Speakers, movies, folksingers. Sponsored by Student Mobilization Comm., 1011 Chestnut St., rm. 240, (215) WA3-0261.

Fascism:

What It Is How to Fight It

A Revised Compilation
Leon Trotsky 50c
Merit Publishers
873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

What a united front is not

By Peter Camejo

The United Front Against Fascism conference sponsored by the Black Panther Party has stimulated discussion among both black and white militants over the question of coalitions. Can revolutionaries enter coalitions with reformists without selling out? Should revolutionaries engage in "common denominator" politics? Does a coalition with the Communist Party mean a shift to the right? When do you make what kind of coalition to defend the movement from attacks? These are some of the questions that are being raised.

In the Aug. 2 issue of the *Guardian*, Bay Area correspondent Art Goldberg writes, "There was also concern that the Panthers, in choosing the least common denominator approach to the united front, were using a tactic that had not been successful in the past, notably in France, Spain and the U.S. just prior to World War II."

Goldberg continues, "The Communist Party, some new leftists said, had not been notably successful in defending itself against the repression of the fifties, yet the Panthers appeared to be taking the same path the CP took, namely, allying with liberal and reformist elements, rather than with militant and revolutionary ones."

Nick Gruenberg, writing for Liberation News Service, raises a similar point. In a short but quite good analysis of the conference he refers to the historic failure of the "united front" in fighting fascism at the national level. (Gruenberg feels that an "international" united front stopped fascism in World War II.)

In dealing with the question of coalitions it is important, first of all, to have at least a minimal knowledge of the meaning of the terms involved. The term united front was first interjected into the discussion by the Panthers' call for a "united front against fascism." The concept of the "united front against fascism" is taken from a speech delivered in 1935 by Georgi Dimitrov, a leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party. While he spoke of a united front, his speech laid the basis for a sweeping turn by the Stalinized Communist International to a reformist policy carried out under the banner of the "popular front," or "people's front."

What is a united front and what is a popular front? In order to determine what types of coalitions are of benefit to the revolutionary movement, it is necessary to understand the very basic differences between these two concepts. The problem here is not just one of semantics. The difference between a united front and a popular front is extremely significant. In fact, they are opposites. One concept leads to struggle against the ruling class and the other to support of the ruling class. One is essential to the revolutionary process, the other is a barrier to it.

Panthers expose New York cops

By Derrick Morrison

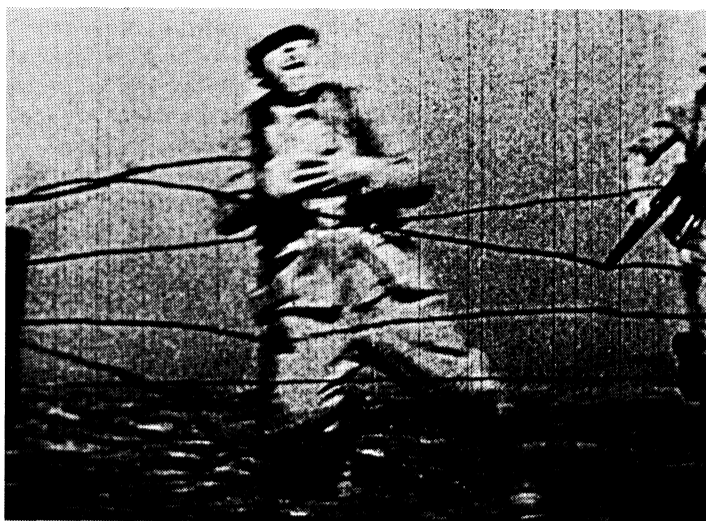
NEW YORK—The New York Black Panther Party held a press conference at its Harlem headquarters July 25. The purpose, said Al Carrol, Defense Captain of the Harlem chapter, was to publicize the continued efforts of the police to wipe out the BPP. He predicted new arrests and frame-ups.

Carrol pointed out that police surveillance had been stepped up, including surveillance of the Panther Party office and of the homes of Panther members. Such surveillance, he said, was similar to that prior to the police bust of the Panther 21.

Carrol indicated that the coming bust would be around the trumped-up charge of "conspiring" to help members of the Panther 21 break out of the Tombs, Manhattan House of Detention.

Despite these moves, he said that the Panthers would continue the free breakfast programs and their community activities. At present, there are two Harlem churches and one Brooklyn church involved in the program, feeding 250-300 children a day.

No trial date has yet been set for the Panther 21. Carrol ran down the fact that bail bondsmen had been threatened with the loss of their licenses if they put up bond for any of the 21.



The Spanish Civil War.

A united front is a method of struggle. It is an invaluable tactic in uniting oppressed sectors of the population to fight the ruling class. The term originated in the 1920s when the Third International under the leadership of Lenin sought to combat the influence of reformist politics within the workers movement in Europe.

Lenin pointed out that many workers who are not yet conscious revolutionaries and who accept a reformist-oriented leadership are nevertheless willing to go into action against the capitalist class around specific issues if their reformist leadership endorses a specific action. That is, they will join with other forces on particular issues provided they are not put in a situation where they must break with organizations to which they are committed in order to do so.

Lenin explained that the moves to form such united fronts would aid the revolutionary movement whether the reformist leaders agreed to them or not. If the reformist leaders refused to support actions which their rank-and-file supported, it would expose them, and weaken their influence among the workers who had illusions about them. If they agreed, then mass actions against the ruling class would ensue which would help to radicalize and show the power of the workers. The workers would also be able to better compare their own reformist leaders with the revolutionaries in action.

A united front action in no way undermines the independence of the revolutionary organization. While participating in such actions, revolutionaries are not only able to maintain their organizational and political identity, but because the coalition is based only on issues on which all can agree, they do not give up a single point of their program for the sake of "unity." Nor do revolutionaries give up their right and duty to criticize the reformist and opportunist organizations, even while they work with them in a united front action.

Popular front

There is another, totally different, type of unity which historically has been and is known as a popular or people's front. Rather than uniting various organizations with differing programs around a particular, principled action, a popular front unites organizations—including organizations and parties of the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie—around a general or full reform program. Historically, popular fronts have always been justified by demagogic calls to fight the "reactionary" wing of the ruling class. The program of a popular front attempts to include a list of social reforms which can appeal to the masses but which at the same time will not alienate the liberals within the ruling class.

There is no need to deal with abstractions regarding popular fronts. They came into existence during the late 1930s under the auspices of the Stalinized Communist parties. In every instance, they represented a coalition of workers and other oppressed social layers with a liberal wing of the ruling class around a program of capitalist reform.

Spain

Spain is a classical example of what concretely results from the "unity" demanded in a popular front to fight fascism. In the late 1930s, a coalition of workers, peasants, students and middle class intellectuals got behind the liberal capitalists in a popular front government including "democratic" capitalist forces and the reformist Socialist Party. The Communist Party argued that through such coalitions it was possible to stop the fascist threat.

In order to maintain unity everybody had to "put away their differences." Peasants could not demand land reform. Workers could not demand nationalization of factories or independent militias because such "differences" would have broken the coalition with the social democrats and the "antifascist" capitalists.

At that time, Spain was in the midst of a deep social crisis. Not only was there a threat from the fascist right, but there was also a deep revolutionary upsurge of workers and peasants on the left. But, because it was based on support to the capitalist system, the popular front government was in no way able to deal with the problems (such as the need for land reform) which were at the base of the crisis. The masses continued to agitate for change. What was needed was a revolutionary movement to organize the workers and peasants to solve the crisis in a revolutionary direction. But, precisely because the Communist Party and other working class parties refused to do this, the fascists were able to build a base among the discontented masses and eventually come to power.

The concept that the imminent danger of fascism requires subordination of the class struggle to the need to make an alliance with bourgeois "democrats" thus actually ended up aiding the rise of fascism and undermining those willing to fight fascism.

In Spain there was no better example of this than the question of self-determination for the Spanish colony Morocco. The Communist Party and the popular front as a whole opposed independence for Morocco in order not to alienate their liberal capitalist allies. This helped make it possible for the fascists to recruit to their army from the impoverished Moroccans.

The popular front was by no means limited to Spain. In Cuba, for instance,

the CP got behind the popular front candidate Batista and helped to bring him to power and to maintain his regime. A popular front government in France successfully stopped a mass revolutionary uprising of workers in 1936 at a time when all the factories were occupied, and the slogan of soviets everywhere resounded across France. In the United States the CP supported Roosevelt as part of their popular front policy to "fight" fascism. When the Japanese people were herded into concentration camps during World War II the CP remained silent since they preferred not to endanger their coalition with Roosevelt.

CP politics

The policy of seeking an alliance with the so-called liberal wing of the ruling class has characterized the American CP's politics for over 30 years. Their support of LBJ in 1964 and McCarthy in 1968 was simply an updated version of popular front politics.

Each time an election comes along the CP discovers that it is necessary to support a Democratic Party or other pro-capitalist candidate in order to stop "fascism" or "reaction." In order to stop the reactionary Goldwater, they called for support to LBJ. In order to "stop" California's Reagan, they supported Brown. To "stop" New York's Marchi or Proccacino, they support the antilabor, antiblack Lindsay.

The sudden discovery by the reformists of fascism or neo-fascism or fascist infiltration is invariably used to sell an otherwise odious, conservative course in support of "progressive" procapitalist politicians.

Yet the key task for revolutionary socialists in America today is to break the working class and Afro-American masses away from the "progressive" capitalist politicians toward the formation of their own anticapitalist mass political organizations. That is the only course which will ultimately stop the danger of fascism.

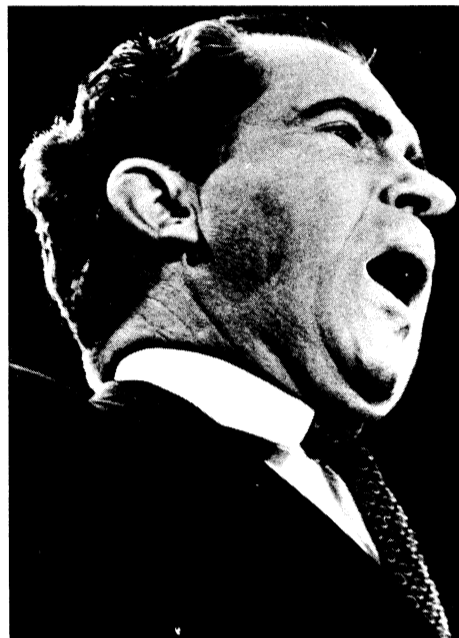
Struggles around such issues as the Vietnam war and black control of the black community can play an important role in bringing about such an independent working class movement which can build a mass alternative to the capitalist parties. In developing struggles around these issues, actions based on the concept of the united front can play an important role. The mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, which unite people and organizations of many differing political persuasions around the one particular anticapitalist issue of self-determination for the Vietnamese, are an important example of this. Revolutionaries can help build such actions as part of the process of winning people to their full program for basic social change.

Nixon seeks to defuse antiwar movement

By Dick Roberts

"The Pentagon is drafting revised guidelines for American commanders in Vietnam that are designed to cut down on big search-and-destroy operations and to reduce American casualties," the *New York Times* revealed in an important analysis of Washington's Vietnam policies, July 25. A central aim is to deactivate the antiwar movement.

"The guidelines, the officials say, would reflect the new military situation in South Vietnam and the political 'realities' at home.



BUYING TIME. In Saigon, July 30, Nixon described the U.S. invasion of Vietnam as "one of America's finest hours." Nixon's real mission, according to the July 31 *New York Times*, was to tell his generals to cool it: "Revised battlefield tactics, leading to lower casualties might soften public opposition to the war and purchase for Mr. Nixon the time he feels he needs to negotiate a satisfactory solution in Paris."

"The new military situation would involve the shrinking of combat units available to the U.S. command. **The political outlook is for increased antiwar ferment with the return of college students to the campus in September.**" (Emphasis added.)

This exceptionally clear statement of Washington's "guidelines" for Vietnam underlines and emphasizes the crucial role the antiwar movement plays in preventing the ruling class from continuing its aggression against Vietnam unhindered. Battlefield policy must now be determined in significant measure by the effects of such policies on the situation at home.

This fact was made even clearer in a subsequent paragraph of the same article.

"The North Vietnamese bargaining position would considerably erode if substantial American withdrawals succeeded in stilling antiwar pressures on the President. . ."

In other words, the main policy objective of the so-called troop withdrawals from Vietnam is in no way intended as a peace "feeler" towards the Vietnamese. The purpose is to dupe the American people into thinking the war is substantially over; so that the administration can **continue** the war unencumbered by antiwar pressure at home.

At the same time the administration attempts to sidetrack the antiwar movement, statements by U.S. military officials indicate that there has been no change in the combat operations of U.S. forces in South Vietnam. Returning from a four-day tour of the combat arena July 20, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that "the tactic of pursuing enemy forces relentlessly remained unchanged and that he approved of that kind of fighting," the *Times* reported.

Caught in this scissors between its determination to continue to try to crush the Vietnamese revolution and simultaneous efforts to dampen the constantly growing antiwar sentiment at home, the Nixon administration, as its predecessor, is ever-mindful of new propaganda gimmicks which might make it seem to be seriously looking for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. And of course, this week's tour of Asia falls into this category. It will take

What troop withdrawal?

According to the latest statistics released by the Pentagon, there are currently 3,500 more troops in Vietnam than there were when Johnson left office seven months ago, and, as the figures make clear, "President Nixon's plans to withdraw troops from Vietnam aren't getting anywhere at the moment."

A July 27 *Chicago Daily News* dispatch noted that, "In spite of those much-photographed marching bands welcoming the first contingents of troops home, (Nixon) has made almost no progress in lowering the number of troops in the seven weeks since he announced the withdrawal program . . ."

"There are now 535,500 uniformed U.S. military personnel in Vietnam.

"On Jan. 18—two days before Nixon became President—there were 532,000.

"In the first week after the Midway announcement, the figure was 536,500.

"Thus there has been a drop of 1,000 in the total number of troops since the Midway announcement . . ."

"Pentagon officials explain that the routine troop replacement program for Vietnam sent as many men over as have been removed in the seven weeks since Midway.

"It has been hard to make adjustments to bring about a total drop in the number they say.

"Actually, the evidence suggests that the Administration went to great pains to set up special units that could be withdrawn in the glare of publicity.

"The units earmarked as part of the withdrawal were stacked with men on the verge of completing their regular one-year tours of duty in Vietnam and would have been coming home soon anyway."

Of course, the Pentagon is assuring everyone that only a temporary logistics problem is involved and it will soon be clear that troops are actually being withdrawn.

In addition to confirming what the majority of Americans suspected all along, the article points to the rather morbid fact that the total reduction in troop strength in the last seven weeks is approximately equal to the number of American soldiers killed in the same period. Perhaps the Nixon administration does have a plan for reducing troop strength in Vietnam, even if it isn't the one they announced to the American people.

A welcome stand by the Guardian

All those opponents of the Vietnam war who see the need for building mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal of troops will welcome the editorial which appeared in the *Guardian* Aug. 2.

Pointing to the two antiwar actions planned for Chicago and Washington this fall, the *Guardian* states, "Now, more than any other time in the past, the domestic antiwar movement has an almost decisive role to play in bringing an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam . . ."

"That responsibility can be summed up very briefly: build a massive and powerful united movement for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam."

The editorial notes that in supporting such a broad-based movement the *Guardian* is rejecting its former mistaken ideas about the nature of the antiwar movement. In assessing where they and others went wrong in the past they list three main points:

First, they say that experiences of the movement have refuted the previously common notion that there is a contradiction between "local organizing" and "national organizing." The second mistake listed was "not seeing the importance of the war" as an issue. "A victory for the Vietnamese people reaches far beyond Vietnam. The triumph of people's war in Southeast Asia is a blow weakening imperialism and strengthening liberation movements in all oppressed nations. In addition, the Vietnam war is one of the main factors increasing the oppression and exploitation of the people of the U.S."

The third mistake was "attacking certain actions because they were 'just against the war, and not anti-imperialist.'" The editorial states that "any action demanding immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam is objectively anti-imperialist, even if its participants have only liberal or pacifist intentions.

"This does not absolve, but increases the responsibility of the organized radical movement to develop selfconscious anti-imperialist policies within a broader antiwar movement. But the duties of socialist internationalism equally require a responsibility to unite all those organizations, forces and strata that can be united into a single powerful and massive movement against the principal crisis of imperialism of our time—the Vietnam war."

The *Guardian's* position is one of the many encouraging signs that there is now more unity within the left around the concept of support to mass demonstrations than at any previous time. This unity can be one of the decisive ingredients in making this fall's demonstrations the most massive and militant yet.

its place alongside such earlier gimmicks as Johnson's similar round-the-world tour; Johnson's resignation; the opening of the "peace talks" in Paris; and Nixon's announcement of token troop withdrawals.

Nixon was able to get a certain "lease on life" in the first months of his presidency through his lying campaign promises to end the war by some undisclosed means. But the effects of this fraud are wearing thin.

One of Nixon's lesser gimmicks had an ironic effect, the *Associated Press* revealed July 23. This was his campaign promise that he would strive to establish an all-volunteer force, eliminating the draft when the war is over.

"Immediately when that announcement was made," Col. Donald L. Roberts, chief of staff for the Army Recruitment Command revealed, "our recruiting went into a nose dive." Voluntary enlistment

subsequently fell 9,000 short of projected levels.

"Young men are impatient," one Army spokesman said. "They think when the President says something, it will be done immediately."

The antics of the Nixon administration are clearly aimed at buying time. The answer of the antiwar movement must be a loud and strong: "Bring them all home now." Starting with the antiwar demonstrations in early August, the antiwar movement must build its fall offensive, culminating with the massive march on Washington, Nov. 15.

Detroiters map antiwar action

By Evelyn Kirsch

DETROIT—Over 200 people gathered at Central Methodist Church in Detroit on the night of July 21 to hear a report on and discuss the national antiwar conference held in Cleveland over the July 4th weekend.

The broad spectrum of individuals and groups represented at the meeting indicates the deep antiwar sentiment that exists in Detroit and throughout the country. People attending the meeting were from the Medical Committee on Human Rights, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, New Democratic Coalition, Stop ABM Committee, Concerned Unionists, People Against Racism, Socialist Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Student Mobilization Committee, Ann Arbor Mobilization, Resistance, Young Socialist Alliance and others.

There was widespread sentiment in favor of the Oct. 15 moratorium and the Nov. 15 Washington march. However, a lengthy discussion took place over the nature of the Oct. 11 Chicago demonstration originally called by SDS. Many people at the meeting felt that SDSer Jim Mellon's characterization of the march as an "anti-imperialist, confrontation-type" demonstration would prevent people from participating. It was pointed out by Prof. David Herreshoff, the reporter on the national parley, that the Cleveland conference elected project coordinators to work out the plans for the Chicago demonstration with SDS.

There was general agreement that the fall offensive must be coordinated through a coalition in order to build the largest possible participation from the Detroit area. An arrangements committee was set up to contact organizations to come together for the first meeting of the coalition Aug. 4. Those interested in further information should contact Edith Gbur at 273-6646.

D.C. SMC holds parley to set fall program

By Steve Sluchan

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Withstanding the sweltering midsummer heat, 75 students, GIs and adults attended a very successful antiwar Basic Training Day here July 19. The Conference was sponsored by the D.C. area Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The theme of the day was the unification of the student and GI antiwar forces in the city and military bases scattered around it.

The two featured speakers of the conference were Jose Rudder of the victorious Ft. Jackson 8, and Sherman Sitrin, editor of *Open Sight*, the leading antiwar GI newspaper in this area.

Rudder, in a forceful speech, recounted some of his experiences in GIs United at Ft. Jackson and emphasized the need for mass mobilizations. He drew a parallel between the oppression suffered by the students and that of the GI.

Sitrin spoke about the history of the antiwar movement in the Army and how it progressed as the civilian antiwar movement progressed.

The final plenary session of the conference adopted resolutions including: setting up a defense committee for students who might get into trouble for organizing in their schools; supporting the five actions called by the Cleveland conference; the establishing of a committee to put out a newsletter and sending of a telegram to the commanding officer of Ft. Bragg, N.C., to protest the punitive transfer of Pvt. Joe Miles of GIs United to the Arctic.

Detroit rulers divided on how best to keep their grip on city

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT, July 27—When the deadline for filing had passed at 4 p.m., July 26, the Detroit city clerk announced 31 candidates officially in the race for mayor of this city. The large list is common, and the few "serious" candidates always turn out to be those with large campaign funds. This standard pattern could have been altered under present circumstances if a militant black candidate, with modest finances and bold plans for independent political organization of the black community, had developed. Unfortunately, no such candidate is listed.

The mayoral campaign will now proceed within prescribed confines designed to meet the needs of Detroit's business and banking interests, all reference to mounting problems of working people in this city being incidental to the drive to win votes and the desire on the part of all leading contestants to control the black community.

This problem of how best to "cool" racial tensions and at the same time continue the system of rent gouging and price-fixing is what plagues the big-money rulers of this city.

The fact that five "serious" candidates,

Maine rally held for framed-up black Marines

By Bob Bresnahan

KITTERY, Maine—300 New Englanders participated in a demonstration calling for the immediate release of Pfc. George Daniels and Lance Corporal William Harvey outside the Portsmouth Navy Yard July 26. July 27 is the second anniversary of the "crime" for which the two Marines were railroaded for a grand total of 16 hours hard labor. The men, both young Afro-Americans from Brooklyn, are imprisoned in the Portsmouth brig.

The speakers at a rally following the demonstration included the mothers of Harvey and Daniels, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Gene Jones, Lieutenant of Information of the Boston Black Panther Party, Prof. Howard Zinn, and Edward Sherman, a Boston civil liberties lawyer who is handling the appeal of the defendants.

Harvey and Daniels were stationed at Camp Pendleton in 1967. They led a group of 10 Marines who requested the "Captain's Mast," the procedure for seeing the Commanding Officer, in order to protest being sent to Vietnam. A sergeant took the statement of grievances from the group on July 27, 1967. Twenty days later Harvey and Daniels were arrested for "attempting to promote disloyalty in the ranks."

The Harvey and Daniels case began to attract attention early this year when Ed Sherman took an appeal to the Naval Board of Review in Washington, D. C. Sherman won a reduction of sentences from 10 years hard labor for Daniels to four years and from six years hard labor to three years for Harvey. Sherman plans to carry the case to the Military Court of Appeals and move for dismissal of the convictions and immediate release of the two men.

According to Sherman, "There was no mutiny. Nobody disobeyed orders. There was no disobedience at any time. Yet both of these men received the maximum possible sentences under the law. Harvey and Daniels were the first enlisted men convicted for agitation against the war in Vietnam when no disobedience resulted from statements made."

The fact that Harvey and Daniels are both committed black nationalists no doubt added fuel to the fires of military injustice.

A meeting held in Portsmouth, N. H., following the rally laid plans for the continuation of the campaign to free Harvey and Daniels. A demonstration is tentatively scheduled for Aug. 16 in Kittery, Maine. The group plans to take part in the Aug. 9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day Demonstration in Boston.

all with enough financial backing to make the initial bid for attention and each seeking in his own way to prove that he is best qualified to serve the interests of the entrenched rulers, is evidence that different approaches to the mounting problems of city government remain open within the councils of big business.

Richard Austin, long active in Democratic Party politics and presently Wayne County Auditor, is the black candidate with broad support in white ruling circles.

This past week Austin was endorsed by the UAW Community Action Program when a special meeting of 600 union delegates voted to back him with only 50 dissenting votes. This is a sure sign that Austin already had other important support and looked like a winner from the start because the UAW leadership always tries to pick the winners in political races and that is where they put their money.

The other leading candidates are white and each is conducting his own type of "law and order" campaign. Most openly racist in their appeal are Walter Shamie, a businessman who hopes to get Republican Party support as he did four years ago when he attempted to unseat incumbent Mayor Cavanagh, and Mary Beck, the veteran member of Common Council who has kept friendly relations with the police department through the years. Council President Ed Carey, once a UAW official, had hoped to get support of both the police department and some unions. His brand of "law and order" campaign is now aimed at getting some AFL-CIO union endorsements.

The late entrance in the mayoral race of Wayne County Sheriff Roman S. Gribbs indicated that the other white candidates were not quite what the real money interests are seeking. Gribbs came in as a well-financed candidate. It was reported that he expects support from associates of Detroit utilities and banks.

Gribbs explained that he "waited until the last possible moment for someone to come forward as a candidate who displayed a realistic ability to provide the leadership required." This is his financial backers speaking.

What they want is a "good law and order" candidate, one who can take some of the steam out of the racist character and composition of the Detroit police department and retain the basic structure as it now exists. They seem to think Gribbs is the man to do this.

He quickly ducked the "law and order" label, saying he preferred to campaign for "order and justice under the law." His appeal to the black community, if any, will have to be through his under-sheriff, William Lucas, a black man and former FBI agent.

Gribbs has great praise for Lucas. "If I could have five men like Mr. Lucas, this city would be a better place," Gribbs was quoted as saying. He refused to deny speculation that if elected he would make Lucas his police commissioner.

Right now a petition campaign is underway for a citizens' trial board with the power to fire police. Austin has signed the petition and says he supports the idea. Gribbs is opposed.

Austin has stated his opposition to the war in Vietnam, pleading that the money spent there be used to rebuild cities here. Gribbs as yet has said nothing on this issue.

These are vote-catching stances on the part of both candidates. But they relate indirectly to the genuine divisions within present day urban society. Here in Detroit the police are well organized in the Detroit Police Officers Association, a pressure outfit with political and economic goals. They have sought successfully to have police pay raised. And they are presently engaged in court action to make it legal for city police to live in the suburbs. They are opposed to any control over the police department, and have announced support of any strong "law and order" candidate who can defeat Austin.

There are now more than 4,000 police on the force representing a sizeable and strategic pressure group in the politics of the city. It is known and widely admitted that more than 300 of these police now live outside the city in violation of the law.

About ten percent of Detroit cops are black. Last week black police picketed DPOA headquarters, protesting the racist

VOTE SOCIALIST



BRING THE GIs HOME NOW

PAUL LODICO FOR COMMON COUNCIL

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS 3737 WOODWARD

labor donated LB

A Detroit Socialist Workers Party campaign poster

policies and practices of that organization.

The general conduct of the police here is so onerous and their long record of total disregard of the law so bad that such cautious and conservative organizations as the NAACP and the Wayne County AFL-CIO strongly advocate a civilian review board to exercise control over them and curb their illegal acts.

This exposed and vulnerable position of the police is only a reflection of the much greater ills of practically all U.S. cities, their need of federal finances to fight off what is called "urban blight," lack of proper schools, poor housing, the almost complete collapse of public transportation systems, and the general deterioration in public services of all kinds.

Those who have made money from the economy that produced this general decline of the cities are now alarmed by the results they can see all around them and are seeking time to work out inexpensive repairs.

They apparently hope the type of city election campaign which will result in a contest between two of their tested and trusted political servants will give them some time to work matters out in their own best interests.

Another part of their broader design to gain time appeared this week in the form of a city-wide survey conducted by the University of Detroit which reveals that a majority of whites have basically friendly feelings towards blacks and that a majority of blacks, for their part, prefer integrated housing. This was a carefully conducted survey and its findings in the areas of changing racial attitudes, although limited, are accurate. But the intent of the publicity attending the release of this information is to reduce racial tensions and in this way gain needed time to develop more stable relations. Above all else they hope to avoid further ghetto uprisings such as occurred here two years ago this week.

Meanwhile, a group of young black workers and students have organized themselves as "Afro-Americans for Lodico," the Socialist Workers Party candidate here for Common Council. These supporters of Lodico have circulated "a transitional program for black liberation," the first two planks of which are black control of the black community and formation of a black political party to organize and insure this control.

This is in sharp contrast to the proposals

and "solutions" offered by such candidates as Austin from the Democratic party. His support of the police review board, even if such a board were elected, leaves control of the police in the hands of the ruling class. Likewise with his belated opposition to the war in Vietnam, he limits his demands to what can be done by politicians working within the political organizations of the rulers.

On these two questions, as on many others, the transitional program for black liberation seeks to organize the black community and its allies in the working class to solve its own problems. Against the present corrupt police set-up the transitional program raises the demand to "replace police occupation of the black community with a community-controlled police force drawn from residents of the community," and in order to end the war in Vietnam it seeks to "support the constitutional right of GIs to speak out against the war and against discrimination in the armed forces."

The purpose of such demands and of the entire transitional program is to organize the black community to take meaningful action in its own interest.

New edition

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

Written in 1960, the present edition features a new introduction based on material gathered during a recent stay in Cuba.

25 cents

merit publishers
873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

The Pentagon's arsenal of gases

By Joel Aber

"Two things saved us from a complete fiasco," an American on Okinawa told the *New York Times* after the nerve gas accident that hospitalized 25 Americans there. "One was that all those injured were Americans. The other was the Apollo flight."

In the long run the man may be mistaken about his latter point. The Apollo mission suddenly hits home the truth that the space program is capable of its much-advertised potentiality. When the Pentagon officials decide to put a man on the moon, they can really do it. And when they decide to produce germs that could kill half the world's population in one epidemic, they can do that, too. The accident at Okinawa was a small reminder that the U.S. arsenal of biological and chemical weapons really works.

The gas that caused the Okinawa accident is tabun, one whiff of which is fatal. Like the V-2 rockets whose technology eventually made the space race possible, tabun was developed by Nazi Germany in 1937.

In a pine forest on heavily populated Okinawa is a complex of several hundred igloos surrounded by three electrified fences. Goats are kept near the igloos. Some pine trees in the area are blighted, according to the July 20 *New York Times*, but the cause of the blight is not publicly known.

What is known is that the igloos were built by the U.S. Army's 267th Chemical Company, that goats have been used in the United States for testing biological and chemical weapons, and that the most lethal biological warfare agents are stored in igloos.

The accident on Okinawa was the third reminder in recent months about the grim danger to mankind of the U.S. government's BCW arsenal.

First came the mysterious deaths of 6,400 sheep in Skull Valley, Utah, near the Army's Dugway proving grounds. They almost got away with that one. The Pentagon so vociferously denied culpability and so successfully convinced the mass media not to make waves that most people didn't even know about it. Certainly few Americans were aware that their lives were in danger—that if the wind direction had been slightly different in Utah that day, it might have been 6,400 people instead of sheep.

The Pentagon admitted that its previous disclaimers of responsibility for the poisoning of the sheep had been outright lies only after a second incident, involving even greater potential peril to man.

In May a Congressional investigation revealed that the Pentagon had decided to get rid of 27,000 tons of unwanted nerve gas from its Rocky Mountain Arsenal by dumping the stuff in the ocean—after a 2,000-mile cross-country trip in 809 railroad cars, which were to pass through Indianapolis, Dayton, Knoxville, Cincinnati,



Naturally all of us have qualms about military research. But that doesn't stop us from being scientists, now does it?

Philadelphia and Elizabeth, N.J., en route to the Atlantic. The odds may have been against it, but the Pentagon was betting on the lives of millions of Americans if a few of those cars were to derail in any of the major metropolitan areas the train was to pass through, aside from the invitation to ecological disaster to mankind that might result from poisoning the whole Atlantic Ocean.

In the ensuing furor, Congressional investigators were told by an Army scientist that 3 to 10 milligrams of this gas would be lethal. And the Army wanted to transport 27,000 tons of the gas—which figures out to be enough to kill every human being in the world one thousand times. It appears that they have more "overkill" in BCW than in nuclear weapons.

And biological weapons are regarded as even more deadly. The July 6 *New York Times* cites a UN study warning of the possibility of "worldwide plagues like those of medieval times resulting from the use of germs bred to outflank existing vaccines and antibiotics."

Altogether the government spends over \$600 million a year on biological and chemical weaponry. They've already used so-called "non-lethal" gases and "defoliants" against the population of Vietnam. When so much money is spent on such devastating poisons, there are bound to be more "accidents."

Coming in the wake of the antiballistic

missile controversy, the Pueblo incident, the numerous military defeats suffered by the powerful U.S. at the hand of Vietnamese peasants, and the GI antiwar movement, the growing controversy over germ and chemical warfare is one more blow to the once-sacrosanct American military establishment. Most of the ruling class probably feels the same chagrin expressed by James Reston in his comments about the nerve gas incident in the July 20 *Times*: "The trouble is not that the Pentagon is wicked but that it seems to be clumsy; it is constantly being caught out doing things that embarrass the government and complicate the conduct of American foreign and even internal policy."

Unlike James Reston, more and more Americans do indeed see something "wicked"—and frighteningly dangerous—in a military establishment that produces chemicals that kill in seconds, uses herbicides to cause famine and mass starvation in Vietnam, and breeds in test tubes the very plague germs that man has struggled for centuries to get rid of.

There's nothing new in the Pentagon doing these things. In fact, the July 19 *New York Times* revealed that it's been government policy since the 1950s to store nerve gas on U.S. bases all over the world.

What is new is the changed climate of public opinion that focuses much more attention on what the Pentagon is doing

and on the whole rotten system that bred the Pentagon. And thus more exposes are likely to occur.

It is new for significant sections of the public to become aware that their government—that same government that put men on the moon—is playing with something more deadly than nuclear weapons. Today we have a military establishment so unpopular that it is trusted by hardly anyone, not excluding some of the key members of the ruling elite for whom the Pentagon was their brainchild. And in such a situation it's far more difficult to keep a secret.

Two years ago the University of Pennsylvania was forced to cancel its germ warfare research contracts with the Pentagon after a barrage of publicity and demonstrations by the antiwar movement that lasted 18 months. Having participated in that massive publicity campaign, I recall the initial lack of response by the majority of the students at Penn to our revelation that the university was engaged in such a sordid business. Aside from disbelief among most students, there was a feeling among the radical students that we could never effectively mobilize to force the university to beat a retreat. A year and a half later we won.

Today the American ruling class is being exposed and forced to cover its tracks on the biological and chemical warfare issue not only on the campuses, where it is most vulnerable, but throughout the United States and even in those hallowed halls of Congressional verbosity.

A black activist is sentenced in New Orleans

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Walter Collins, a black civil-rights and anti-poverty activist, has been sentenced to prison and fined \$500 for refusing induction into the armed forces.

Collins, 24, was convicted on five counts of draft refusal, U.S. District Court Judge Edward Boyle, sitting in a packed courtroom, ordered the maximum sentence on each charge—five years—to be served concurrently.

Collins received a total of six induction notices. His attorney, Benjamin Smith, argued that Collins could refuse induction only once. Smith said that the draft board persisted in sending him notices in order to persecute him because of his political activity.

Collins has recently been working with staff members of the Deep South project of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). They have been organizing in the black and white communities of Laurel, Miss., building support for a working people's ticket which contested the recent municipal elections.

Collins is now restricted to the eastern half of Louisiana, including the city of New Orleans, under the terms of his \$5,000 bond.

Collins did not receive the first induction notice until after the day he was to have been drafted. On the next two induction dates, the officer in charge told him to leave the induction center because he was passing out antiwar literature. On the fourth induction date, Collins voluntarily left the center after being insulted with racial slurs by the medical officer. He never received the last two induction notices.

Collins has been active in the Southern freedom movement since he helped organize the early sit-ins to desegregate public accommodations in Louisiana. He worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in voter-registration drives in Mississippi and Louisiana, from 1964 through 1966. Most recently he has been active in antiwar work, with SNCC projects in New Orleans, and with SCEF project in Mississippi.

After he was sentenced, Collins said: "If I am guilty of a crime, it is the crime of thinking. The draft if a totalitarian instrument used to practice genocide against black people. Poor and working-class people are drafted to fight, not for American ideals, but for the interests of a few capitalists who control this country." The conviction and the travel restrictions on his bail will be appealed.

When an embargo isn't an embargo

Some hardy French merchants

For the benefit of any readers who may believe that the old-fashioned arms merchant is near extinction, or has lost his deftness, we offer the following excerpts from a July 25 *New York Times* dispatch.

PARIS, July 24 — When guns chatter on the banks of the Suez and planes go down trailing smoke, note is taken with anti-septic objectivity in a score of modest offices around Paris.

These are the headquarters of French arms salesmen, and while they do not care for war any more than the next fellow, combat to them means replacement business.

In these offices, "embargo" is a bad word, equivalent to "breach of contract." A tank-and-rocket salesman recalled with indignation the other day the ban imposed on shipments of spare parts to India during the border war with Pakistan. He called it a betrayal.

But the interviews around the circuit disclose that an embargo is not necessarily what the public thinks it is.

For example, when France imposed an embargo on the participants in the six-day Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967, outsiders were led to believe that no French arms would be shipped to the area.

France's best customer

In fact, in 1968 Israel remained the best customer of the French arms industry. She

bought, for cash, \$75,000 million in aeronautic products alone, according to industry figures.

More than half was spare parts, for an Israeli Air Force that is 85 percent French-equipped. But the shipments included 12 Frelon helicopters. A politician who dabbles in the arms trade and is an active opponent of the embargo asserted that there was an understanding that the Frelons would not be used in offensive operations.

However, the troop-carrying copters were used in a raid on an Aswan power line, and then in the Dec. 28 attack on Beirut airport in Lebanon, a country whose ties with France were cherished by President Charles de Gaulle. He imposed a "total embargo."

Even this did not preclude the opening of a new Turbomeca jet engine factory, 51 percent French-owned, in Israel three weeks later. And there have been published reports that under General de Gaulle's successor, Georges Pompidou, the situation was returning, or was about to return, to its previous status.

This meant the delivery of all but "offensive" weapons, which in effect was limited to the famous 50 Mirage fighter-bombers paid for by Israel but grounded near Bordeaux. . . .

Arm sales climb

The argument widely published here in 1967 that the embargo would be the death

of the French arms industry is belied by the export figures. French arms sales last year climbed by more than one-third, to about \$800-million.

This is believed to exceed slightly the amount spent by the Defense Ministry for the same kind of weaponry. Men in the trade, including American competitors, agree that without exports, France could hardly afford an industry providing her with a broad range of modern arms. . . .

Many extraneous elements go into purchase decisions. Agents recalled an Iranian offer to barter Persian rugs for American fighters. A Swiss contract went to France, it was said, when the French agreed to buy more Gruyere cheese, and the Belgians bought West German tanks when Bonn agreed to buy more than the equivalent of Belgian wares.

The French, however, have been doing rather well, not only commercially but also politically. They have kept strong ties with black Africa while selling submarines, helicopters and other weapons to white-supremacist South Africa, and kept up a posture of sympathy with the Arab world while selling arms to Israel.

The effort costs political strain. But, a military observer said, "we are condemned to export."

The Great Society

Oops!—A correction notice in the July 27 *New York Times* explains that a sentence in a dispatch from London erroneously substituted the word "war" for the word "man." The sentence, the *Times* said, should have read, "The year in which man left the earth and landed on the moon inevitably is the beginning of a new age." The *Times*, which was quoting a Lord Shackleton, said it regretted the error.

His to give—After the scientists get through fooling with the stuff, the president of the Free World announced in Jakarta, he will give a piece of the moon to each of the world's heads of state.

Listen here, boy—The U. S. High Commissioner in Okinawa demanded that the government of the Ryukyus take legal actions against student demonstrators who had torn up and trampled on an American flag. The "chief executive" of the Ryukyus said he would.

Flag Day in Legnano—Meanwhile in Legnano, Italy, four workers were fired because they refused to work under an American flag hoisted above the factory by their employer to celebrate the Apollo moon landing. The four fired workers apparently didn't understand that what was being celebrated was a victory for the entire Free World.

They thought it was from heaven—A state prober asserted that two justices of the Illinois Supreme Court were guilty of "gross impropriety" for accepting gifts of stock in a bank while participating in a ruling freeing the founder of the bank who was also state tax director, of charges of criminal conspiracy and conflict of interest. The judges admitted taking the stock but explained they hadn't realized that the man they were trying had anything to do with the bank.

Cop-out—The McCann-Erickson ad agency has been putting up public service bulletin boards in San Francisco with the message: "HELP. Be a Cop." The agency's art director and one of its copy-

writers had been plugging for: "Are you man enough to be a pig?" Agency tops vetoed it.

Like forget it—We had decided to get with this Joe Namath thing by reading the *True* article, "Exclusive: Namath Tells His Own Story. The Life and Style of Broadway Joe." Then we learned they decided to touch up the cover photo of Joe in front of his locker. A hand-painted mini-dress was added to the girl in the locker pinup.

The Logicians—"BONN, July 23—The chief West German government spokesman indicated today that it would be logical for the United States to store deadly nerve gas in West Germany."—The *New York Times*.

Telling it like it is—A federal judge ruled that profit-making educational institutions are entitled to the same accreditation rights as nonprofit schools and colleges. Rebutting the allegation that such business enterprises do not devote themselves entirely to educational goals, Judge John L. Smith declared: "Higher education today possesses many attributes of business. To hold otherwise would be to ignore the obvious and challenge reality."

Promotion—In a reversal of usual procedure, Harry Moffet, a former lobbyist for the mining industry, was appointed the Interior Department's chief policy adviser for minerals and solid fuels.

Gallows humor?—Discussing the problem of what the coffin-nail makers will do if they end TV advertising, Philip B. Dougherty suggested in the July 27 *New York Times* that in addition to using coupons and prizes, the companies "could even copy from the gas station games and run sweepstakes. Maybe the matching halves of Blue Cross Membership Cards."

Thought for the week—"The development of tear gas was a long step forward in the history of civilization."—Robert Reynolds, president of Federal Laboratories, world's largest producer of tear gas.
—Harry Ring

Reading for revolutionaries A Marxist looks at history

The Long View of History, by George Novack. 64 pp. 50 cents.

This pamphlet deals with two questions: How humanity climbed to civilization and the main course of American history including its next stage.

In the first part the author traces the main stages of history beginning with the first appearance of life on this planet and coming right up to the present time. He shows the relationship between evolution and revolution both in nature—that is, the development of the human species—and in society where the forms of social organization have replaced one another as the need for new forms arose. There is a wide-sweeping range in the analysis that looks out upon the broadest possible view of how we got to where we are now.

Novack describes the long climb of the human race from its animal beginnings through a million years of primitive existence to the threshold of civilization. He then goes on to describe the three main stages of society that followed—savagery, barbarism and civilization. Revolutionists need this kind of analysis in order to place our own times within the context of a much broader development. This helps in two ways: (1) It clarifies where we came from, what has happened up to now and what the future holds for us. (2) It makes clear that the only permanent thing in life is change.

In the second part, Novack traces the course of American history, beginning with Indian societies prior to the invasions of the Europeans and bringing the record right up to date. Many people who think they know the history of this country from what they learned in school are in for a surprise. The true history of the United States is not taught in the schools; it must be clawed out of largely concealed sources by scholars like the present author.

Novack deals with the early conflicts between the predatory Europeans and the native Indians and shows why the defeat of the latter was preordained. He then discusses colonial society, which finally came under British rule, followed by the First American Revolution, a rebellion of the colonists against the mother country, the first successful one of its kind.

The kind of nation that emerged from this revolution is described, followed by the second revolution, the Civil War of the 1860s. The causes and results of this struggle are analyzed. The work then proceeds to the post-Civil War society established by the victors in the war and continues down to our own times.

The importance of having a thorough knowledge of American history cannot be exaggerated. Revolutionists should be first-class experts on the history of their own countries as well as human history in general. American history, as this work

shows, has been profoundly revolutionary. In addition, the historical development has been compressed into an unusually short period of time, if we take the long view.

America will turn out to be the country of classical revolution in the future, as it has been in the past. Everything we know points in this general direction despite the difficulties that present themselves practically at every stage of development. Trotsky predicted many years ago that America is the foundry where the fate of mankind will be forged. This pamphlet tells us why this is indeed so.

—Milton Alvin

WBAI tunes in on your local Congressman

NEW YORK—Every Sunday night from 6:45 to 7 p.m., WBAI's Washington Bureau takes time out to chronicle the day-to-day activities of your duly elected representatives in Congress. Most people are aware that the Congressional Record exists, a few even subscribe to it, but virtually no one really reads the vast pile of copy disgorged periodically by the Government Printing Office. Bob Kuttner's weekly program of "verbatim satire," **Readings from the Congressional Record**, attempts to make the inanities of some of our distinguished statesmen a matter of (more) public record. For instance, from the Record of June 4, 1969, this dialogue between Senators Long (D-Tenn.) and Byrd (D-Va.).

Long: "Has the Senator ever heard of the Students for a Democratic Society?"

Byrd: "Yes, I have heard of that group."

Long: "Does he agree with me that they are about the scum of the Earth?"

Byrd: "I do not know whether I would use the same phraseology the Senator uses."

Long: "They're about the most contemptible people I know of. They're the most overprivileged group in this country. Is the Senator familiar with the fact that the parents of these people have put up the money to pay all their expenses and buy soap for them? But they refuse to take baths. That they have put up the money to buy them razor blades? But they refuse to shave. That they put up the money to buy food for those children? And they spend it on marijuana. They are the most sorry, contemptible, overprivileged people in the world and I say those people are a good element for the Communists to move in on."

Kuttner has assembled a sort of ad hoc repertory company to read such passages with as much of the original flavor as possible. The members of the cast (who prefer to remain anonymous) can qualify as authorities on the original flavor. Most of them are employed by Congressmen.

Readings from the Congressional Record is heard every Sunday night at 6:45 on WBAI, 99.5 FM.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

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

San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 1044 University, Boulder, Co. 80302

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Doug Lord, 610 N. Calhoun, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA and Bookstore, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-3887.

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

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

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Steve Sappanos, 111 Carroll #1, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: Sandy McNaughton, 511 N. Fess #4, Bloomington, In. 47401

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1500 Kentucky, Lawrence, Ks. 66044. Tel: (913) V13-4620.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardeil Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Gary Wurtzel, Gox 1187, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, H6 Camelot Apts. Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Oh. 44112.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Dick Taylor, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387. Tel: (513) 767-9063.

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

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

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA c/o Tom Kincaid, 2201 B Nueces, Austin, Texas 78705.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3518 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.

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

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.

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

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory three-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- Enclosed is \$1 for a 3 month introductory subscription.
- Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.
- For GIs—\$1 for a 6-month introductory subscription.

NAME

STREET

CITYSTATEZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Mark Rudd defends SDS hooligan tactics

By Harry Ring

One of the disturbing features of the Panther-initiated United Front Against Fascism conference held in Oakland July 18-20 was the use of strong-arm tactics. People identified as members of the Progressive Labor Party were forcibly ejected from the audience. PLers and other distributing leaflets outside the hall were beaten.

Concern has been expressed about this within the movement by militants, both black and white. The concern, unfortunately, has not been unanimous.

Writing in the July 24 SDS *New Left Notes*, National Secretary Mark Rudd—whose gall is apparently equalled only by his political obtuseness—actually tries to justify the disgraceful SDS role in this whole business.

Rudd writes:

"Before the start of the conference, the Panthers announced that no members of Progressive Labor Party or the Worker Student Alliance would be allowed into the conference. The first evening SDS members, acting with the approval of the three national secretaries, helped the Panthers identify PL-WSA members, who were ejected from the auditorium.

"The next day, in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, both the Panthers and SDS members and officers forcibly circled PL members trying to leaflet against the conference and against the Black Panther Party . . . In all cases requests were made that the scabs leave; when they did not, the necessary force was then used.

"The struggle escalated the next morning (Sunday), when a number of PL members leafleting in the park before the morning session of the conference were asked to leave, did not, and then were dealt with in strong fashion. Ten PLers wound up in the hospital."

The enforcers

Apparently, however, there are some people remaining in SDS who have sufficient regard for elementary democratic rights to protest this. At an SDS caucus meeting that Sunday afternoon, Rudd reports, the Bay Area Radical Student Union group in SDS "severely criticized" the Rudd gang for their conduct. According to Rudd, RSU forces pointed out that PL had not



Mrs. Jacob Rudd and her son Mark ("My son the Stalinist"?)

been disruptive of the conference and the handling of them "was more like a gang-like vendetta than political." The RSU also noted the inconsistency of declaring the need for physical war on PL while accepting without political dissent the presence on the conference platform of the Communist Party "revisionists."

In response, Rudd explains that the decision to expel PL from SDS had been "made at the convention" of the SDS in Chicago and that "the decision had to be enforced." It's true, the decision to expel PL was made "at" the convention. But it wasn't made by the convention. The decision to expel PL was made by the Rudd faction and its allies after they walked out of the convention. In any event, Rudd doesn't attempt to explain how either a decision "of" or "at" an SDS convention gives him the right to help organize goon attacks on people simply trying to attend an open conference to which all "antifascists" had been publicly invited.

Regarding the point that PL had not

attempted to disrupt the proceedings, Rudd replied with a logic on a general par with his intellectual honesty:

"On the second question, that of PL's disruptiveness," says Rudd, "we pointed out that PL's line when propagated in the midst of the black community or in a mass meeting of elements intent on uniting against fascism, discredits all revolutionaries because of its racist, chauvinist line on the black struggle." The implication, of course, is that black people shouldn't be allowed to choose for themselves what literature they will read!

Regarding their adaption to the CP, the SDS national enforcer explains that this was really PL's fault! The leadership of Students for a Democratic (sic) Society were so busy fingering and helping stomp PLers that they simply didn't have time to deal with the reformist CP. That, Rudd assures, will come after PL is taken care of.

If it were not such an ominous business for the movement, it would be hard to take

such comments seriously. Petty-bourgeois dilettantes like Rudd may be dismissed as Walter Mittys dreaming of being big, bad bureaucrats like Joe Stalin. But even a little scratch can lead to gangrene.

The use of violence within the labor and radical movements is, unfortunately, not at all new. Long before the Mark Rudds came along, labor bureaucrats were using goons and finger-men to eliminate dissident elements. And it was the use of such violence against political opponents by the Stalinists in the 1930s that made it a feature of radical politics for several decades.

In the USSR, Stalin's nightmare blood purges wiped out literally millions, including an entire generation of revolutionary leaders. All, of course, in the name of fighting "counterrevolutionaries."

Throughout the world the Stalinist CPs smeared, slandered and physically attacked their opponents.

The Khrushchev revelations of 1956 confirmed that Stalin's Moscow Trials, which offered the "legal" justification for branding opponents as "fascists," were complete frame-ups. This brought a new wave of revulsion against gangster tactics within the movement and such practices largely subsided. (Within the USSR popular pressure forced some easing of Stalin's police-state methods.)

Ironically, it has been the present victim, the Progressive Labor Party, which, in the past several years, has sought to reintroduce such discredited hooligan methods into the movement.

Revolutionary Marxists are not pacifists. But they reject the use of violence as a means of resolving ideological struggles within the movement. This is not simply a moral stand. Power, the Maoists like to recall, grows out of the barrel of a gun. However, they forget, or have never learned, that this is only a partial truth. Power, ultimately lies with those who have ideas that correspond to the forward motion of history. If power indeed rested solely in the barrel of a gun, the Vietnamese, fighting almost with their bare hands against the best-armed power in history, would have been destroyed long ago.

Marxists have confidence that their ideas will prevail within the movement, and ultimately in society as a whole. That is why they favor reasoned, free debate within the movement. They know they can only gain from such debate. And they know that the only way significant forces can be won to their positions is by genuine persuasion and that the best kind of persuasion comes as the result of the confrontation of conflicting ideas.

Those who resort to smear, slander and violence within the movement only testify to the impotence or bankruptcy of their ideas. This is so pathetically apparent in the case of the Rudd group, which is not even capable of ideologically confronting the patently false line of Progressive Labor.

Violence within the movement is of value only to the capitalist rulers who use it to discredit the movement and, equally important, to justify their violence against it.

It is the inescapable responsibility of every individual and organization within the movement to speak out against the shameful hooliganism that Rudd seeks to justify. Socialist principles and practical necessity demand it.

Hiroshima march in New York on Sat., Aug. 9

NEW YORK—A series of activities culminating with a march and rally in Central Park, Saturday Aug. 9, will mark Hiroshima-Nagasaki week in New York City. It is part of national protest activities against U. S. military occupation of Japan and Okinawa 25 years after the horrendous atom-bomb attack.

This year is particularly important for opposing U. S. bases in Japan and Okinawa because the U. S.-Japan Military Security Treaty, which establishes Washington's "right" to bases in Japan, is being renegotiated in 1970. There is massive opposition to these bases building up among the Japanese and Okinawan people.

It is being supported nationally in this country by the Student Mobilization Committee. Protests this week have been planned for a number of cities.

The multiple theme of the New York demonstration includes the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, opposition to the militarization of this country and support for black victims of racist repressions.

The activities sponsored by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee include: leafleting of New York City churches, Aug. 2-3; a demonstration at Rockefeller Plaza to protest the U. S. role in Latin America, Aug. 4; a demonstration at the City Council, Aug. 5; on Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6, a picket and rally at the U. S. mission to the UN; a garment district street rally, 37th St. and 8th Ave., Aug. 7; and an action at the New Federal Court against the draft, at Foley Square, Aug. 8.

The Nagasaki Day demonstration on Saturday will assemble opposite Bryant Park, at 6th Ave. and 41st St., at 1:30 p.m. There will be a march to the Central Park bandshell at 72nd St. west of 5th Ave. The rally will begin at 4 p.m.

Ex-marine scores brass on witch-hunt at Le Jeune

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK, July 30—The former editor of the antiwar Marine newspaper at Camp Lejeune, N. C., and the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee today sharply condemned attempts by the military brass and Congressman Mario Biaggi (D-N. Y.) to whip up a witchhunt atmosphere in the military.

Using the pretext of an alleged "race riot" at the Camp Lejeune Marine base July 20, Rep. Biaggi called for a Congressional "investigation" to determine the role of "subversives" in causing disaffection in the armed forces. The commanding officer of the Second Marine Division at Camp Lejeune, Maj. Gen. Michael P. Ryan, charged that "Black Panthers" took part in the reported racial clash, but admitted that he had "no tangible evidence," according to the July 29 *New York Times*. Ryan claimed that 30 Afro-American and Puerto Rican Marines physically attacked 14 white Marines following a dance.

One of the general's not-so-tangible bits of evidence for "Black Panther" instigation was the use of the closed-fist salute by some black Marines at the base. Ex-Corporal Robert Kukiel, who, until his recent discharge from the Marines, was the editor of *Head-On*, an underground antiwar newspaper at Camp Lejeune, told a news conference here today that a good 90 percent of the black GIs and many of the white GIs at Lejeune use the clenched-fist salute. Kukiel described the clenched-fist salute as a symbol of solidarity against the undemocratic actions of the brass, against the coercive conditions imposed on GIs and against the Vietnam war.

Ryan's witchhunt charge about Panther instigation of violence, however, was a clear invitation to the creation of an atmosphere in which the brass could get away with declaring such associations unlawful, in blatant violation of the servicemen's constitutional rights. Representative Biaggi has picked up the ball, calling for a full-scale Congressional investigation.

Ruth Blackstock of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which has suc-

cessfully defended the Ft. Jackson 8 and other antiwar GIs against attempts by the brass to silence and punish them, said at the news conference, "We deplore Rep. Biaggi's outrageous suggestion that a Congressional investigation be held into this clash when he has ignored the numerous cases of illegal harassment and punitive actions against GIs who were merely exercising their constitutional rights."

At Camp Lejeune, the brass are apparently uptight that black Marines, according to the *New York Times* are demanding "the right to wear Afro hair-dos and to be tried, if court-martialed, by a board that includes at least one Negro"; in other words, they want freedom of expression and the right to trial by one's peers, both of which are elementary constitutional rights guaranteed to all citizens.

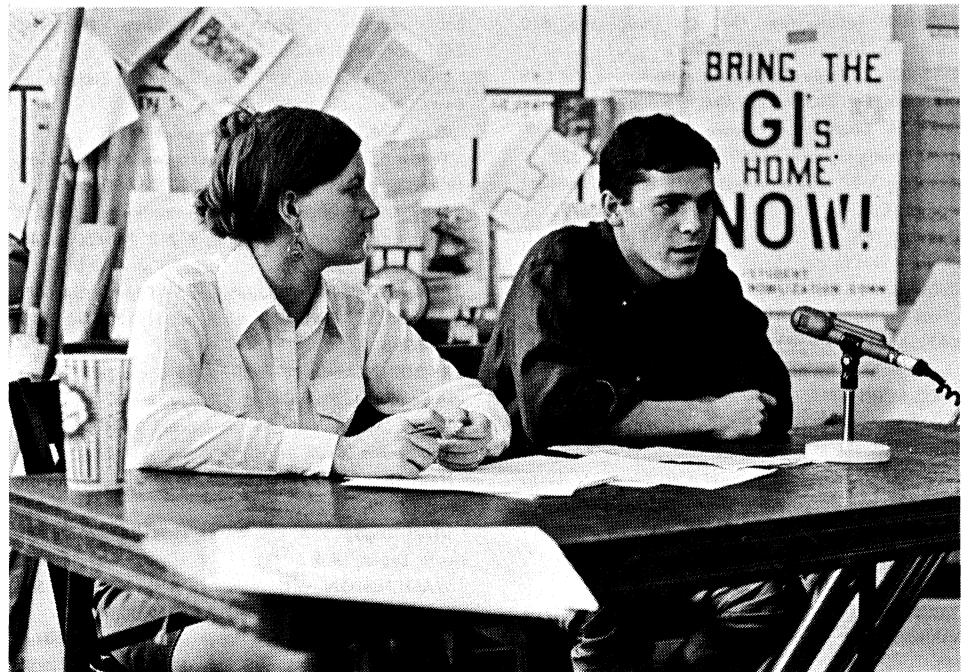


Photo by Joel Aber

Ruth Blackstock of GICLDC and ex-Marine Robert Kukiel