

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 33

Friday, August 16, 1968

price 10c

Japanese students act to stop Viet-bound oil

By Barry Sheppard

(Barry Sheppard, editor of The Militant, is in Japan with Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers presidential nominee, on the first stage of a world political tour.)

TOKYO, Aug. 1—Militant antiwar students here have been engaged in a number of struggles related to the presence of U.S. military bases in Japan and the Japanese-U.S. security pact which provides for those bases. One of these struggles concerns the transport of jet fuel between Yokohama and the U.S. airbase at Tachikawa on the outskirts of Tokyo. This fuel is destined for Vietnam.

The railway workers who transport the fuel by tank car initiated the struggle, which was then joined by students in a supporting role. The railway workers' struggle centers around a planned increase in the amount of oil to be transported. The increase itself reflects the escalation of the war in Vietnam, and the workers have begun a slowdown to resist the increase.

The railway workers' action is an indication of the deep and growing antiwar sentiment in the Japanese population. Another indication, according to antiwar militants Fred Halstead and I have spoken to, is the growing support militant student actions are beginning to receive from the general population. This, we have been told, is a new phenomenon, and I had a chance to witness it at a demonstration yesterday.

The demonstration was held at a busy intersection in the evening, with thousands of people pouring past into subway sta-

tions. The area is right next to the rail line where the jet fuel is taken by tank car five times a day (according to a secret schedule to avoid demonstrations).

Police blocked entrances to the tracks, and the demonstration occurred in a public square at the busy intersection. It was a small demonstration of about 50 students, composed mainly of one of the student groups. But possibly 500 or 1,000 people gathered to listen to the speeches. Then the police cordoned off the area, making it difficult for anyone else to gather to listen.

The students hadn't done anything except make speeches. But suddenly, from just where, I couldn't see, about 300 riot police in full battle dress with helmets, face shields, large metal shields and a net to catch stones, charged the demonstrators and, running after them at top speed, dispersed them.

The crowds of ordinary people standing around, however, were infuriated by the police action, and began to run after the cops. I found myself in the middle of this crowd, which was shouting in anger against the police as it surged after them. Some paving stones sailed over my head in the direction of the cops, but while there were a few minor incidents, a serious clash did not occur. By this time the demonstrators were nowhere to be seen, but the riot force stayed to disperse the angry crowd.

These kinds of struggles are expected to increase and culminate in a general struggle against the Japanese-U.S. security pact in 1970, when the pact is up for renegotiation.

Young French socialist will make tour of U.S.

By Mary-Alice Waters

Jean Dube, a leader of the French JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth), began a three-week tour of the U.S. and Canada Aug. 8. His schedule includes stops in 11 major cities in the two countries (Ottawa, Toronto, Detroit, Seattle, Vancouver, the Bay Area, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and Montreal), where he will speak on the events of May and June in France.

Dube was an active participant in the recent struggles in Paris and will discuss his experiences in the French student movement and its relationship to the upsurge in the factories. He will also present a first-hand analysis of where the movement stands today.

Dube will have up-to-the-minute information on the extent of the continuing Gaullist repression of the left in France. Very little news has reached the U.S. about this side of the "law and order" which de Gaulle claims to have restored after the recent elections.

There has been a continuing ban on eleven student organizations and political parties. The prohibition of demonstrations, which was supposed to be lifted after the June 30 runoff elections, is still in force. Police have been used to break

up student meetings.

The JCR has been the main target of the government crackdown. Alain Krivine, leader of the JCR, and twelve other JCR members are now in jail and await trial early in September on charges of "reconstituting" the JCR.

A broad movement headed by Jean-Paul Sartre and other noted intellectuals has been launched in France to defend the victimized students and their organizations. It is imperative to organize a parallel defense effort in this country.

Plans are now underway to form an American committee to conduct a campaign of solidarity with the French students. Jean Dube's tour should help to stimulate these initiatives.



Jean Dube

N.Y. petitioning is completed

NEW YORK—Nearly 15,000 signatures were obtained in the first week of petitioning to place the Socialist Workers ticket on the state ballot. This is 3,000 more than the required number, and it includes the minimum of 50 signatures of registered voters that must be obtained from each of 62 counties.

D.A. pushes frame-up in Huey Newton trial

By Ed Dittullo

OAKLAND, CALIF., Aug. 7—The tension-filled trial of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton is in its fourth week. Helmeted police are still guarding all entrances to the courthouse and visitors to the courtroom are vigorous frisked.

Today the court heard surprise "eyewitness" testimony from the tenth witness for the prosecution, a black 40-year-old bus driver who is accusing Newton of murdering an Oakland cop last October. Newton's attorney, Charles Garry, immediately characterized this testimony as "lies."

The witness, Henry Gier, described the shoot-out that took place about 5 a.m. on Oct. 28th, 1967 with the apparent confidence of a man who had seen it yesterday. He testified he saw Newton pull a gun and spin around in a "split second," with the cop who was walking just behind him simultaneously grabbing his gun arm. The gun fired, wounding the other cop. He said he then saw Newton fire into the back of the officer he had been tussling with just outside the door of his bus.

This bus driver was first heard of by the defense last Thursday when his name appeared in the list of prospective prosecution witnesses furnished at that time. Also furnished was a statement he had made to a police inspector at 6:30 a.m., Oct. 28, an hour-and-a-half after the shooting.

Glaring inconsistencies between Gier's courtroom testimony and the statement he gave the police right after the shooting were immediately apparent as Newton's attorney was quick to point out. In the statement he gave the police, Gier described the man he said he saw shoot the cops as



SOLIDARITY. Cover of postcard distributed internationally by the Organization of African, Asian, Latin American Solidarity.

very small—five feet tall or less, and about 125 pounds. But Newton is five feet ten and weighs 155 pounds.

In the police statement Gier said the man who did the shooting was wearing a dark or black shirt and a light tan jacket which is not what Panthers are known to

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DAILY WORLD

Vol. XXXIII, No. 64 (Vol. 1, No. 14)

New York, Friday, August 2, 1968

Daily Except Sun. and Mon. 10 CENTS

Socialist nations meet tomorrow

Details of Plot On Prague Bared

EXCLUSIVE

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia ended their three-day meeting in Cierna Nad Tisou yesterday with an agreement to meet together with Communist Party leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the German Democratic Republic for further discussion. The meeting was set for tomorrow.

The official communique of the meeting between the political bureau of the Soviet Communist Party and the presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party said it "was held in an atmosphere of complete frankness, sincerity and mutual understanding, and was aimed at a search for ways of further developing and strengthening the traditional friendly relations between our parties and people."

The meeting and its outcome contradicted speculation in anti-socialist press reports concerning the nature of the differences between the two parties and the allegations of interventionist threats against Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact military forces.

Real difference
These reports in the anti-Communist press attempted to define the Prague-Moscow differences as an attempt by the Soviet Union to block the so-called "liberalization" of Czechoslovak political and economic life initiated by the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This press maintained throughout a so-called Moscow-Prague "crisis" a continuous barrage of rumors and speculation that Warsaw Pact military maneuvers, and the Soviet armed forces in particular, were intended to "intimidate" Czechoslovakia.

That the real difference between the two parties concern-

Czechs publish Trotskyist manifesto

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
Vol. 32—No. 31 Friday, August 2, 1968 Price 10c

Left Communist group forms in Czechoslovakia

The following was printed in Informacni Materialy, a left communist journal now appearing in Czechoslovakia, June 14.

On June 7, 1968, a meeting took place of those responding to a call published in *Red Paper* of May 21 for the establishment of a left-wing association. In a working discussion we clarified a series of specific theoretical and practical questions. We agree that we want to work to deepen the revolutionary socialist process begun in Czechoslovakia in February 1968 and that we reject all attempts to halt or eventually to reverse this process. We want to give our most active support to the Czechoslovak Communist Party in every way that will deepen the socialist character of our society. We fear, however, that many obstacles will be put in the way of our efforts both by the conservative forces and the liberal forces, in essence anti-Communist, which are growing.

We want to function as a free association of discussion clubs and circles. In this association, we want to carry on primarily theoretical discussion and educational work in active support of the principles of socialism in our country and in the world revolutionary movement. We want to fight for the development of forms of democratic socialist society. We want to have ideological contact with all elements in the international revolutionary movement. We want to work for an undistorted exchange of information in this sphere. At the same time, we demand the speedy adoption of a new law granting freedom of association so that we can legally organize our work.

Our address is: Julie Novakova, Povelni Stranaka 1023, Praha 1, Czechoslovakia.

PROVOCATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA: The Militant, an American Trotskyist paper, proudly displays this example of Trotskyist treachery in Czechoslovakia.

Daily World Foreign Department

Details of the well-organized, far-advanced plan of anti-Communist and anti-Socialist forces to seize power in Czechoslovakia, liquidate the Communists and restore capitalism have reached the Daily World from unimpeachable sources.

The underestimation of the extent of this danger by the new Communist leadership of Czechoslovakia constituted the main bone of contention between them and other Warsaw Pact countries. The Communist parties of the latter considered the danger so grave that it threatened not only socialism in Czechoslovakia but the position of the Socialist community throughout Europe. Main elements of the anti-Czechoslovak plan, as revealed exclusively to the Daily World, are as follows:

—Participants in the subversive conspiracy included, from outside Czechoslovakia, Prime Minister Couve de Murville of the Gaullist government of France; the Catholic parties of neighboring countries, particularly Austria; the leadership of the Socialist International; the Austrian Socialist Party; Radio Free Europe; the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States; the Bundeswehr leadership and the defense ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany; and certain unidentified "right wing" circles in the United States.

—Inside Czechoslovakia, the counter-revolutionary conspirators included former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social Democratic party, the People's Catholic party, an alliance of former officers of the army of former President Eduard Benes, and certain members of the Czechoslovak government, including Bohoslav Kucera, Minister of Justice.

—The strategy of the conspirators, as revealed by their operations outside and inside the country, assumed a two-fold character: systematically to whip up discontent and to sharpen social antagonisms, as between the working class and the intelligentsia and other middle strata, and between Czechs and Slovaks; and to take control gradually of all basic party and governmental organizations. At an opportune moment, presumably during the projected "war games" of the Bundeswehr near the Czechoslovak frontier and the "rally" of thousands of former Sudeten Germans, power would be seized.

—How far this conspiracy had advanced toward its goal is also revealed.

The Daily World's sources report that the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party had intended since January to overcome and correct mistakes of the past, particularly in the field of economy and the resolution of national questions. However, during the past seven months, no positive steps in this direction had been taken.

—There is still no specific program on the national economy in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the working class has suffered losses in wages.

—Right wing circles took advantage of this situation to begin criticizing virtually everything. The Communist leadership, in addition to permitting this, actually encouraged it by participating in

HOW CROOKED CAN YOU GET? Front page of Aug. 2 Daily World, voice of Communist Party, reproduced what purported to be a section of front page of The Militant. But the headline on top related to a report about the publication in Czechoslovakia of a manifesto of the Fourth International. The Daily World put the headline over article about Czech left Communist group to brand group as "Trotskyite." For full story see page 3.

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THE MILITANT

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Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$3 a year; Canada and Latin America, \$3.50; other foreign, \$4.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$9.00; all other countries, \$14.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$12.50; Latin America, \$23.00; Europe, \$27.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$32.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 32—No. 33



Friday, August 16, 1968

Letters from Fred Halstead

The following are excerpts from letters received from Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Halstead was invited to Japan to attend several antiwar conferences. His visit there is part of an international tour.

Aug. 2

We happen to be in Japan during a nation-wide student strike movement in which dozens of universities are now physically occupied by students. Here in Tokyo universities now occupied include Japan U, Tokyo U and Ikashika U, which is a medical and dental school.

From the window in the student center of Meiji U, where the student, antiwar international conference is being held, you can see the large, red banner hanging on the face of the medical school's main building. It has Japanese characters on it which say, "Young doctors strike." Other signs on the building say: "Medical Students' Strike Committee." A main demand of the Ikashika strikers, as well as those of the medical school at Tokyo U, is for decent wages and conditions for interns.

The strike at Japan U, a private school, centers around free speech and the right to leaflet and hold political meetings. Before the strike, we were told, Japan U had prohibitions against this, though such rights exist in other colleges. Now that the students have occupied Japan U, however, there are plenty of leaflets, political meetings, etc., there.

Today from the window we watched the Japan U students on a demonstration pass by. They expressed anger over the misuse of university funds for private purposes by a university administrator, as well as their free speech demands.

The strike committee at Ikashika is dominated, we are told, by the Communist League-Socialist Student League faction of Zengakuren. At other schools, other factions are dominant, and at some there are joint strike committees. The strike at Tokyo U is led by a joint committee including the Trotskyists and members of the Japan Communist Party as well as others. (A veteran of the movement told me the Tokyo U strike is on a very high level, "perhaps the highest anywhere in the world," as far as political statements of students are concerned.)

Meiji U is not on strike, but from appearances the students already have won considerable power here. The buildings fly red banners and at least one very large NLF flag. On the streets surrounding the university, large signs are set up announcing political meetings at the school.

The student center is completely controlled by students. Delegates to meetings from around the country sleep there. Various rooms have piles of long, stout sticks, and helmets. In others, literature is being prepared and signs made. In the midst of all this, a dance group in traditional Japanese dress holds practice sessions, students sleep on blankets spread on desks, and some factions have rooms for political headquarters.

The atmosphere is not tense, or excited, but rather relaxed and matter-of-fact. A dozen or so muscular young students with red helmets and sticks lounge about the entrance to the student center, drinking bottles of coke. This guard usually is there. Police attacked at Tokyo U in June, and such attacks are possible again, and sometimes there are fights between student factions.

The fact that there are so many factions in the student movement may give one a false impression, however. Because it clearly isn't just blind, unreasoning factionalism. Each group has real political differences with the others. It appears to me that at this point the movement here is on a high political level. These are not like many SDS kids in the U.S. They all consider themselves Marxists, all are class-struggle oriented. To say Zengakuren here is like saying student government in the U.S. But here student governments have more autonomy and much more control of parts of the physical plants of the universities.

Formally, the CP Zengakuren controls about 60 percent of the schools. But the CP control is formal, not actual. The control by these kids is real student power, and they are the ones who engage in the militant demonstrations.

The major daily papers carry articles asking: "What has happened to our young people, who used to be so well mannered and obedient?" But there seems to be considerable sympathy for the students in the general population, and it is not unusual for riot police who attack student demonstrations to be jeered by passersby.

This present student strike movement has a long history and many aspects. One of the contributing factors, we are told by students here, was the April 26 international strike against the war in Vietnam.

The response to the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee strike

L.A. rally: "Free Hugo Blanco!"

Demonstration at Peru flag fete

Los Angeles, Calif.

The case of Hugo Blanco, Peruvian revolutionist who is serving a 25-year prison term, was dramatically injected into a Peruvian flag-raising ceremony here July 28.

Mayor Sam Yorty and other city dignitaries were gathered with about 75 Peruvians on the city-hall steps to salute Peruvian President Belaunde Terry on the anniversary of Peruvian national independence. The character of the ceremony changed abruptly when a group of pickets appeared bearing signs that proclaimed, "Free Hugo Blanco" and "Hugo Blanco No Debe Morir!"

The demonstration was called by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party to draw attention to the injustice done Hugo Blanco and other Peruvian political prisoners.

Before the ceremony started, an official demanded that the pickets leave the flag-raising area and demonstrate on the sidewalk. Instead, the demonstrators formed a straight line behind the visitors' seats with their signs out of sight. After a few remarks by Mayor Yorty, the Peruvian flag was raised to the top of the flag pole to the strains of the Peruvian national anthem.

The pickets greeted the slowly rising flag by shouting "Free Hugo Blanco!" and by raising their signs. Then they filed away to continue their demonstration on the sidewalk.

Those of us present knew that the news of this action will eventually reach Hugo Blanco on his island prison and that he would be reminded of the fact that people around the world are concerned and are continuing to struggle for his release.

Hayden Perry

CP top shocked

New York, N. Y.

Militant readers should take a look at an interview concerning the revolutionary French students

with Carl Winter in the July issue of *Political Affairs*, the U.S. Communist Party's theoretical journal. Winter is co-editor of the *Daily World* and was editor of its predecessor, *The Worker*.

His comments on the student activity at the Sorbonne will give you a flavor of his attitude. He was "struck by the utter chaos there." Outside, the walls were "plastered with all kinds of posters in an extremely destructive fashion . . . as if their intention was not to convey a message but to deface the walls." More shocking were "slogans in red paint that are undoubtedly not removable and will remain to deface those walls for years to come." Remembering that the Sorbonne "is an ancient center of learning in which all of Western Europe has taken pride for centuries," he confesses that he "found it quite a blow to look at that scene."

He proceeds to complain that inside the courtyard, "ranged around the walls, were numerous tables on which were displayed posters, leaflets and pamphlets of the various political tendencies." Apparently worst of all was the nature of the propaganda of these tendencies, which was "addressed primarily to 'revolution,' to calls for fundamental transformation of the system, for freedom—all in high-sounding and flamboyant language."

American radicals should take note of this leading American CP'er's remarks and relate them to our own scene. What would the CP here like to be able to say about the "chaos" at Berkeley's Sproul Plaza, with its "numerous tables on which are displayed posters, leaflets and pamphlets of the various political tendencies." Suppose during the revolt at Columbia University this spring, the students had had the equipment and time to put up posters on the walls of that "ancient center of learning" or that black students had painted "Malcolm X University" on the walls of the hall they renamed in his honor? Wouldn't the American CP likewise find it "quite a blow to look at that scene"?

Brian Shannon

call was stronger here than in any country in the world, and 72 universities were shut down April 26.

That strike lasted only one day, but it raised the political level and revealed great student power. The situation has not been the same since, we are told. In the present strike wave, students are raising various student-power and bread-and-butter issues—such as tuition and conditions for interns, etc.—as well as political demands. The latest count, according to police, of the number of universities in Japan now occupied in the strike wave is 54.

Fred

12 noon, Aug. 3

I am writing this from the office of the internationalist faction of the Socialist Youth League at Chuo University in Tokyo's Kanda district, which is a concentrated college area something like the Latin Quarter or Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, except there are several universities close together.

As I look out the window I can see many colored flags flying from the windows and roof of the Japan University, which is on strike for "Democratization of the U."

Some flags are red, meaning you know what. Others signify classes or parts of the university, such as "second-level electrical engineering," etc., and are the standards of the strike committees in those sections.

Down the street and around the corner is the auditorium of Chuo U, where the mass meeting of the student antiwar conference is scheduled to begin at 1 p.m. But the authorities have banned the use of the hall and locked it up and boarded it.

Students have torn off boards. A car with a loudspeaker is now parked opposite the entrance to the auditorium, and speakers are explaining the situation to students as they begin to gather.

Here in the office of the student group, where I am writing, helmets and sticks are being passed out. Down the street groups of students are gathering. Here and there groups in helmets are heading toward the auditorium. So far, no police have shown. Nobody knows. I'm scheduled to speak at the meeting.

More later, Fred

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.

"Elite" cops riot in NYC ghetto

New York, N. Y.

During the recent disturbances in the largely Puerto Rican ghetto of NYC's lower east side, I talked with Bo Ortiz, who has lived in the area for 15 years and has been an antipoverty worker there for the last two years.

He told me that the disturbances began after a Puerto Rican was beaten up in a bar frequented by East Europeans who in the past have made racist statements against Puerto Ricans and black people.

A number of Puerto Ricans from the block went to the bar to defend the victim of the attack. Someone called the police, and the Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) responded to the call. But the TPF only helped the drunks inside the bar, who began the whole thing. A fight broke out between the Puerto Ricans and the cops, but the presence of the TPF antagonized and aroused even the white people inside the bar.

It became a case of racist cops rioting and the people defending themselves.

Several days later, there was a rally at 6th St. and Ave. C to protest the riots by the cops. Puerto Ricans reacted angrily at the occupation of their street by the TPF.

At the rally, the police provoked violence by sporadically pushing and shoving people away from the rally.

Six people were beaten. Cops clubbed three women and beat up a 12-year-old boy while he was on the ground.

Bo Ortiz said that the removal of the TPF would relieve the problem temporarily; the presence of the regular police there is harmful enough.

But for a permanent solution, he insisted, there must be self-determination of all ghetto people "through power, black and Puerto Rican—political power." Asked how that can come about, Bo Ortiz replied, "Through a party of all blacks and Puerto Ricans."

Sirvo Martine

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Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

by

George Breitman

25 cents

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873 Broadway
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Case of the vanishing Czech plot

By Harry Ring

During the mid-40s an American newsman, interviewing Stalin, queried him about the slavish way in which the American Communist Party followed every twist and turn of Soviet policy.

"I take pepper," Stalin replied with a chuckle, "and Browder sneezes."

Things haven't changed much since then.

For example, the Aug. 6 *New York Times* was able to report from Moscow, not without satisfaction, as follows:

"The specter of 'counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia' that evoked cries of outrage and alarm from the Soviet Union seems in Moscow to have disappeared abruptly into the mists of un-history.

"Scornful denunciations of democratization, allegations of anti-Communist conspiracies . . . have vanished from the Soviet press."

And, it can be added, from the American CP press too. And just as abruptly.

Consider the headline from the *Daily World* reproduced on page 1. This "expose" of a "plot on Prague" appeared Fri., Aug. 2.

Plot vanishes

The next day, Sat., Aug. 3, I rushed out for the *Daily World* to read the latest developments in this sensational "plot." Guess what I found? An editorial entitled, "Best Wishes to Prague!"

Rubbing my eyes, I read:

"Thanks to the initiative of the fraternal Communist Parties who issued warnings and offered help, socialism in Czechoslovakia will now be able to repel its enemies and resume progress toward a communist society."

How was such a "well-organized, far-advanced plot" disposed of in 24 hours? I was reminded of how colleagues of a British mystery writer were once convinced he had put himself in an inextricable position when, at the end of a chapter in a daily newspaper serial, he had left the hero at the bottom of a well with a boulder coming down on him.

They watched with awe as he sat down at the typewriter the next morning and, unperturbed, continued, "With a bound Jack Armstrong was free."

What extricated the Czechs from the well was the Bratislava meeting they held with the USSR and four other Soviet-bloc nations from which an amicable communique was issued.

After all, if Moscow says all is well in Czechoslovakia, could the *Daily World* say otherwise?

Let's review the highlights of the *World's* treatment of the Czech events.

The opening shot was fired in the July 18 issue by party spokesman James Jackson. He asserted that in the process of correcting certain "shortcomings and mistakes" of the hated Novotny regime, the Dubcek government had given up "a certain amount of vigilance against the class enemy . . ." As a result, said Jackson, "Forces long hostile to socialism in Czech-

oslovakia," had been unleashed, and, "The struggle of this unprincipled assortment of 'oppressionists' has come to dominate the political scene in Czechoslovakia."

On July 30, Joseph North added an "expose" under the headline: "Neo-Nazis infiltrate Sudetenland—Were Czech Defenses Dismantled?"

North quotes a Canadian newsman who, he says, uncovered a plot by West German Nazis to infiltrate the Sudetenland and bring it back under Germany. "Infiltration began," North says the Canadian reported, "when Prime Minister Alexander Dubcek of Czechoslovakia ordered 'all barbed wire entanglements and machine gun nests removed from the Czechoslovak-West German border last April.'"

"Unimpeachable sources"

Next came the Aug. 2 "revelations" from "unimpeachable sources" of the "well-organized, far-advanced plan of anti-Communists and anti-Socialist forces to seize power in Czechoslovakia . . ."

Then—presto, chango!—came the next day's "best wishes to Prague" editorial.

This sickening parroting of Moscow's swiftly changing line on Czechoslovakia should dispel any notion that the American CP has changed in any basic way since the days of Stalin. It continues to function as a servile mouthpiece for Kremlin foreign policy.

Following the 1956 Khrushchev revelation about the nightmarish crimes of Stalin, there was a mass walkout from the CP. The party stood isolated and thoroughly discredited.

To cope with this, the leadership decided to adopt a "new look." No basic change of politics was involved. But there was an effort to demonstrate at least a semblance of independence from the Kremlin.

There was even a new tack taken in "the struggle against Trotskyism." With Khrushchev's admission that the Moscow trials had been a frame-up, it was awkward to keep repeating the slanders about the Trotskyists being "provocateurs," "wreckers" and "agents of Hitler."

Instead, they were characterized as "anti-Soviet," and "ultra-left sectarians."

At old stand

Now with the need to join the smear campaign against the Czech liberalization program, the American party hacks could no longer maintain the "new look."

Like the drunk who falls off the wagon with a bang, they began wallowing again in all the old filth and muck, with such slanders as, "Inside Czechoslovakia, the counter-revolutionary conspirators included former Nazis, Trotskyites, the Social Democratic Party . . ." etc., etc.

The substitution of such slanders for even the pretense of a serious political analysis is made plain by the incredible decision of the editors of the *World* to reprint from *The Militant* the statement by Czech left Communists. This statement supporting socialist democracy is offered by

the *World* as *prima facie* evidence of "Trotskyist treachery in Czechoslovakia."

Anyone with eyes to read could see that the declaration states that the left Czech group wants to "deepen the revolutionary process."

What, in the eyes of the *World* was the "treachery" of this group?

Their statement had declared, "we want to function as a free association of discussion clubs and circles . . . we want to carry on primarily theoretical discussion and educational work in active support of the principles of socialism . . . At the same time we demand the speedy adoption of a new law granting freedom of association so that we can legally organize our work."

For the *World*, like the Kremlin, this is the heresy of heresies.

Socialists who have suffered 20 years of repression now demand statutes assuring their elementary right of free association. For the power-hungry bureaucrats in the Kremlin and their boot-licking stooges on the staff of the *World*, such an elementary democratic demand must be transformed into a movement to "overthrow socialism."

Marxist view

For Marx and Engels, for Lenin and Trotsky, socialist democracy was the very cornerstone of the whole concept of socialism. For the self-seeking bureaucrats, socialist democracy is "counterrevolution."

The American CP leadership associates itself with these reactionary policies and descends to political gutter tactics to defend them because they have no other significant reason for existence.

Ever since the Stalinization of the CP in the mid-20s, and the abandoning of a revolutionary program, the CP leadership has devoted itself to promoting the reformist political line of the Kremlin which is advanced today under the banner of "peaceful coexistence," that is, class collaboration with the imperialist powers.

Consistent with that line, the CP has always considered the Trotskyists "the main enemy." A party, like the CP, that presents itself as "communist" but actually follows a reformist line cannot tolerate the competition of a genuinely communist party. Nor can it afford, from its viewpoint, to candidly say, "we're against the Trotskyists because we favor class collaboration and they favor class struggle."

To cover that real difference, the CP hacks first employed the slander charge of "fascist agents," and then retreated to the "ultra-left" "anti-Soviet" characterization. Now they apparently feel driven back to the original smear line.

But as revolutionary policies gain ground internationally, the true role of the CP is being understood by ever-widening layers of those seeking a socialist road. The miserable conduct of the *World* in relation to the Czech crisis will only accelerate and deepen that understanding.

Kremlin beats a retreat on Czechoslovakia

By Dick Roberts

AUG. 7—The Kremlin's retreat from its effort to thwart current liberalizations in Czechoslovakia represents a further stage in the disintegration of Moscow's once absolutely monolithic rule over Eastern Europe.

The immediate threat of Kremlin military intervention to overthrow the Czech government has been withdrawn and the international campaign that was whipped up against the Czechs has been halted. Within its present limits, the reforms instituted by the Dubcek regime is apparently to be tolerated by Brezhnev and Kosygin.

Within Czechoslovakia, the Kremlin backdown was greeted with relief mixed with wide suspicion that the Dubcek regime had been forced into some secret commitments to Moscow that would limit some of the newly won Czech rights. Dubcek's repeated public insistence that no secret agreements had been made suggests the extent of these apprehensions.

A far cry

Nevertheless, the outcome of the Bratislava parleys is a far cry from the decades when all of Eastern Europe was under the iron grip of the Kremlin.

Beginning with Tito's resistance in the late 40s and the development of revolutionary China's increased independence, the disintegration process has developed steadily.

The 1953 East German rebellion against totalitarian forms of rule was savagely crushed, and the 1956 Hungarian workers' movement to establish genuine soviets was put down by Soviet tanks. But Poland's 1956 defiance of Moscow was suffered and, after Stalin's death, Tito was even accepted back into the "socialist family."

The open rift between Moscow and Peking further loosened the Kremlin's grip on the noncapitalist world. Albania lined up with China. Rumania, in effect, declared itself neutral. North Korea and North Vietnam have opted for a maximum of independence from both Moscow and Peking. And tiny Cuba, despite its desperate economic needs, has guarded its autonomy and repudiated Moscow's treacherous policy of international class-collaboration, dubbed "peaceful coexistence."

Throughout Eastern Europe, and in the USSR itself, there has developed a growing popular pressure for a democratic structure within the framework of a socialist economy. Confronted by the insurgence in the noncapitalist world, the Kremlin has also been kept off balance by the continuing pressure for socialist democracy at home. Considerations of the nature and extent of possible internal repercussions may well have been a significant factor in Moscow's decision to retreat from its threatened use of armed might against Czechoslovakia.

Nor did the Kremlin find all of the other East European countries, or even the most loyal of the West European CPs, rallying to its cause. Instead, pro-Czech pressure was exerted by Yugoslavia, Rumania and, apparently, to some extent by Hungary.

CP'S RECORD OF SMEAR AND SLANDER

By George Novack

The *Daily World's* false accusation that the Trotskyists are conspiring with West German ex-Nazis, the CIA and a tangled network of ultrareactionary forces to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia is the latest in a series of similar poisonous fabrications by the U.S. Stalinists over the past 40 years. Here are some highlights of that perfidious record.

When the founders of American Trotskyism were expelled for their ideas from the CP on Stalin's orders in October, 1928, the *Daily Worker* justified this undemocratic action with the slanders that the Trotskyists had sold out to American imperialism, that they were scheming with the enemies of labor and with the imperialist powers to overthrow the Soviet Union, and that they had become the "advance guard of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie."

When Stalin staged the Moscow trials from 1936 to 1938 and executed all the members of Lenin's politburo then living in the Soviet Union, *The Worker* unconditionally endorsed the frame-ups. Trotsky and the Bolshevik old guard were falsely charged with plotting to assassinate Stalin and other Soviet leaders, with spying for Britain, France, Japan and Germany, and conniving with Hitler and the Mikado to restore capitalism and hand over Soviet territory to imperialist Germany and Japan.

In an article reprinted in the July 22 *New York Times*, the Soviet scientist Andrei Sakharov wrote that during this terrible time "at least 10 to 15 million people perished in the torture chambers of the NKVD [secret police] . . ."

While these real crimes were being committed against the Soviet people and the Russian revolution, *The Worker* and its supporters here were applauding Stalin's "humanitarianism," denying his atrocities and defaming the Trotskyists, who were doing their utmost to expose and halt the frame-ups.

In 1940 Roosevelt's Department of Justice indicted 29 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters because of their defense of union democracy and their socialist opposition to imperialist war. This was the first use of the Smith Act. While many labor and liberal organizations protested this prosecution, *The Worker* applauded it. On August 16, 1941, it wrote: "The leaders of the Trotskyist organization which operates under the false name of 'Socialist Workers Party' deserve no more support from labor and friends of national security than do the Nazis who camouflaged their party under the false name of 'National Socialist Workers Party.'"

We "insist that the Trotskyists be characterized for what they are—the agents of fascism in this country," continued *The Worker*.

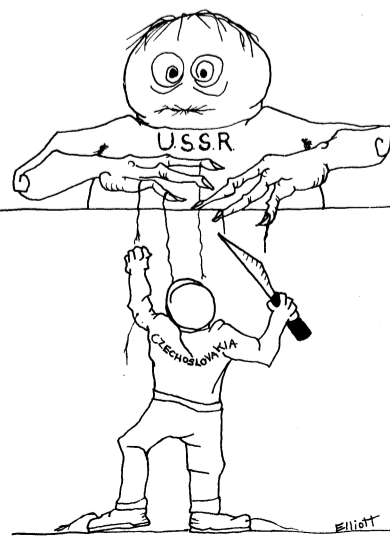
Two decades ago Stalin put the screws on Yugoslavia as the Soviet party chiefs are doing to Czechoslovakia now. How eloquent of its servility to Moscow have been the flipflops of the American CP in relation to the Yugoslav Communist regime!

Tito was a hero to *The Worker* from 1943 to 1948. No sooner did Moscow launch its attacks upon the Communist recalcitrants in Belgrade in 1948 than Tito became transformed overnight into a "fascist tool" of U.S. imperialism who had restored capitalism in Yugoslavia. Then, seven years later, when Khrushchev made amends to Tito, *The Worker* again counted Yugoslavia as a member in good standing among the family of "socialist nations."

In the last months of Stalin's life his secret police concocted the infamous "Doctors' plot," an anti-Semitic revival of the Moscow trials. *The Worker* peddled this whole, too—until it was repudiated by Stalin's successors.

In 1956, when the Hungarian masses fought to throw off the hated Rakosi dictatorship and their satellite status, and the workers established their councils to democratize the country, the American CP upheld the crushing of their revolt by the Soviet troops and tanks.

And all of this is but a partial list.



Calif. Peace and Freedom will run Eldridge Cleaver

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO—The California Peace and Freedom Party, in simultaneous nominating conventions here and in Los Angeles Aug. 3, selected Eldridge Cleaver as its candidate for President. Cleaver is the minister of information of the Black Panther Party, a black political party based in Oakland.

Three caucuses were present at the convention here. The Cleaver for President caucus was the largest one. There was also a Dick Gregory caucus and an "uncommitted" caucus, which contained persons who supported candidates ranging from McCarthy to Mrs. King and Dr. Spock.

Almost 1000 people attended the San Francisco convention, which was open to all registered members of the Peace and Freedom movement. The final vote in San Francisco was 665 for Cleaver and 158 for Gregory.

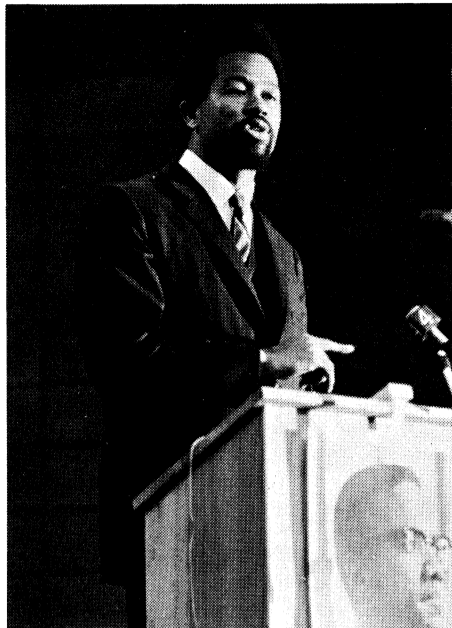
The main point of discussion within the Cleaver for President caucus was the campaign and how it should be run. The Independent Socialist Club (ISC) expressed the idea that PFP should orient toward bringing in all the disillusioned followers of the Democratic Party after Humphrey's anticipated nomination. Therefore the ISC advocated the adoption of what it calls a "minimum radical program."

Others were of the opinion that such a weak program would blur the difference between the Peace and Freedom Party and the Democratic Party.

By John Gray

LOS ANGELES—Eldridge Cleaver was nominated for President at the Southern California portion of the nominating convention of the California Peace and Freedom party. The convention was held Aug. 3 in Elysian Park.

The proceedings began with meetings of



Eldridge Cleaver

the various caucuses. There were caucuses favoring the nomination of Cleaver, Dick Gregory, Eugene McCarthy and Edmund Grey, a local candidate. The main competition was between Cleaver and Gregory. Both spoke in favor of their respective candidacies.

In the final balloting Cleaver received 626 votes; Gregory, 492; and Senator McCarthy, 80. There was only a handful for Grey.

The keynote address was delivered by Paul Jacobs, the Peace and Freedom candidate for U.S. senator from California.

Jacobs presented what he described as an "honest and sober" account of the state of the Peace and Freedom Party. He said his own campaign for the Senate was disorganized and discouraging and that this condition reflected the situation of the party as a whole.

Discussing Peace and Freedom's coalition with the Black Panther Party, Jacobs said that while he supported the Panthers' program for "reconstructing society in a radical fashion," he felt that the coalition posed certain political problems.

Both the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party, he said, would have to determine what price they were willing to pay in order to maintain the coalition between the two groups.

If either group tried to dominate the other, he added, the coalition would be impossible. He seemed to be directing these remarks toward the Panthers, since he went on to say that PFP members could expect to hear criticism of the Panthers from him in the future.

Discussing the impact of the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns on the PFP, Jacobs said that the party could expect to lose more members.

Cops assault Panthers in Brooklyn

By Derrick Morrison

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—"Pigs" everywhere know the meaning of the Black Panther, the New York police department notwithstanding. On Thursday afternoon, August 2, the Brooklyn cops brutally attacked a group of Panthers in front of their headquarters on Nostrand Avenue.

It all began when Panther Gordon Cook started speaking through a bull horn at a street rally. A cop car across the street watched the opening of the rally and then called in more police. Eight car-loads of "pigs" responded to the call. As the cops approached the rally, they arrested and started beating Cook before he could answer whether he had a permit for the bull horn. When other Panther members began to come to Cook's aid, the cops pulled out their guns. They chased one Panther, 17-year-old Darrell Baines, around the corner, handcuffed him and then started to beat him with their nightsticks. The cops withdrew from the scene with these two victims.

About 15 Panthers then went down to the 78th precinct, where Baines and Cook were being held. Panther Captain Jaudon Ford and Panther Lieutenant Rashi Jonga were allowed to enter. Because of their protests inside the station, Ford and Jonga were busted on "disorderly conduct." Cook was charged with resisting arrest, interfering with an officer in the performance of his duty, and harassing an officer. Baines was charged with felonious assault (on ten cops by himself), resisting arrest, and harassment.

Panthers in court

A large group of Panthers and other Brothers then went over to the courthouse where the four Panthers would be arraigned.

Baines was the last Panther to appear. This was done so that the wounds he had would close up and would not be so obvious. As Baines entered the courtroom, all the Panthers stood up and shouted, "Power! Black Power! Pigs die tonight!"

With this display of strength, the judge released the four Panthers without bail.

The next morning at 3 p.m., two Brooklyn cops were wounded by shotgun blasts. There has been an attempt to implicate the Panthers by saying the cops found a Panther button near the scene of the shooting. (Panther buttons were taken off the berets of Ford and Jonga after they were arrested.)

After the attack on the street rally, the cops have continued petty harassment of the Brooklyn Panthers. But despite these attacks, the Panthers have grown rapidly in New York City. It is this growth, the growth of an instrument by which black people can defend themselves against police violence, that concerns the cops.

Seattle rally urges aid to Huey Newton

By Will Reissner

SEATTLE—Only days after Black Panther Captain Aaron Dixon was arrested on trumped-up charges of "grand larceny by possession," the Seattle Black Panther Party held a large, spirited rally to demand freedom for Huey Newton. Attended by 400, the rally was held in front of Garfield High School in this city's predominantly black central area.

Chaired by Panther Willie Brazier, the rally was addressed by Aaron Dixon, R.J. Brisker and Curtis Harris of the Seattle Panther Party; Reggie Douglas of Tacoma; Debbie Leonard, the SWP candidate for U.S. senator; and Nafasi Harambe of the Black Nationalists.

In addition to urging support for Newton, the Panther speakers discussed the nature of their party, the internationalism of the freedom struggle, and their local election campaign.

Panthers' task

Panther Captain Dixon described the job of the party as "teaching the masses of black people the right methods of revolutionary politics." He said, "Black culture is beautiful, but black culture can't save your lives. Only revolution can do that."

Brisker stressed the importance of the Panthers' ten-point program, explaining, "If we are to destroy, we must also be ready to build. We must have a program to put into effect when we win." He pointed to Algeria as an example of where people won their freedom but didn't have the program to consolidate that freedom.

Both Brisker and Harris discussed their campaigns for state representative on the Black Panther ticket. They see the campaign as part of the Panthers' ongoing work to organize and educate the black masses. Harris put it, "If we're elected, we'll take care of business downtown. Even if we're not elected, we'll take care of business."

"Hate oppression"

Aaron Dixon explained the Panthers didn't oppose or hate people simply because of their skin color. "We hate the oppression of black people in this country," he declared. He pointed to the Panthers' coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party and their collaboration with the Young Socialist Alliance as an indication that they are willing to work with anyone who is revolutionary.

The size of the rally and good response of the crowd showed that the police harassment has not prevented the Panthers from continuing to develop and deepen their roots in the community.

F&P says break with P&F is final

NEW YORK—The New York Freedom and Peace Party announced it has decided that it is futile to try to heal its breach with the Peace and Freedom Party.

Those constituting the Freedom and Peace Party bolted the Peace and Freedom group at a state parley last March. They walked out after a proposal was voted down that would have given the black caucus 50 percent of the vote.

Freedom and Peace said that in its futile reunification bid it offered to drop the demand for a 50-percent vote for the black caucus. When it walked out in March it had declared this an issue of "principle."

Added feature for Paris visitors

By Terri Lynne

Tourists in Paris this summer are getting more for their money. They have the unique opportunity to see the lingering signs of the revolutionary upsurge of last spring.

The walls of Paris speak. No—they don't speak, they shout out what they have to say. "Power to the Workers!" "Power to the Students!" "Workers Occupation of the Factories!" "U.S., Get Out of Vietnam!" The walls of Paris tell the story of the May revolution.

De Gaulle's repressions have not been able to quash the spirit of the May revolt. In every bookstore, even the "respectable" ones in the well-to-do neighborhoods, there are books, pictures, records and posters about "Mai '68," along with the works of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Che, Mao and Fidel. ("Why take pictures," a worker said to me as I snapped away at the Sorbonne. "They're all in the bookstores.")

And the revolutionary literature is selling. Not only to Frenchmen but people who seem to have come from all over to study the revolutionary experience.

While the repression has not dissolved the spirit of the revolution, it has, thus far, dissolved all political groups to the left of the Communist Party.

A principal target of the repression is the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth)

which played a leading role in the May events. The government apparently would like to be assured that the JCR will not be functioning in the fall when school resumes and a revival of the student movement is expected.

In July, Alain Krivine, one of the leaders of the JCR was jailed, along with about a dozen of his comrades. He is charged with acting to reconstitute the JCR in defiance of the ban. Police action was taken after he



Paris poster photo by Terri Lynne

held a press conference where he voiced personal opinions, which he has every right to do.

But the JCR is also challenging the ban itself and demanding legality for all the proscribed groups.

At a preliminary hearing July 30, Krivine was given a political prisoner status. This permits him more visitors and he can receive non-political books.

His trial is slated for the beginning of September. It will be public and is expected to be the focus of wide public attention.

Such prominent intellectual figures as Jean Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz and Jean-Paul Vigier will be called on as witnesses for the defense.

Even now, during the quiet Paris vacation period, I saw signs, "Liberez Alain Krivine." The trial will certainly stimulate renewed worker-student activity in the fall.

In France and internationally, a vitally needed defense campaign is being organized on behalf of Krivine and the others indicted. If convicted, they face up to two years in prison, plus fines.

In the United States, Jean Dube, a leader of the JCR is visiting major cities to give a first-hand account of the French events and help build support for the defendants.

Their defense will help promote the struggle. As the walls of Paris proclaim, "Ce n'est qu'un debut!" "This is only the beginning!"

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Police attack welded a new unity among Mexican students

By Eduardo Ortega

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 1—The mass student struggles going on now in Mexico began with a brutal police attack on the students at Vocational School Five in Mexico City. Using a conflict between students as a pretext, police invaded the school and savagely beat up everyone in their path, including teachers.

Vocational School Five is one of many schools which is affiliated with the National Polytechnical Institute. Indignation was high as news of the beatings spread to other schools in the institute, and a mass protest rally was called for July 26.

The students of the polytechnical institute have up until recently been under the political domination of the bureaucratic National Federation of Technical Students (FNET)—a group which is completely subservient to the government. But student anger over the brutality of the police was such that the FNET was forced to call the July 26 demonstration to avoid being discredited in the eyes of the students.

The government agreed to the demonstration on the condition that the FNET control it and that its route of march avoid the area where another demonstration, celebrating the anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on Moncada bar-

racks, was being planned for the same day.

When the demonstration began at the Citadel, thousands of students gathered. The representatives from the FNET grew nervous as they saw the large numbers and the obvious militancy of the crowd.

The march began, and as the students passed the Monument of the Revolution one of the contingents made up of youth between the ages of 15 and 20 began to shout, "To the Zocalo, To the Zocalo." [The central square in Mexico City where the Presidential Palace is located.]

The leaders of the FNET continued to direct the marchers on the planned route to the Casco of Santo Thomas, where they held a final rally and declared the demonstration over. But the marchers wanted their grievances heard by the president and insisted on going to the Zocalo. Spontaneously, thousands of students headed toward the Zocalo via different routes.

For the past 10 years the Zocalo has been an inviolable sanctuary for the government, where only gatherings approved of by the authorities could take place. Since 1961, when a mass demonstration against the U.S. invasion of Cuba was savagely attacked, no protest demonstration has attempted to enter the Zocalo.

But those students who were marching on the Zocalo did not know this. They were not veterans of any protest movements, and they were young and unaware of the repression of 1961. Some of the FNET leaders knew the danger involved in going to the Zocalo, but they did not even play the minimum positive role of explaining this to the demonstrators.

Police attack

About 8:15 p.m., in one corner of the Zocalo, the students who entered the square by Madero Street were suddenly attacked and beaten by police. Testimony of those present is that it was a brutal massacre.

The police were so sadistic that people from the wealthy homes along the street began shouting for them to stop. The cops not only went after the students but attacked passersby who had nothing to do with the demonstration.

In this encounter, people who were present report that at least one student was killed and many were gravely injured. In fact, ambulances began to arrive by the dozens as soon as the fight started.

The students learned a political lesson of first magnitude. A simple fact makes this clear. Upon entering the Zocalo, the feelings of the vast majority of participants were clearly hostile to the youth who were demonstrating in support of the Cuban revolution, who were thought of as "communists from the UNAM" (National Autonomous University of Mexico). But, after the massacre, many students, their eyes full of tears, asked, "Why did they beat us up when we were peaceful?" and shouted, "Let's unite with the UNAM."

These calls for unity were realized immediately after the police attack, when the retreating students joined the pro-Cuba demonstrators in a mass rally. The crowd of approximately 8,000 students grew as new contingents arrived in response to the news of the police repression.

Time and again the speakers called for unity between the polytechnic institute and the UNAM, between workers and peasants, for a revolutionary perspective ("Che hasn't died. He lives with us"), and for the formation of organizing committees.

The establishment of unity between the students from the polytechnic institute and the students from the university is of great importance for the struggle in Mexico, because these are the two largest institutions of higher learning in the country, numbering 200,000 students in all.

The united rally was finally broken up by riot police, and numbers of people again saw the brutality of the police. Some of the students responded with rocks.

Elsewhere, a battle was beginning at Preparatory School Three, a block from the Zocalo. The students at Preparatory Three had been unaware of what was happening a few blocks away, and as they were leaving a school festival they were unexpectedly attacked by police who

Giant Mexico City march protests brutal attack

Special to The Militant

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 1—The repression against the student and "communist provocateurs" has reached the level of a paroxysm. Today police, aided by army units, arrested students from the drama school of the National Institute of Fine Arts, when they held an assembly to define their position on the student problems which have galvanized public opinion here and throughout the entire country. During the military occupation of the drama school, the theatrical director Jose Sole was wounded by a bayonet thrust.

The drama-school students were released shortly after being turned over to the Mexico City police. However, as they left the police station many of them were rearrested by the federal police. The repression is blind, incoherent, and exhibits a virulence which has not been seen in the 10 years since the army broke the railway workers' strike.

Yesterday, the center of the city was invaded by military forces (tanks, etc.), following a rumor that the students would make a sortie off the university campus. An atmosphere of extreme tension prevails.

The students, however, are trying to broaden their movement. This was largely achieved when the rector of the university chaired a meeting of 30,000 persons on the university campus. Many traditionally apathetic sectors of the students (engineers, physicists, etc.) have joined in the struggle against the government's military repression. The teachers of the polytechnic institute and the university have declared against the government. But most important, sections of the working class have begun to establish contact with the student leaders.

A big student demonstration has been set for this afternoon. The daily papers are printing contradictory accounts as to whether or not it will really be held. But the students will go into the streets today whether or not they get permission.

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 2—More than 125,000 marched here yesterday in a protest demonstration against the government's attacks on the students. The march took place despite considerable efforts by the papers to sabotage it. The demonstration was made up primarily of university students, although some contingents from the National Polytechnic Institute joined it. Teachers from the universities and other schools of higher learning and some private schools, as well as other sectors of the population, also took part.

The demonstration was held in the southern part of the city. It set out from the University of Mexico campus on the Avenida de los Insurgentes and returned there via the Avenida de la Universidad, after making a circuit of more than seven miles. The march was not allowed to approach the center of the city.

To enforce this ban, the government deployed military forces with tanks and heavy equipment along the Avenida de los Insurgentes below the point where the demonstration was to turn to go back to the university.

If the march had continued forward, there would have been a massacre. The government of President Diaz Ordaz has shown in recent days that it does not intend to respect the constitutional right to demonstrate.

In this huge demonstration, the revolutionary student vanguard was, of course, a minority. But the fact that as many as 125,000 turned out in defense of those who had battled with the police and the army, represents a significant step forward in consciousness for numbers of Mexican students.

had thrown up a cordon around the Zocalo area.

Barricades

The students responded by defending themselves and built barricades out of passenger cars which they pushed into the middle of the streets. The police attacks were repelled several times, causing the police to avoid entering the school lest they further provoke the students. The battle of Preparatory Three continued into Saturday, July 27, and many students were wounded in the struggle.

On Sunday, July 28, a 24-hour truce brought relative quiet to the city, but on Monday the struggle rose to a new intensity. An entire section of the city was held by the students. The Zocalo, the Governor's Mansion, and the Foreign Relations Offices were circled. During the morning students occupied preparatory schools One, Two and Three, and in the afternoon they took over vocational schools Five and Seven. Barricades were thrown up in the areas around the schools.

The situation was beyond the capacity of the police to handle, and the government made the decision to send in the army. As soon as the students became aware of this, they began to prepare to defend themselves against the troops.

A member of the action committee at Vocational Five gave the following description of what it was like waiting for the army attack at his school:

"The whole section was very excited. People were nervous. Police cars and motorcycles drove around with their sirens blasting, intended to create an atmosphere of panic. Alarms telling that the army was coming were repeated at intervals.

"Everyone knew that the repression was imminent and tried not to show their tenseness as they hurried to prepare defenses. Cans full of gasoline were carried to the roofs, hundreds of molotov cocktails were made ready, rocks and sticks were gathered.

"The streets were quiet. Homes and stores were closed and locked. Delegates from different schools came to get the

latest news. A car of students asking for help in defending Preparatory Three came, and about 200 students left. It was reported later that they were arrested before reaching their destination."

Heroic defense

The battle put up by the students was heroic, with most of the schools holding out until the early hours of the morning.

At Preparatory School Three the troops fired bazooka shells into the building during the attack. The army refused to allow photographers to enter the building to survey the damage, but reports of witnesses, including policemen, speak of numbers of youths killed and wounded by the shells.

At one school, the army brought in a tank and carloads of soldiers armed with M2s. A loudspeaker directed the students to "Surrender or we'll force you out." The students decided they had no alternative but to come out, but when they did, the cops attacked them anyway.

It is not known how many students were killed or injured during the week of struggle. The number of arrests listed in some papers has been as high as 1,500 with other papers giving figures as low as 400. No matter what the exact count, the federal prisons have announced that they are unable to "serve the general public" because they are so full of student "rioters."

Since the army attacks on July 29-30, the students have responded with continuing protest demonstrations. Some of these have taken place in the center of the city, which is in large part occupied by military forces.

The struggle has even radicalized the students in the more conservative private schools. But one of the most significant results appears to be in the interior of the country. A sample of what awaits the government was seen at Villahermosa, the capital of the state of Tabasco, where students burned the local headquarters of Mexico's ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional in solidarity with the students of Mexico City.

Newton trial

(Continued from page 1)

wear. Now, eight months later, he swore that it was a light shirt and a dark coat, which is what Newton was probably wearing on Oct. 28. He also told the police inspector that the man they wanted was wearing a hat, although Newton does not wear hats.

In a packed elevator coming down from the heavily guarded seventh floor, Garry had this to say about the bus driver's attempt to finger Newton in brazen disregard of his statement last October:

"My cross examination hasn't even begun. This man is deliberately lying. The only question is, why?"

New surprises are possible. Gier, the bus driver, testified that he had three passengers in the bus with him, but said he was unable to get their names. Any, or all of them, may yet appear as eyewitnesses. Garry himself surprised the spectators both when he suggested *he* might produce an eyewitness, and when he asked the cop who had been wounded, "Did you kill Officer Fry, the officer who was killed."

The prosecution has at least 20 more witnesses and the defense has yet to present its case. But the defense has been heard from through the relentless cross examinations of Mr. Garry. In his opening statement, Garry told the jury that he would prove that Newton "is completely innocent." He said he would prove that Newton did not have a weapon on Oct. 28, the day of the incident in Oakland, that he did not fire a weapon, did not shoot the cop who was killed, or the cop who was wounded, did not kidnap anyone, and knew nothing about two match boxes of marijuana the prosecutor claimed was found in the car Newton was supposed to have been driving, and that there was no probable cause for the police to have stopped the car in the first place.

Garry read the Black Panther's ten-point program to give the jury "an idea of the background of why we're here today . . . why Huey Newton is faced with the atrocious charge of murder." Explaining how the Black Panther patrols to check police brutality in the black community enraged the Oakland police, he informed the jury that the police made a list of all Panther autos, a copy of which he produced. He described how the police took pictures of all the Panthers and posted them in all police stations so that "as a result there was not a single policeman who did not know the name and face of Huey P. Newton." He told how the cops used any pretense to stop a Black Panther car and how the cry was "Get Huey Newton."

What McReynolds reveals about Peace and Freedom

By Tom Kerry

Being a man of many parts, it seems there is hardly ever a dull moment in the political life of David McReynolds, whose letter to the editor of *The Militant* appears on this page.

Since receiving the McReynolds letter, dated July 29, we learn that he has "withdrawn" as candidate for U.S. senator on the Peace and Freedom ticket in New York to accept the more modest designation as candidate for Congress on the same ticket.

Be that as it may, and even allowing for the possibility that further "adjustments" may be forthcoming before this article is published, it does not affect the pertinence of the observation by Jon Britton in his report of the P&F convention (*The Militant*, Aug. 2) that the nomination of McReynolds was most "politically revealing."

For the nomination was promoted by the leaders of P&F with the full knowledge of who David McReynolds is and what he stands for, in line with their professed aim of presenting what they call a "balanced" ticket. The concept of the "balanced" ticket may impress some as the slickest vote-catching device in the arsenal of "new politics," but every two-bit wardheeler and precinct captain of both major parties has imbibed at that fount of political wisdom from time immemorial.

McReynolds confesses that he voted for Johnson in 1964 but soon recognized his error and "just a year later" began calling for his impeachment. "Yes," he admits, "I made a mistake." But, he hastens to add, "the record shows that I learned soon enough." No, my dear friend, "the record" shows no such thing!

For the record shows that recently, very recently, McReynolds was ready, willing and eager to be had by another slick capitalist politician, the "good" Democrat, Senator Eugene McCarthy. On July 21 the *New York Times* reported a demonstration held the previous day at the United Nations to promote the candidacy of McCarthy. The article quotes David McReynolds, one of the participants, as saying that, "the future of the country depended on the nomination and election of Senator McCarthy."

No secret

The pro-McCarthy demonstration was held while the Peace and Freedom Party convention was in session. McReynolds' promotion of the McCarthy candidacy was no secret to the PFP convention. It was nothing new. Just a few weeks earlier in a rather lengthy article published in the

July 11 issue of *The Village Voice*, McReynolds disclosed that he had "voted for the McCarthy slate in the primary because, perhaps irrationally, I can't view McCarthy as simply another Democrat. If," he added, "McCarthy gets the nomination the Democratic Party will take on the appearance of the party of quasi-radical social change and America will have blundered through once again." And then comes the clincher: "I know," McReynolds affirms, "that if McCarthy gets the nomination all talk of a radical new party is doomed . . ."

One can't help wondering whether it was McReynolds' views on McCarthy that commended him to the PFP convention as an appropriate candidate for their ticket. Just imagine—McReynolds *knew* that the nomination of McCarthy would doom "all talk of a radical new party," yet he joined in promoting such candidacy and abandoned the project only after he became convinced there was no chance of success.

After finally convincing himself that McCarthy has no chance of being nominated by the Democrats, he openly proclaims, in his letter, that he does not "plan to vote for McCarthy if he does get the nomination." What can one say? Criticism stands disarmed in the face of such seemingly naive and simplistic rhetoric.

Partial record

But the "record" is not yet complete. Painful as it is, we are constrained to pursue the matter further. In his letter, McReynolds informs us that at long last he has "resigned from the Democratic Party." After some four years of Johnson and after having voted as a registered Democrat for McCarthy in the recent primaries, McReynolds has finally decided there is no future in it. Good!

But the question that is posed is not why he took so long to "resign," but why was he in it to begin with. McReynolds is no political fledgling trying his wings for the first time in the political arena. He is a longtime member of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. Not only a member, but a leader, if you please, of a "left-wing" faction in that party. A practicing "socialist" of long standing, if you will.

These have been a hectic few weeks for Comrade McReynolds. At the recent Socialist Party convention held in Chicago the first week of July, the "right wing" took over lock, stock and barrel. By a big majority the SP convention adopted a series of policy resolutions which repudiate and reject everything the PFP program allegedly stands for.

To savor the full flavor I quote from the July 29 issue of *New America*, official organ of the SP, in its special convention issue. "A substantial majority of the 92 delegates present," we are informed, "endorsed a coalition perspective, whose main thrust is toward organized labor and mainstream liberal and Negro groups rather than the New Left; an electoral strategy which advocates support for major party candidates who 'stand for racial and economic justice and peace'; and a resolution on Vietnam sharply critical of the Johnson Administration policy, which reaffirmed SP support for a negotiated political settlement of the war."

SP vs PFP

To clear the way for his nomination as a PFP candidate, McReynolds says he has "resigned" from the Democratic Party. What about his membership in the Socialist Party, whose policy is diametrically opposed to everything PFP says it stands for? Or will it all depend upon what hat McReynolds wears at any given moment?

To make the confusion worse confounded, McReynolds, as an official of the War Resisters League, recently issued a pronouncement on the Paris "peace" talks. Issued in June the statement affirmed: "It is unlikely that Washington and Hanoi, having finally sat down together, will break off negotiations and engage in a new escalation of the war. In our view the U.S. is phasing out the war. Despite the fact that Johnson has said on many occasions that he would never, under any circumstances, 'abandon' the government of South Vietnam, it seems clear that he is preparing to do precisely that."

Letter from Dave McReynolds

New York, N.Y.

July 29, 1968

I have just read Jon Britton's report of our New York Peace and Freedom Party convention, July 19-22.

I would agree that my nomination for Senate was "politically revealing"—it revealed that PFP is not out to build a party with a narrow base, but rather that it seeks to build a party that can run both an Eldridge Cleaver and a Dave McReynolds. It is true that I voted for Johnson in 1964—the only time in my life that I voted for a major party candidate for President—but it is also true that just a year later, in November, 1965, I began calling for Johnson's impeachment. Yes, I made a mistake. But the record shows that I learned soon enough.

We need a radical new party—on that we would be in agreement—and my only point was that a McCarthy victory at the convention would drain off many who would otherwise support a radical new party. For my own part I do not plan to vote for McCarthy if he does get the nomination, and I have resigned from the Democratic Party because I am convinced the reform movement there has hit a dead end and there is little chance of any "left realignment" of the major parties. Ultimately we need a broad unity of the Left, one which would include the Socialist Workers Party.

In the meantime, my warm regards to Fred Halstead, already on his way to Vietnam.

Sincerely,
David McReynolds

Does McReynolds still hold that view? Or has he decided, as a PFP candidate, to keep it hidden in his briefcase for a more appropriate time? From the record, and not the whole of it by a long shot, it is questionable how much McReynolds has learned since his unfortunate experience supporting LBJ in 1964.

But this much, he insists, he has learned—that "the reform movement" in the Democratic Party "has hit a dead end," and that the time has come to seek greener pastures.

Future of PFP

Just what is the Peace and Freedom Party and what is its future? No one seems to be sure, for there are as many answers as there are groups, tendencies, factions, caucuses, and "independents" within it. We are forced to rely on the most authoritative source, the theoreticians of the movement, the Independent Socialist Clubs of America group, which promoted and led PFP to achieve ballot status in California and are now seeking to extend it on a national scale.

In a special supplement to the June-July 1968 *Independent Socialist*, we find the following definition: "In concept, Peace and Freedom is an *all-inclusive* radical party, aspiring to be inclusive of a wide-ranging assortment of radicals with the most disparate and clashing ideologies, including the anti-ideology ideology. This inclusiveness," they add, "is a good trick if you can get away with it." It is indeed, as history records that all such nonclass or supra-class political formations have foundered on this particular "all-inclusive" reef.

The trick is to try and prevent the centrifugal forces generated by such disparate and clashing tendencies from atomizing the formation. "The only possible 'cement' for the Peace and Freedom coalition," they insist, "lies in the two characteristics which it actually did develop, . . . the minimum nature of its radical program, and the orientation toward militant issue-oriented action which can unite people in movement."

The ISC theoreticians are adamant in their defense of the minimum program against all who advocate a more "revolutionary" or at least more "clear radical program." They insist that parties can be held together in only one of two ways. Either through ideology, that is, its ideas as expressed programatically; or by its numbers, that is, its "mass membership."

Obviously, one must rule out the "cement" of ideas, since such a binder is totally conspicuous by its absence. That leaves the "cement" of numbers to bind the group together. An absolute prerequisite for garnering large numbers is a program minimum enough to avoid frightening off those temporarily disenchanted with the performance of the two major parties and their candidates.

Previous results

It may seem new, but this trick has been tried before—with dreary results. But, our theoreticians insist, the PFP is *sui generis*, that is, a party of a unique kind, never seen before in history. They bolster their argument with the theory of "waves." The first "wave" was that which catapulted PFP onto the ballot in California. Then, with the announcement of the McCarthy and Kennedy candidacies, PFP was plunged into a trough.

The spinoff of dissident Democrats who carried PFP to the peak of its first wave

ceased, and a reverse exodus to the camp of McCarthy and Kennedy ensued. The next wave is predicated on the premise that McCarthy will not be nominated by the Democrats at their convention in Chicago. If he is nominated, they say, PFP will be finished. If not, the disenchantment of the McCarthy supporters will inexorably lead them to seek another alternative, and PFP will become the main beneficiary of this process—IF!

If no one frightens them off by raising the ante of the PFP minimum program. For those of us old enough to remember, I recall that the Henry Wallace party in 1948 proceeded from the same premise. Under the tutelage of the Communist Party, the third party movement of 1948, the Progressive Party, advanced a "minimum program" of capitalist reforms as bait for the discontent of the masses with the Truman administration.

Fell flat

If anything, Truman was more unpopular at that time than LBJ is today. Not a single poll, and very few if any news pundits, gave him a chance of defeating the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey. Yet Truman won. The Progressive Party, which counted on at least five million votes, got around one million. Truman stumped the country making radical speeches that put the Progressive Party "minimum program" in the shade. Their "minimum program" fell flat as a pancake. It was the beginning of the end of that exercise in third-party reform politics.

Humphrey is a more accomplished demagogue than Truman ever was. If he is nominated, this country will see a display of verbal gymnastics calculated to dazzle and befuddle the dissenters in and out of his party. The "minimum program" approach will prove a frail bulwark against the storm of demagogic rhetoric with which the people of this country will be deluged. The end result of the policy of seeking numbers at the expense of ideas and program will be to get neither clarity of ideas nor large numbers, but accelerated demoralization and disintegration.

The results of current PFP policy have not been too happy. One PFP stalwart, writing in the current statewide issue of *Broadside*, published by the Peace and Freedom Council of Los Angeles, characterizes PFP policy as the "politics of crisis."

He observes: "If Lyndon Johnson is a master of the politics of duplicity and Hubert Humphrey indulges in the politics of joy, the Peace and Freedom Party practices what might best be termed the politics of crisis. Since the successful registration drive Peace and Freedom has staggered through a series of crises from the organizational conflicts of January and February, through the Richmond convention, down to the present state of disarray and demoralization of the surviving membership. Though the party has survived, it has survived as a parody of a political party and as a caricature of the Movement." Not being directly involved there is little I can add to that assessment.

In his letter, McReynolds, at least by implication, invites the Socialist Workers Party to join him in creating a "broad unity of the Left." I presume he means by that the Peace and Freedom Party. No, thank you! There *must* be some more pleasant way of committing political suicide.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: An Eyewitness Report. Jean-Pierre Dube, a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR). Mon., Aug. 19, 8:00 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL Sat., Aug. 24: **Black Nationalism.** 11:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135.

BLACK NATIONALISM. A series of lectures and discussions. Fri., Aug. 16: **The Colonial Revolution: Freedom Now, Black Power, and the Resurgence of Black Nationalism.** Fri., Aug., 23: **Self-Determination and Separatism: The Debate.** 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. For more information call 831-6135. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL Fri., Aug. 16 and Sat., Aug. 17, 8:00 p.m. **Socialism and Black Nationalism.** Speaker: Robert Vernon. 704 Hennepin. For more information call FE2-7781.

NEW YORK

THE GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Father Blase Bonpane, Maryknoll priest expelled from Guatemala in Dec., 1967, now professor of Latin American studies, California State College. Fri., Aug. 16, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way, near 18th St. Contrib 51. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

N. Y. painters' strike —first in 23 years

By Bernie Stanton

NEW YORK—For the first time in 23 years, the union painters of New York City have gone on strike. At a mass membership meeting July 31, the overwhelming majority of the rank and file roared approval to the strike, which took effect Aug. 1 and involves about 7,000 men.

This action takes place against a background of recent turbulent changes in the painters' union. For over 20 years District Council 9, which has jurisdiction over the painters of New York City and is the largest local body of the international union, was dominated by one man—Martin Rarback. His domination coincided, of course, with a low point of the American labor movement. The painters were no exception in this national ebb. They seemed to take everything lying down.

The worst elements in the union combined with Rarback in establishing as strong a bureaucratic dictatorship as existed anywhere in the country.

Last year Rarback was indicted by a New York County grand jury for conspiring with employers and city housing officials to rig the bidding on painting contracts for public-housing projects. While he was under indictment, District Council 9 was placed under a trusteeship by the international. The trusteeship proved to be simply a cover for Rarback to operate as freely and brazenly as ever.

This deal, whereby Rarback continued his rule, was too blatant for a state supreme court judge to swallow when a suit was brought before him. The judge ordered a special election for Rarback's office of secretary-treasurer.

Rarback licked

The election took place in September, 1967, and Rarback was heavily defeated. The mandate of the membership was absolutely clear. They wanted a complete change.

One example of the degradation suffered by the painters has been on the issue of wages. In 1965 a three-year contract raised the wage scale from \$4.16 to \$4.20 an hour—an increase of four cents, or one

percent of the hourly rate. During this same period the cost of living has gone up over 10 percent, so that now, in 1968, the painter finds his real wages nine percent lower than in 1965!

This was one of the deals that Rarback was able to put over every three years at contract time. But that wasn't all. In return for these "increases," the union made concessions on the unrestricted use of tools, such as rollers and spray guns, which intensified the speedup and doubled the productivity of the painter.

Painters' work is highly seasonal. Many painters work only six to eight months a year. The painter is lucky if he takes home an average of \$100 a week, a figure considered substandard by the U.S. Department of Labor for a family of four in New York City.

The demands in the present strike call for a three-year contract with an increase in wages the first year to \$4.80 an hour, rising to \$6 an hour in the third year. Another key demand is for an effective steward system. Incredible as it may sound, the employers today have veto power over who the union shop-stewards should be. Another little concession of Rarback's.

Key point

The strike cannot be considered completely victorious if this key point is not won. A by-product of this gain in union control on the job will be a checking of the present uncontrolled speedup.

Another hangover of the Rarback era is the lack of grievance procedures. The boss not only has the absolute power to hire and fire (he can fire without explanation even after 20 years service), but he can promote or demote, favor or disfavor, and he can build up a small clique of work pacesetters.

The discontent and bitterness built up over the years of the Rarback administration have now spilled over into the city-wide strike. The painters are now trying to catch up with and perhaps overtake the building trades. The big employers in the Master Painters Association are not yet

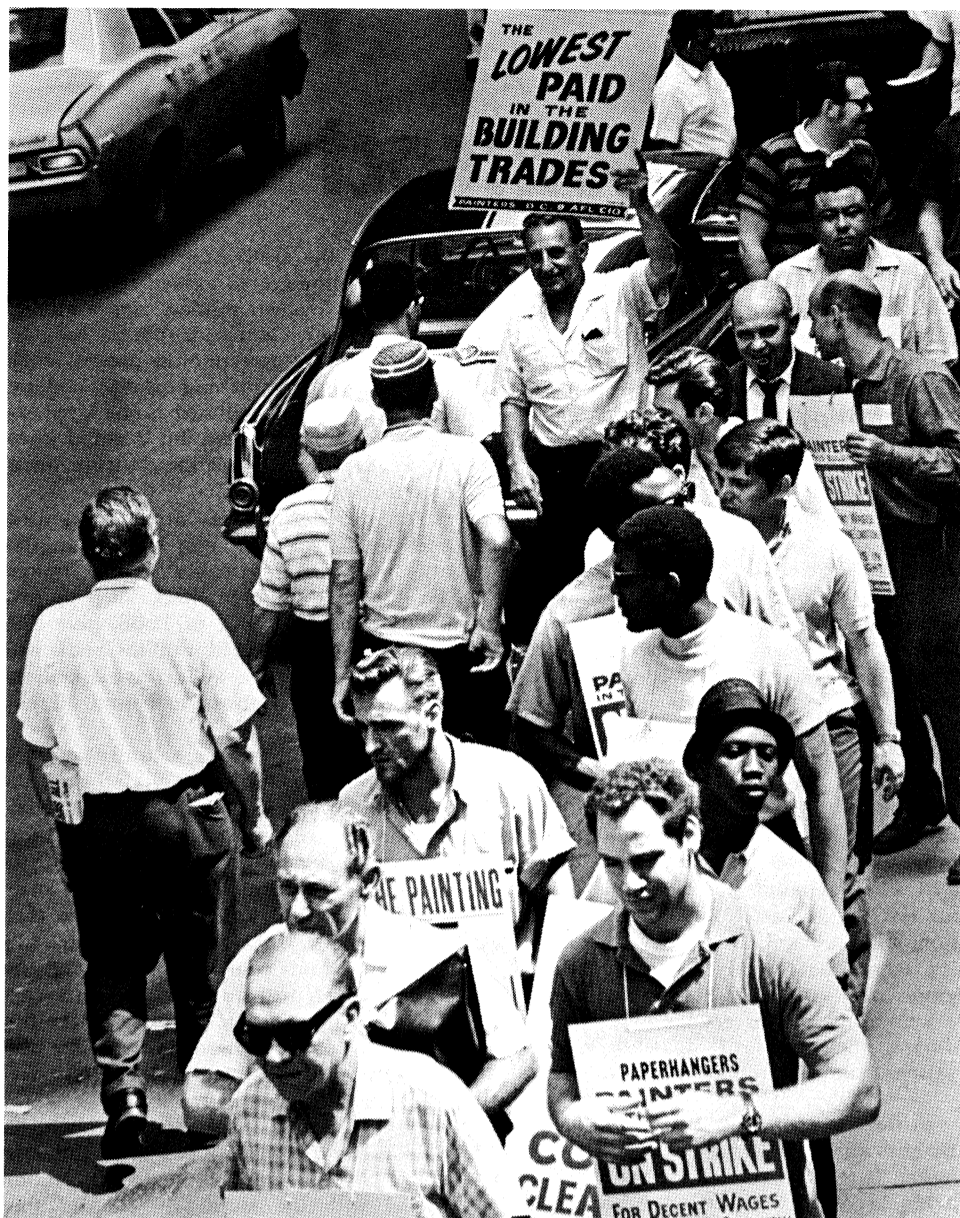


Photo by Shannon

ON STRIKE. Striking New York painters on picket line. Years of bureaucratic misrule tied their hands against bosses.

ready to deal seriously with a union which only yesterday they had in their hip pocket.

But the painters are out solid. Their grievances are great and their morale is high. The bosses will soon feel the pinch, and it's going to hurt where it will do the most good.

What is significant above all in this

resurgence of the painters' union is the rapid change of mood of the rank and file. From a beaten-down, demoralized mass, grown accustomed to being treated with contempt by bosses and bureaucrats alike, the painters are now standing up and demanding their economic and human rights.

Maurice Spector, a founder of Trotskyist movement, dies

Maurice Spector, a founder of both the Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement in Canada, died Aug. 1 of cancer in New York at the age of 70.

He performed an imperishable service to the cause of international socialism in 1928 when he attended the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow as a delegate of the Canadian CP. As members of the program commission, he and James P. Cannon, a delegate from the American CP, accidentally secured copies of Trotsky's "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International," which was kept from most of the delegates.

Thoroughly convinced by the arguments of the Russian Left Opposition, the two men made a compact to smuggle the document out of the Soviet Union and conduct a joint struggle for its ideas after they came home. When their adherence became known, both were expelled from their respective organizations, whereupon they formed the first Trotskyist cadres in the United States and Canada.

After building the movement in Toronto for seven years, Spector came to New York in 1936 in order to participate more closely in the leadership of American Trotskyism. Following the Moscow Trials, he became disheartened by developments in the Soviet Union and the setbacks to world communism, and he quietly withdrew from political activity. Although he abandoned his former belief in Bolshevism and the program of the Fourth International, he did not join the renegade pack of ex-Stalinists and ex-Trotskyists who volunteered to serve America's ruling class.

Persecuted by government

When Spector refused to turn informer against his old associates, the FBI instituted deportation proceedings against him. But Canada had revoked his citizenship and refused to admit him. The U.S. immigration officials then tried to deport him to the Soviet Union.

The American Civil Liberties Union successfully prevented his deportation on the ground that his life would be endangered.

He eventually had his Canadian citizenship restored and was permitted to live and work in New York City. He was director of the New York Trade Union Division of the National Committee for Labor Israel at the time of his death.

Maurice was brought to Canada from his native Russia as an infant. He joined the socialist movement as an undergraduate at Queens University, where he received his law degree. He became one of the most prominent figures in the Canadian Communist Party, which he helped found in 1921. He served as editor of its paper, *The Worker*, became chairman of the party in 1924, and was elected to the executive committee of the Comintern in 1928.

He was an able writer and a brilliant speaker with an amiable personality. Although he left the ranks of Canadian and U.S. Trotskyism thirty years ago, its present leaders and members recall with gratitude the contributions he made to the defense and regeneration of revolutionary Marxism in their countries.

—George Novack

The Great Society

FOR WHOM?—Paul O'Dwyer, Democratic "peace" candidate for U.S. senator from New York, urged young people to work for peace and progress "within the framework of the Democratic Party." To drop out of the party, he said in Buffalo July 30, would be "disastrous."

HOUSE HUNTING?—After aluminum king Henry Kaiser expired, his widow decided to get rid of their Honolulu estate. It may be a bit on the clammy side since there's a lot of marble—marble floors and walls, crushed marble walks, sunken marble bar by the marble swimming pool, etc. But there's an air-conditioned closet for your fur coat and a \$20,000 sound-proof, air-conditioned kennel for the pooch. Asking price has dropped from \$2.5 million to \$1.8. It can probably be had for \$1.4 million cash.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT UNITY—Stephen Donche, son of the Bethlehem district director of the United Steel Workers, entered into wedded bliss with Sara Ann Bascom, daughter of a vice president of Bethlehem Steel. Three hundred (half management, half labor) attended the nuptials. "We'll get management and the union together one way or another," Donche cheerfully observed. Bethlehem open-hearth workers, on a warm August afternoon, must have been delighted to learn of the progress they're making.

DISTURBED BY DARWIN—The most influential of South Africa's Reform Dutch churches has gone ape over the teaching of the theory of evolution in the country's schools. To suggest that the South African "master" race has common origins with

other animals, the church declared, is "subversive."

BRITISH SUBVERSION?—The British may be responsible for the present delicate state of the U.S. women's underwear industry. The panty-girdle tycoons are uptight about the see-through dresses with little or nothing underneath. The *New York Times* obtained this bit of intelligence from the wife of a New York stock broker: "I think the whole thing started in London. I have a good friend who went to London for six weeks . . . and she came back without underwear. None of us would put on a girdle again."

FUN CITY—New Yorkers reported 70 percent more robberies last June than a year previous.

WE TAKE IT BACK—New York really is a city where almost unbelievable social progress is being made. For example, the sanitation department has now been freed to clean up vacant lots without waiting for the health department to declare them a hazard.

SOCIALISM, ANYONE?—Illegal abortions are estimated to outnumber live births in Athens and Salonika, the two largest cities in Greece. Contraceptive pills are illegal.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"It's just [Mayor] Daley bringing his gangster buddies into town for a little funning—a big Appalachia, legal this time."—A Chicago ghetto bookstore dealer on the coming Democratic national convention.

—Harry Ring

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Steel contract a win for bosses

By Henry Austin

The wage package signed by the United Steelworkers Union and the "Big 11" steel companies, barely twenty-four hours before the strike deadline and after a month of secret negotiations, came as a surprise to the steelworkers.

The complete blackout on news about negotiations—even to steelworkers from their own union leaders, which goes more and more against their grain—led the steelworkers to believe they were facing another "1959 strike." The talk in the mills was that we would be saddled with another arrogant stand by the steel bosses, a long strike, and government intervention which would leave us with worse conditions than ever.

Profits and production—these were the factors that made steelworkers feel uneasy. Steel mills have been producing at a slam-bang rate this year, with the result that 36 million tons of steel were stockpiled by fabricators across the country on Aug. 1. Just about enough to wipe out demand for the next three or four months. In addition, all steel companies have been reporting record profits this year. Just take the major producer, U. S. Steel, which reported a whopping 50 percent increase in profits during the first half of 1968 over last year—from \$84 million to \$128 million!

Three-pronged offensive

In these circumstances, why did the steel bosses agree to a settlement without a fight? Three interrelated factors stand out: a big layoff, a big "retooling," and a bid, in collusion with the steel-union tops, for some big concessions on the contract. The steel bosses were successful on all three counts.

Steelworkers have suspected for months they were facing a short-pay winter. R. Conrad Cooper, "labor relations" man for the Big 11, did not disappoint them. The ink was barely dry on the steel settlement when he announced at a press conference that there will be a "substantial reduction in operations." This is appropriately interpreted by the *Pittsburgh Press* to mean "substantial layoffs for two months" at minimum.

From the tight-fisted point of view of the steel bosses, this goes hand in hand with a not-so-well publicized fact, although it's well known to steelworkers. All the basic-steel companies have been intensifying their "modernization" programs this past year, something like a gigantic "model change-

over" for the steel industry. How, then, did they manage to exceed their normal production by two million tons a month?

The answer, clearly, is that the industry operates at 60 percent of its present smelting capacity. By pushing existing facilities a little, with a disciplined labor force and some overtime thrown in, it could boost its production without great strain on its construction activities.

Yes, the steel bosses made some quite conscious decisions. Not even a modest attempt at a "favorable" public image! They were saying, in effect, "Step up production the first half of 1968, give Abel a few crumbs to get him off the hook with his members, have a big layoff and use the slow months ahead to round out new construction."

What the steel barons actually gave the steelworkers brings to full circle the reasoning behind their decision to avoid a strike. Fortunate for them, indeed, that men's consciousness often lags behind changes in the mode of production. The outmoded structure of the steel union played into their hands. They only had to bargain with two old hands like I.W. Abel and Joe Molony, who in turn were able to scrape through with a bare majority of the 600 local presidents gathered in the Basic Steel Bargaining Conference. Had 400,000 steelworkers been able to see its contents, and had they had the right to vote on it, the outcome might well have been different.

The steel bosses won the "victory" in this round with the steelworkers. And they crown it with an air of sanctimonious hypocrisy. Witness R. Conrad Cooper's pious statement that the settlement "reflects the best conclusion that our joint efforts could produce. That is the essence of collective bargaining in a free country." He even had the gall to quip to Abel as the news conference of July 30 ended, "We still hold title to the steel mills, Abe."

Steelworkers have been handed another "package" deal along the same lines as the three previous packages of recent years. This means: a measly wage increase, totally inadequate improvements in pension, sickness and unemployment benefits (as usual, staggered over a three-year period to lessen the strain on the more than adequate funds set aside for these purposes), and a few small concessions on vacations, skilled trades and seniority protection.

Typical of the chiseling spirit of the steel

bosses is a "new" provision, "survivor's pension." The widow of a steelworker who dies after age 55 will now be entitled to a minimum of \$75 a month (in most cases this will be the maximum!) until she's 62. Her pension will then be reduced to \$25. A very generous benefit in these times!

On the surface, the contract that Abel signed shows the following money increases: The 200,000 younger-seniority workers will now get an extra three weeks' "extended vacation" staggered over a five-year period. To this is added a \$30-a-week vacation bonus; but, as published by the *Press*, it will not apply to "employees receiving extended vacations that year." There is a four-cents-an-hour increase for the second shift, and three-cents-an-hour for midnight. (Most steelworkers swing their shifts.) An eighth holiday is added. A generous one cent increase (!) between job classes, from class 2 to 32, is granted. Thus, a worker in job class 7 will get five cents more; in job class 12 ten cents more, and so on. This will only increase the existing inequities in the wage system.

And there are, of course, the known facts about the across-the-board increases of 20 cents an hour the first year, with an additional 12 cents Aug. 1, 1969 and 1970.

Actual "gains"

What do these piecemeal concessions mean for steelworkers? They mean virtually nothing, except for the 20 cents to the younger-seniority worker, who will inevitably, with few exceptions, be working at a job below class 7. For the great majority—between 60 and 70 percent of the men and women affected by this contract, those who hold jobs between job-classes 7 and 13—for them the increase in pay means an *average* 36-cents-an-hour the first year (the best year!). This can be arrived at by adding to the 20 cents an *average* two and one-half cents shift pay, four and one-half cents vacation bonus, one cent additional holiday pay and a seven-eighth cents *average* job class increment.

How does this compare to the 50 cents steelworkers know they need just to catch up with their fellow workers in other major unions? And how does it compare to the approximately 50 cents *lost* over the past nine years in cost-of-living bonus?

The cost of living has increased 4.2 percent the last year through June, with a big one-half percent jump in that month alone, "the biggest upward jump in more than two years," the U. S. Labor Department reports. With pointedly immoderate haste, the steel companies, in their char-



I. W. Abel

acteristic pose as a "collective" monopoly, began raising prices as soon as the contract was signed.

Steelworkers expect the rise in living costs to wipe out their raise by the first of the year. The ripple effect of the steel price rise on those things steelworkers need—cars, refrigerators, etc.—will only put them in a further bind. There will be no joy in steelworkers' hearts over this masterful sellout.

"Incentive" hoax

The so-called "incentive bonus" pay offered steelworkers is a prime example of the deviousness of the steel bosses. When news of a settlement first began circulating in the mills, word went round that non-incentive workers would get an immediate 15 cent wage increase as compensation. This helped to create the illusion that we'd get a halfway decent raise.

Contract language is much more devious. Only after a one-year study by an "incentive panel," and even then, only after a further review of "disputed categories" by a "special arbitration panel," will some of the 40 percent of the steelworkers not covered by incentives receive 10 cents an hour retroactive to Aug. 1, 1968.

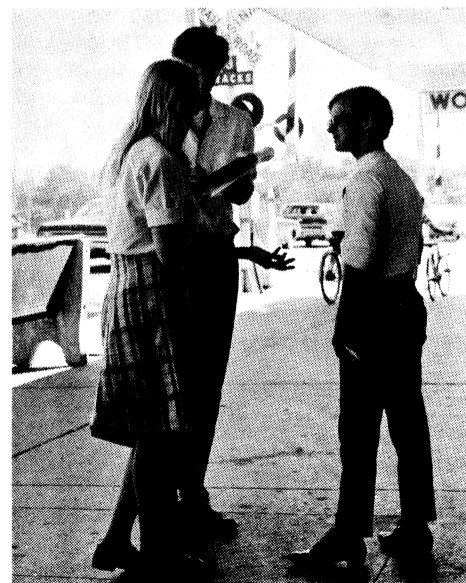
Steelworkers have had little luck with these "top-level" committees. The steel bosses are shrewd operators; they know how to work the incentive "system" to their own advantage, wherever they can squeeze more from a worker. Steelworkers can expect little from this supposed "benefit."

This contract is another bitter pill for steelworkers. Perhaps this will trigger them to action. Only with some basic changes in their union will they be able to acquire some control over their economic destiny.

Scabs get stony reception at struck Madison steel co.

By Patrick Quinn

MADISON, Wis.—Although the United Steelworkers have accepted national contract terms, local 1404, Madison, Wis., is continuing its strike against the Gisholt Machine Company, Madison's largest in-



N. DAKOTA PETITIONING. Requirements to place the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the North Dakota ballot were met in a single day by petitioners including members and supporters of the SWP, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the Workers League. Petitioning in Fargo and Grand Forks, they obtained 622 signatures as against 300 required.

dustrial employer.

The strike, which began almost a month ago, took on an especially militant character this past week when scab truckers hauled a \$250,000 machine ordered by General Electric out of the Gisholt plant. The machine, destined for delivery at GE's new plant in Greenville, South Carolina, was moved after GE obtained a court order from a local judge prohibiting the steel workers from interfering with its removal.

Members of local 1404 objected, however, and rocks were thrown at the windows of two of the scab trucks shattering their windshields.

Air hoses and windshield wipers were ripped off the trucks. One striker was arrested for refusing to move from in front of the plant gate, but was later released.

The trucks were then escorted out of town by county police. When the strikers followed the trucks in cars and motorcycles, expressing their anger at the drivers, the police forced them to turn back to Madison.

The next day another court order was issued to permit removal of \$80,000 worth of machinery to a plant in Beloit, Wis., some 50 miles away. The strikers sent five carloads of pickets to Beloit ahead of the truck and its police escort. The pickets joined up with members of the Beloit steelworkers' local, who refused to unload the truck and the driver was forced to return to his home base with the machine.

At this writing, still another court order has been issued to remove more machinery.

New pact leaves steelworkers cold

Aug. 5—Even before the terms of the steel-union contract were widely known, there was a great deal of criticism and concern about the settlement among steelworkers. This reaction was inevitable under present circumstances: the secrecy of the negotiations, which the ranks resented and which increased their doubts about getting improvements, and the rookery they've had in previous contracts.

One outstanding fact was the bare majority Abel was able to muster at the decisive "600 presidents" basic-steel conference July 30. After a stormy three-hour session he reportedly got only 55 percent for ratification, and a majority of 65 local presidents. (Among steelworkers "in the know," he may have been lucky to have gotten 30 percent of the vote.)

As reported in the July 31 *Pittsburgh Press*, many issues disturbed the local prexies, who have been under great pressure from their members over the injustices of the old contract.

Office workers resent the widening wage gap developing between them and blue-collar men. Steelworkers want retirement eligibility lowered to 20 years. Older workers displaced by automation want protection against lowered pension benefits that result (based on "one percent of your wages" formula). Strong objections were raised to the "year-round" vacation schedu-

ling, which has eliminated May-October vacations for younger men with families. (It has also saved the steel bosses additional employment costs under the "extended vacation" plans.)

As for the men in the mills, one worker with 28 years in the soaking pits at National Tube had hoped for \$7.50 minimum pension benefit; his buddy had "expected \$10." This is a sign that steelworkers are feeling the pinch of inflation and had hoped for substantial changes, which they ended up not getting.

This sentiment was summed up by a worker at the U. S. Steel Irvin Works with a class 7 job. He wasn't very happy about the 44 cent pay raise.

"What good will the money do me? The extra money will go for higher taxes and increased living costs. What's hidden in those incentive riders and pension benefits?" he told a *Press* reporter.

This reporter has had union brothers who are in the incentive system tell me they haven't seen an increase in pay in eight or nine years, thanks to reevaluation of incentives by the company. The effects of inflation are teaching steelworkers to have less faith in the so-called "incentives" programs, which are now working to the disadvantage of many members. That, as it turns out, is the effect of the new "incentive bonus." — H. A.