

THE MILITANT

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Harlem's Reclamation Site #1

-- See interview page 6 --

A U.S. Army company says 'no'; West Coast protests blast Nixon

-- See pages 3, 12



GIs sift through rubble of crashed helicopter which brass had them fight six days to get to. One company said "no."



Photo by John Gray

Some of the 8,000 West Coast residents who traveled to Nixon's summer home to protest the war.

SDSers split from PL, RYM

Declaration of independence

Fayetteville, Ark. Fayetteville SDS declares itself independent of either national office because we do not feel that either bureaucratic Stalinistic group represents the politics of our chapter. Both national offices represents a petty-bourgeois constituency of SDS, and we feel that neither NO represents the rank-and-file membership of SDS nor any other segments of any other substantial New Left groups.

We feel that there are many other groups around the country who are in much the same situation as we are. We would like to now state our specific political program and request that all others who have points of agreement please correspond with us and share views on the split in SDS and what should be done about it.

1. We support the right of self-determination of all peoples of the earth, including the black and brown colonies within the U.S.

2. We oppose oppression of women, which denies half the population of their humanity. This denial is used by the capitalist power structure to further perpetuate its dominance over both sexes.

3. The school systems of the U.S. and specifically Arkansas do not and have never represented the interests of the people. We wish

Letters from our readers

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

and will strive to change the educational system to fit these needs.

3. We seek to destroy the imperialistic nature of the U.S. government, recognizing that imperialism is the worldwide arm of capitalism.

5. We feel that militarism is the force by which capitalism enforces its dominance on the rest of the world.

6. We support all progressive labor struggles.

7. We oppose the destructive exploitation of the environment for profit.

We feel that RYM and PLP are objectively chauvinistic because they give women's liberation a back seat to all other policies and programs and use it as a political football.

While we support all revolutionary black groups, we do not support the tailism and deification of the RYM toward the Panthers.

We believe that all revolutionaries have a duty and a right to criticize all other revolutionary organizations when it is deemed necessary. At the same time, we can't support PL's stand on the black colony.

We cannot support either organization in their elitism; it is contrary to building a mass-based revolution.

Neither group allows minorities to be heard — much less respected.

We feel that the people who will make a revolution do not need a vanguard to tell them how to run either that revolution or the society which will emerge.

We do not believe that either of these bureaucracies has any understanding of or respect for the revolutionary traditions and heritages of the American proletariat. Rather than making a true revolutionary analysis of this society, they have distorted and dogmatized the revolutionary experiences of dissimilar societies.

Both NO's have degenerated all political discussion into the chanting of meaningless slogans and empty rhetoric.

Because of these and other basic disagreements, we of Fayetteville SDS feel that both of the so-called leaderships of SDS are a serious threat to the movement, and therefore we cannot align ourselves with either "sect"!

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of Arkansas SDS.
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THE MILITANT

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Vol. 33—No. 37

Friday, Sept. 5, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Aug. 29

Double oppression of women

New York, N.Y.

Reading *The Militant* is a good way to keep informed of the truth behind the events we read and hear about in the press and on TV. With limited space, you do well in raising the consciousness of your readers.

In addition, I cannot offer enough praise for the tremendously worthwhile article by Evelyn Reed, "Women and the Family" [*The Militant*, Aug. 15].

Fighting for the rights of women is of lasting value only when that fight is accompanied by a good, solid education on the historical processes behind the exploitation and debasement of women.

I believe that as women our struggles to function in our fullest, most creative capacities are very much akin to the struggles being waged by black people today.

The essential factor behind the exploitation of black people in our society is economic; skin color is secondary. Evelyn Reed clarifies for us the responsible factor behind what has produced "the woman question": again, it's economics; being born female is really secondary.

Let's have more articles like Evelyn Reed's.

Holly Massey

Driving capitalism into the sea

Chestnut Hill, Mass.

How can Hana Niel possibly state (*The Militant*, Aug. 8, 1969) that "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" when Sneh himself stated in *L'Express* (June 19-25, 1967), "Our war is just and legitimate. What united the 13 Arab states against us, irrespective of their regime, was not anti-imperialism but pan-Arabism and anti-Jewish chauvinism."

Sneh is subjectively a "Communist" but objectively a nation-

alist; i.e., he throws to the winds the basic Marxist principle of proletarian internationalism. How can any Trotskyist support his program? Sneh's job, if he is worthy of the designation "communist," is to build a mass movement and a Marxist revolutionary party of both Jewish and Arab proletarians and to throw capitalism (both Jewish and Arab) into the sea.

Bob Canter

Fun, travel and adventure

Louisville, Ky.

FTA, the GI paper at Fort Knox, Kentucky, is opening a GI coffeehouse to further our organizing work. The GI Movement is of crucial importance to the movement in general, and we need assistance to make our coffeehouse as effective as possible in developing the political consciousness of GIs. To do this, we need books, posters, records, entertainment, speakers, pamphlets and anything else that would help further our education program. Send material and inquiries to FTA, Box 336, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

Help build the People's Army!
FTA

Defending nationalism called "reactionary"

New York, N.Y.

The article by Elizabeth Barnes on the Panthers and the Oakland conference in the Aug. 15 *Militant* was the incredible culmination of the SWP's position on black nationalism. While the politics of the Panthers leave much to be desired, Miss Barnes saved her criticism for such conference comments as "that the struggle in this country is not between races but between classes."

Miss Barnes prefers race warfare to class struggle. Did she ever read Marx or Lenin? Has she ever spoken to black and white workers in this country?

The SWP line on the black question is totally reactionary. The capitalists are probably cheering you on in this regard.

M. S.

Thank you note from ex-political prisoner

San Francisco, Calif.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many *Militant* readers throughout the country who sent me messages of solidarity while I was in jail as a result of the strike at San Francisco State College.

The highlight of a prisoner's day is mail call, and I really appreciated the 7-10 letters per day I received. I shared many of the letters with my fellow inmates and it helped to stimulate many discussions of why I was in jail and questions about the "movement" in general. My fellow inmates were tremendously impressed by the messages of solidarity that I received while I was in prison.

Helen Meyers

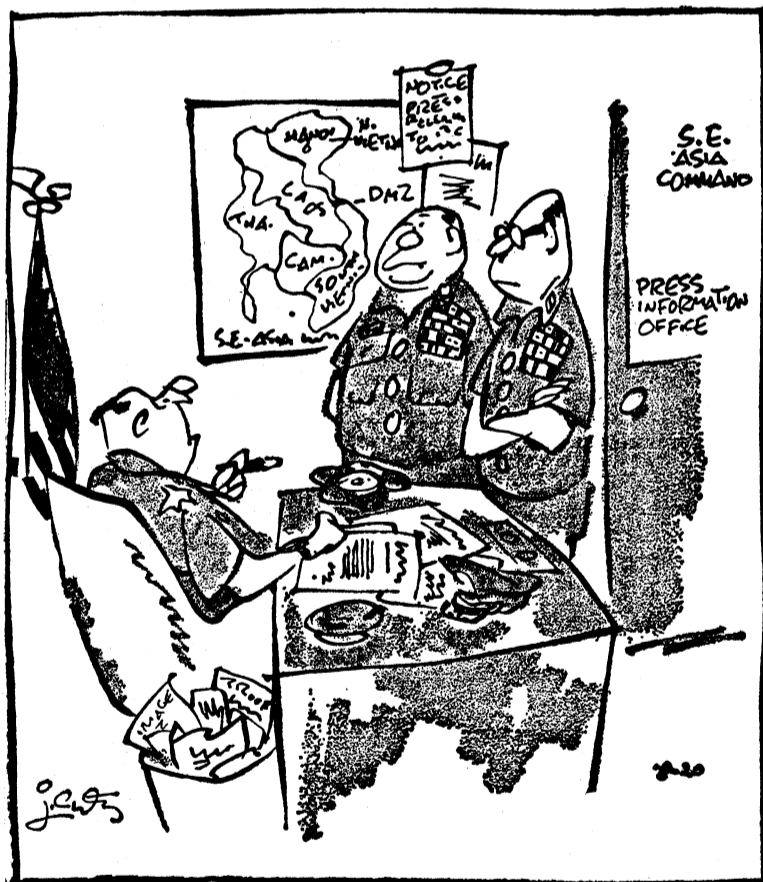
West Indians against the war

St. Vincent, West Indies

Walking around Kingstown, the capital city, today, what do you think I found? Painted on a wall in big letters were two somewhat familiar slogans: "U.S. out of Vietnam" and "We make love, not war."

Paula Reimers

GRIN AND BEAR IT



"We've been ordered to develop a formula, gentleman, for sending home our troops without actually withdrawing them!"

A warning from Miss Gopher State Timing Association

Minneapolis, Minn.

While the rest of Women's Lib was outside picketing that damn beauty contest July 25 [*The Militant*, Aug. 22], I was inside. Fab.

Our very own Minneapolis Choraliers composed a song especially for the occasion which went thusly:

"They're going to crown the queen,
"They're going to crown the queen,
"They're going to crown the queen,
"They're going to crown the queen of AQUATENNIAL."

The emcee kept saying, "Just look at these girls, folks. Now

aren't these lovely girls." And the audience would applaud.

My personal favorite was Miss Gopher State Timing Association. I rooted for her. She was one of the 10 finalists, each of whom was asked a question so distinguished for inanity as to be unsatisfiable. "What is your definition of success?" etc.

Miss Gopher State Timing Association was asked, "How do you think young people should dissent?"

She giggled, protested, blushed and finally said, "Well, I think that young people should dissent courteously and in a polite manner so older people will listen

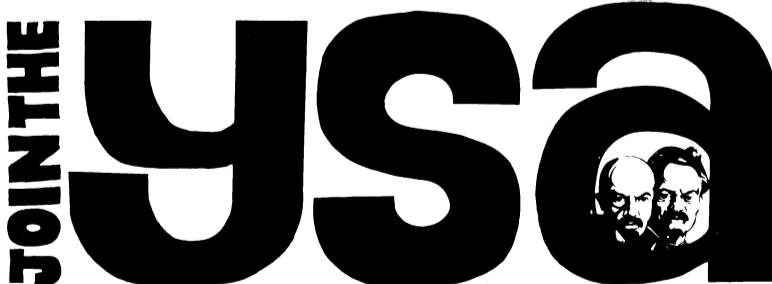
to them." *Militant* take note.

The businessmen-promoters who contribute the most money are appointed "commodores" for the gala occasion and get to march around in a spiffy uniform with scrambled egg on the shoulders.

One contestant, Miss Golden Valley, I believe, was asked what she considered her greatest asset. She stuck out an impressive bosom, smiled sweetly and said, "I'd like to think it's my personality." At which a fat-faced commodore bellowed, "Whoeeee, it sure is, honey."

Peace and cheers. A bas male chauvinism.

Solange Novotny



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

8,000 picket Nixon's summer White House

By Joel Britton

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif. — Eight thousand people from all over California demonstrated against the war in Vietnam at Nixon's Summer White House here on Aug. 17. The predominant slogan was, "Bring all the troops home now!"

This militant action, sponsored by the Peace Action Council, included at least 100 active-duty GIs. Student youth comprised the overwhelming majority of the demonstration. The Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) had carried out extensive leafleting of GIs at San Clemente, Oceanside and other towns adjacent to Camp Pendleton, the huge Marine Corps base that borders the Summer White House. The response had been favorable for the most part, with many Marines asking for buttons and leaflets for their units, but the big turnout of GIs from all branches of the service surprised even the organizers of the action.

The SMC was able to mobilize the massive high school and college youth turnout despite most schools being closed down for vacation. The mass SMC picket line on Aug. 13 at Nixon's state dinner for the Apollo 11 crew had drawn several thousand students in an action designed to build the Aug. 17 demonstration.

Most of the speakers at the rally here stressed that the August antiwar actions across the country, of which this action was the largest, were just the beginning of the fall antiwar offensive, which will culminate in massive demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco.

Speakers included Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson 8; Terrence Hallinan, lawyer for the Presidio 27; Tamu Uhuru of the Black Student Union; Dr. Donald Kalish, cochairman of the New Mobilization Committee; Donald Duncan, former Green Beret; Father Blase Bonpane; Mrs. Loyce Perry of the Welfare Rights Organization; and Toshiaki Yokoyama, a representative of the Japanese peace movement.

Pulley spoke forcefully for the perspective of broadening the antiwar movement to include increasing numbers of GIs and trade unionists. Pulley's message was: It's the workers who have the power to end this war and who will end it if they can be mobilized; let's start now by mobilizing

Guardian scores N.Y. disrupters

An editorial in the Aug. 23 *Guardian* sharply criticizes the ultralefts who disrupted an antiwar rally in New York Aug. 9. Various groupings, including the Crazies, the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front and Youth Against War and Fascism, had seized the Central Park platform at a coalition demonstration and held it for more than an hour against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the 5,000 people present.

This action, the *Guardian* editorial stated, "must be deplored by all radicals who perceive the immediate necessity for developing a genuinely broad antiwar movement in the U. S."

Rebutting the rationalization that the ultralefts were justified because the demonstration wasn't "radical" enough, the editorial noted that the rally "included speakers from the Black Panther Party, SDS and other militants, including representatives from the GI movement."

Observing that only the class enemy and conservative forces within the leftwing movement can benefit from such irresponsible action, the *Guardian* declares: "We are not here arguing against ideological struggle. We are arguing against certain of the methods being used to push this struggle . . . When we fight within the movement it must be on principle by principled means. . . ."

This welcome declaration follows, and is in consonance with, another recent *Guardian* editorial which reversed the paper's previously negative view of mass actions around the issue of immediate U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

GIs and workers for the Nov. 15 mass actions in Washington, D. C., and San Francisco. Enthusiastic applause interrupted Pulley time after time during his talk.

Hallinan and Kalish also spoke of the need to mobilize massive demonstrations in opposition to the war on Nov. 15 and in the actions preceding them. They said that the "moratorium" on antiwar actions is over and that Nixon can expect the same treatment accorded LBJ.

The San Clemente action received wide publicity in Southern California and nationally. This publicity and the way in which the demonstration was organized put the Nixon administration and Orange County cops on the defensive after they had taken a hard "no compromise" line in the pre-march negotiations, permit-application proceedings and legal maneuvers. They had prevented the organizers from reserving school buildings or city or state parks for a rally. A further unconstitutional move was to deny a permit for use of a street in front of the Nixon mansion. Orange County and federal judges dutifully complied with these infringements on the rights of free speech and assembly.

On the day of the action, so many people showed up that the designated picket area on the sidewalk was clearly inadequate. Peter Seidman, who was in charge of logistics and defense monitoring for the Peace Action Council, told the head of the police contingent that the march would have to take to the street. The police acquiesced.

The rally took place in a large picnic area in a state park not previously "authorized" instead of in an "approved" but undesirable beach location a greater distance from the march site.

Prior to the action, there was much talk in the press about a right-wing, prowar mobilization to answer and "deal with" the antiwarriors who dared to demonstrate against the war in conservative Orange County. An organized counterpicket of four made their pitiful protest, waving American flags and demanding "Victory in Vietnam."

The counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles failed to appear, making the San Clemente demonstration the first mass antiwar action in the Los Angeles area they have not physically attacked. The gusanos' ill-fated assault with baseball bats, rocks and bottles on the April 6 Wilshire Blvd. march in L. A. was repulsed by Peace Action Council defense monitors.

In San Clemente, PAC defense monitors had to cope with several incidents provoked by individual right wingers and a group of hostile motorcyclists. The monitors, composed largely of SMCers, met prior to the action and discussed how to



Photo by John Gray

IN SAN CLEMENTE. The size of the demonstration was particularly impressive, in that the bulk of the participants came from Los Angeles, more than an hour's drive to the north.

defend the action, secure the rally site and guard the speakers' platform, preventing right-wing disruption and ultraleft provocation. With the cooperation of virtually all the demonstrators, they were successful.

The antiwar action here today has given the West Coast antiwar movement a real boost. Work is beginning on the Nov. 15 action.

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 22 — While the San Clemente antiwar demonstration was in progress, four men, at least two of whom were armed and one who claimed he was a "Cuban," broke into the national offices of the Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC. They dumped files on the floor and stole certain files containing correspondence of Frank Wilkinson, executive secretary of

the committee.

Mina Barlow, a staff member of the Peace Action Council, which has offices in the same building as the committee, was manhandled, and the attackers threatened to kill her if she interfered with the attack. No damage was done to the PAC office, and no one was hurt.

At a news conference the next day, PAC staffer Terry Hillman assured the press and the public that "the PAC will answer this attack on the movement by redoubling our efforts to build the Nov. 15 antiwar actions in Washington and San Francisco." Today, a PAC staffer found an unexploded bomb that had been thrown through the window of the PAC office. Steps have been taken to assure that work on the fall offensive will go forward.

Israel admits napalming Lebanese

By Joel Aber

Aug. 26 — During the past few weeks Israel has napalmed Lebanese civilians, destroyed for the second time a Jordanian irrigation system, bombed the fresh-water canal that provides precious drinking water for Egypt's Port Said, imposed a curfew and house-to-house search on the occupied city of Gaza, and been caught in the act of torturing Arab prisoners.

Following the burning by arson of the Mosque of Al Aksa in Jerusalem Aug. 21, the anger of the Palestinian masses under Israeli subjugation reached new heights. A one-day general strike successfully closed virtually all Arab businesses throughout occupied Palestine. The Palestine Liberation Organization called for an economic and political boycott of the United States, Britain and West Germany for their imperialist roles in propping up the Zionist state.

Faced with this angry outburst after the burning of the mosque, Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban brazenly attempted to make the victim the criminal and the criminal the victim; he had the gall to charge Arab heads of state with the "crime" of whipping up a "hate campaign" against the Israeli occupation instead of quietly mourning without showing anger. Also

to insure quiet, a curfew was imposed on all major concentrations of Palestinians in occupied land.

Israeli government spokesmen admitted, according to the Aug. 13 *New York Times*, that they had used napalm in their Aug. 11 bombing of Lebanon, the first indisputable air raid on that country's territory. It was necessary but unfortunate, Israeli authorities said, if civilians "happened" to be in the path of this flesh-searing antipersonnel weapon.

Just as the Lebanese people are being punished for their sympathies with the guerrillas, the 60 thousand farmers in Jordan whose food depends upon irrigation by the Ghor Canal are being attacked for similar reasons. The canal was blown up June 23, repaired by Jordan to again irrigate 180,000 acres in the Jordan Valley, and bombed again Aug. 11.

The Aug. 12 *New York Times* reveals that after the June 23 destruction of the canal, Israel had extracted a secret agreement from King Hussein that workers could repair the canal without being killed only if Hussein prevented guerrilla operations. Hussein has apparently been unable to curb the guerrillas to Israel's satisfaction; therefore, this time they expect to fire on workers repairing the canal,

eventually forcing the farmers off their land.

The torturing of Arab prisoners and atrocities committed against Sinai residents came to light in testimony before a committee of the UN Human Rights Commission at meetings held in Beirut Aug. 11 and Cairo Aug. 20. Witnesses included a Lebanese political science professor, Bedouin sheiks, a 15-year-old girl who had been shot in the head by Israeli soldiers and was partially paralyzed, and a woman who charged that her home on the east bank of the Suez Canal had been broken into by Israeli soldiers who decapitated her husband with a bayonet and then forced her to flee across the canal with her son and three daughters. The apparent object of the alleged terrorization of Sinai residents, the Aug. 21 *Times* reports, is to drive Arabs out of the Sinai.

The twelfth installment of the serialized history of Progressive Labor Party will appear in our next issue.

The Alliance for Labor Action-- new-image move?

By Frank Lovell

DETROIT — No massive Labor Day demonstrations are being planned this year. Nineteen sixty-nine is not a general election year and there is no need to call out the ranks so "friends of labor" can tell the working man what he ought to have and how to get it by voting for the Democratic Party one more time in order to defeat a greater evil. Instead, high officials in the unions will simply send "greetings" to their members in accordance with the recently established custom.

Among those most responsible for converting Labor Day demonstrations into Democratic Party election rallies is Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. He may have suggested the "greetings" practice, too for off-election years. In any case, he is promising that a very important announcement will be made this Labor Day by the newly founded Alliance for Labor Action (ALA). This, also, is true to form.

One of the purposes of the ALA is to project a new image of "labor leadership," to show that Reuther and Frank Fitzsimmons (Teamsters' president) are different from Meany and other mossbacks in the AFL-CIO, and that the unions are really not pillars of the status quo—as they are popularly thought to be. Judged by the beginning efforts, it appears as if all this is to be accomplished by words alone and no action involving union men and women. The pattern is what has become known in the United Auto Workers as "the Reuther method."

The "method"

This "method" began slowly to unfold in May 1968 (more than a year ago) when Reuther jockeyed George Meany, AFL-CIO president, into suspending the 1.3-million-member UAW for being over three months in arrears in per capita payments.

Soon thereafter Reuther began serious negotiations with officials of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. These two unions — the country's largest —

seemed then to have little in common except that both had been expelled from the federated AFL-CIO. Their combined memberships represent over 3 million workers in key industries, the most dynamic sector of the union movement in this country. But their disparate backgrounds and the different reasons for each leaving the AFL-CIO appeared to preclude an alliance.

The appearance proved illusory. On May 26 and 27 of this year, in Washington, D. C., more than 500 hand-picked delegates — evenly divided between the two unions — unanimously approved the alliance and adopted a constitution for the new organization. Thus the Alliance for Labor Action was born.

There had been no prior discussion among the ranks of either union about the possibility and advantages of joining forces. Consequently, there was no need to elect delegates. But the result was, since no one knew much about it, that news of the convention surprised most members. They wondered, "What convention?" Details of what happened surprised the members even more—a welcome surprise to most.

Frank Fitzsimmons, who had previously voiced no interest in the youth of this country or the war in Vietnam, had the following to say in his opening remarks: "We in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communications with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking up positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire.

"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home.

"This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon."

No one can argue that Fitzsimmons' findings are not accurate. And his conclusion that this war "must be stopped soon" is right, too. But he failed to say how this war will be stopped.

Reuther also made "opening remarks" in the course of which he too deplored the war in Vietnam and called instead for "total war against human poverty in this land of plenty."

To get this "total war" under way the ALA founders projected vast social reform programs in all areas to resolve the urban crisis, wipe out poverty and hunger, stop pollution of the air and the "continuing neglect of our living environment," end inflation and raise the standard of living



Walter Reuther

of wage earners. In reference to this last aim, they noted that "buying power of an average factory worker's take-home pay has been declining since December 1965"—which does not speak well for the kind of union contracts they have been negotiating these past five years.

"Community unions"

They announced a campaign to organize millions of unorganized low-paid workers, and made plans to help finance mass produced housing in poverty areas. A new organizational form, the "community union", will purportedly be established in some of the major cities, the announced purpose being "to build person-to-person communication with the human victims trapped in rural and urban slums."

The delegates voted "to request an ap-

Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The other part is that a big sector of the employing class is today very concerned about how to pull out of the war in Vietnam and how to quell the seething unrest in the ghettos of the big cities, and how to keep the factories running smoothly without digging too deep into swollen profits.

When Reuther unrolls his "social planning" blue-prints, he not only has promises for the workers, the poor and the underprivileged. He also has a proposition for the rich and the powerful, and for their political lackeys.

He explains for the benefit of all, "The test of a leader is whether he tries to change and to change things."

When asked recently, "Do you then embrace revolution instead of reform?" Reu-



New York Hospital Local 1199 is affiliated with ALA

pointment at an early date with President Nixon and the appropriate members of his Cabinet and also to request appointments with majority and minority leadership of both Houses of Congress to discuss these urgent questions and to present the views of the ALA concerning them."

Reuther has promised that the Labor Day announcement by him and Fitzsimmons will be addressed to union members and working people generally. "Frank Fitzsimmons," according to Reuther "has a series of proposals on organization of the unorganized." As for himself, "The committee I head will start building community unions in Watts, East Los Angeles, St. Louis and other cities."

This idea of "community unions" was first announced more than a year ago by UAW spokesmen who then talked about "community action councils" that would coordinate community action with projects sponsored by the union. In the interim little has been done in this respect, and what will now develop along these lines remains to be seen.

It is clear that Reuther is spurred on by the restiveness in the ranks of his own union over deteriorating working conditions and declining purchasing power of the pay check. Black UAW members are organizing their own caucuses to fight discrimination in the shops and in the union. He seeks to head off these opposition movements inside the UAW by promising to tackle the social evils that give rise to these very basic grievances.

Such promises are not new for Reuther, an old hand in the trade. He is now passing along some of these trade secrets to Fitzsimmons who is proving more adept at mastering them than George Meany was.

Reuther and Meany

In a recent interview, Reuther complained of his failures with Meany. "In the March on Washington in 1963, I begged George Meany to have the AFL-CIO identify with it. But Meany fought to block it."

Reuther also recalled, "When Martin Luther King gave his life in Memphis it was for a trade-union struggle, not civil rights alone. Yet in the march that was put on there in his memory, not one member of the AFL Executive Council was there."

This explains, in part, why Reuther was compelled to disassociate himself from

ther answered quickly. "Oh, no. But I am in revolt against the status quo. I believe in using every form of struggle to change the status quo, but I am opposed to violence."

He is opposed to violence but not enough to support the mass march on Washington this November 15 to end the killing in Vietnam. He is not strongly enough opposed to violence to support the efforts of black people to organize to control the black community in order to keep out killer cops, among other things. His opposition to violence does not extend to the auto plants, where every day some worker dies or is maimed because of unsafe working conditions.

Reuther is in favor of "every form of struggle to change the status quo" so long as it does not involve independent organization of the working class. He is not in favor of organizing millions of unorganized if those millions are thereby able to control their own destiny. He, like his fellow bureaucrats, is in favor of only those organizations that can be controlled and manipulated. That is why the ALA founding conference was rigged with hand-picked delegates. That is why there will be no massive Labor Day demonstrations this year demanding the very things Reuther says he is for.

The success of all Reuther's plans depends upon how many concessions he can wheedle from the ruling class of this country, based upon his demonstrated ability to deliver social tranquility. But the time will come when the rulers will be unable to concede enough, and that is when Mr. Reuther will no longer deliver.

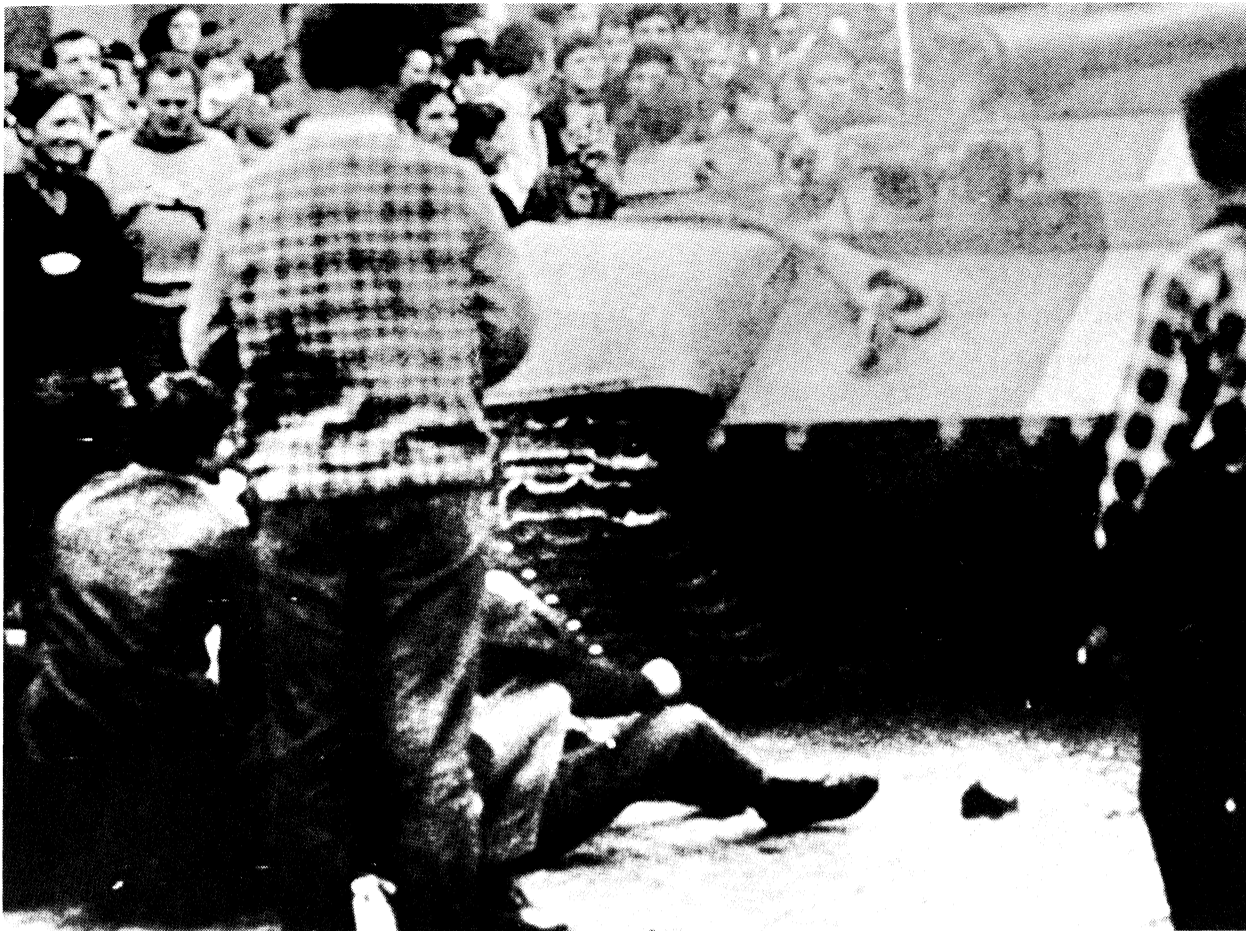
A Political Biography of Walter Reuther The Record of an Opportunist By Beatrice Hansen

24 pp.

40 cents

873 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

merit



PRAGUE SIT-IN. Young Czechs block Soviet tank, Aug. 21 1968, day of invasion one year ago.

By Joel Aber

Tanks rolled through the streets of Prague Aug. 21, 1969, as they had Aug. 21, 1968. But this time the role of leading actor was played by the Kremlin's understudy, the compliant Husak bureaucracy. The tanks were officially manned by the Czech army and the public defiance was officially condemned by the Czech government.

"Both Mr. Husak and his Kremlin backers," states the Aug. 24 *New York Times*, "apparently feared that gunfire or the use of Soviet troops might have precipitated open civil war—in which many Czechoslovak policemen and soldiers might join the insurgents."

The first major incident occurred Aug. 19, when police broke up a small demonstration at Prague's Wenceslas Square, which has become a symbol of Czechoslovak nationalism and resistance to the Soviet occupation. A larger crowd gathered

to demonstrate defiance of the police-state tactics the next day. Young people hastily built barricades and threw paving stones at the charging cops and soldiers.

While tanks, tear gas and fixed bayonets were being used to suppress the demonstrations in Prague, unrest spread to Brno, Czechoslovakia's second largest city, where it took two days for the bureaucracy to restore calm after street demonstrations by a reported 5,000 people. The *New York Times* reported two youths killed in Brno and two killed by gunfire in Prague, where there were over 1,300 arrests.

As previously announced in clandestine leaflets, a five-minute general strike occurred at noon, Aug. 21, reminding the Soviet and Czech bureaucracies of the potential power of the working class. "They can do anything they want, but they have no way of forcing us to manufacture so much as a nail," a Prague resident is

quoted in the Aug. 20 English-language edition of *Le Monde*.

The Czechoslovak workers have given the government much more trouble than their five-minute work stoppage. The same *Le Monde* article, entitled "The great economic leap backwards," states that "even if the Soviet Union were to inject a huge amount of aid into the country, as they promise each time the political atmosphere threatens to worsen, it would have absolutely no economic effect. The economy is so disorganized that the money would be gone in a few months' time. Several economists have compared the effect of the work slowdown to a general strike lasting several months."

The article quotes a Czech economist: "As Karl Marx would say, the forces of production are being held back by political conditions. This is true to such an extent in Czechoslovakia that the country is being pushed back to a state of underdevelopment. One might almost describe it as a classical prerevolutionary situation. Had it not been for the occupation, a revolutionary outbreak would have occurred which would have moved the country into the 20th century."

It was precisely the fear of such a pre-revolutionary situation that made the Soviet bureaucrats decide to invade one year ago. But the same *Le Monde* article points out that the Soviet invasion is destined to be less effective than was the 1956 crushing of the Hungarian revolution.

To carry out "Kadarization" in Hungary and "Gomulization" in Poland in 1956, the article emphasizes, the Kremlin depended upon the "traditional conservatism and lack of political interest" of the peas-

antry to act as a "stabilizing force" in these predominantly agricultural countries. But unlike Poland and Hungary, where 60 percent of the population belongs to the peasantry, peasants represent only 30 percent of the Czech population. The overwhelming majority are urban proletariat.

"Party Secretary Gustav Husak recently expressed regret," says the *Le Monde* article, "that the workers, the intellectuals, the white-collar workers and the government employees in Czechoslovakia did not work 'as calmly' as the rural population."

The article also contrasts the political consciousness of the Hungarians and Poles and the Czechs. Until 1945, the two former peoples were living under virtually feudal conditions while the Czechs had a bourgeois democracy.

Since the Czechoslovaks had a taste of socialist democratization between January and August last year, no amount of imploring against "right-wing provocations" will convince them that they shouldn't have democratic rights.

Meanwhile within the Soviet Union, the Aug. 21 *New York Times* reports, 16 Soviet intellectuals issued a statement that "on this sad anniversary, as before, we declare that we oppose this decision [to occupy Czechoslovakia], which threatens the future of socialism."

Among the signers of the statement were Pyotr Yakir, the son of Gen. Ion Yakir, who was executed during the Stalin purges of 1937, and Zinaida Grigorenko, the wife of Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, who is reportedly in prison awaiting trial on charges of "spreading anti-Soviet slander" after he made statements in defense of the national struggle of the Crimean Tartars.

Canadian-Arab faces deportation from U.S.

By Hugh Murray, Jr.

NEW ORLEANS—The Uncle Tom administration of Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO) and the U.S. government have teamed up to victimize a Canadian-Arab SUNO professor, Dr. George Hagggar, by firing him and then issuing an order for his deportation.

In April and May of this year, students at SUNO furlled the American flag, hoisted a black flag of liberation, gave clenched-fist salutes to the new flag, forced Louisiana Gov. John McKeithen to come to the campus for the first time and boycotted classes. The students were intimidated with

arrests and the occupation of the campus by hundreds of police and National Guardsmen.

The white masters of the state were assured by Dean Emmett Bashful that the instigator of the demonstrations was a foreign agitator. The scapegoat was Dr. Hagggar, who was fired without a hearing, as well as arrested.

The New Orleans Young Men's Business Club and the White Citizens Council demanded the professor's deportation. On May 23 Dr. Hagggar filed suit against SUNO, charging that he had been illegally fired and demanding a hearing. Three days later Hagggar received a special delivery letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service "requesting" that he leave the country.

When Hagggar alleged that the federal government had been pressured by local racists to seek his deportation, Troy A. Adams of the Immigration and Naturalization department assured readers of the June 5 *New Orleans States-Item* that "the request bore no resemblance to a deportation order." On June 16 the INS served Dr. Hagggar with an order to show cause why he should not be deported.

The *New Orleans Times-Picayune* of June 17 reported that the INS did not intend to subpoena any witnesses for the June 23 hearing, but Adams stated that Dr. Hagggar had a right to do so. At the hearing, the same Mr. Adams then ruled all witnesses out of order. The hearing was closed to all except the press, and the INS special-inquiry officer ruled that the allegations against Dr. Hagggar could not be read aloud.

This kangaroo court ruled that Hagggar must be deported. Today Dr. Hagggar is underground, and the INS has issued a warrant for his arrest.

Conspiracy 8 win round on wiretap

CHICAGO (LNS)—The Illinois Court of Appeals has ordered Judge Julius Hoffman, presiding judge in the trial of the Conspiracy Eight, to explain why he should not rule on the legality of wiretap records the government admits to having.

After three costly delays, Hoffman had decided not to rule on a defense motion for the release of the illegal records. The reason he gave was that the motion was such a serious matter he could not possibly rule on it until after the trial was over.

Now he has until Aug. 27 to convince the higher court that his decision was correct. If he should fail to convince them, then he must rule on the status of the wiretaps. And if they are found to be illegal, as defense attorneys insist they are, then the government will be forced to surrender them to the defendants.

'Berkeley Three' granted postponement of trial

OAKLAND—The Berkeley Three, Peter Camejo, Paul Glusman, and Jack Bloom, have won a postponement of their trial. Originally scheduled for Aug. 13, the new trial date is now set for Oct. 20. The three face felony charges of "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor" arising out of protests against attempts by the University of California regents to prevent Eldridge Cleaver from offering a faculty-approved course last fall. If convicted, the three defendants can draw up to three years in prison and a \$5,000 fine.

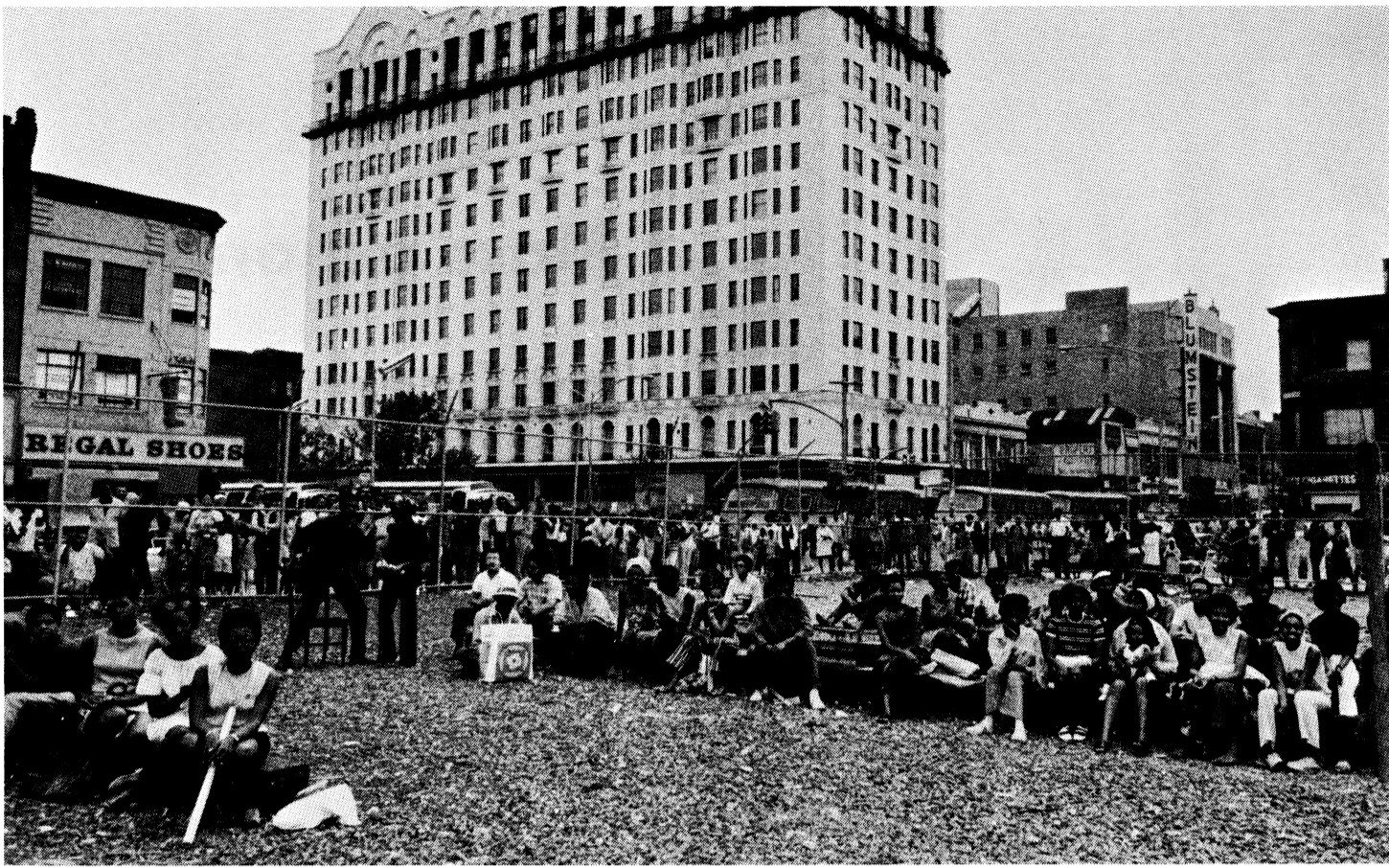
The acts cited in the indictments were two speeches at a mass rally and the chairing of a public meeting. Attorneys for the three have filed a petition to dismiss all charges on grounds that they violate First Amendment rights. The hearing on the dismissal request is set for Sept. 15.

Attorneys for the Berkeley Three see one reason for the postponement as the recent retirement of J. Frank Coakley, the 75-year-old reactionary district attorney of Alameda County who has been pressing the case so enthusiastically. Coakley, a rabid anticommunist, specialized in conspiracy indictments against labor militants,

and more recently, student dissidents, as a means of intimidating protest demonstrations. He is being replaced by his assistant, Lowell Jensen.

In a separate legal action related to the Cleaver lectures, 16 students and six professors have filed suit against the board of regents, demanding that the students who took Cleaver's course last year be given full credit, despite the regents' ruling against guest lecturers giving more than one lecture a quarter for credit. The suit alleges the regents denied the constitutional rights of students and faculty. A hearing has been set for Sept. 22.

Meanwhile defense efforts continue, with the Berkeley Defense Committee issuing an attractive brochure on the facts and implications of the case. A partial list of sponsors including more than 100 professors, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, and other prominent individuals indicates the broad support the Berkeley Three are gaining. Copies of the brochure are available upon request. Contributions may be sent to Berkeley Defense Committee, 2158 Emerson Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94705.



Photos by Doug Harris/Community Coalition

COMMUNITY CONTROL PROJECT. Members of Harlem community gather at site of old Theresa Hotel and participants in Reclamation Site #1 construct building for occupants intent on blocking projected state office building.



People's encampment: Harlem's Reclam

By B. R. Washington and Derrick Morrison

The following interview was given to *The Militant* by a Sister at Reclamation Site No. 1, otherwise known as the state office building site in Harlem. She is a representative of the Community Coalition, the group that organized the occupation of the site, which was instrumental in forcing the New York state government to cancel plans for building an office in the middle of Harlem. (See *The Militant*, July 18, 1969.)

* * *

Militant: Could you give us some background in terms of the events that led up to the occupation?

Representative: The first time that the general Harlem community was notified of the plans for the State Office Building was a news announcement by Gov. Rockefeller in late 1967. At that time a number of individuals became concerned about the state office building, what the erection of the building right on 125th St. would mean to the entire community. We began investigating, trying to find out exactly what was offered the community in terms of benefits. And then we balanced those out with what we felt would be the effects on the community as a whole.

We began doing a lot of work in the community—talking with people, holding street corner meetings, leafleting, etc. This was in winter 1967, spring 1968.

YS features campus program

The September issue of the *Young Socialist*, monthly publication of the Young Socialist Alliance, contains several features of interest to *Militant* readers. The lead article is a statement by the national executive committee of the YSA presenting a transitional program for the campus revolt. Also included in the issue are a letter by Leon Trotsky, never before printed in English; an interview with a Peruvian active in the defense of Hugo Blanco and the other political prisoners in Peru; and a review of the book *Lenin's Last Struggle*, which deflates some illusions about Stalin held by a few radicals.

The issue can be ordered from the YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. The cost is 25¢ per copy or \$2.00 for one year's subscription.

Militant: What organization was pulling off the action?

Rep: It was the Harlem Committee for Self-Defense. The HCSA came into existence around the state building question. There were a group of people working around the issue and then they formed themselves into a committee. At that point, a number of groups were working against the construction of Columbia's gym. We worked with all those groups, and some of the people who were involved in that issue became a part of the Harlem Committee because they saw that the state office building and the Columbia gym were all part of the same problem of redevelopment in the community.

Our view was that institutions like Columbia University and the state and city governments were all interested in having the Harlem community redeveloped into a commercial and middle- to upper-income community.

During the spring, it became obvious that the folks of Harlem were not at all interested in having an office building erected on the site. They were more concerned about education at the time, which was a very big issue. At any rate, the committee circulated a petition over the spring and summer of 1968. The petition demanded that the plans for the construction of the state office building be stopped, and that a high school be built on the site instead. It also demanded that the Harlem community be developed for the people who live here now. After circulating that petition into the fall, we got 20,000 signatures.

On the basis of those signatures, we approached Planning Board No. 10, which has jurisdiction over this particular area of Harlem, and asked that they hold a public hearing on the issue.

Militant: Local Planning Board No. 10 is part of the office of the borough president of Manhattan, Percy Sutton?

Rep: That's right; its members are appointed by him.

The planning board discussed the issue during two or three meetings, and agreed that a public hearing seemed to be in order, but was very reluctant to set the date. Therefore, the Harlem Committee went ahead and organized a community hearing in December, 1968, with the approval of the local planning board. Now, as a matter of fact, the first testimony that we received at that hearing was from the chairman of Local Planning Board No. 10, who was opposed to the state office building.

Something like 200 people attended that hearing, but we didn't get any attendance or response either from local officials and

representatives of Gov. Rockefeller, or black politicians in the area. The 200 people there were mothers, workers, high school and college students, and just folks from the community, like architects and lawyers. The consensus of the hearing was that the state office building was in fact detrimental to the community, and therefore, plans for some type of alternative should be made. ARCH, Architectural Renewal Committee of Harlem, was asked to start doing a study on the possibility of building a high school on the site.

As a result of the hearing, a lot more groups in the community began to get active around the issue, began putting out information, etc. A group called the Ad Hoc Committee for a Better Harlem, a kind of coalition of groups, picked up the issue also.

At the time, it was not certain when ground would be broken on the site. But we began to look toward forming some kind of united front to stop the state office building anyway, because it didn't seem like we were going to get any response from state officials, or that state officials were even going to address themselves to very basic questions that we were raising. At several meetings John Silvera appeared to explain the state office building, and he would simply ignore questions raised by people opposed to it and continue on with his program.

Militant: Who is John Silvera?

Rep: John Silvera is one of Gov. Rockefeller's representatives, along with Wyatt T. Walker. Both of them work out of the State Urban Office right here on 125th St.

During May and June of 1969, various groups working together against the state office building met with the black construction workers. We met with them and discussed the promises that had been made to them by the state in terms of jobs, etc. We talked with them about the fact that whatever is constructed on this site, we would support their right to hold the contracts, but that they too should fight for something that would be beneficial to the community and then go on to fight for the contract to build that.

On June 26, we held a meeting at which time the Community Coalition was formally organized.

It had been announced, through letters sent to certain "community leaders," that construction on the State Office Building would start on July 1, and that a meeting of "community leaders" would be held on that day to discuss what would be done with the rest of the site. The Community Coalition came up with a plan to stop the construction by occupying the land. On June 30, we had some 400 to 500

people out here on the site. They spent the night, and were here in the morning to greet the construction workers. But no construction workers showed up.

We attended the meeting called by Wyatt Walker on July 1 at the Salem Methodist Church. They had not invited any of the opposing groups. Therefore, we decided, since we were not on the agenda or program at all, we would simply change the program and address ourselves to the issue of whether the state office building should be built or not.

At that meeting, which 150 to 200 people attended, only three persons spoke up for the state office building. Everyone else was silent, with the exception of the Coalition members, who spoke against it. The consensus was that plans for the construction of the state office building should be halted. Wyatt Walker agreed to approach the Governor with the consensus of that meeting and ask that plans be halted.

Following that, we didn't wait for any kind of response from the Governor. We decided to hold on to the land indefinitely, until we received a definite answer from the state that the office building would not be constructed, and that people in the community would participate in the decision-making as to what the site would be used for. So that kind of brings us up to now.

Militant: Is the state office building part of a larger plan to construct other buildings and establish some type of business area?

Rep: The minute a building like that is put up here, it begins to raise land values and you get a lot of speculation. People start talking about building middle-income co-ops, hotels, garages, and more office building complexes.

We found that this is not just a theory. Having attended several sessions of the local planning board, having checked out various building projects, we discovered plans for an office complex on Lexington and 125th St., for a Holiday Inn up here on St. Nicholas and 125th St., plans for a block-long garage, and plans for expanding Knickerbocker Hospital, a private hospital, into a seven-block-long thing. At the same time, the city was talking about closing down Sydenham, a public hospital, and Harlem Hospital was totally neglected! Also, over a period of ten years, there has been no low-income housing built! So you can see the direction that redevelopment is taking.

Militant: How has the community participated in and supported the creation of Reclamation Site No. 1?

Rep: Well first of all, there was the support that we received the very first evening that we came out here, when we said let's occupy the land. People turned up in very

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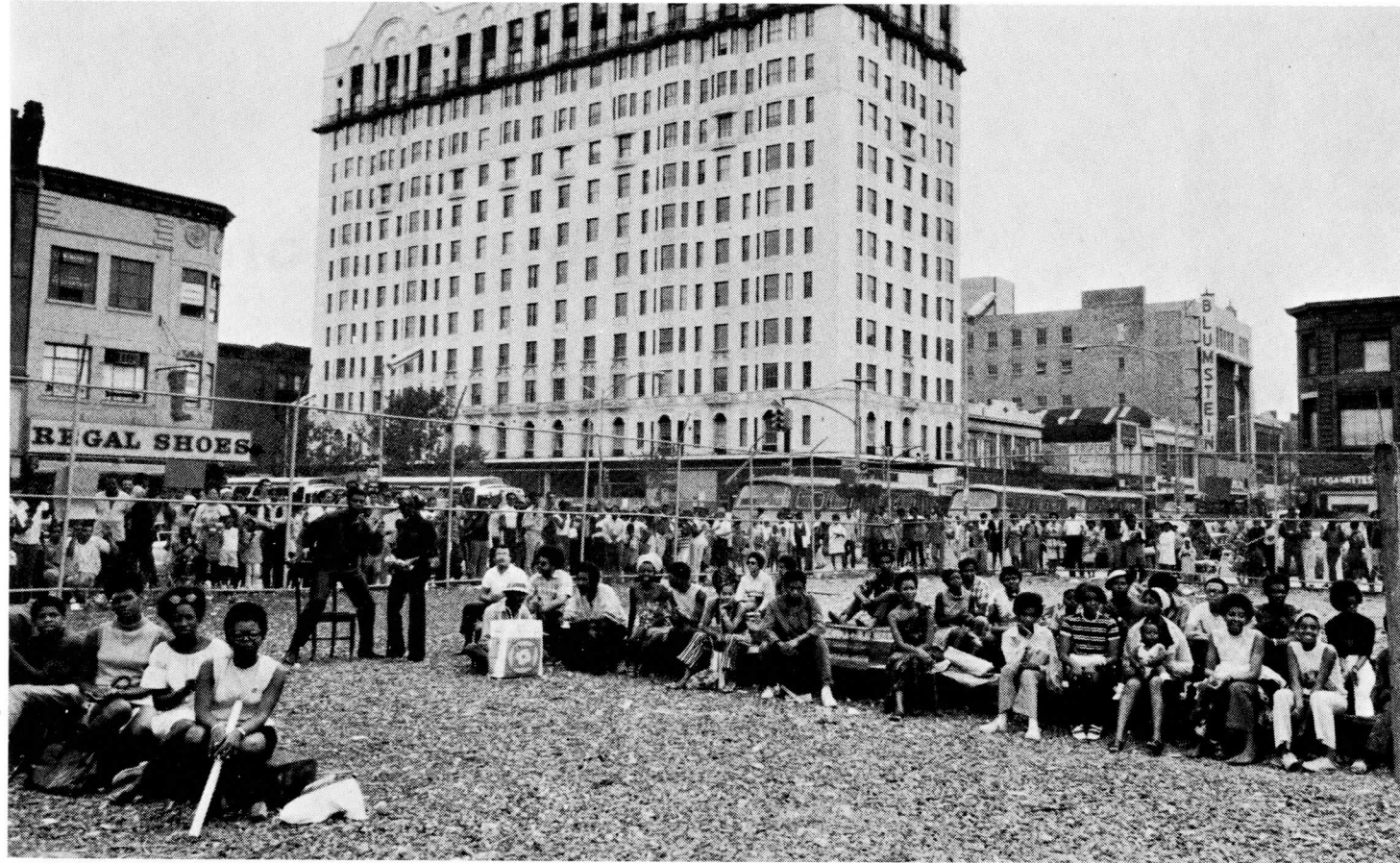
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Photos by Doug Harris/Community Coalition

COMMUNITY CONTROL PROJECT. Members of Harlem community gather at site of old Theresa Hotel and participants in Reclamation Site #1 construct building for occupants intent on blocking projected state office building.



People's encampment: Harlem's Reclamation Site #1

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Reclamation Site #1

large numbers, which was very good.

Then, when we came out here, of course, we had nothing for sleeping on the ground, no wood, etc. Everything that is out here now—the tents, the equipment that we have, the tools that we use, the money that supplies us every day—has been contributed by the community. This large tent was donated by black ministers. The cultural community has also supported us, in terms of constantly having entertainment and programs which they do for nothing. So, support has really been overwhelming.

Militant: There have been voices in the community that are opposed to the occupation and want to get the people off the site. Could you comment on the forces that are moving in that direction?

Rep: I think that such forces have been surprisingly few. We have heard Wyatt T. Walker's voice, we have heard William Hudgins, president of Freedom National Bank, and we've heard the Ministerial Inter-Faith Association, which is being directed by Wyatt Walker. But other than that, the opposition hasn't amounted to much.

The problem is getting active support. I think that we have the potential support of the vast majority of Harlem people. If they were asked today whether they prefer to see a state office building, or low-income housing, or a day-care center on the site, I have not doubt as to what the answer would be, because people know what they need. But I think that the problem is getting people to show their support in some kind of active way. The opposition, I think, is made up of people who stand to benefit directly and individually from something like the state office building.

Militant: Has there been any legal action to take you off the site?

Rep: No, there hasn't been any kind of legal action whatsoever. We have had a couple of incidents with police but they have not been on the site. The site itself has not been attacked in any overt way by the police.

Militant: What type of programs have come down on the site in terms of the people who are occupying it, and in terms of the surrounding community?

Rep: I guess the major program of the site is to educate and inform people in the community, and to attempt to get their active support. There are a lot of small programs that are run on the site—like the political education classes that are held two or three nights a week. Almost every evening there is some kind of entertainment or film showing. An African Free

School is run here, Monday through Friday from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m., for children 5-10 years old. There is a fund-raising program that goes on daily and helps to keep up the publicity on the site. But, as I said, it's mainly been an educational campaign in the community, with sound trucks, leaflets and other media.

Militant: Have you had any direct contact with Rockefeller's office?

Rep: No, our last real contact with them was that meeting with Wyatt Walker. They have never responded to our demands that plans for the state building be halted. Their only response was to postpone the construction of the state office building, which was a politically expedient move, given the fact that there are going to be elections in November. And summertime is the time when community "disturbances" are imminent.

Militant: Can you say anything about the opinion poll that was conducted a couple of weeks ago by the residents of Reclamation Site No. 1, trying to find out what the community wants built on the site?

Rep: The opinion poll is going to be continued periodically, so we're not making any report on it now. Having watched the poll over a period of a week though, educational and housing interests are very high in people's minds.

Militant: Have there been meetings before various community organizations?

Rep: Yes. Several community organizations have met and discussed the question and have come out in our support, including the neighborhood boards of Harryou (local anti-poverty agency), Central Harlem Task Force, Can-Do, which is a mental health program, and several other organizations. There are also groups that hold meetings on the site with us, such as the Federation of United Harlem Organizations.

Militant: Do you see this type of action spreading around Harlem?

Rep: I hope it does. In naming the site Reclamation Site No. 1, that sort of expresses our conviction that it should happen again, and that this is really just the first in a series of battles that Black people in this community are going to have to wage. Harlem is a very important political and cultural center for Black people. And we feel that it is definitely being threatened on many fronts, which means that we have a lot of battles before us.

For those who want to support Reclamation Site No. 1, funds and other materials can be sent to: Community Coalition, c/o Harlem Consumer Protection Union, 290 Lenox Ave., N. Y., N. Y.

Jailing of Bobby Seale new blow at Panthers

By Larry Bensky

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)—The tangled web of legal outrages and factual distortion with which the government hopes to put the Black Panther Party out of business grew tighter with the arrest of party chairman Bobby Seale on Aug. 20.

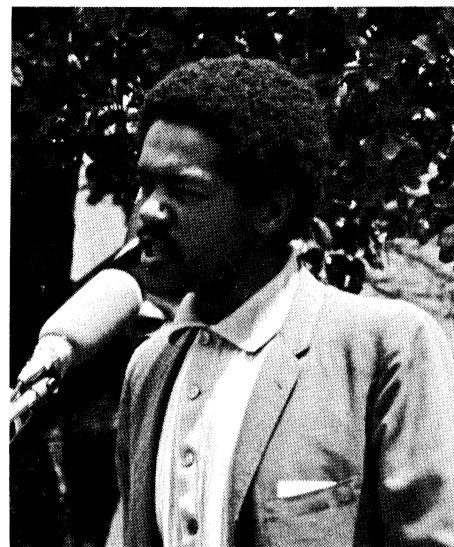
A complicated, wildly illegal maneuver by local, state, and FBI agents has resulted in Seale's being held without bail in San Francisco jail on a nonexistent warrant from Connecticut for a crime allegedly reported by an anonymous informer. The charges are murder, kidnapping, and (of course) conspiracy.

Despite the fact that no warrant had been received for his arrest, and that federal charges on which he had originally been arrested were dropped, a local municipal-court judge ruled that Seale be held without bail. The Panther leader was arrested at a major Berkeley intersection by 50 FBI agents with drawn guns just after leaving the wedding of Panther minister of education Masai Hewitt. Bail of \$25,000 was raised on the federal charge of "flight to avoid prosecution," but Seale was immediately rearrested on the Connecticut charges.

A tiny courtroom, the smallest and least accessible in San Francisco, was the scene of what may be Seale's last "public" appearance for some time. As he left the court, after having spoken only to give his name, Seale exchanged clenched-fist salutes with the 20 supporters who had managed to get in. The judge, who had just denied Seale bail, immediately ordered the arrest of two spectators for saying "Power to the People." Both were fined \$5 and sentenced to five days in jail.

Seale's charges grew out of the death of Alex Rackley, a New York Panther found murdered near New Haven last May 21. Seale was present in New Haven on May 19 to speak at Yale University, and sources in that city say that local police officials claim to have a tape of a "kangaroo court" in which Panther members sentenced Rackley to death. Four witnesses, several of whom turned state's evidence, are reportedly ready to place Seale in the room where the "decision" was taken.

There is little chance that sufficient evi-



Bobby Seale

dence exists to convict Seale of either murder or kidnapping, but the always vague conspiracy charges may prove more difficult to defeat. In any case, his arrest and detention without bail will deprive the party for months, if not years, of one of its most effective remaining leaders. Seale is scheduled to have an extradition hearing on Sept. 25, and then join the other Panthers awaiting trial in Connecticut. Before then, the government will be trying to convict Seale in its conspiracy trials dealing with the Democratic Convention in Chicago last year. That trial begins in late September.

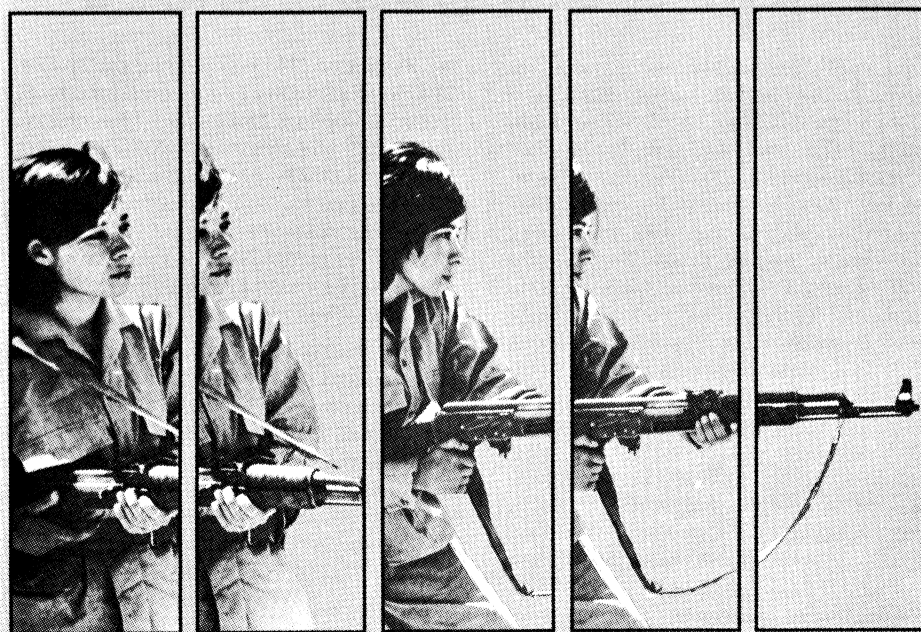
OAKLAND—According to a press release from the national Black Panther Party headquarters in Oakland, Sylvester Bell, a member of the San Diego Panthers, was murdered in San Diego Aug. 15.

The Panther release charged that the murder was carried out by the US organization in Los Angeles as part of a "blatant attempt to intimidate Panthers and other witnesses now testifying in the murder trials going on in L. A." Members of US are on trial in Los Angeles for their alleged involvement in the murder earlier this year of two Los Angeles Panther leaders at the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles.

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Nixon on welfare

By Howard Reed

When President Nixon delivered his major policy speech on welfare, it was barely two weeks after the moon landing, with all the hoopla built up by the press. Taken in the context of Apollo 11, Nixon's introductory remarks were extremely significant.

After referring to the advanced industrial nature of the country, Nixon pointed out that "we face an urban crisis, a social crisis—and at the same time, a crisis in confidence in the capacity of government to do its job. . . ."

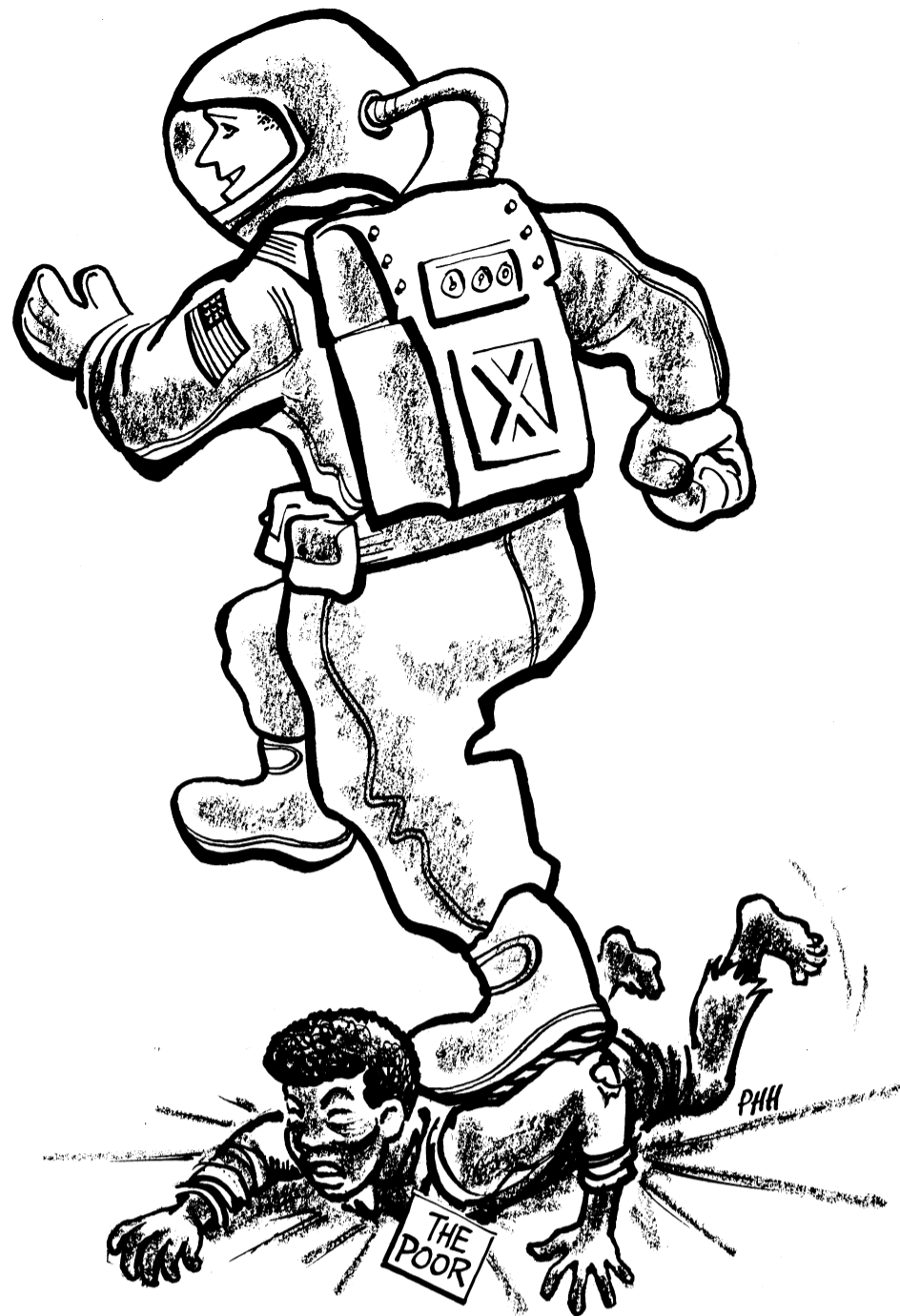
"It's no accident, therefore, that we find increasing skepticism and not only among the young, but among citizens everywhere—about the continuing capacity of government to master the challenges we face."

It is in the light of this skepticism and growing distrust over the government's inability to solve basic social problems that Nixon offered his new welfare proposal—apparently hoping to counteract some of the disillusionment. The chief point of the plan is that the government will adopt a national minimum standard of welfare, \$1,600 a year for a family of four—roughly 1/6 of the amount the U.S. Labor Department deems adequate for a family of four. In addition, Nixon offered a formula whereby the federal government will supplement state and local payments to welfare recipients above that amount, up to a level of \$3,920 for a total family wage. With budget cuts taking place all over the country in health, education and welfare, it is not difficult to imagine how generously local governments will supplement the \$1,600 figure!

Nixon's proposal is heralded as providing "equitable" payments to welfare recipients all over the country. In other words welfare recipients in every state, from New York to Mississippi, would get the \$1,600 minimum. It might be recalled that one year ago, the New York City welfare department abolished clothing and furniture grants, and instead gave every person on welfare (including children) \$25 quarterly for clothing and furniture. Under the guise of "equity" clothing and furniture payments were cut 75 percent by this method. The department was so concerned with equity that July 1, 1969, they totally cut out even the \$25 checks.

Another feature of the Nixon proposal is that all welfare recipients would have to accept jobs considered suitable by the government, or else enter job-training programs. Nixon didn't indicate which jobs are suitable by government standards, but local welfare authorities for years have been forcing recipients to accept sweatshop employment under pain of having their cases closed.

This forced employment also applies to welfare mothers who are the sole source of support to their families. Nixon's answer is that numerous child-care centers will be built to care for the children of working



"... one giant step for mankind."

mothers. Nixon rhapsodizes, "There is no single ideal to which this Administration is more firmly committed than to the enriching of a child's first five years of life, and thus helping lift the poor out of misery at a time when a lift can help the most. Therefore, these day-care centers would offer more than custodial care; they would also be devoted to the development of vigorous young minds and bodies." The people in Vietnam apparently are not yet aware of the shift in Administration priorities.

Nixon did not say when these day-care centers would be built. However, a more definite aspect of the program will be the abolition of federal food stamps. The National Council of Hunger and Malnutrition, whose spokesmen include Walter Reuther and Ralph Abernathy, estimate that this proposal will reduce purchasing power of the poor in 44 states.

Needless to say, the plan does not provide for any increase in the cost of living, although food and housing costs are rising at an astronomical rate.

New York Mayor John Lindsay, who,

according to the Communist Party and "radical figures" in the antiwar movement has broken with the Republican Party, revealed that he has "been invited by the White House to assist in the final drafting of this legislation." Lindsay hailed the new proposal as "the most important step forward by the Federal Government in this field in a generation."

Welfare recipients themselves have little reason to share this optimistic forecast.

Minneapolis printers win significant victory

By Fred Ferguson

MINNEAPOLIS—The Minneapolis Typographical Union rank-and-file won a significant victory in late July when it attained its goal of a dollar-an-hour increase, and broke the national wage settlement pattern by more than double.

The Dollar-an-Hour Committee, a rank-and-file caucus which represented the more militant sector of Local 42, gave qualified support to the settlement, and pointed out that the gains were made in spite of the actions of the International Typographical Union, and not because of any support they offered.

The international, according to a spokesman for the caucus, formed an alliance with the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the multimillion-dollar Cowles publishing empire, in order to maintain the national settlement pattern.

The new contract, as announced by the local leadership, included the following features:

- A 30-month contract (Jan 1, 1969 to June 1, 1971).
- A 97-cent-an-hour increase, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1969.
- A ten-cent increase in shift differential.
- And a hard-fought clause guaranteeing the shop machinists a dollar a day "tool allowance." This, after the machinists had removed their tools from the shop for two months.

A statement issued by the Dollar-an-Hour Committee following the contract settlement said: "We have made our support qualified because of the length of the contract. We feel that with an annual rate on inflation on nearly 8 percent, almost half the first year increase is lost even before the contract starts.

Protest against Greek junta in Minneapolis

By Lee Smith

MINNEAPOLIS—Former Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Minnesota Governor Harold LeVander shared a platform with junta-appointed Mayor Ritsos of Athens before the national convention of the American Hellenic Progressive Education Association here on Aug. 22.

The "Progressive" in AHPEA's name is a real misnomer, as the only significant opposition to the organization's all-out support for the military government within the ranks comes from backers of the monarchy.

Outside the Leamington Hotel, where AHPEA's 5,000 members were gathered, a group of about 75 opponents participated for two hours in a militant picket line, organized by the Minnesota Committee for Democracy in Greece. Also taking part were members of SDS, YSA and the Socialist Workers Party.

Some signs carried by the group were: "Free All Political Prisoners," "Aegean Island Concentration Camps Backed by Washington and Wall Street," "No More Tax Dollars for Dictators," "Hubert, the Junta's Friend—the People's Enemy" and "Torture, Dictatorship—Courtesy of CIA, NATO."

The pickets chanted "Free Greece Now!" as they marched back and forth by the hotel entrance, where they were showered with water and other objects from upper story windows, as well as with verbal abuse by AHPEA members. The line halted briefly and grouped around the front door, chanting, when Hubert Humphrey entered. This evidently unnerved the few cops on duty because within minutes two full squads arrived with their sirens screaming, carrying long black metal-tipped batons.

Supporters of the junta tended to be very vocal. Their favorite taunt to the non-Greeks on the picket line was, "You aren't even Greek!"—something they seemed to consider quite relevant.

Although Ristos' praise for the junta drew overwhelming and enthusiastic applause from the crowd inside, AHPEA's membership was not 100 percent behind the dictatorship. Three elderly women from the convention cheered the pickets with shouts of "Bravo!" and one of them told the pickets she had just returned from Greece and assured them, "I am with you!"

4 new Merit publications

Merit Publishers announced during August the publication of a new book and three new pamphlets. The book is **Leon Trotsky—The Man and His Work** (128 pp., illustrated, \$2.45). The three pamphlets are, **Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today**, (32 pp., 50c); **Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions**, (80 pp., 95c); and **Problems of Women's Liberation** by Evelyn Reed (64 pp., 95c).

Leon Trotsky—The Man and His Work is a 8 1/2" x 11" paper-back book commemorating Leon Trotsky's 90th birthday. It contains reminiscences and appraisals of Trotsky by Natalia Sedov Trotsky, Alfred Rosmer, Adolf Joffe, Rosa Luxemburg, Victor Serge, James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen, Farrell Dobbs, Ernest Germain, Pierre Frank, George Novack and others.

Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today provides a compilation of articles discussing key issues being raised in the radical movement today. Among the articles, which were originally published in the **Young Socialist** and **The Militant**, are "Elections as a Weapon of

the Struggle," "How Not to Organize GIs," "Black Nationalism as a Touchstone," "How to Defend Ourselves," "Revolutionaries and the Fight for Reforms," "GIs and the Antiwar Movement," "A Perspective on Women's Emancipation," "The Role of Antiwar Demonstrations," "The Student Revolt," "How to Fight in the Army—A Reply to the Underground," and "The Nature of the Present Period."

Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions contains two parts. In the first, Trotsky discusses communism and syndicalism, placing them in historical perspective and contrasting them in terms of class-struggle realities. In the second section, he discusses problems of union strategy for revolutionists in England, France, Holland and the United States. The preface to each section is by Farrell Dobbs.

Problems of Women's Liberation by Evelyn Reed is a Marxist analysis of women's role in past and present society, the historical reasons for their oppression under capitalism, and the way to liberation.

The ghetto: easy-credit shlock

By Derrick Morrison

How do Black and Puerto Rican ghetto residents become the virtual property of finance and credit companies? Craig Karpel, writing in the May 26 and June 2 issues of *New York* magazine, deals with the fraud perpetrated on the ghetto through installment buying plans. He covers the area in and around 125th Street, the main shopping area for Black and Puerto Rican residents in Harlem.

The furniture and appliances sold in these stores is known, in the parlance of this business, as shlock—lowest level of junk. In the words of the author, shlock "is made of gumwood and flakeboard, knocked together with a few screws, upholstered in plastic 'brocade' and varnished like a cheap coffin. Shlock stores do not talk about percentages of markup, like 50 percent markup or 75 percent markup — they talk about how many 'numbers' they jack the price up over wholesale, and a 'number' is 100 percent. All shlock is marked up at least one number, and on a credit sale the markup can be three or four numbers."

The only term that I can think of that explains this operation is highway robbery, pure and simple theft. Fraud is just a sophisticated term for theft and robbery.

The bait used to get a prospective victim into the store is to offer sets of furniture and appliances as "easy credit." To get "easy credit," you only need to have a job so that your wages can be taken in the event you miss a payment on the installment plan.

The victim may see an ad like this: "Sleeper, matching chair, 2 walnut finish steptables plus decor, lamps, walnut finish bachelor chest, matching mirror, full size bed, with 1 pc. Firestone comb. mattress, 16 pcs. dishware, 16 pcs. cutlery, 8 towels, 11 pc. salad set, 29 table access." All of this—shlock of course—for only \$198. But as soon as the victim walks into the store, the salesmen will make sure that he doesn't leave until he has signed on a dotted line to buy \$1,000 worth of shlock on "easy credit."

And when the furniture and appliances arrive, there is sometimes little resemblance to what the buyer purchased. The colors may not be the same, the stereo may not

work, or maybe the television looks used. The 9-by-12 rug may turn out to be a piece of linoleum. And maybe two chairs are missing. Along with all this, the payment book arrives, and the installments listed add up to much more than the original price-tag.

The used-car racket

The used-car business operates in a similar fashion. These thieves are set up on Bruckner and Queens Boulevard and elsewhere. The bait is that nobody is refused, no matter how bad his credit. In actuality, the dealer checks out the customer's credit, after he lays down the \$500 deposit for the car. If the credit doesn't check out, the dealer may refuse to deliver the car and return the deposit.

According to Karpel, "The Consumer Fraud Unit set up by U.S. Attorney Robert Morgenthau under the direction of Richard A. Givens has been looking into the used-car racket. 'Our investigations have disclosed a pattern of sales of certain used cars at many times their original cost,' explains Givens, 'followed by a cycle of repossession, repurchases of the car at a low price at auction and further resale at many times that price to new customers, who in turn are frequently sued by finance agencies and often claim to have received no notice of suit. The inquiry indicated that in certain cases some used-car dealers know in advance that there will be a complaint regarding each and every automobile sold and that many customers will give up the car and default because they feel it can't be made to work. We're looking into possible violations of federal law by these people.'"

In cases like this, the federal government is always looking but never doing.

The encyclopedia game

Another favorite if the encyclopedia fraud. Here, door-to-door salesmen try to palm themselves off as representatives of the board of education, selling so-called "required" books. People who already have a set of encyclopedias are hoodwinked into buying another set. People who only speak Spanish are conned into buying books in English. And so on.

In capsulizing the whole "easy credit" racket, Karpel quotes Philip G. Schrag, attorney in charge of consumer litigation for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. "If Greedy Merchant gets Ernest Black to sign such a contract for a 'new color television' and the set turns out to be an old, battered black-and-white instrument, or even if Merchant never delivers any set at all, Merchant can sell Black's contract to Ghetto Finance, Inc., for a lump sum, and Black is out of luck. Ghetto has a right to payment in full from Black, and Black has no right to tell a court that he's been robbed.' The common-law justification for this is that Ghetto Finance supposedly knows nothing about Greedy Merchant's business practices, that it is a 'holder in due course' of the installment paper. In practice, finance companies often work hand-in-glove with merchants to soak the poor."

The finance company

It is the finance or credit agency that ultimately does the bidding of the out-and-out avaricious merchant. When the hoodwinked Brother or Sister throws away the shlock and stops payment, it is the finance company that hunts him or her down and begins to extract payment on the debt by garnisheeing wages.

The finance company accomplishes this by going through the courts, with the debtor rarely permitted to say a word. In civil court where such cases are heard, only 53 percent of the defendants indicate ever having received a summons. Since the summons are issued by private agencies known as process servers, sometimes they just write out perjured affidavits rather than take the "trouble" to deliver the summons. And even if the defendant gets a summons, the hearing is almost invariably in another county, making it very unlikely that he will appear.

As soon as it becomes apparent that the defendant will not appear, the attorneys for the finance company fill out ready-made complaint and judgement forms. They just fill in the monetary figures and send the forms to the county clerk, who stamps the printed forms. Then an "income execution" form goes to the city

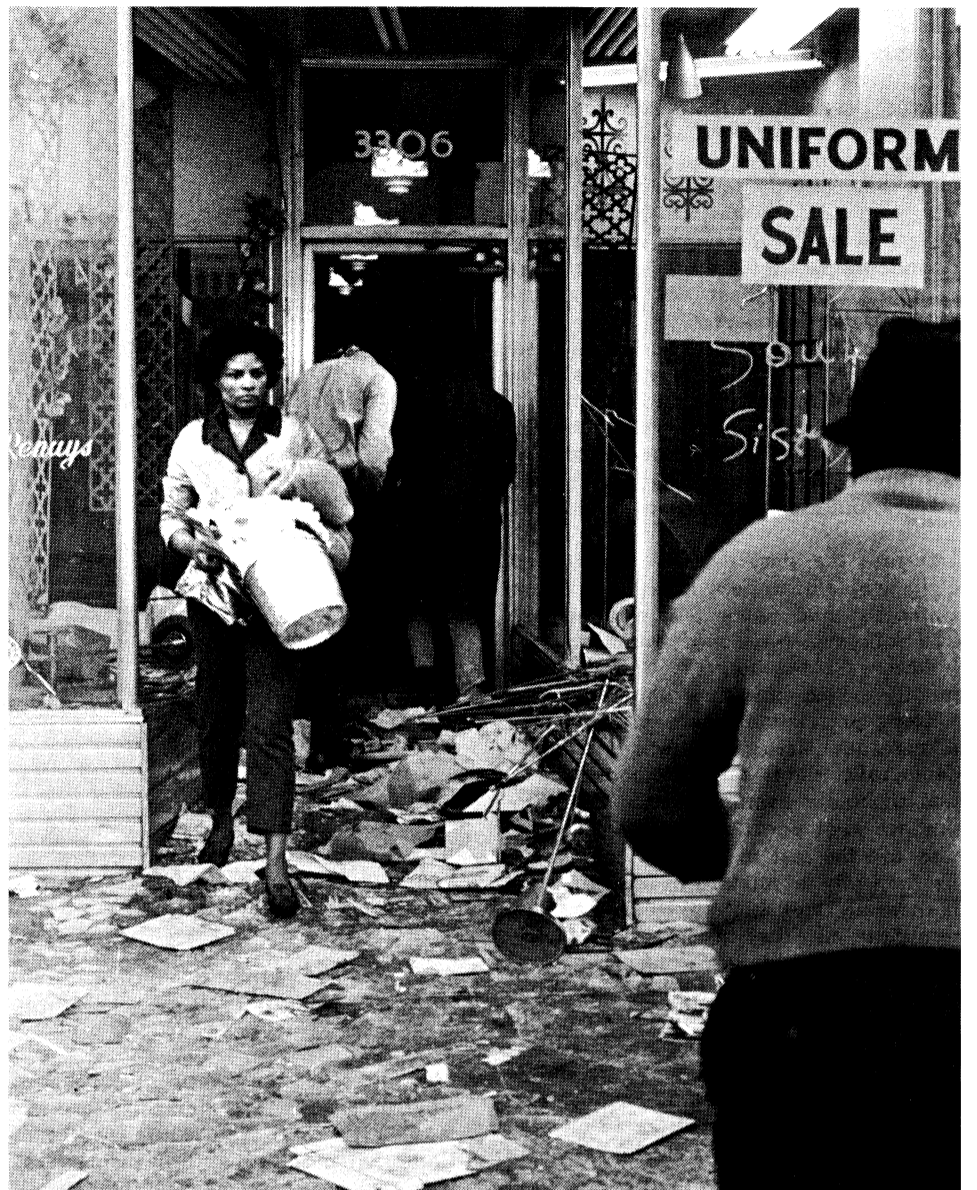


Photo by Joe Miles

1968 D. C. rebellion: Stores are always a prime target

marshall, who in turns begins to exact tribute from the victim.

Notice that in this whole civil-court procedure, the judge never enters the picture. Thus, for the rapacious, blood-sucking, insatiable merchant, the civil courts become a place not where decisions are made, but where their affairs are administered, a place where the criminal is legitimized as victim and the victim as criminal.

When the victim's employer receives the papers from the city marshall for garnishment of wages, he usually threatens the victim with firing. Although there is a law against firing workers with only one garnishment, there is no law against refusing to hire them. Therefore, Brothers with one, two, or many garnishments wind up as the "hard-core unemployables," put there by the employers.

The payoff

To avoid the possibility of losing a job, many workers with one or more garnishments will go to the city marshall and pay him directly. Of course, the rate will be higher in order for the marshall to get his take. Add to this an interest rate of 18 percent to 36 percent, and a Brother or Sister has been virtually sold into bondage. Ergo, the 20th century slave, or maybe 20th century serf.

Doesn't the victim, the ghetto consumer, have any rights? The answer is yes, but they are very few and far between. Whereas the small businessmen and finance companies have studied their rights and have lawyers at their beck and call, the down-and-out consumer has nothing.

According to Karpel, "The Civil Rights Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York has recently demanded three reforms. The first is that service of process be a function of a public agency. The second is that suits be allowed only where the consumer lives, used to live or made the purchase. The third is that right to counsel for the poor be guaranteed in civil actions as it is in criminal cases. These proposals would require action by the legislature. But a venue bill such as the Bar Association proposes, sponsored by the attorney general last year, never got anywhere. The legislature has shown no great concern for protecting the rights of poor consumers in the past, and there is no reason to believe that, without a welling-up of public concern,

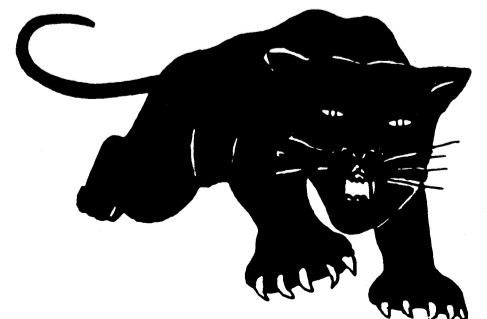
it will do anything to help in the near future. If there is going to be a change in the courts in the meantime, it is going to have to come from the courts themselves."

Change, if it is going to come, will come from the consumers themselves, from a ghetto that is organized independently of the power structure and is ready to deal with the rapacious businessmen and finance companies.

That the stakes in such a struggle are very great is unwittingly stated by Karpel. This comes through when he deals with so-called consumer investigating agencies. One such agency is the Better Business Bureau.

Karpel made a visit to the BBB of Harlem, which has offices at the Hotel Theresa. He had a conversation with the public relations director, Miss Larrie O'Farrell, that went like this: "Everybody in Harlem is controlled," stage-whispered Miss O'Farrell. "The furniture stores are no exception." "Who controls everybody in Harlem?" I asked expectantly, pen in hand. "Who controls everybody in Harlem? I think we both know the answer." "Oh, them," I said. Miss O'Farrell went on to suggest that the reason the Better Business Bureau had not pursued the matter of them had something to do with not wanting bombs lobbed through its windows. In fact, Miss O'Farrell suggested that if I went too deeply into the matter of furniture stores, they might have me dodging bombs. I swallowed the lump in my throat and pressed on.

This form of 20th century bondage that grips the ghetto will not be expelled by petition, lawsuit, or otherwise. It will be expelled when Black and Puerto Rican people organize independently to seize control of their communities by any means necessary.

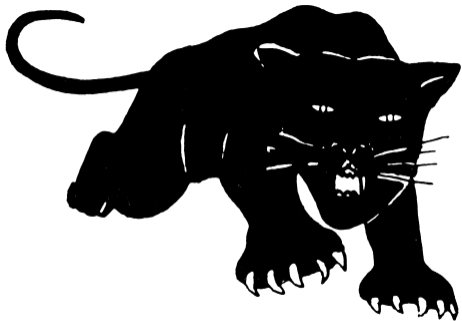


Stapleton backs water workers' union action

CLEVELAND— Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, Syd Stapleton, has endorsed the actions being taken by the city water workers in the face of union-busting moves by the city of Cleveland.

Expressing solidarity with Clarence R. King, who was arbitrarily suspended while acting in his capacity as chief steward, Stapleton said, "This action by the city and the primitive antistrike legislation in force in Cleveland indicates that the city administration is no friend of the working man. The water commissioner, son of a wealthy banker, got his job through political patronage rather than through any special devotion to the people of the city and obviously has little sympathy for or contact with the water workers, who make the department work. Under a socialist administration, all city department would be administered by the men who work in them; the right to strike would be guaranteed for all. Unlike under any Democratic or Republican administration, working people, not the sons of big business, would form the cabinet."

Calling on Clevelanders to back the water workers' actions, Stapleton pointed out that trade-union control of the various city departments might have avoided a recent fatal accident involving chlorine gas leaking from a filtration plant, which was the fault of the city's bureaucratic lethargy in changing to modern, safer water-filtration methods.



North Ireland: the struggle continues

By Robert Langston

AUG. 26—After three weeks of bloody clashes between North Ireland's oppressed Catholic minority on one side and frenzied mobs and deputized "special constables" drawn from the most reactionary and bigoted sections of the Protestant community on the other, the British government has directly intervened in Ulster with troops. More than 6,500 English soldiers now patrol the streets of Derry City (Londonderry, in the English colonial vocabulary) and Belfast. An uneasy truce prevails at the moment.

Britain's action exposes the fiction, maintained since 1922, that Ulster enjoys "home rule" in the interests of the Irishmen. It demonstrates that Ulster is ruled in reality in the interests of British imperialism and the tiny upper class of Anglo-Irish landowners, officers, big merchants and industrialists.

During the past three weeks, at least eight people have been killed, six of them Catholics, and some 550 civilians and 225 policemen have been wounded.

Since last October, the Catholic community, which constitutes about a third of Ulster's population, has been conducting a vigorous struggle to win elementary democratic rights and to abolish social and economic discrimination. The Catholics are kept poor, given the worst jobs, and are the last to be hired and first to be fired. By a mixture of blatant gerrymandering and high electoral property qualifications, they are kept drastically underrepresented in government.

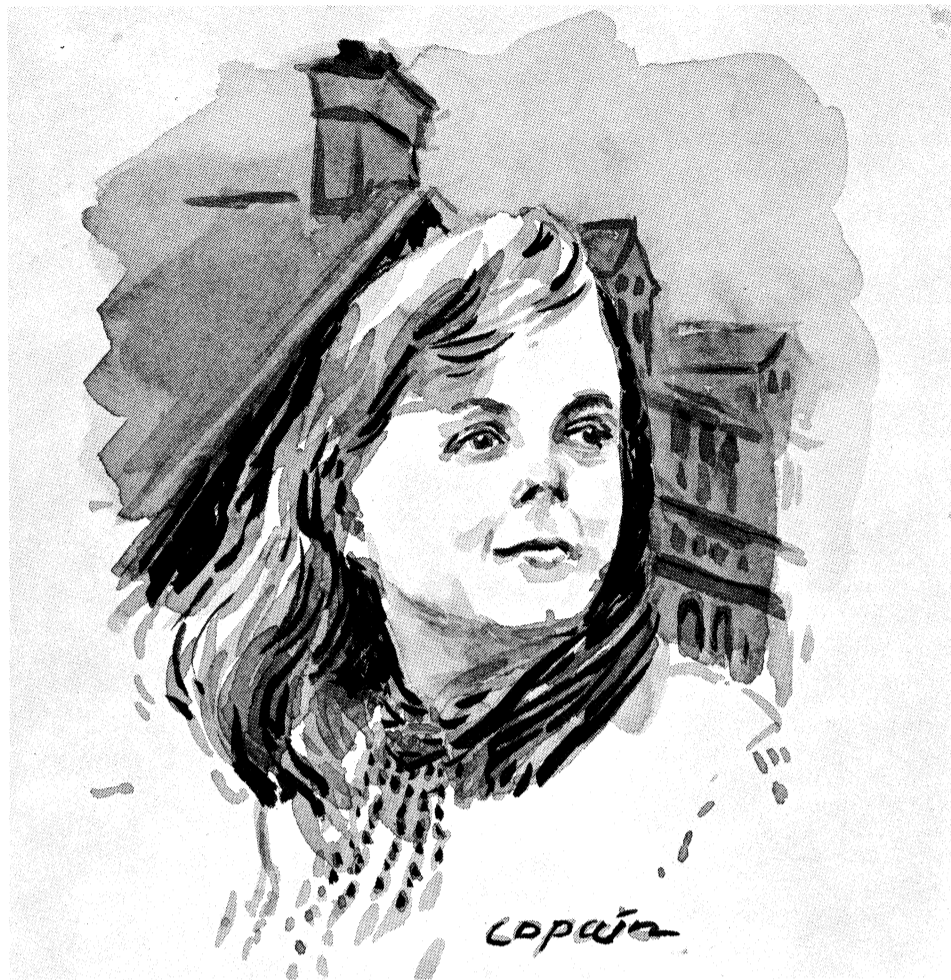
In the Derry City Catholic ghetto of Bogside, for example, 30 percent of the men are unemployed. Fewer than 10 percent of the regular policemen are Catholics. Only 11 of Ulster's 52-member parliament and only two of the 12-member Ulster delegation to the British parliament are Catholics. More than 90 percent of Ulster's senior civil servants are Protestants, and of the 106 public-service posts paying more than \$10,000 a year, only three are held by Catholics.

Orange Order parade

The widespread violence erupted Aug. 2 in Belfast, following a parade by youth members of the Orange Order. The Orange Order, a semi-secret association of the Anglo-Irish ruling class and privileged sections of the protestant middle and working classes, is devoted to "unity with England" and controls Ulster's governing Unionist Party.

After parading through a Protestant section of the city, the Orangemen penetrated the Catholic ghetto. In response to this highly provocative act, some rocks were thrown from houses occupied by Catholics. The Orange youth went on a rampage, and for the next two days anti-Catholics went marauding through the Belfast ghetto. The Catholics defended themselves vigorously. Ninety-seven people were wounded, including 17 policemen.

The next week was relatively quiet, but



Bernadette Devlin, 22-year-old member of the British Parliament and leader of North Ireland's oppressed Catholic minority.

on Aug. 12, another provocative, pro-English parade, this time in Derry, unleashed the unrestrained violence of the Protestant mob, some of them deputized. The parade this time was one commemorating the breaking of James II's Catholic armies' siege of Derry in 1689. As in Belfast nine days earlier, some rocks were thrown, and the fanatical pro-English, anti-Catholic forces, with the cooperation of North Ireland's regular police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), took the rock-throwing incidents as an occasion to attempt a pogrom in the Catholic ghetto of Bogside.

The attacks in Derry were a signal to bigots throughout the six counties. Within two days, Catholic communities were under attack and were defending themselves in Belfast, Dungaven, Newry, Armagh, Lurgan and Iniskillen.

On Aug. 14, the Belfast government, surprised and frightened by the extent and intensity of the Catholic resistance called up the infamous B Special Constabulary.

The B Specials

The B Specials is an 8,000-man auxiliary police force composed of right-wing Protestant fanatics. Prior to the call-up, many of them were probably already "ac-

tive" in the Protestant mobs, and the order simply meant equipping them with the most effective weapons—including machine guns—and legitimizing their actions as a peace-keeping operation.

How effectively the B Specials and the RUC carried out their "police" functions is suggested by Edward B. Fiske in the Aug. 23 *New York Times*, who cites the experience of a Belfast couple, Sean and Jean Cooney. The street where the Cooneys live, he wrote, "was the scene of bitter fighting late last week when members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary . . . and the B Specials moved into the area followed by Protestants with gasoline bombs and other weapons [emphasis added]."

"It was awful," said Mr. Cooney, a 41-year-old carpenter. "The police just stood there and watched while the Protestants shot at us and went up and down the street smashing windows and calling us Pope-heads."

And Gerald Leach, writing in the Aug. 24 *London Observer* describes the saturation of Bogside with supposedly "harmless" CS gas that led, more than a week later, to an epidemic of serious diarrhea among the babies of Bogside. "Dozens of eyewitnesses," Leach reported, "agree that some police officers were hurling CS grenades and firing cartridges with frenzied abandon."

"In some cases, they fired directly at individuals, and at one point they caused a panic by firing at a Roman Catholic crowd over the heads of and from behind a Protestant crowd who were attacking with petrol bombs."

Catholic resistance

Catholic resistance was strong everywhere. In Bogside, where the civil rights movement is concentrated and where the community is better organized than elsewhere, the Derry Citizens Defense Committee manned the barricades and patrolled the streets from Aug. 14 on. John M. Lee in an Aug. 19 *New York Times* dispatch described the atmosphere and the attitudes of some of the leaders in Bogside after the British troops had already been posted around the entrances to the ghetto:

"The soldiers for all their power, could not authorize entry to Bogside."

"To gain entry, a visitor was directed down the hill . . . into a shabby house at 7 Wellington Street."

"This was the headquarters for . . . the Derry Citizens Defense Committee. . . ."

"A young woman in jeans, who said she had been expelled from Oxford for leftist agitation, examined the visitor's credentials and issued a pass, a ragged armband reading 'Peace Corps.'"

"The young woman, looking stern, said religion was only 'the tip of the festering boil.' She advocated a united, socialist Ireland."

Predictably, the Anglo-Irish ruling class and its retainers pretended to see in the Catholic community's self-assertion the work of sinister outside agitators. Ulster's Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark continually muttered about the Irish Republican Army and "subversive republican" elements at work on the minds of the Catholic youth.

And last Sunday, Rev. Ian Paisley, the Bible-thumping, fundamentalist Presbyterian preacher who more than any other man has been commissioned by Ulster's Anglican rulers with the job of diverting the anger and frustration felt by the poor Protestant masses away from the Anglo-Irish ruling class and towards the even poorer Catholic masses, turned his pulpit over to the ultraright, fundamentalist American preacher, Rev. Carl McIntyre.

McIntyre preached mightily against the Devil, the Pope, and the Reds. According to the Aug. 25 *New York Times*, he "called on Protestants to stand fast, and he said the Catholic civil rights movement was permeated with 'Marxism and Trotskyism' and was similar to the work of black revolutionaries in the United States who burned American cities."

On Aug. 16, the British government, thoroughly frightened by the intensity of the Catholic resistance, mindful of the incalculable consequences of full-scale civil war for continued English rule, and anxious about the growing radicalization in the Irish Republic began sending troops into Belfast. Two days later, Derry too was occupied. Many Catholics welcomed the occupation, since it will help make perfectly clear where the responsibility for the misery of North Ireland, and the fratricidal struggle between oppressed Irishmen, belongs: on British imperialism.

Boutelle, Benson speak at rally in Philadelphia

By Rich Finkel

PHILADELPHIA—The "Red Revolution at Rittenhouse Square" was the name of an audacious rally held here, Aug. 16. Close to 1,000 attended the lively meeting to boost the Socialist Workers Party election campaign. There were red banners and balloons, revolutionary posters and banners, and above the stage fluttered a red flag beside the "Vote Socialist Workers in '69" banner.

The featured speaker for the afternoon was Paul Boutelle, the SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Boutelle explained why black people need an independent political party: "The Democratic and Republican parties are the fox and the wolf," he said, quoting Malcolm X. "They are both members of the same family—the racist capitalist system that can only continue the oppression of black people."

The night before the rally and earlier that day, Boutelle and several campaign supporters held street meetings in the North Philadelphia black community.

John Benson, SWP candidate for district attorney, explained how the city administration's escalating attacks on gang warfare can be used to attack all black organizations in the community. He rejected the city's fraudulent line that community problems are caused by black youths.

Other speakers at the Rittenhouse Square rally included Mumia Cook, communications secretary of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party, who spoke on the need for people to get together to fight growing repression. Jim Quinn, former editor of the *Temple Free Press*, stressed the importance of breaking with capitalist politics and urged support for the SWP campaign.

Rock and blues bands that provided entertainment included the Elizabeth, Lewisberg, Lethe and Storm. There was African modern dance and the Iyone Nash Dance Group.

ACLU supports Boutelle against travel restrictions

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK—The American Civil Liberties Union has initiated action against the U. S. government's attempts to restrict the travel of Socialist Workers Party New York mayoralty candidate Paul Boutelle and three other Afro-Americans who were recently banned from entering Bermuda during a regional black power conference.

When Boutelle arrived in Bermuda for the conference last month, the customs officials were singling out all Afro-Americans coming through the line to check their names on a list of so-called "undesirables." According to Boutelle, when the officials found his name on the list, he was motioned aside and told that he could not enter the country.

The ACLU is taking action in behalf of Boutelle and Omar Amed, who was also turned back in a similar manner. In a letter addressed to three U. S. governmental bodies involved—the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of State—

ACLU legal director Melvin Wulf condemned the U. S. government for providing the government of Bermuda with such lists, and accused the agencies responsible of blatant disregard for the constitutional right of citizens to travel.

Meanwhile, Paul Boutelle's campaign for mayor is continuing full force. On Aug. 22 Boutelle took part in the national convention of the Republic of New Africa in Washington, D. C., where he appeared along with Republic of New Africa Second Vice-President Brother Imari on a panel on "The Future Course for Black Revolution." There were approximately 150 people present at the three-day conference, which included a series of panels, speeches and workshops.

On Aug. 14 Boutelle spoke to the members of the "Seminar on Third World Thought" held at the Martin Luther King center at New York University. Earlier that week he spoke at a meeting of approximately 300 black and Puerto Rican youth organized by the "People's Self-Defense Committee" in the Bronx.

in passing . . .

In the preface to **The Dissenting Academy** (VINTAGE Books, 304 pp., \$1.95), Theodore Roszak, the editor of the collection, writes:

"The Vietnam war has inspired a range of resistance on the part of teachers and students that extends from conventional petitioning to the practice of mass civil disobedience. While those involved in this resistance are still a strict minority of the total academic community, since the 1965 teach-ins no single groups in our society has been as persistent and vocal in its opposition to official policy as the professors and students."

These words were written last year and they are no longer quite true. Sundry polls of student opinion appearing in the bourgeois press (including one in *Fortune*) clearly show that the antiwar movement is now a strict majority of "the total academic community." However, this may not yet be true of professors as a group.

Hence, the value of a book like **The Dissenting Academy**, which makes a sharp attack on the complacency of comfortable academics secure in their allegedly value-free disciplines. Each author (Louis Kampf, Staughton Lynd, Noam Chomsky, etc.) examines the state of professional opinion in the field of his expertise, asking the curiously subversive question: Knowledge for what?

Women constitute an oppressed majority in the United States, so one should not pass over lightly the potential of the growing movement for women's liberation in this country. Theoretically speaking, the fledgling women's movement is admittedly in a formative stage. Discussions are now going on concerning women's role in class society and their potential role in the movement for social change.

In **Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach**, Evelyn Reed attempts to outline the role women have played in the development of civilization, how they became alienated as a group from men with the rise of class society, the specific history and nature of the oppression of

Harry Ring is currently on vacation. Both he and his "Great Society" column will return to the Militant in September.

women under capitalism, and the general path that a movement for the liberation of women must take to be successful.

The author enters into the controversy of how the struggle for women's liberation is to be oriented: as sex against sex or class against class. Her general conclusion on this point:

"On all fundamental questions concerning private property holdings, wealthy women are just as likely to uphold the status quo and their privileged positions in it as are wealthy men. Whenever they do so, they betray their own sex for the sake of their class interests and comforts."

"Thus, **class against class** must be the guiding line in the struggle for human liberation in general and women's liberation in particular."

(**Problems of Women's Liberation** may be obtained for 95c from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.)

Wassily Leontief, a Harvard professor of economics, went to Cuba in May on a trip financed by the Ford Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Aug. 21 *New York Review of Books* has published his surprisingly informative, somewhat sympathetic travel notes.

Probably the most significant data in the article are Leontief's remarks concerning the high level of the young political economists in Cuba. These young men and women have been trained in their profession since the revolution. Leontief's glowing descriptions of their competence (and other evidence he presents) leave the reader with a rather high opinion of the Cuban educational system.

Leontief also makes some penetrating remarks (and a few not so penetrating) on the state of the Cuban economy. In general, he believes that the attempted U. S. economic blockade of Cuba from other countries is not doing Cuba any great damage. On the other hand, the cut-off of direct trade between Cuba and the United States is in fact holding back the development of Cuba's economy. However, he estimates that on the level of international politics the total effect of Washington's policy vis-a-vis Cuba is more harmful to the U. S. than to Cuba.

Malachi Constant

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.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, c/o Ed Jurenas, 1610 S. Limestone, Lexington, Ky. 40503. Tel: (606) 278-8544.

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

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WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Kathy Coram, 3518 Wisconsin Ave. N. W. #3. Tel. (202) 362-0037.

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

Reading for revolutionaries

A Trotsky anthology

The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology, edited by Isaac Deutscher, Dell Publishing Co, 384 pp., 95 cents.

This is a selection of Trotsky's writings and speeches spanning the entire 40-year political life of one of the greatest revolutionaries of all time. Edited by Isaac Deutscher with the assistance of George Novack, it also contains Deutscher's fine introduction.

The anthology is arranged by subjects and the general format is chronological, making it easy for the reader either to follow the subjects in sequence or to go directly to any of them.

The broad range of Trotsky's interests and activities is reflected in this book. He deals with a large number of questions, virtually all of them of current importance, as well as political events in almost every country. The volume contains theoretical analyses as well as the author's views on culture, literature, art, philosophy, science and many other things.

The title of this book correctly identifies Trotsky with the much fought-over theory of the permanent revolution. Twenty-nine years after his death, no one can more accurately name the period in history we are passing through in any other way than Trotsky did. The 20th century has certainly seen more revolutionary transformations in all spheres of life than any comparable period in history, and perhaps more than in all previous periods taken together. This is what Trotsky, as a thinker, based himself on—constant change, permanent revolution.

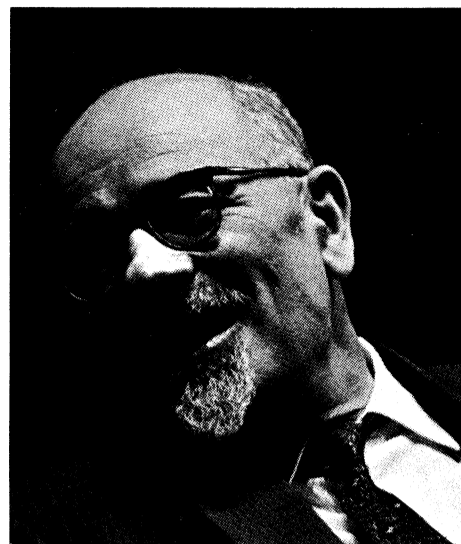
However, the theory of permanent revolution had in his time, and has today, concrete applications to day-to-day political problems. It is a fitting tribute to Trotsky's thinking that not only the Russian Revolution of 1917 but the Chinese revolution of 1949 and the Cuban 10 years after that, developed in accord with his theory whether the leaders of the latter two events were conscious of it or not.

The first part of this book deals with Trotsky's youthful activities, the Russian revolution of 1905, his subsequent exile, the first world war, the revolution of 1917 and the civil war that followed. Trotsky was at the head of the Red Army that fought on 15 fronts against the combined forces of the Czarist restorationists and the imperialists and defeated them.

He discusses the first five years of the Communist International, problems of Soviet reconstruction and the struggle against Stalinism. This is followed by a section on Europe in which the author explains his attitude toward fascism.

He then deals with the English-speaking world and particularly with the United States, where Trotsky believed the future of mankind would finally be decided. The section "Colonial World" is followed by one

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Isaac Deutscher

on the "Fourth International," which Trotsky founded to replace the degenerated Third International headed by Stalin.

The infamous Moscow Trials in which Stalin destroyed virtually all of Lenin's closest associates is explained, as well as the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the program for its regeneration. The final sections deal with the masters of Marxism and questions of culture, literature, art, morals, science and philosophy. The volume concludes with Trotsky's testament and his vision of the future.

This listing of the matters Trotsky writes about should be enough to attract the attention of those who have not yet had the good fortune to read his views. We can promise them a most rewarding experience.

—Milton Alvin

YSAer speaks to Teenage Dems

By Carol Lisker

HARRISBURG—Bruce Marcus of the Philadelphia Young Socialist Alliance participated in a panel discussion on youth in American politics, held at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Teenage Democrats. Sixty-five people attended the meeting held here Aug. 9. Other groups represented were the Democratic, Republican and Constitutional parties and the New Democratic Coalition.

In contrast to the other four speakers, Mr. Marcus held that by its very nature the capitalist system cannot be reformed into representing the interests of the working people. He pointed to the war in Vietnam as a prime example of this.

The audience had little patience with the three representatives of the capitalist parties, but the response to Marcus' talk was quite enthusiastic. Literature was bought and many questions were asked about the antiwar offensive this fall, the Young Socialist Alliance, and socialism in general.

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GIs' combat refusal bad news for Nixon

By Dick Roberts

AUGUST 26—The courageous refusal of a battle-shattered company of GIs to carry out fruitless and unreasonable orders is heartening news to the antiwar movement. It is an ominous portent to the U.S. government. When the ranks of any army begin to question battle orders, that army is in trouble.

This is the first reported battlefield rebellion and it has received national publicity. But it is undoubtedly not the first time GIs in Vietnam have turned down the orders of their commanders. A number of similar instances have been rumored previously.

According to AP reporters Horst Faas and Peter Arnett, 'A' Company of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade's 3rd Battalion had obeyed orders for five days to move "down the jungled rocky slope of Nui Lon Mountain into a deadly labyrinth of North Vietnamese bunkers and trench lines." On the sixth day they said no. The aim of the entire mission was to reach a downed helicopter whose crew and passengers, everyone realized, were dead.

They could see no reason to go out, no benefit, nothing to gain: "They said they were sick of the endless battling in torrid heat, the constant danger of sudden firefights by day and mortaring and enemy probing at night. They said they had not had enough sleep and they were being pushed too hard. They hadn't had mail. They hadn't had hot food," the AP reporters write.

The lieutenant who had given 'A' Company the command it rejected told his commanding officer, "I think they understand [what it means to disobey orders under fire] but some of them simply had enough—they are broken. There are boys here who have only 90 days left in Vietnam. They want to go home in one piece.

The situation is psychic here."

Repeated pleas and orders were to no avail.

Finally, Faas and Arnett report, a bald-faced lie by a "quick-tempered" sergeant, flown in from the battalion base across the valley, moved 'A' Company into action.

Sgt. Okey Blakenship told the AP correspondents, "One of them yelled to me that his company had suffered too much and that it should not have to go on. I answered him that another company was down to 15 men still on the move—and I lied to him—and he asked me, 'Why did they do it?'"

Blakenship replied, "Maybe they have got something a little more than what you have got." The soldiers angrily resented the implications of cowardice. After Blakenship walked away, he turned and noticed the men were following.

As Washington well knows, the courage to ask questions like "Why did they do it?" is contagious. It can spread rapidly. And this makes serious trouble for the Nixon administration, which is trying to buy more time and freedom from the pressure of antiwar sentiment at home—in order to continue the fighting in Vietnam.

Now, in addition to mounting pressure at home, some soldiers have said in the most dramatic fashion that they do not want to fight or die in Vietnam.

Now, more than ever, the antiwar movement must demonstrate its solidarity with American GIs who are saying, "No, we've had enough." Now, more than ever, we must demand that all troops be brought home immediately.

The Nov. 15 mass mobilization in Washington provides the opportunity to do just that in the most effective way. Hundreds of thousands of Americans will be supporting the GIs of 'A' Company who asked "Why did they do it?"

Organizing moves ahead on Nov. 15 D.C. march

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Plans for the massive antiwar mobilization Nov. 15 are moving ahead at a rapid pace. A meeting of the Washington Action Committee of the New Mobilization Committee

Robert Williams' slated return

After eight years in exile, Robert F. Williams is scheduled to return to the U.S. on Aug. 30. Williams, who was one of the first black leaders in this country to advocate self-defense, fled the country in 1961 after being framed up in Monroe, North Carolina, on a kidnapping charge. During exile, he and his wife and two sons have lived in Cuba, China, North Vietnam and most recently, Tanzania.

While absent from the country, Williams was made honorary president of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a separatist organization whose national headquarters is in Detroit. Brother Gaidi, first vice-president of the RNA, announced Williams' return at a press conference Aug. 24. Gaidi said that if Williams is arrested upon arrival in Detroit, release will be obtained for him on a writ of habeas corpus. The Justice Department has announced that Williams is still being "actively sought" on a federal fugitive warrant from North Carolina.

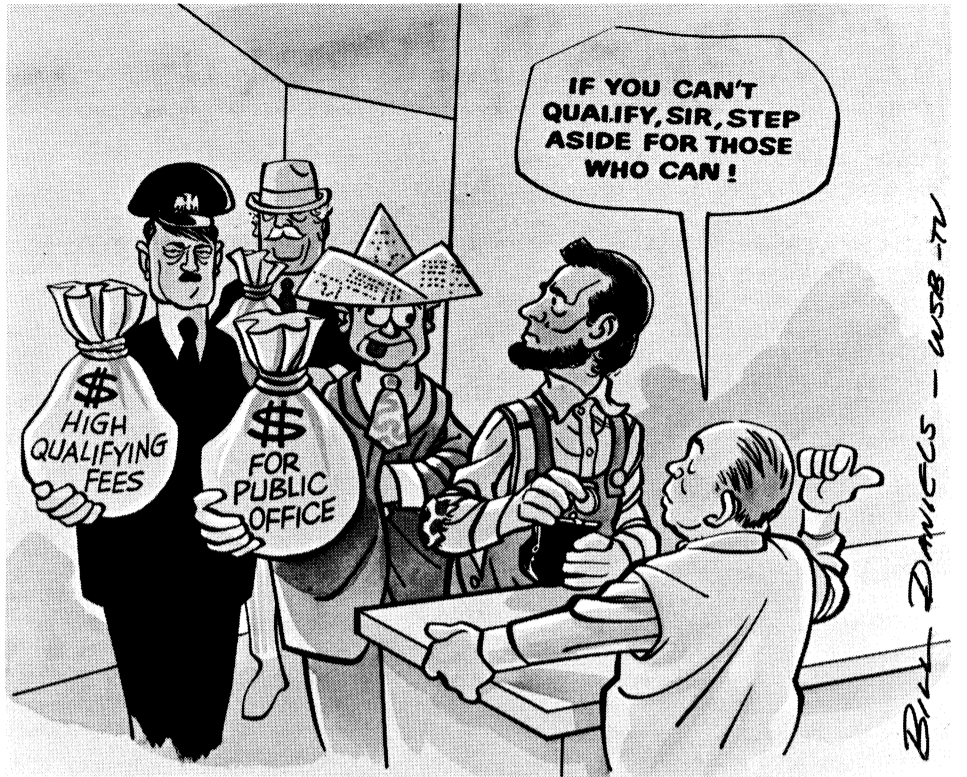
to End the War in Vietnam here Aug. 26 worked out a line of march for the demonstration and outlined plans for various publicity materials to build the action. The committee is further ahead with its organizing work than has been the case in any of the previous national antiwar demonstrations.

On the drawing boards are several buttons; a leaflet version of the call for the action; a leaflet giving the main details, demands, etc.; a leaflet on the Death March being organized by the American Friends Service Committee as a part of the fall action; and the first issue of the **New Mobilizer**, which the march organizers plan to bring out regularly between now and the Nov. 15 action.

At the same time, reports coming into the Student Mobilization Committee office indicate that plans for the Nov. 14 student strike have received enthusiastic response even before the fall semester is under way. The size and militancy of the two recent West Coast SMC demonstrations—against Nixon, who was attending the state banquet for the astronauts in Los Angeles on Aug. 13, and against Nixon and Park in San Francisco—are an indication of the potential that exists for student antiwar actions this fall.

The latest issue of the **SMC Student Mobilizer Wall Poster** is now off the press. Two buttons and a national leaflet on the fall actions are now being drawn up.

Both further information and literature can be obtained from the New Mobilization Committee, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Suite 900, Washington, D.C., 20005, tel. 202-737-9500; or from the Student Mobilization Committee, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Suite 907, Washington, D.C. 20005, tel. 202-737-0072.



MOUNTING PROTEST. SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta Linda Jenness was the first to condemn the outrageous qualifying fees levied on candidates for Atlanta city offices. Since then opposition has been increasing rapidly. The above is an editorial cartoon being run on WSB-TV. The two men standing immediately behind Abe Lincoln have been identified as Lester Maddox and Adolph Hitler.

SMC Nixon protest draws 5,000 in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 22—The fall offensive against the war in Vietnam was launched here last night when the Student Mobilization Committee held a spirited antiwar demonstration of 5,000 people outside the hotel where President Nixon was entertaining his South Korean puppet, Park Chung Hee. The occasion was a state dinner attended by such notables as San Francisco State President S. I. Hayakawa, Mayor Joe Alioto, and Zsa Zsa Gabor.

The size of the turnout indicated that the illusion in Nixon as a peace monger is rapidly fading away.

The SMC called the demonstration around the slogan, "Withdraw all GIs from Vietnam and Korea now!" It began with a picket line around Union Square opposite the hotel. Then there was a rally inside the square. Speakers included Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson 8; Alex Forman of regional SDS; Barry Chan of the Asian Coalition; Froben Lozada, head of the Chicano studies program at Merritt College; and Dan Siegle, U.C. Berkeley student-body president. The demonstration was cosponsored by the Asian Coalition, the Joe Hill Caucus of SDS, and the Bay Area Peace Action Council.

Student Mobilization Committee monitors passed out rally programs and brochures introducing the SMC to all the participants. Enough monitors were on hand to prevent any disruption of the rally by right-wingers or by ultralefts, such as those who took over the speakers' platform at the Hiroshima Day rally in New York.

Police units were mobilized and hidden in large numbers near the demonstration,

but they were given no pretext to attack the demonstrators. San Francisco police had the tightest security precautions since the visit of Nikita Khrushchev in 1960. The SMC was initially denied a permit for the demonstration, but the permit was later issued when it became obvious that the SMC was going ahead with the action anyway.

The demonstration was widely publicized by the media, both before and after it took place. Even the **San Francisco Examiner**, which rarely bothers to mention upcoming demonstrations, told about the SMC demonstration on the front page the day before it occurred. One radio station carried an announcement of the demonstration every 15 minutes.

Armed with this successful beginning of the fall antiwar offensive, the SMC in the Bay Area is now preparing to extend its thrust with an organizing drive on all high school and college campuses here, aiming toward the nationwide student strike on Nov. 14 and the West Coast demonstration in San Francisco on Nov. 15.

Arab students in U.S. holding nat'l convention

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Aug. 23—A preliminary symposium on "Palestine and the World" this weekend opened the 18th annual convention of the Organization of Arab Students, held on the huge campus of Ohio State University.

Both the question periods and the intense discussions between sessions indicated that many of the delegates sympathized with one or another of the various Palestinian liberation organizations, such as the Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Popular Front. A beginning was made in Clarifying the differences as well as the possible areas of common work among these tendencies in the movement.

The formal sessions of the convention will continue through the week, ending Aug. 29. Lectures by Arab scholars, panel discussions and special commission reports will cover topics such as the lessons of the Algerian revolution, the international student movement in relation to the Palestinian struggle, and Arab student activities in the U.S. and Canada. Also scheduled is a panel discussion with Arab students and American supporters of the Palestinian liberation movement.



Richard Nixon