

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 32—No. 40

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An interview with SNCC Secretary Phil Hutchings

—see page 8—

Our 40th anniversary in the fight for socialism

Plans are mapped for an expansion drive

By George Novack

This autumn marks the 40th anniversary of our paper, which is published, as the masthead proclaims, "in the interests of the working people," and which is dedicated to the goal of a socialist America.

The founding and subsequent history of *The Militant* is inseparably linked with a key historic chapter in the fight to build a mass revolutionary socialist party in the U. S. and in the world. Forty years ago, on Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were declared expelled from the Communist Party for their opposition to Stalinism and for their continuing adherence to revolutionary Marxism and workers' democracy as defended by the international Communist Left Opposition initiated by Leon Trotsky.

Nineteen days after their expulsion, these three men launched *The Militant*.

We propose to celebrate this occasion by initiating plans for an improved, expanded paper and by a financial drive to make such an improved paper possible.

A national campaign is being undertaken under the auspices of The Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee to raise \$40,000 from readers and supporters of the paper—\$1,000 for every year of *The Militant*. The campaign will extend for 11 weeks from Oct. 1 to Dec. 15.

We are appealing for contributions to this fund from all of those

(Continued on page 6)



Mexican students battle cops. See story page 3

Fort Dix protest rally to back 2 antiwar GIs

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—A demonstration to support the right of free speech for GIs and in defense of Sp/4 Allen Myers and Pfc. Walter Kos has been set for Saturday, Oct. 5, at Ft. Dix, New Jersey.

The demonstration is sponsored by the New York and Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committees as part of nationwide drive to defend the rights of GIs to oppose the war.

Myers and Kos face courts-martial next week for distributing antiwar material on their bases, a blatant violation of their constitutional rights. Their records of performance as soldiers have not been challenged.

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, stated today that he will attend the trial of Allen Myers at Ft. Dix, which is set for Tuesday, Oct. 1. "Allen is a supporter of my campaign," Halstead declared. "I also intend to distribute campaign leaflets to other soldiers on the base while I am there."

Walter Kos is stationed at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina. He was initially told that his court-martial would occur Sept. 28. In a last minute decision, the brass informed him that they had postponed the trial date to sometime in the following week and that they were completely revamping their case against him.

This is typical of the army's attempt to intimidate antiwar GIs. On Aug. 20, Kos received a written order not to distribute any publications not authorized by the military officials. Then on the morn-

ing of Sept. 8, as Kos stood outside the mess hall, a sergeant asked him for the copy of *Vietnam GI* he was holding. Kos handed him the antiwar newspaper.

This was construed as a violation of the totally unconstitutional order he had received a few days before—a blatant frame-up. Since Sept. 12, Kos has been confined to company area pending court-martial. No formal charges have been made against him.

Both Myers and Kos are members of the Young Socialist Alliance and were when they were drafted. They have made no secret of their opposition to the war. They have simply attempted to exercise their First Amendment right to distribute political material.

Allen Myers' "crime" was passing out an antiwar leaflet at a base theater during his off-duty hours. On Aug. 19 he was arrested for helping to distribute a leaflet put out by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee entitled "Support Our Men in Vietnam—Not Those Who Send Them There. Bring the GIs Home Now."

Myers' and Kos' cases are being supported by the newly formed GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10011. The committee is helping to publicize the facts of the cases and to raise money for legal defense.

Michael Kennedy of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is the attorney for Allen Myers' defense. Kos' attorney is Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League.

SWP fights against move to bar it from N.Y. ballot

By Jon Britton

NEW YORK—In a patently illegal move to deprive the Socialist Workers Party of its electoral rights, the New York secretary of state, John P. Lomenzo, has ruled the SWP presidential ticket off the New York machine ballot. The SWP's challenge to this arbitrary ruling is slated to be heard by the state supreme court on Friday, Sept. 27.

The pretext used by Lomenzo to reject the Socialist Workers Party's ballot bid was the fact that the SWP nominating petition lists 10 presidential electors instead of a full slate of 43. In contradiction to his own ruling, Lomenzo acknowledged in his letter of notification that the SWP had complied with the requirements of the election law.

There is absolutely nothing in New York election law requiring that independent parties seeking ballot status name a full slate of 43 presidential electors. The SWP has filed for ballot status with a partial elector slate in New York in five previous presidential election years and never once was challenged on that account. Thomas Wallace, director of the election and law bureau, and his assistant assured the SWP campaign committee by phone on two separate occasions in late June and early July that a partial slate would be perfectly acceptable again this year.

Hoping that the SWP would accept his illegal ruling without protest, Lomenzo magnanimously offered to print the names of the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates and presidential electors on a "ballot slip" which would supposedly be available in voting booths for casting

write-in votes.

Lomenzo has, on various pretexts, ruled against candidates of the Peace and Freedom Party, the Freedom and Peace Party and a pro-McCarthy group called the Coalition of Independent Candidates. These rulings are also being challenged in court.

George Wallace and the presidential ticket of the Socialist Labor Party were certified on the New York ballot.



Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle.

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

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Vol. 32—No. 40



Friday, October 4, 1968

Mexican students declare: 'We will not be intimidated'

The following statement of the National Strike Committee of Mexican students appeared on September 21 in the newspaper *El Dia* as a paid advertisement:

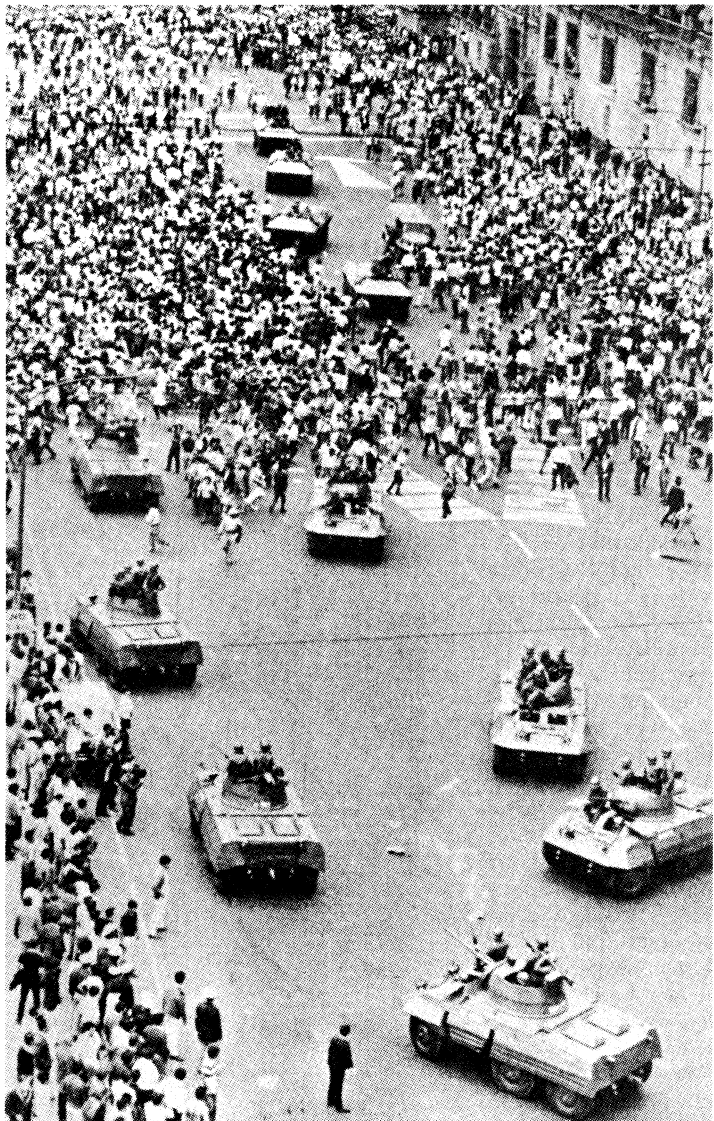
To the People and Students of Mexico.

The occupation of the university by the Army has been a very serious political error of the Mexican Government, who ordered the action. Immediately the negative character of this measure has fallen upon these authorities who have shown themselves incapable of understanding the historical significance of our movement and that it cannot be suppressed.

This attack upon the autonomy of the university and upon all of the students and the people of Mexico represents a real subversion of the constitution—and this attack has received immediately a democratic and energetic reply.

The students again have won the right to be in the streets. The students are very far from being intimidated by the illegal presence of the Army in their educational centers and by the brutal oppression of which they have been the victims. In the face of the presence of the Army the students have doubled their combativity, created new and higher forms of combat as well as raising their level of political consciousness. The National Strike Committee does not consist of isolated individuals, and thus it is able to understand the blindness of the bourgeoisie in power and all of those around them. Rather the Committee consists of representatives with special and direct power which it receives from the base of the students, whose initiative is the main driving force of the movement. Therefore, even in the case that the repression eliminates the present National Strike Committee, out of the base of the student mass there will always emerge the most adequate direction, determined by the circumstances that may occur, in order to obtain all of the demands expressed in our petition.

In the face of an ever more reactionary and discredited public power, there will be a continuous, ever more determined and popular struggle.



STUDENTS FACE TANKS. Army tanks roll into crowd of thousands of students in front of National Palace in Mexico City Aug. 27.

Law, order and Chicago cops

Mayor Daley says —

Detroit, Mich.

Heard on the Huntley-Brinkley Report at 6:30 p.m., Sept. 9:

Mayor Daley was being interrogated by the press about the role of the cops in Chicago. He was somewhat flustered and frustrated. In defending the cops he let slip with the following statement:

"The policeman isn't there to create disorder. The policeman is there to preserve disorder."

Truer words were never spoken.

H. A.

BPP and PFP — coalition or alliance?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I am writing to comment on your article in the Sept. 20 *Militant* entitled "The Panther-Peace & Freedom alliance." Firstly, the BPP and PFP do not have an alliance, but a coalition.

I am going to quote several passages from a pamphlet put out by Eldridge Cleaver, the minister of information for the BPP, which will answer your questions and erase your doubts.

"The focal point of the coalition is now, and has always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator, and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications."

"The coalition between our two fraternal parties is based upon Carmichael's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes. . . ."

"We believe that cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and their counterpart in the black colony is absolutely and unequivocally desirable and necessary. We believe that it is suicidal and nonsensical for such potential allies to remain aloof and isolated from each other any longer."

"As our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a Black Plebiscite, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. . . ."

"The argument of those who oppose black national independence would be that blacks do not need it because they are citizens of white America. Our argument would be simply to point out the facts, the reality of the black man's status in white America. Here our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party will become functional because the members of the Peace and Freedom Party whom we will have strategically helped to elect could argue for our position within the Senate and House of Representatives, the state legislature and the city councils."

T. U.

'Immensely helpful'

Austin, Tex.

I would like to say a few words about the paper. It has been immensely helpful in our planning of antiwar activities, as well as in providing a general theoretical orientation in the morass called the American left. With respect to the Huey Newton case, for example, many left papers have reported the facts, along with heartfelt appeals; only *The Militant*, however, has underscored the political necessity of supporting the Black Panthers and the concept of independent political action.

Also, with respect to the French events and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, *The Militant* has combined reporting with explaining. Straight factual reporting, without taking sides and without theoretical explanation, is characteristic of the bourgeois press, from the *Austin American Statesman* to the *Daily World* (complete with racing form!).

Charles Cairns, Chairman,
Texas University Committee
to End the War in Vietnam.

Uptight Alice brews bilge for Barron's

New York, N. Y.

Herewith copy of a letter I have sent to *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*—since I doubt very much if they will print it.

As the translator of *L'Enrage*, that "vile publication in unprintable four letter words" mentioned by Alice Widener in her article, "The Detonators: A Report on the Fourth Conference of Socialist Scholars" (*Barron's*, Sept. 16), I should like to point out that your readers are being subjected to one (four-letter word) of a lot of inaccurate reporting.

To deal with only one paragraph of Miss Widener's lengthy and hysterical "report":

The mysterious Frenchwoman with the gift of prophecy ("the troubles in France will begin again this month") who, according to your author, "was in charge of a literature table" was actually in charge of nothing at all. The young lady in question is an acquaintance of mine who was spending the last few days of her U.S. summer vacation in New York and who accompanied me to the Conference. The "literature table" referred to was not a book exhibit, as the opening sentence of the paragraph would lead one to believe; it was set up by the Committee to Defend the French

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.

Students and, aside from copies of *L'Enrage* (which Miss Widener would hardly call "literature") contained informational material on the Gaullist repression as well as posters and photographs of the May-June events in France—which were being sold by the Committee to raise funds for the defense of the jailed students. Miss Helena Hermes, national secretary of this Committee, was in charge.

But to come to the most unkindest cut of all: ". . . much of the translation from French into English was done over the trans-Atlantic telephone. . ." Honestly, Alice, I have never in my life called Paris from New York. We socialist types don't have that kind of budget. I and I alone am responsible for the translation of that "vile publication."

If one short paragraph of Miss Widener's voluminous "report" is so full of misleading statements, I shudder at the impossible job of trying to correct the whole. Perhaps some conferee with a great deal of patience will undertake this Herculean task. But I think your readers should know that from the very first sentence, about "militant young radicals . . . guarding locked meeting room doors," a ridiculously false impression has been given them.

Ruth Porter

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P. O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.
Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P. O. Box 2221, San Diego 92112.

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S. F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: YSA, P. O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 873-1368.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P. O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P. O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall,

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Mike Maniskalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N. Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

Kent: YSA, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: Portland: c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S. W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

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

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 Marion St. (608) 256-0857.

Mexican students clash with cops

SEPT. 25—On the eve of the Olympic Games, scheduled to open Oct. 12 in Mexico City, civil strife in the nation's capital has flared into street fighting in a number of neighborhoods.

A Sept. 23 police attack on a demonstration near the National Polytechnic Institute led to an all-night battle between cops and students. At least three, and possibly 15, people were killed, and dozens, including cops, were injured. Henry Giniger, writing in the Sept. 25 *New York Times* described this as "the bloodiest encounter since the wave of student agitation first swept over this capital two months ago."

According to Giniger's report, the students, most of whom were of high-school age, defended themselves against police gunfire with firearms. The battle raged for 12 hours and only ended after army detachments had been called to reinforce the police.

The cause of the current flareup was a decision by the Diaz Ordaz government to use all the military force necessary to put an end to the student movement that has been building up since the end of July around the central slogan, "Free Mexico's Political Prisoners!"

The government hopes by massive police action to repress the movement so quickly and so thoroughly as to definitively eliminate its potential threat to the success of the Olympic Games as a lucrative commercial venture for Mexican business and a boost for tourism.

Up to now, however, the police violence has served only to broaden the protest movement, to give it fresh dynamism, and thus to intensify the crisis.

The latest turn began Sept. 13 when the students staged another march to publicize the six demands they have been fighting for since the end of July. The demands are: 1) The freeing of all political prisoners. 2) Repeal of the law designating "social dissolution" as a crime. 3) Removal of the main heads of the police in the federal district. 4) Dissolution of the granaderos as a repressive police. 5) The payment of indemnities to the families of persons killed in the July 26 repression and in other assaults mounted by the police. 6) Fixing the responsibility of the public officials involved in the repression.

The government had attempted to convert the Sept. 13 march into a fizzle by dropping millions of leaflets over the city from planes and helicopters warning parents to keep their children from participating in the parade because the army intended to keep order.



BAYONETS READY. Mexican troops line up student demonstrators during July actions.

But about 120,000 students from the university level on down assembled at the Museum of Anthropology. They staged a "silent" march down the Paseo de la Reforma to the Zocalo. There they were greeted by a crowd estimated at 125,000. The demonstration was completely orderly and no violence occurred.

Three speakers at the Zocalo rally urged the huge throng to continue the movement.

This was the same day that President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz inaugurated seven sites of the 1968 Olympic Games. Two days later when he appeared at a balcony of the National Palace facing the Zocalo as part of the ritual celebrating Mexico's Independence Day, he was booed by the crowd.

Javier Barros Sierra, the rector of the National University, had appealed to the students to end the strike they had been conducting since the end of July and return to their classes by Sept. 17. The government sought to strengthen the rector's appeal through leafleting via helicopters. The leaflet said that the majority of the students wanted to go back to their classes. Furthermore, they could resume their movement, if they wanted to—but after the Olympic Games. Besides that, they ought to be grateful to the Mexican people for their great sacrifices, since they "are paying for the greater part of your education."

The leaflet was discussed at general assemblies of teachers, students, and parents at the university. It was then voted on. The outcome was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the movement for the six demands.

Following this round of psychological warfare, Diaz Ordaz opened the next phase of counterinsurgency. On Sept. 18, thousands of troops, trucks, and armored cars moved onto the campus of the University of Mexico.

The invasion was in flagrant violation of the Mexican constitution which guarantees campus autonomy. Rector Javier Barros Sierra at once denounced the military occupation as uncalled for and as an "excessive act of force." With the judiciousness proper to his office, however, he also denounced the striking students for using university buildings for "political purposes."

Sweeping arrests were made on the campus, hundreds of students and teachers being compelled to lie down and be frisked before being hauled off to jails already overcrowded with political prisoners.

The militant assault on the campus precipitated a major political crisis in Mexico.

The first effect of the occupation was to revitalize the student movement and to give it a still more militant temper.

On the following day, student groups sought three times to retake the campus, only to be defeated by the soldiers.

At the National Polytechnic Institute, the students made preparations to resist what they were sure would be the next step—the military occupation of their campus.

By Sept. 20, the press admitted that more than 1,000 arrests had been made. Special riot police were battling students in many areas and a number of injuries were reported.

The National Strike Committee, a broad body organized by the students, said that the struggle would continue and that it was sending student groups throughout

the city to organize protest meetings. They painted dozens of buses with slogans denouncing their demands and denouncing the Diaz Ordaz regime. They intensified their appeals to the workers and to the peasants in the federal district.

The strife widened the following day. In one area students battled police for seven hours before troops were called in. The student replied with stones and bottles, sometimes filled with gasoline, to the tear-gas grenades used by the police.

In an exchange of gunfire in one district, a policeman was killed.

The populace sided with the students in scenes reminiscent of the night of the barricades last May in Paris. Pursued by police, students took refuge in apartments in the neighborhood. From the windows, tenants shouted imprecations at the police and hurled missiles.

A firebomb splattered a plate-glass window of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Rocks finished almost all the rest.

On Sept. 22 tension built up to a fresh high, as students staged a rally at the school near the ministry. Parents and children joined in.

Police continued to make mass arrests on an indiscriminate scale throughout the city. Being young and near the scene of a battle was considered sufficient cause for arrest on suspicion.

Strikes in solidarity with the Mexico City students were reported at schools in Monterrey, Cuernavaca, Chihuahua, Villa Hermosa, Culican and Merida. The government was said to have begun to put up road blocks to stop carloads of students on their way to make appeals for solidarity.

Meanwhile the government obstinately went ahead with the preparations for the Olympic Games. Athletic teams, sports officials and newsmen were received with pomp and ceremony. At the Olympic Stadium doves of peace were released in a dress rehearsal for the opening ceremony.

5,000 in Boston: 'Dump the Hump'

By Barbara Chis

BOSTON—Thousands of antiwar demonstrators turned out to oppose Vice President Humphrey here Sept. 18. A platform had been erected by Humphrey campaign workers the morning of the candidate's appearance on the corner of Summer and Washington streets, right in the heart of downtown Boston.

According to a Humphrey staff member the location was meant to "trap the shoppers at Filene's and Jordan's into becoming a captive audience."

As the noon hour approached when Humphrey was scheduled to appear, thousands of people began moving into the blocked-off intersection. Official police and press estimates of the total crowd were 10,000. Humphrey assessed it as the largest campaign crowd he'd drawn yet. What he didn't mention was that more than half of the audience were demonstrators.

Continual chanting drowned out most of Ted Kennedy's introduction and Humphrey's speech. The press took particular note of the fact that the angry demonstrators were no more responsive to Kennedy than they were to Humphrey. The *Boston Globe* commented that "Sen. Kennedy introduced the Vice President with the remark: 'You are among friends,' but the response of the crowd left some doubt."

As Kennedy began his introduction of Humphrey the chants were "shame, shame" and "sell-out." But before he was finished, they changed to "they're both the same, they're both the same!"

Very little of Humphrey's speech was

audible over the angry shouts of the crowd, but occasionally a phrase got through, which was then answered by the audience. When he admonished demonstrators for not allowing freedom of speech, they yelled back, "Chicago, Chicago," and "hypocrite."

As cries of "End the war" continued to drown out the Vice President, he addressed himself again to the demonstrators. "No one here has a monopoly on peace," he said, "Your actions here are going to disgust the American people and injure the cause of peace." At that point the huge crowd shouted in unison, "We are the American people!" over and over again. Many people in the audience carried anti-Humphrey signs. One noteworthy example asked, "Why Fire the Ventriloquist and Hire the Dummy?"

The *Boston Globe* summed up afterwards, "A man who cannot be given safe conduct in Boston by a Kennedy is in trouble too deep to be contemplated."

CLEVELAND—A picket line of about 500, mostly high-school students, booed and jeered Hubert Humphrey as he arrived at the Cleveland-Sheraton Hotel here Sept. 22 to speak at a private luncheon. Chanting slogans such as "Dump the Hump," "Support our men in Vietnam, bring them home now" and "Peace now," the line marched for over an hour waiting for Humphrey.

The demonstration was organized by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a city-wide antiwar coalition; and the Cleveland Student Mobilization Committee.

WEEKLY CALENDAR

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLT. Speaker: John Barzman, young socialist just returned from France. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—CAN SOCIALISM BE DEMOCRATIC? Speaker: Kim Allen. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:00 p.m. 302 S. Canal. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE EUROPEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT—EAST AND WEST. Speaker: Gisela Mandel, founding member of the German SDS; correspondent at the barricades during the French student uprising. Thurs. Oct. 3, 8:00 p.m. Militant Labor Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. (Forum this week Thurs. Oct. 3, not Fri.)

MINNEAPOLIS

FIRST HAND REPORT ON MAY EVENTS IN FRANCE. Speaker: Diana Johnstone, recently returned from Paris. Sat., Oct. 5, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

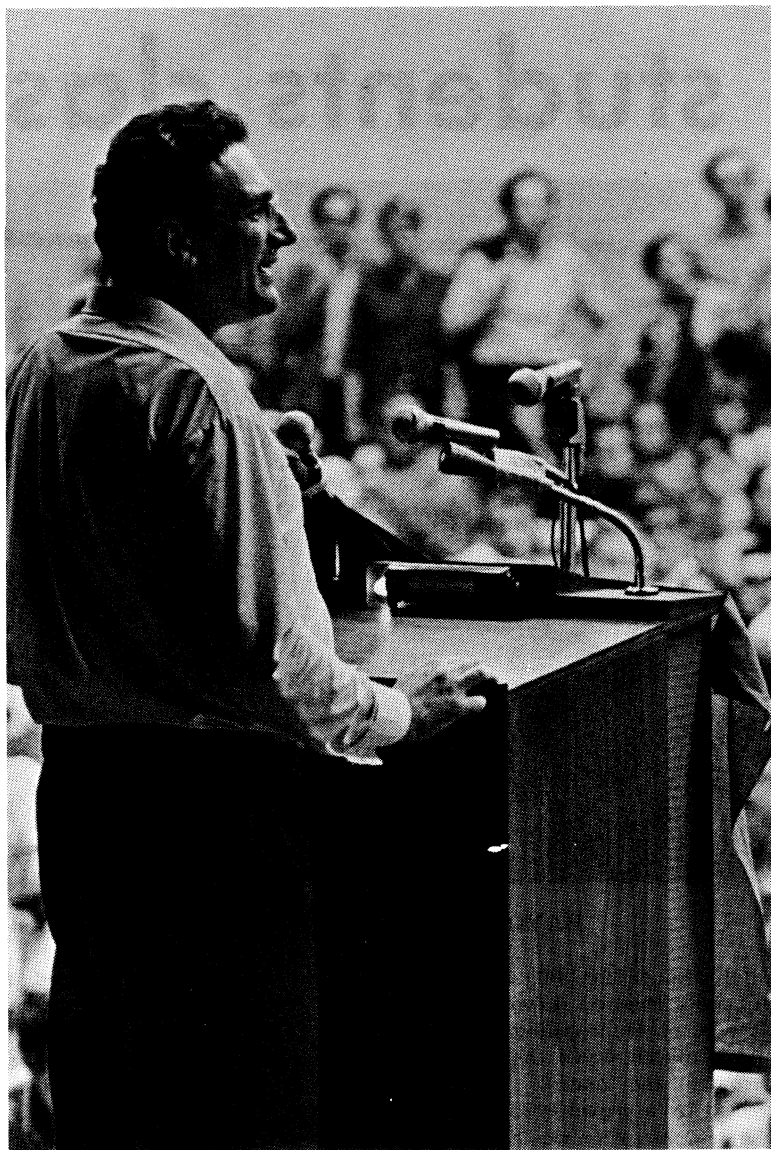
WHAT THE GIS REALLY THINK ABOUT THE WAR: A firsthand report from Vietnam. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor, *The Militant*; just returned from world political tour. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FALL FILM FESTIVAL Sat., Oct. 5, first of a series of four film showings. **STRIKE**—Eisenstein's rarely shown first film; the story of pre-Russian Revolution strike and its brutal suppression. **THE RAILROADER**—Buster Keaton's zany odyssey across Canada on a railroad handcar. 7:30 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. 873 Broadway, 2nd floor south, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.25; season ticket (4 programs) \$4. Ausp. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

PHILADELPHIA

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION TODAY. Speaker: Pearl Chertov, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, just returned from several weeks in Cuba. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. Donation \$1; Students, 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Ernest Mandel: the necessity for unity of theory and action



ERNEST MANDEL. A pause in the heated debate at NYU meeting of international student conference.

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 — "We must say as a general rule," Ernest Mandel declared last night, "that there are no good theoreticians if they are not capable of participating in action, and that there are no good activists if they are not capable of assimilating and producing and strengthening and building theory."

This central theme dominated a fast-moving lecture and over two hours of discussion by the noted Belgian Marxist economist. Mandel was making a special appearance at the International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, sponsored in New York this week by the Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society.

The main foreign invited speaker at the Socialist Scholars Conference in Rutgers University two weeks ago, Mandel is presently making a lecture tour of U.S. and Canadian campuses.

"I was struck during the Socialist Scholars Conference and in various other gatherings in the U.S.," Mandel told the assembly audience of over 500, "by the systematic way in which this counterposing is done — you have this kind of 'dialogue of the deaf,' in which one part of the audience will say it is only necessary to start action, immediate action, anything else is bad.

"The other part will say, no you can't start action, before you act you must know what to do, so don't act, sit down, study, write books [he was interrupted by applause] and where the obvious answer, the answer that is always given through historical experience . . . is that you cannot do one without the other."

Mandel emphasized that this was the central lesson that European student movements had learned in the course of the last six months to a year. Beginning with much the same kind of debate, and limiting themselves purely to university reform, the French, German and Italian movements had "spilled over into more general social and political problems."

They are beginning "to make a theoretical analysis of the nature of imperialism. This brought the more conscious students to the problem where Marxists start: the analysis of the world capitalist system."

A second major lesson is also being learned according to Mandel, the necessity of building a revolutionary party. He gave two reasons: the lesser, but nonetheless important, is that students are only on campus for a limited period of time.

A revolutionary organization that combines students and nonstudents is necessary to preserve revolutionary continuity. Mandel pointed out how a number of formerly militant members of the German SDS [Socialist Student Federation] had become inactive once they graduated from college and were absorbed in "liberal, reformist, intellectual milieu."

More important, however, Mandel de-

clared, "Outside of such an organization, a revolutionary party, you cannot achieve any permanent unity of action with the industrial working class in the broadest sense of the word, and I remain convinced that without the action of the working class you will not be able to overthrow bourgeois society, to really construct a socialist society."

Mandel insisted that American revolutionists pay the utmost attention to "linking up with young workers. One of the results of the technological revolution is that it does not prepare the young workers in time for the roles that even in bourgeois terms they must be prepared for."

"Any idea of reintroducing within the revolutionary movement, within the socialist movement, this basic division of labor between manual labor and intellectual labor, between the infantry which does the dirty job and the elite which does the thinking, is profoundly unsocialist and goes against one of the main, if not the main, goals of the socialist movement, which is precisely to achieve the withering away of the division of labor between manual and intellectual labor."

The Belgian Trotskyist ended his talk by stressing the importance of internationalism and making concrete proposals to "greet the courage and audacity of the Mexican students who have in a few days time fundamentally changed the political situation in that country and torn away the mask of false democracy with which the Mexican government was ready to accept millions of visitors to the Olympic Games . . ."

"We must think about our comrades in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia who have led great struggles this year, who have shown that their fight for socialist democracy is a fight which is absolutely parallel to our struggle against capitalism and imperialism in the West, a fight with the same goal, and we will not let either Stalinist or imperialist reaction misrepresent this fight as one which somehow is pro-imperialist or pro-bourgeois — which it is to no extent whatsoever."

Finally, Mandel called for American support to the Oct. 21-27 international days of protest against the Vietnam war, proposed by various Japanese antiwar movements,

by the British Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation and Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, and by the Student Mobilization Committee in the U.S.

This call for international solidarity was enthusiastically applauded as had been many of Mandel's points during the lecture.

The discussion which followed covered a wide variety of questions, many of them far afield from the basic subject.

Mandel was asked whether he favored a Leninist party, and if so, why. Answering in the affirmative, Mandel pointed out that Lenin's revolutionary conceptions have nothing in common with the Stalinist model of the Soviet party and state.

Leninism does not mean "the struggle for a one-party system; it does not mean you want a new form of social organization where power rests with the party; it means power rests in the mass of the producers organized in workers' councils; it does not mean the absence of workers' democracy; it does not mean the absence of free press, of free speech and of free orga-

European revolutionaries attend Columbia student conference

By Paula Reimers

NEW YORK, Sept. 23 — Students from eight European and North American countries held discussions on the international student movement at Columbia and New York universities this week. The "International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements" was sponsored by the Columbia Students for a Democratic Society.

Participants came from Italy, Germany, France, Britain, Mexico and Canada as well as this country. The high point of the conference was the appearance of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist, at a packed meeting Sept. 21.

Mandel's talk on the necessity of the unity of theory and action in revolutionary struggle has stimulated considerable thought and debate on the Columbia campus.

The international conference offered an opportunity for representatives of different student movements to "analyze the progress which their separate movements are making and how their strengths might be joined toward the goal of international revolution," the sponsors of the meeting declared.

But with few exceptions, the lack of planning and political clarity in the discussions resulted in losing much of the opportunity. The conference was conducted in a chaotic and haphazard fashion. Rooms were not scheduled in advance and publicity was poor. Plenary sessions and small discussion

nization for all tendencies which rest on the basis of socialism and are against the reproduction of private property."

He pointed out that the Czech "reintroduction of the right of minorities to organize themselves is a Leninist tradition. [Leninism] means that all those who are convinced of the ideas of revolutionary socialism, instead of acting in a dispersed, disorganized, discontinuous way, should act in an organized and coherent way with the fullest possible democracy and the necessary coherence and centralization which makes their action efficient. More than that it does not mean."

A typical question, and the final one, was asked by SDS leader Steve Halliwell. Among other things, Halliwell criticized Mandel's use of Marxist "categories," arguing for more emphasis on the immediate "process" of individual experience.

"People cannot think without categories," Mandel explained. "The big problem is whether you see only a process, or whether you understand that in order to have actual changes, you must have more than gradual changes. You must have a jump . . ."

"The main tendency [of bourgeois thought] is to say 'concepts, abstractions — not interesting,' to emphasize the 'living processes, day-to-day struggles.' Revolution is the opposite of the belief in process. It is the understanding that processes must be interrupted by big jumps."

The most decisive question, Mandel said in conclusion, is whether "it is possible to change capitalist society piecemeal, by individual, small-group action, by community actions, or whether you will only be able to change society if you bring to bear sufficient power to break the hold of the capitalist class over the means of production, and to break the capitalist state machine."

"I would call upon you to participate in a big worldwide movement . . . a week of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution . . . in which hundreds of thousands of students, of young workers and young revolutionaries, will fight together at the same moment on a worldwide scale . . . a common worldwide action for a concrete goal which the Vietnamese comrades tell us themselves is the most important today: Show that in the U.S. hundreds of thousands of people are for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam!"

groups often gave way to random and aimless talk.

Many of the invited foreign students came away with the feeling that organizers of the conference were not on as advanced a political level as they had expected. Spokesmen for the German SDS [Socialist Student Federation] and the outlawed French JCR [Revolutionary Communist Youth] found themselves at one point attempting to teach students how to organize a demonstration.

A resolution to support French students victimized by de Gaulle's regime never got to a vote.

In spite of the chaos, much of the discussion focused on the key question of the type of program and organization needed by the revolutionary movement. It reflected a growing interest among student radicals in Marxist theories and organizational concepts.

Over 500 students took part Sept. 19 in a heated debate on "spontaneity" and "organization" in the French May events. A member of the banned JCR defended the Trotskyist concept of the need for building a disciplined combat vanguard of students and workers to lead a conscious and planned struggle against capitalist rule.

Two French anarchists propounded the antiorganizational, antidiscipline, anti-leadership, anti-programmatic ideas current at the outset of May but, following the massive upsurge of workers, now held by only a small minority of French students.

French students plan fall actions

By Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, have just returned to the United States from a world political tour. The following account of the current stage of the French student movement was written by Fred Halstead while he was in Paris.

PARIS, Sept. 11—There are some obvious superficial changes here since the May revolt. For one thing the cobblestone streets in the Latin Quarter have been paved with asphalt, and in the same area the grates around the tree trunks have been removed, because cobblestones and grates were used on the barricades. Typical of the police mind: Remove a few material accouterments and maybe the revolution will go away.

But it hasn't. The first thing I noticed was young people on the streets selling copies of *Action*, a paper of the student revolt. The headline said: "General [meaning de Gaulle], Here We Are!"

Vacations are just coming to an end, and a few of the faculties (departments) of the University of Paris are beginning to open up. The Sorbonne, which is the faculty of letters, doesn't start until October.

The first test of whether the revolutionary temper is still present is now going on. It began over two issues—the examinations and the right of students to "trade-union and political rights." On both the authorities have had a hard time, and the students have begun to break through.

As each faculty opens, the first thing it does is to hold the examinations which were cancelled at the end of the last term because of the May revolution. But these examinations were one of the things the students were fighting to get rid of. They are old fashioned memorization tests, and they are used to keep the student population down by arbitrarily barring from school a certain percentage through the device of lopping off the bottom section of the mathematical curve of the test scores. The students have been demanding an end to this and they say that students should be passed or failed on their "dossier" or record of work throughout the school year.

Just how this confrontation unfolds is revealing of certain key aspects of the entire situation in the country. One lesson that a lot of students have pretty well absorbed is that the students can't make the revolution alone. The general approach—widely accepted among student militants—

is to avoid a showdown, all-out fight at this stage, but to mobilize the students in continuing struggle and deepen the organization and the connections with the working class.

Now as the students trickle back from vacations they are not very much in touch, and no complicated organization of massive action is really possible. But they are hit right off with the examinations question and must react. The Action Committee of the medical school met shortly before examinations began this week. They first decided to boycott the exams, but this worked only partially the first day.

The cops swarmed outside the school, discouraging pickets, and it was difficult to get the word around. If a boycott is not pretty complete, of course, it can mean the elimination from school of those who don't take the tests. So, another tactic appeared—to show the examinations to be the farce they really are. That is, to take the examinations, but with open books, sharing answers, and passing out copies of answers—obtained from sympathetic professors—in the hallways and on the streets.

The authorities have packed the examination halls and the schools generally with all sorts of plainclothesmen. Inasmuch as the regular police have not been too reliable for this sort of thing since May, a lot of these cops are special secret police or specially hired thugs recruited hastily from the seamier side of Paris life.

These "ushers" and "disguised ones" were completely thrown by the open book tactic. They didn't know just how the examinations were to be conducted anyway, and while they arbitrarily roughed up a few students, all they accomplished was to create a national scandal. After only a few days of examinations at a few faculties the newspapers are now running stories poking fun at the new "students" with "bulging muscles" and a much more intimate knowledge of judo than of academic matters.

Since May-June the authorities have also taken great pains to remove the many posters and slogans of the revolution which covered the walls of Paris, particularly in the Latin Quarter. And they succeeded. When I arrived last week hardly a slogan remained. But around the examination fight the posters have begun to appear again.

Carrying out this activity and putting up the posters is no simple task because there is still police repression and harassment. Sometimes salesmen of *Action* or poster pasters are arrested on the spot and interrogated for hours. Police can hold anyone incommunicado, without even notifying relatives, for 10 days.

So it was quite a thrill to see just last night freshly pasted posters all over the Latin Quarter advertising a mass meeting at the Mutualite. The poster had a picture of an "usher" with a big club standing over a row of students writing at their desks, their legs in balls and chains. The poster bore the names of the Action Committees at the faculties of medicine, economics and science, law, the Sorbonne and Nanterre.

The issue of political freedom on campus—which is really more essential than that of the examinations—began to come to the fore around a meeting called for Sept. 8 by the Action Committee of the faculty of law to discuss the radio and television industry. To this meeting were invited a number of radio and TV personalities and journalists who have been fired by the ORTF (the government radio and TV system) for sympathizing with the May revolution.

The dean of the law faculty announced that the hall was not available for this meeting because "outside speakers" had been invited. The promises for political freedom were thus revealed to be farcical. The students explained that precisely what they meant by "trade-union and political rights" is the right to use the university as part of the political and trade-union life of the country, to actually participate in political movements and processes through the university, and to invite trade unionists and workers there for discussions, common action and so on.

When the time for the meeting came, the police occupied the hall; the meeting had to be held in an open square nearby, where some 600 students attended. There, tactics for dealing with the police and plainclothesmen's occupation of the universities were

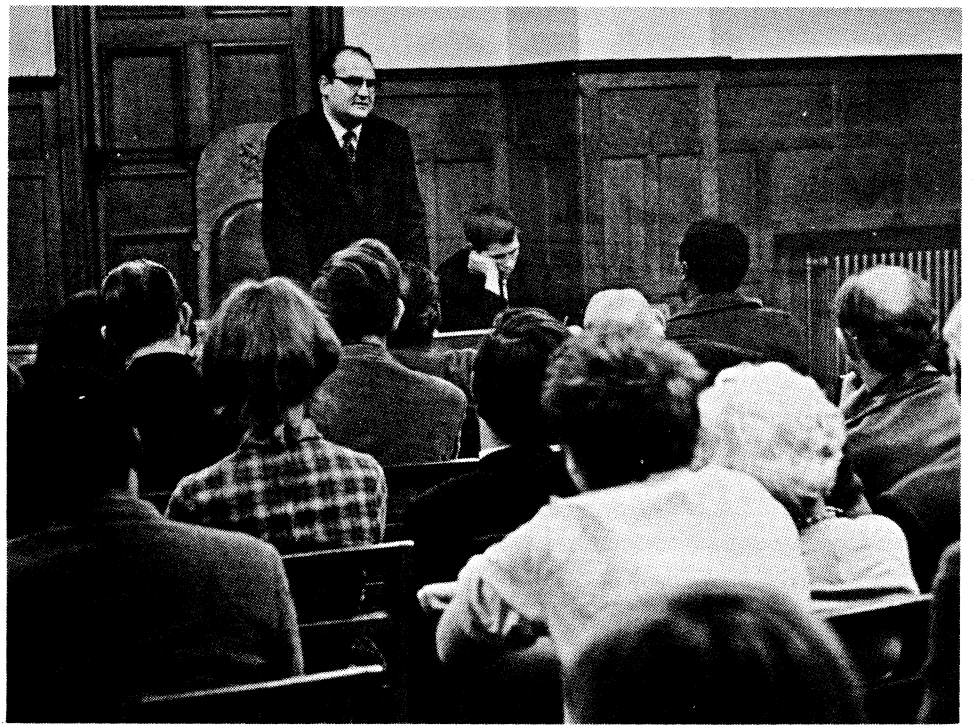


Photo by Barry Sheppard

LONDON MEETING. Fred Halstead addressed public meeting in London's Caxton Hall Sept. 18. Meeting was sponsored by the International Marxist group.

discussed and the concept of the "red university" was discussed and adopted after being outlined by student leaders who had been members of the now outlawed Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) during the May events.

When I heard the "red university" discussed, it struck me as remarkably similar to some of the ideas of student strike leaders I met in Japan last month.

In brief, the idea is as follows. The student revolutionaries recognize the distorted and reactionary role that the university is forced to play under the present system. They aspire to a true university of knowledge, training and culture for the mass of the people. But they also recognize that a socialist university is impossible in a capitalist society. The university, then, must become a training ground for revolution to change the society.

The students recognize that the university is still a place where academic subjects must be learned, and they encourage that and have no intention of interfering with it. But the facilities of the university, and considerable class time, must be available for direct revolutionary political activity, for political discussion and training and organization, not only of and by students, but of and by workers, both manual and intellectual.

Political freedom in the university is not to be confined to a kind of debating-society affair, but must be real, active participation in the political and trade-union life of the country and in the process of creating a revolution in the entire society. The university must be a revolutionary training center and a center of agitation.

This concept is now taking hold among the French students.

Halstead speaks about GIs at German SDS meeting

By Barry Sheppard

FRANKFURT, West Germany, Sept. 15—Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, addressed the national conference of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS) yesterday. The SDS conference is being held at Goethe University here this weekend.

Halstead explained to the conference that the central purpose of our world trip was to go to Saigon to talk to the U.S. soldiers there about the Socialist Workers antiwar campaign. He pointed to the importance of spreading revolutionary and antiwar ideas within the U.S. Army, and called upon the German socialist students to aid in this effort among the U.S. troops stationed in Germany.

Strong applause greeted Halstead's appeal to the students to help promote antiwar sentiment within the U.S. Army rather than simply urging individual soldiers to desert, indicating a shift in opinion among many of the German students, who have been engaged in the desertion campaign.

The socialist students also discussed work within the West German Army, where opposition is developing among soldiers who do not want to be used against strikers and demonstrators under West Germany's new police-state "Emergency Laws."

Yesterday, a group of U.S. soldiers came to Goethe University seeking to make contact with German students, whom, they hoped, would agree to meet GIs stationed in Frankfurt and talk to them about the Vietnam war and other political problems. We happened to meet these GIs and were able to put them in touch with the German students. They also told us of a rock and roll concert to be held in Frankfurt last night, which would attract many GIs. They suggested that we leaflet the GIs there, and so I accompanied them to the concert.

They helped pass out 500 of Fred Halstead's "Letter to American GIs," a pamphlet that explains Halstead's antiwar position. The "Letter" was well received by the GIs, and we told them they could meet Fred that night. After the concert, a group came over to Goethe University to discuss with Halstead.

Of major concern at the SDS conference itself was the case of a group of pro-Mos-

cow Stalinists who were members of SDS.

At the Moscow-dominated youth festival held in Sofia this summer, SDS decided to initiate a demonstration against the Vietnam war at the U.S. embassy. The Bulgarian cops massed to "protect" the embassy, and attacked the SDS demonstration. They were aided in this suppression of the antiwar demonstration by pro-Moscow delegates to the festival, including five members of the German SDS itself.

The Frankfurt conference, after a long discussion, voted to expell the five from the organization. This action led to a discussion of what kind of organization SDS is or should be. This discussion reached no conclusion. The Stalinists, arguing in their defense, said that since the SDS has no discipline, they could not be held accountable for their actions in Sofia.

Some delegates objected to the manner in which the five were expelled, feeling that the underlying political differences with the Stalinists should have been discussed and a political struggle mounted against Stalinism. Such discussion tended to be submerged in simply discussing the five.

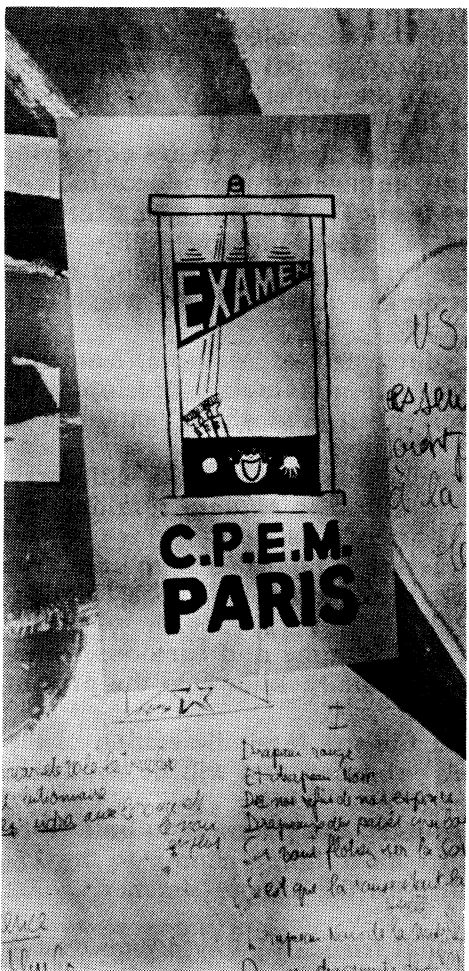


Photo by Barry Sheppard

IN LATIN QUARTER. Poster shows student with head in guillotine and releasing blade labeled "examinations."

Revolt in France

May-June 1968

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Semi-Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple stroke of the hand.—Lenin

For the Russian Opposition!

Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!

A STATEMENT TO AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY JAMES P. CANNON, MARTIN ABERN AND MAX SHACHTMAN.

1. In the view of the necessity of concentrating the full attention of the Party on the election campaign, we have refrained up till now from any statement or step calculated to open a Party discussion on disputed questions until the election campaign will have been ended and the pre-convention discussion opened.

2. We have definite views on a series of fundamental questions vitally affecting the whole future of the Party and the Comintern which it was our intention to bring before the Party in the pre-convention discussion period.

3. The "discussion" of these questions conducted up till now has not been a real discussion since many of the documents—in our opinion some of the most important political documents of our time—have been suppressed and concealed from the parties of the Comintern or presented to them in garbled form.

4. We had intended to undertake this task at the opening of the Party discussion after the election campaign. However, the arbitrary removal of all already taken action (see removal from all positions on October 16) and the plain indications shown in the present hearing of the intention to take further organizational measures

Trotsky and Radek Seriously Ill

The most alarming report, have reached us concerning the condition of health of Leon Trotsky and Karl Radek, leaders of the Russian Opposition who were, formerly called in Turkish and Western Siberia respectively. Both of them are severely stricken and attention grave concern is felt for their lives.

We have just received a message from Moscow, which tells us that the Russian Opposition, which has been unquestionably reliable and authentic source, is in the utmost official vigilance to hush up the story of Trotsky's and Radek's illness, the entire city of Moscow woke up this morning (i.e. the day this letter was written) to find the walls and buildings all over the city covered with appeals by the Opposition workers to the Moscow proletariat to protest against the scandalous treatment accorded the exiled Bolsheviks in their opposition.

The Volkoville, organ of the German opposition, reprints a letter written by L. Sosnowski to the Moscow party, a letter written by the Soviet Government, in which Ivestia, official organ of the Soviet Government, in which Trotsky's and Radek's illness is confirmed by the stenographic record received directly from Alina Ata, Trotsky's former secretary, who has been removed to other complications. Sosnowski bitterly protests against the cold-blooded cynicism of the present chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, Voroshilov, who made himself infamous with his sneering reply at a meeting when a worker asked about the disturbing reports regarding Trotsky's health.

The life of Lenin's co-worker, one of the geniuses of the revolution, lion-hearted Trotsky, is in imminent danger! The condition of Comrade Radek is also serious. Should the official neglect that is being substituted for comradeship and pose fatal to these revolutionary martyrs, their blood will be upon the heads of those who persecute them and those who do not protest.

Communist workers of America! Demand their return to Moscow and the provision of the best medical aid in their illness!

An end to the persecution of the fighters for Bolshevism!

On October 27 the undersigned members of the Central Executive Committee were declared expelled from the Party for the views expressed in our statement to the Political Committee on the same date, which is printed below. This action, taken by the Political Committee in violation of the Party constitution, without even the formality of a meeting of the Central Executive Committee to which we were elected by the Party convention, was designed to deprive the Party members of the opportunity to hear our views and to insure themselves against any opposition in the forthcoming Party discussion and to elect to the Party convention. Our views relate to principle questions upon which it is not possible for revolutionary workers to remain silent. We propose a definite course of action to be taken by the Party convention. The abolition of the Party constitution and the denial of our rights as Party members compels us to take this method of direct appeal to the Party members in order to expound our views in the columns of *The Militant* until our Party rights are restored.—Editor.

and to begin a public campaign against us in the Party press make it necessary to state our position without further delay. It must be made clear to the Party that the measures are being taken against us solely because of our political views. These views must be presented to the Party as they really are.

5. We present them here in outline form and will elaborate on them more fully in our appeal to the Central Executive Committee against the actions taken by the Politcom.

6. We stand on the main line of the document entitled "The Right Danger in the American Party" (excepting certain erroneous formulations dealing with the world position and role of American imperialism) presented to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern by the delegation of the Opposition, in the drafting of which we actively participated. As set forth in this document, we believe that the present leadership of the Party, mechanically imposed upon the Party by the E. C. C. I. against the will of the membership, is a consciously developing right wing, whose course and actions are all in the direction of undermining the position of the Party in the class struggle. Its activities since the presentation of our document on "The Right Danger in the American Party" to the World Congress, have confirmed and not refuted this estimate. The irrepressible adventurism, the factional degeneration and bureaucratic corruption of the Lovestone group leadership are an organic part of its fundamental opportunist character.

7. The latest decision of the secretariat of the E. C. C. I. which undertakes to dismiss a whole series of principle questions raised in our document on "The Right Danger in the American Party" and to give no answer whatsoever, to the burning questions of the Party in all fields of the class struggle, serves only to strengthen the mechanical stranglehold of the right wing leadership upon our Party. This bureaucratic-secretarial method of dealing with disputed principle questions must be emphatically rejected by the Party both in form and content, since they have nothing in common with Lenin's teaching regarding the ideological leadership of all Communist Parties by the Communist International, in no way alters the fundamental correctness of the document. It merely demonstrates the political instability of these leaders which hampers the process of developing an opposition to the present right wing leadership and line of the Party on a principle basis. We have no doubt that the supporters of the Opposition who have regarded the struggle against the right wing leadership as a principle question will continue to adhere to this position despite the vacillations and maneuvers of a section of the leaders.

9. The problems of the American Party are organically bound up with the fundamental questions confronting the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and cannot be solved separately from them. The left wing of the American Party, taking shape in the principle Party (Lovestone-Pepper group) will go forward only insofar as it recognizes the necessity of a struggle against the right danger on an international scale and links up its fight in the American Party with the Bolshevik fight for the fundamental tenets of Leninism in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Comintern.

10. The Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by L. D. Trotsky has been fighting for the unity of the Comintern and all its sections on the basis of the victory of Leninism. The correctness of the position taken by the Russian Opposition over a period of five years of struggle has been fully confirmed by events.

a) The struggle led by Trotsky since 1923 for Party democracy and against bureaucratism as the

M. Spector Expelled In Canada

Maurice Spector, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has just been expelled from the Communist Party of Canada for his refusal to endorse the expulsion of Cannon, Abern and Shachtman from the Communist Party of America and for his statement defending his position and supporting our demand for the publication of the suppressed documents of the Russian Opposition. His statement, a scathing arraignment of the bureaucratic regime, will be printed in the next number of *The Militant*.

The great seriousness for the entire Communist movement of North America of the action taken against Comrade Spector will be realized when it is pointed out that he was unanimously elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the Sixth World Congress on the nomination of the Canadian delegation. He has been the Canadian Party for many years and the editor of the Party organ, the *Canadian Worker* and the *Canadian Labor Monthly*. The suspension of Comrade Spector, the political leader of the Canadian Party since its formation, is fully in line with that course of desperate bureaucratism on an international scale which is unable to defend the cause in open discussion and whose "leadership" depends on an abrogation of the democratic rights of the party members.

We send our warmest greetings to our fellow-fighters in the Canadian Communist Party and express the confidence that his fight against our expulsion will be met with reciprocal support from the proletarian Communists in the ranks of our party. Our cause is international and the Communist militants of all countries must fight together for it.

As we go to press word comes also of expulsion proceedings beginning against other members of the Communist Party of America and the Y. W. L. who oppose our expulsion. It is being attempted to carry out this campaign of disruption behind a curtain of silence in the official party press. But this game will not succeed. The real facts about the attempt to silence the voice of Communist workers by expulsion, which the party bureaucrats have learned from Sigman and Lewis will be revealed in the next number of *The Militant*. The expulsion of the editors of *The Militant* is dealt with on another page of this issue.

An historic issue

In celebration of the fortieth anniversary of *The Militant*, a special facsimile issue of Volume I, Number 1 has been issued. Copies, on durable paper, are available at \$1 each.

History comes alive as you read this first issue which announces formation of a Left Opposition to combat developing Stalinist opportunism within the Communist Party and Third International.

With that act, a handful of revolutionary fighters declared their determination to preserve the principles of revolutionary Marxism and to oppose Stalinist efforts to divert the international class struggle.

By keeping alive the principles of authentic Marxism during those difficult years, those revolutionary fighters helped lay the basis for today's growing international revolutionary movement.

Their founding program is outlined in Vol. I, Number 1 of *The Militant*. It's fascinating reading and very relevant for today.

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N.Y.C. high-school group backs community control

By Roland Lagares

NEW YORK—The High School Coalition held a press conference outside the office of the board of education here on Sept. 19 to express their solidarity with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board and the struggle for community control of the schools in New York City. The following are a few of the points the High School Coalition feels should be instituted into the public-education system:

1) We support the demand that a high school be built in Harlem instead of the State Building.

2) We demand that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board be reinstated.

3) We want programs that are relevant to the students' needs.

4) We demand students have a greater voice in the school administration.

5) We demand that the board of education hire more black and Puerto Rican teachers.

6) We demand that every student be guaranteed a decent job or a college education upon graduation from high school.

Nassoun Jimai, a spokesman for the group, told me that the coalition was formed during the April 26 student strike against the war. They consider themselves a citywide organization. Jimai also stated that the coalition is an interracial organization, but that black and Puerto Rican students identify more readily with the goals of the coalition.

Jimai would not give any figures on the number of Black Panthers in the coalition. But he did say the following: "The average age of the Black Panther Party members ranges from 17 to 24; and 14 to 18 is the average age in the Coalition." On some points the Black Panthers' program is similar to that of the High School Coalition. An unidentified member of the Coalition shouted out from the crowd, "If we don't get community control we're gonna strike matches."

For further information contact High School Coalition, 602 Columbus Ave., 874-4595; or 183 Lenox Ave., 865-1052.

Antiwar pickets greet Dean Rusk in Philadelphia

By Joel Abern

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25—Tonight Dean Rusk was greeted at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel by perhaps the noisiest and most enthusiastic antiwar demonstration yet to be assembled in Philadelphia.

On only one week's notice, nearly 1,000 pickets showed up. Chanting "Bring the troops home now," "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" and "Hell no, we won't go" the pickets mobilized by the Penn Vietnam Week Committee, the Temple Vietnam Committee, Vets for Peace, Philadelphia Resistance, Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee, and the Philadelphia Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle was the youngest group of antiwar activists ever to demonstrate here.

The militant mood, youthfulness and newness to such activity of those present led veteran antiwar fighters to predict a really mammoth showing for the Oct. 21-27 week of solidarity with the GIs.

Socialists gain place on Colorado ballot

DENVER, Colo.—The Colorado secretary of state has announced that the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will appear on the state ballot in November. The Colorado Halstead and Boutelle Campaign Committee filed 669 signatures or registered voters; only 300 are required. Election laws require that each signer sign a statement, witnessed by a notary, that he did not vote in the primary elections.

...Militant's 40th anniversary drive

(Continued from page 1)
readers who value the work our paper has done and is doing in truthfully reporting the facts about, and helping to organize, the revolutionary struggles of our times.

The Militant has just increased its regular size to 12 pages in order to give more effective coverage to the current election campaign, the campus revolts, the black liberation movement, the labor movement and the rising international struggles.

The sturdier financial base provided by the projected \$40,000 fund will enable the editors to make greater improvements in its photographic, art and field coverage and to augment the paper's staff for the next planned phase of expansion of its size and circulation.

This special 16-page issue offers a glimpse of what can be done with a larger format. The added four-page supplement reproduces four of the more memorable earlier front pages from *The Militant* with dramatic headlines that were forged in the fire of history-making events. Even though reduced by half from the large format of our pre-tabloid days, we think they offer enough to indicate the character of these events and how our paper related to them.

In a coming issue we plan another supplement of this kind, featuring four pages highlighting contributions we have made to such developments as the black-liberation struggle, the movement against the Vietnam war and defense of the Cuban Revolution.

In addition, subsequent issues during the next two months will carry articles by veteran socialists associated with *The Militant* recalling experiences that should illuminate many of today's issues.

Also there will be reprints of major articles by the exiled revolutionary, Leon Trotsky, which *The Militant* alone made available to the English-speaking world during his lifetime.

Other features will include stories, photographs and cartoons which record stirring episodes of the past only dimly known to the present generation of radicals.

As a memento of the anniversary, a full-size facsimile edition of the first issue of *The Militant* is now being published and will be available at \$1 a copy. (For details see ad this page.)

Militant supporters throughout the country are planning to hold 40th anniversary banquets around Nov. 15 as a fitting climax to the 11-week fund drive in their localities. Watch for the announcement in your city.

This is the largest single fund goal that friends of *The Militant* have ever set for themselves. No smaller sum would measure up to the importance of the event. It is indispensable to keep the paper moving ahead as the clearest and most uncompromising journalistic voice of socialism and black liberation in this country.

We are confident the full \$40,000 can be secured by Dec. 15. With your help it will be raised. Be one of the first boosters of the fund. Use the coupon on this page for doing so.

Halstead blasts witch-hunt of Chicago demonstrators

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Fred Halstead sharply attacked today the House Un-American Activities Committee decision to subpoena five organizers of last month's demonstrations at the Democratic Party national convention and stage a typical HUAC witch-hunt.

"It is a case of making the victim into a criminal and the criminal into a victim," the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate declared.

"Those who were beaten up by Chicago police on Johnson and Humphrey's orders are blamed. The real criminals, the ruling capitalist politicians, serve as judge and jury." Halstead pointed out that not one prominent Democrat or Republican has

criticized the HUAC "investigation."

"Some of them were weeping crocodile tears at the time of the brutal attack. Now that the government has gone into action to witch-hunt Mayor Daley's victims, they sit back in silence. It shows you that in reality the Chicago attacks were not a departure from Democratic Party policies."

HUAC issued subpoenas to David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Rennie Davis.

They will be called to testify in Washington beginning Oct. 3. Legal counsel is being provided by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild and the Law Center for Constitutional Rights. A number of groups plan demonstrations against the witch-hunt.

Film on Halstead speech available

By Brian Shannon

On April 27, 1968, Fred Halstead was one of the main speakers at the antiwar rally of 30,000 in San Francisco. His speech was well received. He was interrupted several times by applause and was given a standing ovation at the end. Subsequently printed, the speech has been one of the most successful Socialist Workers Party campaign items.

Now a 15-minute, 16mm sound movie, "Fred Halstead in San Francisco—April 27, 1968," has been produced. Combined in an effective presentation are the voice of actress Vanessa Redgrave (who sent a taped message from England), shots of the march through San Francisco, and the rally at the Civic Center plaza. It features the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate talking to a massive audience of young, militant antiwar demonstrators—presenting the revolutionary socialist view on how to build the antiwar movement and on its relationship to the GIs.

Halstead insists that the antiwar movement must "stay in the streets . . . and keep building that pressure" in order to stop the war, "not by trusting some other liberal Democratic or Republican politician." He

points out that it is the antiwar movement that supports the GIs, not capitalist politicians in Congress who say "support our GIs by sending more of them to die over there."

Also appearing briefly in the film are Muhammad Ali, Bobby Seale of the California Black Panther Party, Paul Jacobs of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Rear Admiral Arnold True, Ret.

The film's general content, Halstead's presentation, and its convenient length all go to make this film a big addition to the Socialist Workers Party campaign. It can be shown at house parties, fund-raising parties, on local TV, before community groups, antiwar committees, etc. Since nearly all colleges and universities have 16mm facilities and projectors easily available for no more than a nominal fee, it will be especially useful for student supporters of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

The movie can be rented from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, for \$5.00 plus postage for a 3-day period.

To purchase a copy of the film send \$25.50 to Jim Kendrick, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114.

Halstead, Boutelle on national TV

Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, will appear on a national television program soon. In New York, the show will be televised at 9 p.m. on Oct. 6.

The show is a lively debate with prominent conservative William F. Buckley on Buckley's regular television program, "Firing Line." It was taped some months ago.

The program has already been shown in some cities. A Massachusetts viewer wrote the SWP campaign office: "Last evening I watched the interview between Wm. Buckley and Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. I was quite impressed with the way Mr. Boutelle's enthusiasm and Mr. Halstead's self-assurance broke the points off Wm. Buckley's usual barbs."

The following is the schedule of the Halstead and Boutelle vs. Buckley debate across the country:

| | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| Sept. 30 | Sacramento, Calif. KVIE/KIXE |
| Oct. 6-10 | New Orleans WYES |
| Oct. 6 | Washington, D. C. WTTG |
| Oct. 6 | New York City WOR-TV |
| Oct. 13 | Ft. Wayne, Ind. WANE |
| Oct. 13 | Charlotte, N. C. WBTV |
| Oct. 20 | Cincinnati, WCPO |
| Oct. 23 | Tallahassee, Fla. WFSU |
| Oct. 27 | Columbia, S. C. WRK |
| Oct. 31 | Denver, Colo. KRMA |
| Nov. 5-10 | Dallas, Tex. KERA |
| Nov. 9 | Univ. Park, Pa. WPSX |
| Nov. 9 | Hershey, Pa. WTP |
| Nov. 15 | Erie, Pa. WQLN |
| Nov. 17 | Fargo, N. D. KFME |
| Nov. 22 | Jacksonville, Fla. WJCT |
| Nov. 24-30 | Springfield, Ohio WSWO |
| Nov. 25 | Spokane, Wash. KSPS |
| Nov. 29 | Pullman, Wash. KWSC |
| Dec. 3-8 | Miami, Fla. WTHS |
| Dec. 10 | Milwaukee, Wis. WMVS |
| Dec. 12 | Youngstown, Ohio WYTV |
| Dec. 17-22 | Tampa, Fla. WEDU |
| Dec. 22-28 | Des Moines, Iowa KDPS |

Ohio socialists in active campaign

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND—The Socialist Workers Party of Ohio is conducting a vigorous campaign to reach the thousands of Ohioans who want an alternative to the capitalist war parties and their police-state policies for dealing with social problems.

For the first time since the Socialist Workers Party began running presidential candidates in 1948, write-in votes will be counted this year. Ohioans will be able to express their opposition to the war, the racism, the police brutality, the antilabor and antidemocratic policies of the capitalist parties by writing in the names of the Socialist Workers Party candidates:

Fred Halstead for President, Paul Boutelle for Vice President, Eric J. Reinthaler for U. S. Senate, and David G. Wulp for Congress from the 22nd district.

In addition to speaking engagements by Wulp and Reinthaler, active campaigning by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle is reaching out to all sections of the state.

Highlight of the fall campaign will be the visit of presidential candidate Fred Halstead Oct. 11-13. He will speak at a campaign rally and dinner Friday night, Oct. 11, at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., and a state conference of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle at Case Western Reserve University the next day.

The Ohio candidates on the SWP ticket, who announced their nomination last December, have both been active campaigners for the socialist alternative before, during and after presidential elections.

Eric Reinthaler, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, is a native Ohioan. For a number of years he was active in the steelworkers' and electrical workers' unions and has served as a shop steward, executive-board member, and editor of trade-union publications.

Born in Salem, Ohio, Jan. 7, 1924, he attended Bethany College in West Virginia and Western Reserve University in Cleveland. He was a combat infantryman in the 8th Division in World War II and holds a Purple Heart for wounds received in action in Europe.

Reinthaler was one of the first political prisoners under the Taft-Hartley slave-labor act during the McCarthy witch-hunt period. The section of the law under which he was convicted was repealed and subsequent convictions of other trade unionists were reversed by the courts.

He has been an activist in the civil-rights movement since his high-school days in 1938, participating in both the NAACP and CORE. In the 1950s he was active in the Cleveland Council on World Affairs. He is on the technical staff of the school of medicine of Case Western Reserve University and is a member of the University Circle Teach-in Committee.

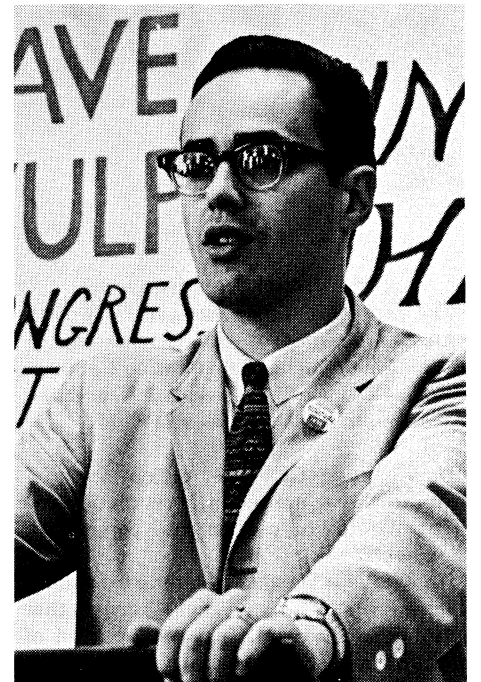
Eric Reinthaler joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1963, has served as Cleveland organizer, and is a frequent contributor to *The Militant*.

David G. Wulp, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 22nd district, was born in Kingston, N. Y., in 1939, and graduated with honors in 1961 from Carleton College, in Minnesota, where he majored in psychology.

It was at Carleton that Wulp began his political activity. From the Woolworth demonstrations in 1960, to support of the demand for black control of the black communities, Wulp has been a consistent partisan of the most progressive, militant tendencies in the Afro-American freedom struggle.

His support of the colonial revolutions also goes back to his college days, with activities in defense of the Cuban revolution and membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

He has represented the Socialist Workers



Dave Wulp

Party in the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, which has played a leading role in antiwar activities in Northern Ohio. He is also a member of the University Circle Teach-in Committee at Case Western Reserve University, where he is employed as a computer programmer.

Formerly active in the Young Socialist Alliance, Wulp is now Cleveland organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

Recently Wulp and Reinthaler issued statements demanding withdrawal of white police and National Guardsmen from the black community during the Glensville disturbances and condemning the violation of the right of self-determination by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

'Socialist' Party gives backhanded support to Hustling Hubert

NEW YORK—The nearly moribund Socialist Party is in effect supporting Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency this year. While the party's national committee in a recent meeting here refrained from "officially endorsing" Humphrey because of "his continued defense of the horrible war in Vietnam" and because "he falls short of what the times require," they stated that there is no realistic alternative to his candidacy.

"Humphrey's victory is preferable to any other realistic possibility, and no strategy of protest voting will seriously forward the progressive political trends," the NC resolution stated.

The decision to support Humphrey is another step in the steady political degeneration of the party of Eugene V. Debs. The SP has not nominated its own presidential candidate since 1956, when Darlington Hoopes was its standard bearer. Since then, it has consistently supported the Democratic presidential nominees. In 1964 Norman Thomas, the party's best-known spokesman, stumped the country for Lyndon Johnson. Now, commenting on its support of Humphrey, the party's chairman, well-known poverty-expert Michael Harrington, stated, "While we did not endorse President Johnson in 1964, we were more enthusiastic about him than we are about Mr. Humphrey."

According to the Sept. 16 *New York Times*, Harrington said that whether or not SP leaders will actively campaign for Humphrey "would probably depend on whether he changed his stance on Vietnam and domestic issues in the remaining days before the presidential election."

It is small wonder that a "socialist" party that was "enthusiastic" about Johnson, and would eagerly give public support to Humphrey in exchange for a few phony last-minute campaign promises, is in a state of drastic decline. In a period of deepening radicalization, the Socialist Party as an organization has played virtually no role. Nevertheless, Michael Harrington was able to tell reporters with a straight face that the SP now has "under 10,000" members.

For free copies of SWP campaign literature or additional information, write:

John McCann, Campaign Director, Socialist Workers Party of Ohio, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

or call:
(216) 791-1669 or 932-6313

INTERVIEW WITH PHIL HUTCHINGS OF SNCC:

'For a mass black revolution

By Derrick Morrison

The following interview with Phil Hutchings, national program secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was obtained in New York in the second week of September.

Morrison: SNCC has called for the formation of a mass black revolutionary party. Would you outline your perspective on this?

Hutchings: Our idea in calling for a mass black revolutionary political party is that we think black people need some kind of mechanism to fit into what will be a very long struggle for liberation in this country. It is important that black people have some kind of instrument which has 1) an ideology, 2) some type of methodology, 3) an analysis of who is the enemy and what has to be done to overthrow this enemy, and 4) a membership that is built using day to day struggles which begin to bring people to see an alternative to what exists now.

We think it is very important that people see what change can do for them. People fear change, especially when they cannot understand what the change will be, even though they may need it very badly. One of the things that a political party does is that it gives people something to do in the here and now while at the same time presenting a picture of what the future can be.

The political party that we envision does not fit into the conception of mainstream political parties in that it does not run in elections—or, at best, it displays a very cavalier attitude toward elections. It is our position that the majority of things having to do with power and that deal with people's lives are never up for electoral vote.

For instance, it is never possible to vote for who runs General Motors, or who runs AT&T, or on how the whole economic portion of the country is run. People on the very lower level never have a chance to vote on who is in the police force, or how to get rid of the merchants who are oppressing them, or to vote on their welfare case

workers, or other little things which have a lot to do with their lives.

So we're saying from the very outset that the primary focus of this black revolutionary party has got to be beyond electoral politics, that electoral politics plays a very small role in this mass party. It's our idea that politics is not who you vote for in this election or that election, but politics is a collection of the forces which determine how you live your life.

One of the things that we in SNCC have found in organizing black people over the past eight years is that people never fight unless it is necessary. They have to be forced to fight, feeling that there is something in it for them and that they can win. Having an organization that has the kind of philosophy that can bind people together for a long struggle is one of the ways that the people will be able to bear any kind of repression that the white power structure can put upon them.

Q: How does the Black Panther Party fit into SNCC's view of the development of a black party?

A: We think the development of the Black Panther Party of California is one of the strongest developments in the movement to date. The philosophy of Defense Minister Huey P. Newton of picking up the gun and beginning to organize in a very aggressive manner against the white power structure around basic needs—such as the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party—is a definite intensification of the struggle for black liberation.

At present we see the Black Panther Party in the many communities where it is beginning to organize as serving to be a kind of very necessary militia, in an educational sense, that begins to raise issues, that begins to talk about the whole philosophy of violence and begins to show in many ways what the real ills of the present society are and how black people as a group will never fit into the mainstream of American political life.

We see the Black Panthers as the begin-

ning of the kind of political party we're talking about. They are beginning to set up what are some of the necessary types of organization, especially around the question of self-defense. This is what the black community has to be able to understand before they can move to form a genuine revolutionary political party. We don't think the Black Panthers are the last stage.

Q: What role will united fronts, such as the one in Washington, D. C., the Black Congress in Los Angeles, and united fronts that exist elsewhere, play in the building of a black party?

A: It is our position that if the united fronts are organized in a correct political way that they can be the forerunners of the black political party. We think that a black political party in order to have a mass base has got to have elements from the entire black community.

United fronts contain people who represent different interests within the black community, different economic strata, and at the same time these fronts form a kind of communications network among different organizations. This enables them to work among each other and to defend each other against repression. The united front, if nothing more, is simply an umbrella to bring the black community together against the hostile white outside world.

We think that as the repression begins to intensify in the black community, there will be more and more attacks against black liberation fighters and black liberation organizations. What will happen is that the attacks will not be directed simply at these organizations, but, invariably, at everything black. And as these attacks begin, the united fronts will become, not so much middle-class bourgeois fronts, but they will become more revolutionary and more political in their ideology. And from the best elements of the united fronts you will have the nucleus for the formation of a black political party.

Q: What analysis is SNCC developing

to deal with exploitation and racism?

A: We have always maintained that black people in this country have two problems. One is the question of color. Black people in America have been oppressed because of the color of their skins. This results from something called racism, which is a psychological manifestation of some disease that has been brought to this country by white Europeans and people principally of the West. These people have never been able to relate honestly and in a humane way to people of color, whether you are talking about black, yellow, brown, or whatever.

But at the same time that black people have been discriminated against because of their color, they have also been discriminated against by capitalism because of their economic weakness. Capitalism is basically a system which is beyond color and will discriminate against everyone, white people as well as black people.

It is very much in the interest of black people in this country to realize that they have to fight two struggles. The first is on the question of color, of cultural integrity—which is the first part of the question of black power that addresses itself to being black. At the same time, they have to fight against the power system in this country, which is tied into the economic system.

If you are talking about really going for power, and not simply some kind of cultural fadism, you have to talk about overturning the capitalistic power system. It is our position in SNCC that capitalism is simply an "update" of feudalism, and that feudalism, with its concern for property like capitalism, is only an "update" of something called slavery, and that therefore black people are by and large slaves. Black power in its truly revolutionary sense can never mean black capitalism because the two are inherently contradictory.

Q: Is it possible to develop black control of the black community under this system?

A: The white power structure has learned the lesson of Africa, where you give people visible political control, but you do not give them real control in terms of the economy. The same thing is true here. There can be no such thing as a black power mayor or a black power leader within the present American system, it simply cannot be done. There will be black administrators, and people who will be projecting so-called blackness, but at the same time they will be serving the demands of the American political system, whether they realize that or not.

So we say that as long as you have a country like the United States, which has an industrial and technological development which spans the whole world, in other words, as long as there is international monopoly capitalism headquartered in the United States of America, it is impossible to talk about black control of the black community in this country.

Q: What kind of struggle will be needed to bring about black control of the black community?

A: We think that black control of the black community is a very good slogan to get people into action, and we think that it is a very good, radical demand to make in the true sense of getting to the root of the problem. It's important to fight for that demand because it is intensely logical, very rational, and very democratic. The problem is that this country is neither logical, rational, nor democratic. In the fight to get black control of the black community you will bring out all of the ills of the system in regard to black people.

Therefore, you must begin to fight not in one black community, such as a county, or a city, or an area—but you have to begin to move on a nationwide scale to begin to control the whole country. As America becomes more technological and the whole economic system becomes more immense, it also becomes more interdependent. So it is impossible to have an

BOOK REVIEW:

Polish student rebels

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST STUDENTS IN POLAND SPEAK OUT (1964-1968). Edited by George Lavan Weissman. Merit Publishers, 1968. 96 pp. \$1.25.

The body of this pamphlet consists of a new English translation of Jacek Kuron's and Karol Modzelewski's "Open Letter to Communist Party Members," one of the most important Marxist theoretical and programmatic statements to appear in the workers states since the silencing of the Russian Left Opposition in the late 1920s. To it are appended Antoni Zambrowski's brief "Reply to the Party Control Commission" and Isaac Deutscher's "Protest Letter to Gomulka."

Kuron, Modzelewski and Zambrowski are three of many young, oppositional Communists in Poland whose brave advocacy of their views has brought upon them the wrath of the governing bureaucrats. Kuron and Modzelewski were imprisoned from 1965 to 1967, and Zambrowski was fired from his teaching position at the University of Warsaw in 1966. All three are reported to have been arrested during this year's Polish student demonstrations.

The most interesting feature of Zambrowski's letter is his reference to the existence of "opposition groups" within the Polish CP, and his forthright defense of their right to present their ideas within the party. His own position is one of reform; he calls for the "controlled devel-

opment of socialist democracy," beginning with the reestablishment of democratic centralism in the Communist Party and ultimately—"in a more distant future"—establishing the right to form a legal opposition in the parliament.

Deutscher's letter is a powerful appeal for support of the persecuted Polish oppositionists. He contrasts brilliantly their dignity and integrity to the servility of the time-servers staffing the highest positions in the Polish state and party.

Kuron and Modzelewski state their central thesis simply: "The economic and social crisis cannot be overcome within the limits of the bureaucratic system. Revolution is inevitable." To assure the victory of the antibureaucratic forces and to provide guidelines for the subsequent social reconstruction, they propose following a genuinely revolutionary program.

Their proposed program can be summarized under three general points. First, they call for the establishment of workers' democracy, in which all power—political, economic and military—is lodged in workers' councils. Secondly, they call for the internationalization of the revolution; they recognize that the antibureaucratic struggle in Poland and the other "bureaucratic states" is an integral part of the worldwide socialist revolution. Finally, they recognize the necessity of building a revolutionary party to carry the working-class struggle through to the end.

This revolutionary program is elab-

orated in connection with an analysis of the existing postcapitalist societies that, while very penetrating, is defective in some important respects.

Kuron and Modzelewski regard the bureaucracy as a ruling class that, like other ruling classes, once played a progressive historical role. During the initial phase of industrialization of a backward country, in their view, it made possible an immense expansion of productive forces. However, after this initial phase is completed, the bureaucracy becomes a brake on the further unfolding of productive forces. Kuron and Modzelewski see the roots of the general crisis of the "bureaucratic system" in this contradiction.

In an introductory essay on the "Open Letter," Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International, critically assesses these views. He stresses that "history has never provided an example of a ruling class becoming a brake or an obstacle to the development of the productive forces within a few years. What is involved is a social layer brought to power under exceptional circumstances and exercising because of this an economic and political dictatorship that has no historical legitimacy and whose temporary 'utility' is very questionable." In spite of this, Frank concludes that "the difference between them [Kuron and Modzelewski] and the Trotskyist movement is terminological rather than political in nature."

onary party'

enclave of freedom or of liberation in one part of the country, unless you begin to talk seriously about taking on the whole power structure of the country.

The lies which hold this country together can be smashed by the revolutionary consciousness that can be organized around the whole question of black control of the black community.

Q: There is another question which is related to this, and that is, are there other potentially revolutionary forces in this country besides blacks?

A: It is our position that revolution has very little to do with the color of a person's skin. We feel that revolution has a lot to do with environment, with the position that people or groups of people are forced into, given the system or country that they live in.

In this country black people are the most prone to be revolutionaries, but there are people outside of black people who are thrown into a very revolutionary posture. I think of the developing revolutionary consciousness among Mexican-Americans, in places like Los Angeles and the Southwest under groups like the Brown Berets, and people such as Reis Tijerina and Corky Gonzales.

I think of the developing awareness among Puerto Ricans, like in Chicago where they have a Latin American defense organization, and in East Harlem where the Gut Theater has begun to do very political and very radical things. There is a great deal of revolutionary consciousness, or potential, that can be developed in all of these communities.

We have the question of what is the role of white people. SNCC maintains that we are not fighting against white skins but against white supremacy, and that there is a role for radical whites. We have said, since 1966 and even before that, that whites should begin to organize in the white community, to begin to split the white community so that when the eventual confrontation comes, it will not be a question of simply white versus black, but a question of power.

We think that because of the unique role of black people in this country, they will always be in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. But that does not necessarily mean that they have to be the only group that is revolutionary.

Q: Could you comment on the United Brothers campaign in Newark where they are running two people for city council?

A: The campaign and the whole program is not necessarily a revolutionary program. It is a program around the whole concept, once again, of black control of black communities, or self-determination of Newark by 1970. The campaign of the two candidates, Ted Pinckney and Donald Tucker for city council, is an attempt to get some type of black solidarity within a city which has had a very tough time in getting black solidarity. This is in spite of the fact that black people in Newark are at least 57 percent of the population, and perhaps even more. What is happening is that the campaign of the two candidates is an attempt to begin to bring to the surface the problems of Newark, New Jersey.

It is very important I think to add that the two candidates were nominated at a black convention in Newark. The black convention developed a whole opposition platform for what should be done in Newark. It was the first time in the history of Newark that black people have come together as a very large group to decide how that city should operate. If we say that white power has messed up Newark, what will black power do? How do we begin to plan on the level of housing, in the field of education, in the field of welfare, in city finance and tax finance, and how do we begin to move to get real power and real control in Newark?

As I said before, it is the position of SNCC that this basically cannot be done within the workings of the American poli-

tical system. But it is only in the attempt to find that out that black people will begin to develop revolutionary consciousness in Newark or any place else.

People do not become instant militants. It is a process that unfolds through action, hard work, and an analysis that is gained by failure to do what seems to be something very simple, something that should very easily happen in a so-called democratic country. Once we see those so-called simple things cannot happen, the pathway to revolutionary activity becomes possible.

Q: Could you comment on the various defense cases of SNCC militants, especially Cleveland Sellers' case and Rap Brown's case? Also, what can people do to support these cases?

A: Well, SNCC is getting just as much repression as ever. At present we have over 40 people who are in jail in the state of Texas. While Governor Connally was trying to fight for the unit rule at the Democratic Party convention, the people in Texas were putting 40 SNCC people in jail. Basically, those 40 people come from four cities — Dallas, Houston, Austin, and Killean.

Lee Otis Johnson, a SNCC organizer from Houston, received a 30-year sentence for supposed or alleged possession of marijuana. In Dallas, Ernest Stephens was given a 20-year sentence for supposedly throwing a rock through somebody's window and for "malicious destruction of property." All of these are trumped-up charges in an attempt to keep SNCC people from organizing in the state and to smash the whole organization.

In the case of H. Rap Brown, he is very concerned about his trial, which comes up in Cambridge, Md., this year, probably sometime in October. He feels that with Maryland's Governor Spiro Agnew on the ticket with Richard Nixon, the Republicans will try to get a conviction in his case. This would enable the Republicans to go around and say that while Hubert Humphrey simply talks about "law and order," Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew can "take care of the agitators."

And so it will be necessary for SNCC, various black militants, and concerned white radicals around the country to mount a huge campaign to defend the brother,



Phil Hutchings

and not simply around the question of defending H. Rap Brown but around the political program that SNCC is trying to institute.

Cleve Sellers is momentarily out of jail. He was given bond on the charge concerning draft evasion. But he still has to face charges and the possibility of a 70-year sentence for his activities in Orangeburg, South Carolina, stemming from events around the Orangeburg Massacre, which was perpetrated by the white police power structure in South Carolina.

Various other SNCC people, such as Willie Ricks, Bob Moore in Baltimore, and Bob Smith in Atlanta, also face the possibility of jailings because of their political activity. I am up on a charge of unlawful assembly in St. Louis, Missouri — resulting from a trip I just made there.

I was put into jail and then the city workhouse for five days on a so-called charge of trying to incite a riot.

Because there are so many cases involving SNCC people we have set up a SNCC Defense Fund. And that address is 360 Nelson St. SW, Atlanta, Georgia, c/o of the SNCC National Office. People can write there and send contributions in care of the deputy chairman of SNCC, Bob Smith.

We feel it is important to link all of these cases together and to begin to see these cases for what they really are, as not simply a question of a legal defense, but a part and parcel of the white power structure's attempt to use the judicial system as a way to harass, to limit political activity, and to crack down on dissent in this country.

Nisqually Indians stage protest fish-in

By Christina Burks

SEATTLE, Wash. — A week-long fish-in was conducted here by the Nisqually Indian Tribe in defiance of the State of Washington and the U. S. Supreme Court. The government is illegally attempting to deny the Nisqually Indians rights granted them under the 1854 Treaty of Medicine Creek.

Nets were set at four "usual and accustomed" places in the Nisqually River around Frank's Landing, with a 24-hour guard to prevent theft of the gear by state fisheries wardens. These guards were manned by supporters of the Indians from a number of groups in the Puget Sound area including the Young Socialist Alliance, Black Panther Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Students for a Democratic Society and the Socialist Workers Party.

The week of protest has also included a rally on the State Capitol steps Sept. 5 and several attempts to fish at Capitol Lake in Olympia. A number of Indians and their supporters were arrested in the Olympia fish-ins, including Suzette Bridges, Robert Stern, John Vigil, Dan Hauser, Lawrence Seide and Floyd Turner.

While there has been no action by the department of fisheries at the Frank's Landing fish-in, it has been under the surveillance of state fisheries wardens and the nets have been frequently buzzed by a state helicopter.

This series of events is the latest in a long history of attempts by Washington State Indians to maintain their established human and treaty rights in the face of continued harassment and encroachment by the State of Washington and the U. S. government.

Over the past five years the state has stolen and sold over \$500,000 worth of fishing gear belonging to the Nisqually and other tribes. A number of Indians have been jailed and fined for the exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed treaty rights, on which the economic survival of their families depends.

State agents have invaded the reservation and have destroyed gear and beaten Indian fishermen, including old women and children.

At the Sept. 5 rally there were 80 demonstrators, about 60 onlookers and a large contingent of newsmen. A number of Indian speakers decried the condition of Indians in Washington State; speakers from non-Indian groups pledged their support.

Suzette Bridges declared, "Let Mr. Daniel J. Evans [Washington governor] know that we are going to keep right on fishing no matter what he does . . . Nobody's going to kill my people without everybody knowing about it." Debbie Leonard, Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. Senate was among the non-Indian speakers emphasizing their support.



NETS READY. Nisqually Indians defy government ban on their traditional fishing rights in Washington State.

Teamsters propose N.Y. family subsidy

Something new has been added to union demands. On Sept. 23, Barry Feinstein, president of Teamsters Local 237, announced that one of the demands for 3,500 New York City Housing Authority employees was a government-financed \$5-a-week per child allowance.

Feinstein based the new demand on words right out of the horses' mouths—Mayor Lindsay, who as vice-chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders supported such family subsidies; Social Service Commissioner Jack R. Goldberg; and Mitchell I. Ginsberg, Human Resources Administrator, who has "long advocated wage subsidies based on need rather than market place values."

Sixty-two other nations, including, to name but a few, England, Sweden, Canada, France and West Germany, do grant such family supplemental payments.

"Fun City"—which isn't fun for most of its inhabitants—faces three major union contract expirations on Sept. 30. As this is being written, on Sept. 25, round-the-clock negotiations are going on between the New York authorities and city police, firemen and sanitation workers.

The Policemen's Benevolent Association has pledged not to strike. All it wants, in addition to higher pay and better working conditions, is that city hall "take off the handcuffs" it alleges the cops have been shackled with and allow the police to "enforce law and order." This is a racist demand to give cops a go-ahead to crack down on the legitimate rights of black people.

The Uniformed Firefighters, now supported by their officers' association, are asking for more money, shorter work turns, better pensions and more adequate support for their survivors. Five firemen have died

Students in Phila. march to protest FBI harassment

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25—A rally and march of 400 students today demanded an end to FBI harassment of the antiwar movement and the student newspaper at the University of Pennsylvania. The action was spurred by the invasion of the offices of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* by FBI agents demanding the name of the person who placed a "We Won't Go" ad in the paper last year. The editors refused to give this information to the FBI and were backed by the more than 2,400 students who signed petitions circulated by Students for a Democratic Society. The Resistance, Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, and the Penn Vietnam Week Committee. These organizations, together with the Coalition of Democratic and Independent Voters, sponsored today's demonstration. The speakers at the rally demanded that the FBI and police agents not be allowed on campus.

The National Picketline

on duty in the past few months. They are talking strike with a capital S.

The Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association is also asking substantial wage increases "based on a formula which takes into consideration injury hazards, the strenuous nature of the work and the 26 percent productivity increase over the past year."

The United Steelworkers' bureaucracy moves with speed and dispatch when faced with any challenge—from its own membership.

On Sept. 17 Donald C. Rarick, a local union president who had announced his candidacy in the forthcoming union election, died suddenly of a heart attack.

I. W. Abel probably read that obituary with relief. But almost simultaneously Emil E. Narick, assistant general counsel for the union, announced that he was entering the lists against Abel.

Five days later the USW national office announced that Narick had been demoted from his post to a "desk job" in the contract department.

Incidentally, at the recent USW convention, Abel and Co. defeated a resolution which would have relaxed the present very strict requirement for national office candidacy. And this in spite of recent court rulings voiding elections in both the National Maritime Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union after membership challenges.

The Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have won their 158-day strike against the Illinois Bell Telephone Co. (a strike which rather discommoded the Democratic convention).

The installers won a \$27.50 wage increase over three years, as well as improved fringe benefits.

According to the Sept. 14 issue of *Business Week*, the presidents of both the International Assn. of Machinists and the United Mine Workers have "placed their organizations in the forefront of the labor militants . . . and are preparing for hard settlements" in coming negotiations.

P. L. Roy Seimiller, IAM president, told his convention that during the past four years the union has had more strikes, paid out more benefits, and won more bargaining gains than in any previous four-year period. He said "militancy has paid off with resurgent union growth" and went on to pledge more of the same in the future.

In Denver, W. A. "Tony" Boyle told the UMW convention that hard times for the coal industry were over, that there is increasing organization and that prospects for a substantial settlement in current bargaining are good.

It will be most interesting to see what comes.

— Marvel Scholl

New York painters strike wins significant concessions

By Bernie Stanton

The first strike in almost a quarter of a century of the Painters Union of New York City has ended with a decisive victory for the union. After five and a half weeks on the picket line, the rank and file by a two-to-one majority, voted to ratify a new contract.

The major issues in the strike were wages and working conditions which had deteriorated to the point where the painters were far below the rest of the building-trades unions, including the laborers. On the question of wages the new settlement provides for a package increase of \$1.40 an hour over a three-year period, averaging about 47 cents per hour each year. This contrasts with the 14 cents an hour the union had won in the previous six years.

On working conditions, the union won some important concessions. Perhaps most important of all was the right to select its own shop stewards without being subject to approval of the employers. In the past the boss had the right of veto power over a steward he didn't like. This meant that the steward had to be the boss's man in order to stay on the job. Under the new settlement the boss no longer has this veto power.

What may prove of even greater significance in the long run is the fact that for the first time in the building-trades unions a grievance committee is being set up which puts in question the right of the boss to hire and fire freely. A man can now protest if he is unjustly fired and have a hearing. In this respect the Painters Union is ahead of other building-trades unions.

A number of other concessions were won including some fringe benefits. The union calculates that a total package of \$59-a-week increase was won over a three-year period.

This victory was noteworthy because of the militancy that was developed and the solidarity displayed by the men throughout the strike. It was even more remarkable because the union was functioning under a new leadership; the deadweight of the old, corrupt leadership had only recently been removed after a bureaucratic dictatorship lasting two decades. Moreover, the new leadership, while personally honest, did not provide a clear-cut program

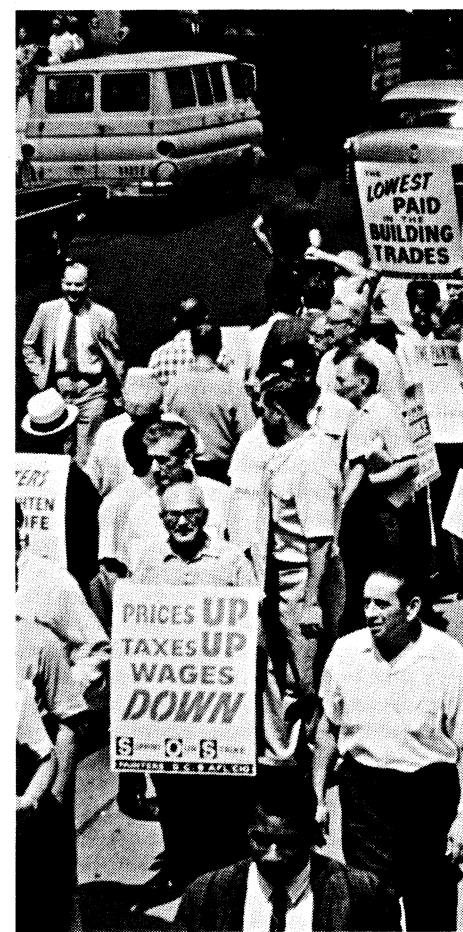


Photo by Shannon

ON THE LINE. Painters manned picketline during five-and-a-half week strike.

around which the men could rally. Despite the lack of proper preparation and organization for the strike, the membership showed such solidarity in action that the bosses cracked and signed on terms that represented a big step forward for the union.

The main task confronting the union in the next period is *enforcing* the new agreement. This means militant stewards to police the jobs and a union administration to back them up. It means developing a program to educate the membership and give them a perspective for the future. And, finally, it means the building of a left-wing leadership to carry the struggle through.

The Great Society

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS—Faced with a threatened march on the presidential palace, the Peruvian government decreed that titles should be issued to the slum plots occupied by squatters who ring the city of Lima. Reporting on this, Juan de Onis of the *New York Times* said some people see these slum encampments as "social sores" to be eradicated. But, he added, a growing number of "urban specialists" now see them as a "practical and financially sound response to the need for low-cost housing. . ." Why not just have them dig caves? That's an even better deal.

a study done recently by two political scientists.—News item in the *New York Post*.

TRAINED BY CIA?—One gang of Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Miami bombed the headquarters of another and issued a press release so announcing. They were apparently unaware that the target group had been evicted from the bombed building some weeks previously.

FOR THE UNDERGROUND?—"Soviets to build Prague subway."—Headline in the *Daily World*.

IT FIGURES—Robert Ehrler, accused of slaying a 12-year-old girl in Florida, gave himself up to police in Phoenix, Arizona. Arizona authorities said he was heavily armed with guns, tear gas and hand grenades he had obtained as a member of the Green Berets in Vietnam and of two different Florida police forces.

YOU CAN HEAR A CHECK DROP—A midtown Manhattan restaurant will feature serve-yourself-in-silence breakfasts. Juice, coffee and rolls. \$3.

HIS THING—Mainbocher, a fashion designer whose items never go below \$1,000, refuses to discuss price on the assumption that any woman who appreciates his designs can afford them. "I must do what I believe," he says. "It's my responsibility."

NO CONTEST—There was no need for computers to tally the vote in Little Rock and Glyndon townships, Minnesota, during recent state primaries. In both townships not a single person bothered to cast a ballot.

— Harry Ring

OBVIOUSLY—Desertions from the Saigon army passed the 50,000 mark during the first six months of this year, as compared to 40,000 in the same period last year. Pentagon specialists said this in no way suggested a drop in morale.

THE WAY WE LIVED THEN—Mrs. Etienne Boegner of Old Westbury, L. I., recalled for a society reporter what it was like in the old days: "We had seven houses (Palm Beach, Tallahassee, Cape Cod, Virginia, Old Westbury, New York, and a salmon fishing camp in Canada), and everything was perfectly organized. There were two chauffeurs, 14 servants, a secretary, handyman, and I don't know how many gardeners. Every summer we'd jump on a boat to England with three cars, a chauffeur, maids, governesses and a valet. It was the way everyone lived in those days, if they were lucky."

SEXLESS CENTER?—"LOS ANGELES—Childhood sexual conflicts might be related to the development of extremist right-and-left-wing political behavior, according to the tentative conclusions of

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

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Cuba Today (IV): Escalante and foreign policy

By Harry Ring

This is the last of four articles on Cuba today. The author spent three months in Cuba at the beginning of this year.

Ultraleft and Stalinist opponents of Cuba in various countries have joined in assailing the Escalante prosecution as a new "Moscow Trial." This charge that Escalante and his associates are victims of a political frame-up similar to the monstrous show trials staged by Stalin in the 1930s is a bit ironical when voiced by such organs as *l'Humanite*. This is the organ of the French Communist Party, which is notorious for its consistent, unblinking refusal to reconsider its shameful defense of Stalin's crimes.

There is no objective basis for lumping together the Moscow Trials and the Escalante case. In the Moscow Trials, forcibly extracted "confessions" were used to frame-up revolutionary Marxists who had played a central role in the October Revolution. These revolutionaries were painted as counterrevolutionary "agents of fascism."

In the Escalante case it was charged that a group of Stalinist reformists, with a long public record of the worst kind of bureaucratism and blind support to the Kremlin, had acted in a manner completely consistent with their whole political past. They had asked that economic pressure be exerted to compel Cuba to abandon its revolutionary line and bow down to the Moscow hierarchy.

There is, however, an aspect of the Escalante prosecution which, in my opinion, does warrant criticism—a legitimate criticism consistent with full support to the Cuban Revolution, a criticism that would evoke little sympathy from the editors of *l'Humanite*.

The resolution concerning Escalante's "microfaction" adopted by the central committee of the Cuban party and elaborated in Raul Castro's report and in the presentation of the prosecutor contained three general points as the basis for the trial.

The first was seeking Soviet-bloc intervention to force a change in Cuban policy. The second was that state and party documents, which Escalante had no right to have, were transmitted to him by members of his group. The third charge was that of "proselytizing and furthering of ideological divergences . . ."

It was charged that the Escalante group had conducted itself as a faction, that it had reproduced and circulated literature from the USSR and elsewhere that contradicted and opposed various Cuban positions, and that members of the group had utilized various educational discussions to advance their views.

Incorrect action

In my opinion the Cuban leadership was wrong to include these points as a basis for criminal prosecution. Regardless of intent, it can only be construed as making the promotion of ideas a criminal offense. This is a concept that is totally alien to the principles of socialist democracy.

The Cuban party and state certainly have the right to protect themselves from the counterrevolutionary efforts of the Moscow bureaucracy as implemented through such a formation as the Escalante grouping. And to declare that such a grouping would not be permitted to function within the Cuban Communist Party would be an entirely justifiable stand, particularly in the context of Cuba's acutely difficult situation.

But it is a violation of Leninist norms to proscribe minority views and legitimate



Photo by Harry Ring

"THE LORD." Section of stained glass ceiling, a la Michelangelo, at Third World exhibit in Havana last January. Exhibit was indictment of role of imperialism in colonial world and powerful appeal for revolutionary struggle against it.

political factions. The error is compounded when it is suggested that factional activity within the Communist Party is not only the subject for action by the party, but is also the basis for criminal prosecution by the state.

A revolutionary party has the full right to defend itself against a formation which is not seeking to win the party to its ideas but is acting as a tool of an outside force dedicated to thwarting the party's revolutionary objectives.

But among revolutionary adherents to a revolutionary party, the right to dissent and to try to change the party's political position on any and all questions must be assured if the democratic aspect of the Leninist concept of democratic centralism is to have any substance.

And the right of those with minority views to form factions within the party to promote their particular views is one that was guaranteed in the era of Lenin.

Throughout the history of the Bolshevik party, from its inception, through the period of the struggle for power and after, this right was assured and was used by a whole variety of factions.

True, during the moments of extreme peril for the revolution, at the end of the exhausting civil-war period, the right to form factions within the party was temporarily suspended. And Lenin made it absolutely clear that this was a strictly temporary measure dictated by the extreme gravity of the situation.

Stalinist dogma

It was only when Stalin came to power and began the process of destroying the socialist democracy established under Lenin and Trotsky that factions were declared permanently abolished. A standing ban on factions within a party is a Stalinist dogma—not a Leninist norm.

The right of those with differing views to form factions is not only consistent with democracy. It is also, politically, an eminently practical concept.

If members of a revolutionary party are in serious political disagreement with the majority view on one or another issue, yet are denied the right to promote their view within the party in a regulated way, they will inevitably find other means of doing so. Just as ideas cannot be successfully suppressed in society at large, so they cannot be within the ruling party either. For that reason alone, it is far better to establish regularized norms to assure the systematic, organized presentation of minority views.

This enables the entire membership of the party to consider differing views in an open, honest way and then arrive at a democratic decision for or against. It's more educational, more beneficial to the party, and, in the long run, far less costly than any futile attempt to proscribe dissident ideas or their expression. And it is the free interchange of ideas that is the only long-range assurance of maintaining a correct, revolutionary policy.

Again, this does not mean that a party or state does not have the right to protect itself against the counterrevolutionary, genuinely conspiratorial efforts of a grouping like Escalante's.

I think the Escalante trial was justified in that it served sharp notice on the Kremlin that interference in Cuba's internal affairs will not go unchallenged. I also think, however, that the issue would have been more clearly defined and its international impact greater, with most doubts removed, if the issue of promoting dissident views had not been brought into the prosecution.

Politically consistent

It is perfectly plain that Escalante and his cohorts were guilty of the actual criminal charge. The charges, as I have indicated, are consistent with the public political record of the group. No one has seriously argued that their admissions of guilt were forcibly extracted fabrications.

Moreover, a whole number of East German, Czech and Soviet figures were specifically named in Raul Castro's report. All of them are outside Cuba. To my knowledge, none of them has denied the charges, nor have the governments involved.

But, some might argue, is it really a criminal offense for people in one noncapitalist country to seek support for their views in other noncapitalist countries?

If that were all that was involved, the answer, clearly, would be, no. It might, at one point or another, even be a necessity and a duty.

But the incriminated individuals were not simply seeking ideological support for their particular views. They sought—and apparently not without success as indicated by Moscow's refusal to sell Cuba needed oil—to have the Kremlin use its economic power to bring the Cubans to their knees—to compel them by crude economic force to abandon their policies. This is certainly a crime, on national-democratic grounds as well as from the viewpoint of revolutionary socialist principles.

And the crime is particularly odious in that they were trying to blackmail Cuba into abandoning one of the most significant and positive aspects of its policies—its commitment to the support of revolutionary struggle against U. S. imperialism.

The Cuban leadership, in my opinion, made a serious mistake in endorsing—even very critically—the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia. But the fact remains that up to this point, Cuba has made a big contribution to the world liberation struggle by its persistent opposition to the counterrevolutionary policies of the pro-Moscow CPs.

Anti-Stalinism

In the struggle for a revolutionary policy in Latin America, Cuba has dealt devastating blows to Stalinist reformism and opportunism. It has aided greatly in deepening the revolutionary understanding of the movements in Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela and other countries.

In the process of learning from each other and from the Cubans, these movements are acquiring a deepened understanding of the nature of Stalinism. They are learning the crucial lesson that the failure of their own CPs to support armed struggle is not a localized aberration but the concrete expression of a continentally and, indeed, worldwide counterrevolutionary policy of the parties committed to applying the Kremlin's treacherous, class-collaborationist policy of "peaceful co-existence."

These experiences, in turn, are helping to deepen the revolutionary consciousness of the Cuban people. Che Guevara is a genuine hero in Cuba. His picture is to be seen everywhere on the island. And along with it, most frequently, his declaration, ". . . make two, three, many Vietnams!"

Nor is the slogan repeated as mere rhetoric. There is genuine popular support among the people for the Cuban regime's revolutionary policy for Latin America, and there is a deep, passionate sense of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

An example: At the height of the milk shortage in Cuba last March a rumor swept Havana that longshoremen had refused to load milk for Vietnam. A friend commented that what was interesting about this particular rumor was that each person that passed it on expressed shock.

A few days later Fidel dispelled the rumor in a speech. He said no such incident occurred, that in fact Vietnam had never requested milk from Cuba.

However, he added, if Vietnam should request it, Cuba, despite its own needs, would send that milk.

From everything I saw during my three months in Cuba, I am convinced that such an action would have the full support of a big majority of the Cuban people.

To me that is one of the most inspiring aspects of the Cuban Revolution.

(End of a series)

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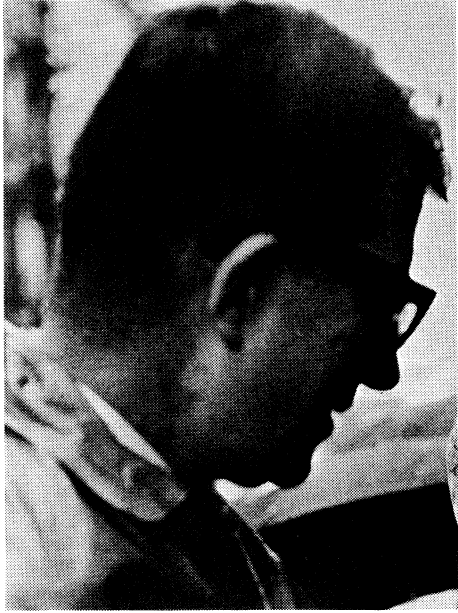
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5,000 protest N.Y. school shutdown



ALBERT SHANKER. New York teachers' union head has led UFT into reactionary strike against black and Puerto Rican communities.

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Nearly 5,000 angry people, overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican, jammed Manhattan Center last night for a meeting protesting the United Federation of Teachers' strike, now in its third week. The teachers' strike, while painted by UFT president Albert Shanker as an action in defense of "due process" and against "mob rule" in the schools, is in reality an attack on the right of the black and Puerto Rican communities to control their own schools. Shanker refers to black and Puerto Rican parents as a "mob."

The morning of the rally the city board of education had ordered the local governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn, a predominantly black district, to accept the return of 110 teachers who had been transferred out of the area by the local board because of their reported opposition to community control of the schools. These teachers have become a symbolic issue in the dispute.

The crowd at Manhattan Center gave a standing ovation to Rhody McCoy, the black administrator of the embattled Brooklyn district, when he declared, "Shanker wants to humiliate the black community, he wants us to crawl. But we will never crawl! We will not be humiliated!"

The rally had been sponsored by the city's Council Against Poverty and the New Coalition, an opposition group within the UFT that has opposed the strike and supported the demand for black and Puerto Rican community control. Virtually every local community group in the city took part in the rally, including the Black Panther Party—which was cheered by the crowd.

More than 30 speakers denounced the racist character of the UFT strike action. Especially warmly received were Rhody McCoy; the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board; Luis Fuentes, a principal of one of the Brooklyn schools; Herman Ferguson, victim of a racist frame-up in Queens last year on a phony charge of plotting to assassinate "civil rights leaders"; and Milton Galamison, a black spokesman who was recently appointed to the city board of education.

Galamison said he would "not be used by Shanker to sell-out black people."

A speaker for the teachers opposing the strike, Jeff Mackler of the New Coalition, declared, "The UFT claim that it is fighting for due process is fraudulent. More than 2,800 teachers were 'excessed' last June, not rehired, and the UFT never said a word. The UFT spent \$500,000 opposing all proposals for decentralization of the schools. It is clear that the real issue is black and Puerto Rican control of the schools."

Mackler urged that no trust be placed in any city or state officials to protect the rights of black people. It would be a mistake, he said, to call for the use of the strike-breaking Taylor law against the UFT as had been suggested by members of the Council Against Poverty, as it would set the precedent for the government stepping in to smash strikes and also the actions of the black community.

The meeting strongly supported the demand for the immediate opening of all city schools and cheered descriptions by administrators and students of the smooth functioning of schools in ghetto areas, where the strike has had little effect. New programs are being introduced in these schools to adapt them to the needs of the community, such as bilingual classes in Spanish-speaking areas.

A high consciousness of unity and purpose gave an exuberant air to the standing-room-only meeting. Telegrams of support were read to the applause of the audience. These included a message from a field representative of the Washington, D.C., Federation of Teachers. Luis Fuentes received a standing ovation when he read a moving quote from Malcolm X.

Anti-Humphrey protest planned for N.Y., Oct. 9



NEW YORK—A massive turnout of antiwar demonstrators is expected to greet Hubert Humphrey when he comes here Oct. 9. He will be the principal speaker at a Liberal Party dinner that evening at the Americana Hotel at 7th Ave. and 52nd St.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee is organizing to mobilize its constituent organizations and their supporters for the demonstration.

The New York Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced an extensive campaign of leafletting and other publicity on the city's campuses to assure a maximum student turnout for the action.

Humphrey has already been effectively hit by the antiwar demonstrators who greeted him in Boston, Cleveland and elsewhere. The turnout in New York is expected to be the largest yet.

The Student Mobilization Committee at its national conference in Chicago Labor Day weekend decided it would organize actions against Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace in the various cities where they appeared. A similar decision was made by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and by the New York Parade Committee.

In anticipation that some of the appearances here of the three candidates will come on little or no notice, the Parade Committee has asked antiwar activists to check regularly by phoning the committee's Dial-A-Demonstration service. The number is 924-6315.

Berkeley students demand Cleaver lecture series

BERKELEY, Sept. 24—Over 2,000 University of California students at a packed meeting here tonight unanimously voted to demand that Eldridge Cleaver be allowed to teach a full series of classes this fall. The meeting was called in response to a Sept. 20 decision by the university's board of regents limiting Cleaver to one class.

The issue, which raises the same basic questions as the 1964 Free Speech Movement, arose when the university invited Eldridge Cleaver to give a 10-lecture series in a sociology course on "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order."

The state senate passed a resolution sponsored by the Birchites to censure the university. Reagan demanded that the university regents terminate Cleaver's appointment before classes start. The regents responded with the Sept. 20 decision limiting Cleaver to one appearance.

The meeting tonight was called by the Associated Student Body, the university's student government.

Boutelle opens nationwide tour in Pacific Northwest

By David Herman

PORTLAND, Ore., Sept. 25—Although state universities here are not yet in session, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential nominee Paul Boutelle spoke to almost 1,000 people at four campuses in the Portland area during his three-day tour that ended yesterday.

Boutelle's first appearance was in the Albina ghetto district. The meeting was chaired by Tom Wilson, a prominent black political figure here who is currently a presidential elector of the pro-McCarthy Fourth Party, and it received extensive coverage in Portland's major newspaper, the *Oregonian*.

More than 200 students heard Boutelle at Pacific University. Pacific U's Black Student Union sponsored his visit there, and the meeting was chaired by the Union's president, Howard Storey.

Boutelle next addressed more than 300 students, including some 60 high-school students, at Oregon State University in the Portland suburb of Corvallis. The meeting was sponsored by the Student and Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam, with Floyd McFarlen, professor of economics and chairman of the Student and Faculty Committee, presiding.

At Reed College, 150 people came to hear the socialist candidate, and at the University of Portland, a Roman Catholic school, Boutelle spoke to more than 200 students.

In addition to the story in the *Oregonian*, the tour received extensive coverage in the

campus press and on local TV and radio stations. In addition, Boutelle was a guest on the most popular radio "talk show" in Portland.

During the tour, SWP campaigners enrolled 20 Portlanders as endorsers of the socialist campaign.

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, completed a successful three-day tour here Sept. 21. Boutelle addressed meetings of 600 students at Simon Fraser University and 400 students at the University of British Columbia.

Friday evening, Boutelle spoke to more than 100 people at the Vanguard Forum. The audience included members of the Native Alliance for Red Power, an organization of Canadian Indians. (The Alliance's *Newsletter* may be obtained for \$1 for 6 issues from Native Alliance for Red Power, Box 6152, Vancouver 8, B. C., Canada.)

Threats by brass spur GIs to build S.F. peace march

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 25—GIs are responding to threats by the brass to crack down on the Oct. 12 GI and Vet's March for Peace by helping to build the march. Each weekly organizational meeting at Sacred Heart Catholic Church here sees more servicemen than the last.

The GIs were attracted by leaflets and other publicity which used a message from General Estes, chief of the Military Airlift Command, to General McConnell, Air Force chief of staff, asking that McConnell "quash" the march.

The servicemen also said they came to help build the action because of threats by the brass to transfer three of the GI organizers of the march. Transfers to Utah had been ordered for Michael Locks and John Bright, but the Air Force backed down after march organizers and lawyers took legal steps. Lieut. Hugh Smith, another organizer of the march, is under orders for Taiwan.

One of the GIs at last week's meeting said, "If the brass is all that worried, we must be on to a good thing." So far, GIs from the Presidio of San Francisco, Fort Ord, Knoll Naval Hospital, Travis Air Force Base, Treasure Island, Presidio of

Monterey, Hamilton Air Force Base, and other West Coast bases are planning to join the march.

Servicemen on their way to Vietnam have stopped in to take leaflets and stickers with them. Several have said they would organize groups of GIs in Vietnam (and other military bases overseas) to support the march.

This weekend *Task Force* and *The Ally*, GI antiwar newspapers, will publish editions carrying major articles on the Oct. 12 march. Both papers will be distributed around the country by the Student Mobilization Committee and other antiwar groups in connection with publicity for the Oct. 21-27 days of protest.

Endorsements and financial support continue to arrive. Robert McAfee Brown, Stanford theologian, has agreed to speak at the rally after the march, along with Gen. Hugh Hester, Ret., and former Green Beret sergeant Donald Duncan. The Bay Area Labor Assembly for Peace and Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace have endorsed the march.

Michael Locks, one of the GI organizers of the march, is flying to Washington this week to seek congressional support of GIs' right to free speech.



IN BERKELEY. Paul Boutelle speaks on Telegraph Ave. last July 4.

THE MILITANT



Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

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Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany! Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

Hitler has taken another big step in the consolidation of exclusive Fascist domination of Germany. The social democrats whose policy of toleration to Bruening and von Schleicher and outright support for Hindenburg paved the way to the triumph of Hitler, is being repaid by the latter with a brutal kick in the face.

when the von Papen cabinet was established last year. Several days ago, it will be remembered, the social democratic blood hound, Gustav Noske, was removed as administrative head of Hanover.

Contrary to the infinitely stupid assertions of the Stalinists concerning the Fascist essence of social democracy—which do not improve by repetition in the face of obvious facts—there is a sharp antagonism between the social democracy and Fascism.

en even the most backward. But the Stalinist leaders of the Communist party continue with incredible obstinacy to prattle about "social Fascism" and the "united front from below".

Germany in the Daily Worker as if there were years of preparation ahead of them. To read their contributions, one would imagine that the Communist party is going to continue winning over ten socialist workers here and ten there until the social democracy is dissolved.

time! The Stalinists are playing with the situation! Tomorrow the individual workers who have been cut down by the Fascist thugs will be multiplied a thousand times, and under conditions not half so favorable to the workers of Germany as are the conditions of struggle at the present time.

Scottsb'ro Frame-Up Laid Bare

CHARGE OF "RAPE" PROVES TO BE UNFOUNDED; LETTER OF GIRL NOW PUBLISHED

A startling revelation which lays bare the whole rotten basis of the frame-up against the nine Scottsboro Negro lads convicted on a fraudulent charge of "rape" in a trial atmosphere charged with a lynching spirit, was made yesterday with the publication of a letter by Ruby Bates, one of the alleged victims of the act.

Text of Bates Letter The full text of the letter by Ruby Bates to her sweetheart Earl Streetman, is as follows:

"Dearest Earl: I want to make a statement to you Mary Saunders is a goodam lie about those Negroes jassing me those policeman made me tell a lie that is my statement because i want to clear my self that is all too if you want to believe me ok. If not that is ok, you will be sorry some day if you had to stay in jail with 8 eight Negroes you would tell a lie two those Negroes did not touch me or those white Boys i hope you will believe me the law dont. I love you Better than Mary does or any Body else in the world that is why i am telling you of this thing i was drunk at the time and did not know what i was doing i know it was wrong too let those Negroes die on account of me i hope you will believe my statement because it is the gods truth i hope you will believe me i was jazed but those White Boys jazed me i wish those Negroes are not Burrit on account of me it is those White Boys fault that is my statement and that is all i know i hope you tell the law hope you will answer."

Hitler Threat to Soviet Union

ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT CONTRADICTIONS IN POLITICS OF HITLERISM DRIVES IT TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THE OTHER IMPERIALISTS FOR AN ASSAULT UPON SOVIET UNION

Hitler, unlike von Papen, has never made public his economic program. This alone is sufficient reason for thinking that it may not be "fit to print" before a movement of infuriated petty bourgeois. But his entire demagoguery has centered around a number of slogans based on the crushing of the German petty bourgeoisie by the forces of world economy.

Yet it is clear that what he does say contradicts the economic fundamentals of the class which supports him, and what he does not say constitutes by itself a most important program.

Before the war, there was the classic case of the two brothers, both armies since the war, the bert von Wendel and Francois de Wendel, one sitting in the German Reichstag, the other in the French Chambre de Deputes, realizing their own private united front of Franco-German capitalism during the war, the rich Briey ore basin of Lorraine was untouched by artillery from either side, on orders from the High Commands of both armies; since the war, the Loucheur-Rathenau agreements, the combination of German technology and French capital, the numerous cartel agreements to restrict production and raise prices in coal, steel, potash, glass, chemicals, cement and others, have shown how well German capitalism understands on which side its bread is buttered, no matter how it thunders against France in public.

Nazis Murder 11 Workers

The assassin bands of the murderous Fascist counter-revolution have spilled the blood of more than a score of German workers leaving about as many dead in their wake over the week-end.

In the cities of Eisleben, Bochum, Strausfurt, Dessau, Dortmund, Stuttgart, Breslau and, Bensehin innumerable individuals have gone to their graves—victims of Fascist gunplay. The Hitlerists have commenced a violent civil war. It will not terminate until either these brown shirtd hordes eradicate the organizations of the German proletariat or they find themselves under the tombstone they are preparing for those who will not rest silent under their blows.

The same news reports apprise us of the fact that in the above mentioned city of Eisleben, which is 110 miles from Berlin, a fierce encounter occurred between Nazi's and Communists which was provoked by the former. They gave the cynical excuse for their premeditated attack—a Nazi troop was fired at from Communist headquarters. The Brown Shirts stormed the same building wrecking everything they could lay their hands on. A fight ensued, the Communists heroically protecting their headquarters. The result of this battle were three persons killed and fifteen injured.

Friday, 8 P. M., FEBRUARY 17th 126 East 16th Street, ADMISSION: 15c N. Y. Br. Communist League of America (Opposition)

OPEN FORUM

"WHAT NEXT IN THE NEEDLE TRADES" RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RIGHT AND LEFT UNION The Policy of the Left Opposition Speaker: J. P. CANNON

Oehler Tour this Week

Comrade Hugo Oehler, member of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will open his National tour to arouse all class conscious workers to the danger of Fascism in Germany, in Utica on Friday, February 17. Comrade Oehler's tour of all the important cities must be met with big mass meetings to awaken and call to action every thinking worker. The

Fascism: Italian and German

COMPARISON BETWEEN ITALIAN FASCISM OF 1920 AND THE HITLERITE MOVEMENT OF TODAY SHOWS POSSIBILITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-MOVEMENT OF PROLETARIAT

The naming of Hitler, as Chancellor of the Reich cannot but call to mind the events which more than ten years ago led in Italy to the "March on Rome".

Between these two historic facts there are common features and striking analogies, which, altogether separated by a good decade and although products of countries very different from the point of view of their economic structures, their industrial development and in the specific gravity of the proletariat in relation to the other classes.

The second common characteristic, in Italy as in Germany, is that the Fascist movement has been created, financed and groomed for the administration of affairs, at the head of the government by the big bourgeoisie and the big agrarians.

Despite its social demagoguery and its anti-plutocratic phraseology, the Fascist movement does not come to power as a force opposed to the big bourgeoisie, to the plutocracy but as its representative, as its manager of the defense of the interests of same the bourgeoisie class.

The bourgeoisie is entirely conscious of this. Because of this the General Confederation of Italian Industry laid out 30 million lire for the financing of the preparation and the execution of the March on Rome only. And for the same reasons, the decisive sections of the German bourgeoisie placed Hitler at the head of the government. Hitler in the Chancellery does not mean the installation in power of wild bands against the bourgeoisie, but signifies a different and extraordinarily more efficacious utilization of these bands by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and against these very social layers which constitute the backbone of the Fascist movement.

As to the analogies of the situation ten years ago in Italy and the present situation in Germany, compare the tactic of the German Catholic social democracy with that of the Italian social democracy, the ephemeral cabinets of Von Papen with that of Facta and the fact that the Hitler Government, as well as that of Mussolini originates as an extra-parliamentary government, but also one comprising elements foreign to the Fascist party.

Millions to Be Jobless Permanently

ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED WILL REMAIN, ADMITS HEAD OF A. F. OF L., WM. GREEN

All the capitalist bombast about an early economic revival burst like a pricked balloon. Wm. Green, president of the American Federation of Labor has announced that the unemployment figures now stand at the appalling total of 12,000,000 and that between the months of December and January alone, more than 200,000 were laid off. And Bill Green is hardly given to exaggeration. On the contrary the number of jobless must far exceed his estimate.

The meaning of this statement is quite clear. More than 25 percent of those listed by the census as gainfully employed are now pounding the pavement and lining up at soup kitchens and breadlines. About as many workers do not receive more than part time employment. And if we add to these their wives and children then more than 50,000,000 human beings are standing on the brink of starvation in plentiful America. All of the employment schemes, all of the panaceas of the pot-bellied politicians all of the promises of the "captains of industry" have gone up in smoke. The working class is re-

These differences can and should be utilized in another manner by the proletariat. For they are nearly all unfavorable to the bourgeoisie and favorable to revolutionary proletarian action.

The greatest difference, the essential difference between the two situations of the March on Rome and the elevation of Hitler to the Chancellery is that in Germany the forces of the proletariat are almost intact. They are certainly weak, they are partly demoralized

Suspend 19 C.C.N.Y. Students

As the aftermath of a meeting of City College students held a few months ago in defiance of the instructions of school authorities, at which a protest was made against the despotic inroads made upon the rights of the students, nineteen of the latter have been suspended from the College by the Board of Higher Education.

continued on page 2

continued on page 2

continued on page 2

B'KLYN MASS MEETING

The CRISIS IN GERMANY

SPEAKERS: James P. Cannon Max Shachtman Chairman, Martin Abern

Labor Lyceum WEDNESDAY, FEB. 15, at 8 p. m. 949 WILLOUGHBY AVE., BROOKLYN, N. Y. ADMISSION 15 Cents

In this special supplement we are reproducing four front pages from early issues of The Militant in honor of the paper's 40th anniversary. The first issue of The Militant was dated Nov. 15, 1928.

For Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union

A Program Of Victory For The Soviet Union

We stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, as everyone knows who is acquainted with our party's position. The Stalinist leaders are desperately trying to fool their rank and file into believing that the Trotskyists do not defend the Soviet Union.

The word "unconditional" is plain enough. It means that we set no conditions whatsoever before we defend the Soviet Union. We do not demand that Stalin make any concessions to us before we defend the Soviet Union.

We defend the Soviet Union because the foundation of socialism established by the October revolution of 1917, the nationalized property, still remains and this foundation it is necessary to defend at all costs.

The Trotskyists in this country, in the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world say to the Soviet government: Place us in the most dangerous posts, we are ready and shall unhesitatingly accept.

It is to assure victory in the struggle against Hitler that our party presents a minimum program of imperative tasks for the Soviet Union. Whether the Stalinist bureaucracy accepts or rejects this program, we shall defend the Soviet Union. But we insist that this minimum program is vital in order to strengthen immeasurably the fighting power of the Soviet Union.

1. Release all pro-Soviet political prisoners. Restore them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army.

In the jails and concentration camps of the Kremlin there are tens of thousands of loyal revolutionists who proved themselves in the struggle against the White Guards and imperialist interventionists in the Civil War of 1918-1921 and in the struggle to build industry in the Soviet Union.

In spite of the persecution to which they have been subjected by the Kremlin bureaucrats, the loyalty of these men and women to the Soviet Union cannot be questioned for one moment. Given the opportunity they would immediately rush to the front, prepared to offer their lives in the struggle against Hitler.

The release of this great army of pro-Soviet political prisoners, kept in jail solely because Stalin feared their opposition to his false policies, is imperative for the salvation of the Soviet Union.

2. Revive the democratically-elected Soviets. Workers' democracy in the trade unions.

The tens of millions of workers and peasants who fought so heroically and self-sacrificingly in the Civil War were organized in the Soviets. The Soviets, constituted by representatives democratically elected in the factories and villages, directly represented the tens of millions of fighters for socialism, gave life to their innermost hopes and were the organizations which were closest to the masses.

Without the Soviets, victory would have been impossible in the Civil War. But these Soviets, based on occupational representation, no longer exist. Stalin has destroyed them.

The Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies must be revived. Complete democracy must be granted to the workers and peasants in electing representatives to the Soviets. Within the Soviets, there must be complete freedom of criticism for all pro-Soviet elements. Workers' democracy must be restored in the trade unions which are now merely a department of the apparatus of regimentation and oppression.

3. Legalization of all pro-Soviet political parties. Their right to present their programs to the masses.

As part of the restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union, all pro-Soviet political parties must be given legal status. Every political party that is for the defense of the Soviet Union must be given the right to exist as an open political organization, to present its program, and to agitate among the masses for that program. Without these rights, there can be no true democracy.

4. For revolutionary unity with the German working class. For the Socialist United States of Europe.

In order to strike Hitler a mortal blow, the Soviet government must issue an appeal to the workers of Germany, calling upon them to destroy Hitler and the capitalist system which gave birth to Hitler. The Soviet government must call upon the workers of Germany to join hands with the Soviet Union to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

Hitler is now drawing immeasurable strength from the German workers' fear of the yoke of a foreign invader. The German workers know that the British and American imperialists want, upon defeating Germany, to dismember it and enslave its people. The danger of national oppression at the hands of the "democratic" imperialists haunts the German masses. They must either support Hitler or see themselves subjected once more to the Versailles system—those are the only alternatives offered to the masses of Germany by British and American imperialism.

In this situation the Soviet Union, alone of the existing states, can undermine Hitler by pledging to the German workers that the defeat of Hitler will not mean a second and worse Versailles but will begin the creation of the Socialist United States of Europe. The imperialist states cannot possibly make this pledge to the German workers. Only the Soviet Union, the Workers' State, can thus cement revolutionary unity with the German proletariat.

Capitalist states have refused to state their peace terms. The Soviet Union must clearly state its peace terms—the Socialist United States of Europe, the right of all nations to self-determination.

There is nothing original in this minimum program proposed by our party. The methods it proposes to assure Soviet victory are the methods used by the Soviet government in the Civil War of 1918-1921. By those methods Lenin and Trotsky saved the first Workers' State from destruction at the hands of the capitalist world.

By those same methods the Soviet Union can assure victory—a victory that will usher in the most progressive epoch that mankind has ever known.

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

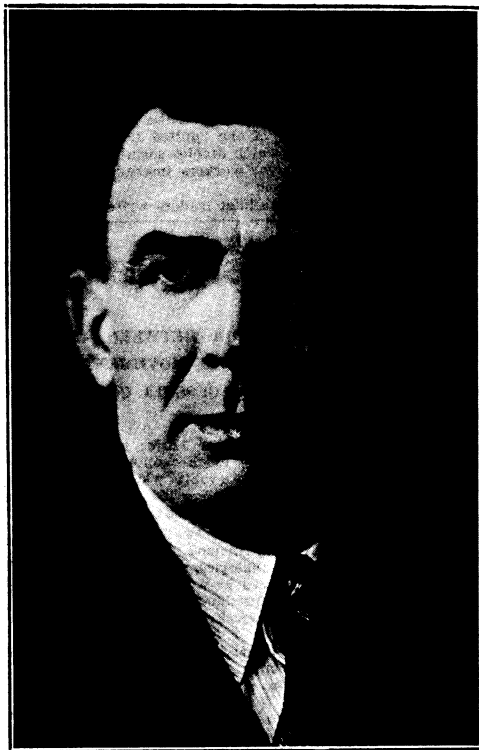
VOL. V—No. 29

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1941

FIVE (5) CENTS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 544-CIO LEADERS INDICTED

Indicted Union Leader



Indicted Party Leader



At left: V. R. Dunne, organizer of Local 544-CIO, indicted for the "crime" of revolting against Tobin's AFL setup. Above: James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

FBI Frameup Is Aid To Tobin's Anti-CIO Drive

Crushing Of Minneapolis Truck Drivers Is Aim Of Federal Indictments; Roosevelt Thus Pays His Political Debt To AFL And Tobin

MINNEAPOLIS, July 15—Acting on the demand of the Roosevelt Administration, a federal grand jury today handed down indictments on "seditious conspiracy" charges against 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party members.

The leaders of the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO of Minneapolis—President Miles B. Dunne, Vice-President George Frosg, Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal, Organizers V. R. Dunne, Ray Rainbolt, Harry De Boer, Emil Hansen and Walter Hagstrom—were among those indicted.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Farrell Dobbs, the party's Labor Secretary; Felix Morrow, editor of THE MILITANT, were among the Socialist Workers Party members indicted. Albert Goldman, Trotsky's attorney during his lifetime and now attorney for the Socialist Workers Party, was likewise named.

These indictments are but the latest and most ruthless steps taken by federal authorities to aid AFL chieftain Daniel J. Tobin in his fight to crush Local 544-CIO, the famous Minneapolis truck drivers union which, at a June 9 membership meeting, voted to withdraw from the AFL and accept an invitation to join the CIO. In the ensuing five weeks, Tobin and his friends in the government have moved heaven and earth to crush Local 544-CIO, but without success. That they now resort to using the Smith Act of 1940—these are the first indictments under that anti-labor law—is but a measure of Tobin's desperation.

CIO DEMANDS ELECTIONS

To all the Tobin and government moves, Local 544-CIO has answered with one demand:

industry-wide elections, under government supervision, to determine what union the Minneapolis motor transport workers want to represent them. The AFL opposes holding such elections, knowing very well that the elections would prove that the workers remain loyal to Local 544-CIO despite all the threats and actions of Tobin and the government.

Why don't Tobin and the government (Continued on page 3)

James P. Cannon's Statement On FBI Frameup of the CIO and SWP

Upon being informed by the press that a federal Grand Jury, convened in St. Paul to hear charges initiated by Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle, had handed down indictments against 29 CIO leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who was one of those indicted, declared:

"In the first place, the indictments secured by the FBI at St. Paul against members of the Socialist Workers Party represent the cynical payment of a political debt owed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States, to Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The first object is to help Tobin in his

fight against the rank and file of the Minneapolis teamsters who have revolted against his dictatorial rule and gone over to the CIO. It may be objected that this is an utterly shameful prostitution of the offices of government to serve partisan political ends. And so it is—utterly shameful.

In the second place, the indictments secured against us represent an attempt to stifle the voice of opposition to the war program of the Roosevelt administration. They have lined practically everybody else up for the war but they couldn't line us up. We are against it and will continue to be against it even though confined to prison."

Roosevelt Ordered FBI To Aid Tobin Against CIO, Says Goldman

Albert Goldman, attorney for Leon Trotsky during his lifetime, and at present attorney for the Socialist Workers Party and also one of those indicted by the St. Paul Grand Jury, issued the following statement:

"I consider these indictments as the most flagrant violation of civil rights ever perpetrated by any government in the United States. They make a mockery of the claim of the Roosevelt government that it is in the war on behalf of democracy.

"When the case comes to trial it will be proved that the charges and the indictments are nothing but persecution calculated to help Daniel J. Tobin keep unwilling truck drivers in his union. After Tobin decided to place a receiver in charge of Local 544 of the Minneapolis truck drivers, the workers voted to secede from Tobin's union and join the CIO. Tobin then whiningly complained to Roosevelt, who set the Department of Justice into motion, and the result is the indictments.

"Local 544 seceded from the AFL on June 9th. On June 13th Tobin sent a telegram to President Roosevelt, who issued a statement aimed against Local 544. After that the leaders of Local 544 and members of the Socialist Workers Party

were indicted. The coincidence of dates conclusively proves the real motives of this indictment.

"The charge made in the indictments that the Socialist Workers Party conspired to overthrow the government by force and violence is an old charge which all reactionaries have used to crush anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiments. The Socialist Workers Party is an open political organization dedicated to the ideals of socialism and its present function is to educate the workers to understand the real causes of war, fascism and unemployment, and to convince the workers that to do away with these evils of modern society it is necessary to establish socialism. This is the only kind of conspiracy of which we are guilty."

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, July 16— Bail for the 29 CIO and SWP leaders indicted by the government for "seditious conspiracy" has been set at \$5,000 each, a total of \$145,000. Arrangements are being made to meet the exorbitant bail with the aid of labor and civil rights organizations.

The Honor Roll: Those Indicted In St. Paul

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| James P. Cannon | Nat'l Secy, Socialist Workers Party |
| Farrell Dobbs | National Labor Secretary, SWP |
| Felix Morrow | Editor, THE MILITANT |
| Albert Goldman | Attorney for the SWP |
| Miles B. Dunne | President, Local 544-CIO |
| Kelly Postal | Secretary-Treasurer, Local 544-CIO |
| Rose Seiler | Business Agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union (AFL) |
| V. R. Dunne | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Grace Carlson | Minn. State Organizer, SWP |
| George Frosg | Vice-President, Local 544-CIO |
| Alfred Russell | Former Organizer, Teamsters Local 544, Omaha, Nebraska |
| Oscar Coover | Mpls. Secretary, SWP |
| Grant Dunne | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Dorothy Schultz | Twin City Secretary, Workers Defense League |
| Carlos Hudson | Editor, Local 544-CIO weekly |
| Walter Hagstrom | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Ray Rainbolt | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Harry DeBoer | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Carl Kuehn | Secretary, Federal Workers Section, (WPA workers), Local 544 |
| Edward Palmquist | Chairman, Federal Workers Section, 544 |
| Harold Swanson | Active in Mpls. labor movement |
| Oscar Schoenfeld | 1939 WPA strike participant |
| Clarence Hamel | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Nick Wagner | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Roy Orgon | Minneapolis truck driver |
| Max Goldman | 1939 WPA strike participant |
| Jay Cooper | Minneapolis truck driver |
| Emil Hanson | Organizer, Local 544-CIO |
| Carl Skoglund | Former President, Local 544-CIO |

Reproduction on previous page appeared during period of Hitler's advent to power. Both the Communist and Socialist parties of Germany had huge organizations, but refused to unite to block fascist rise to power. Published three times a week, by a very small organization, during the German crisis, The Militant waged a campaign for united struggle against fascism.

During World War II the Socialist Workers Party declared that imperialist U. S. government could not be relied on to wage genuine

war against fascism, and workers and black people should continue to fight for their rights. In first use of witch-hunting Smith Act, Roosevelt indicted leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis truck-drivers union in move to silence pro-union, antiwar forces. James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne, shown above, were founders of Trotskyist movement. Dunne was a principal leader of militant Minneapolis drivers strikes of the 30's. They and 16 others were jailed but party stood firm in its antiwar position.

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contemplate the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak, which the war has caused. People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hatred of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political conclusions. The imperialist rulers, who alone have profited from the war, seek to prevent this at all costs. They want to sidetrack the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible.

All the organs of ruling class propaganda are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of the war means the dawn of true and lasting peace and that peace can be preserved without revolutionary social change. As a second line of deception, they are trying to persuade the masses that even if another war should come, the American people need not fear annihilation because means will be found to "control" the use of the atomic bomb and insure that it will not be used against this country.

Illusions Being Spread

Among the illusions now being sown is the idea that the unlocked secret of atomic energy possesses such ghastly destructive power that the capitalist rulers will refrain from using it in future wars. But the entire history of imperialist warfare refutes this contention. Between two world wars the most frightful instruments of death were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! During World War II other death-dealing weapons were invented and perfected. ALL HAVE BEEN USED! Demolition bombs of enormous weight were dropped on helpless civilian populations. Incendiary fire-bombs were used to wipe out whole cities and burn their inhabitants to death. The unspeakable flame-thrower was employed by all the belligerents to burn masses of men to a crisp. The only reason poison gas was not used was its unreliability as a weapon, the danger that it might destroy its users.

To annihilate their opponents, the imperialist criminals will employ every deadly weapon in their arsenals. Let no one deceive himself that the atomic bomb will not be used!

Another illusion being sedulously fostered is that the atomic bomb is "our secret," that it will be kept "our secret" under tight government control and monopoly, and that therefore America will be safe. But the fact is that it is NOT EVEN NOW an exclusively American secret. It is known to the British imperialists, who collaborated in the scientific work from the

THE ONLY VICTOR



very beginning up to the time of discovery. It is known also to the capitalist ruling class of Canada, which likewise took part in the project.

Truman declared that Britain and the United States "do not intend to reveal the secret until means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction... We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force — to prevent its misuse, and to turn it into channels of service to mankind."

But with the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism, the rivalry between British and American imperialism becomes one of the greatest potential sources of another world war. The interests of these two powers meet and clash in every corner of the globe. Unless the whole world system of capitalism and imperialism is destroyed, war between them is more than probable. Can anyone in his sane senses doubt that in the event of such a war the antagonists will use the atomic bomb in the effort to destroy each other?

Cold-Blooded Extermination

And what does Truman mean by "misuse" of the atomic bomb? Was the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese a high act of humanitarianism? In the sly language of the imperialist criminals, a weapon is "misused" only when it is employed by their opponents. The Nazis "misused" the weapon of aerial bombardment when they blasted Warsaw, Rotterdam and Coventry. The Japanese imperialists "misused" it when they blasted Canton, Hankow and Chungking. Then the Anglo-American imperialists improved on the performance of their rivals and wiped out dozens of German and Japanese cities and hundreds of thousands of civilian inhabitants. They just "forgot," and hoped their own peoples would forget, their previous pretended indignation.

The atomic bomb, no matter what may be decided in Washington and London, will not remain even an Anglo-American-Canadian secret. Sir James Chadwick, chief British scientist in the atomic bomb project, stated in Washington on August 12 that this deadly weapon was "not a strictly British-American

secret" and that "any nation could learn the secret in about five years of experimentation, assuming it had access to the necessary raw materials."

Consider, too, the ominous import of the following extract from a Washington dispatch to the *New York Sun* on August 8: "Twenty-four hours ago, members of Congress were earnestly debating among themselves whether or not the new discovery should be given to the United Nations Security Council and to other Allied governments. Today their thinking is growing up, and they are beginning to comprehend the fact that even if the blueprints and formulae for this new invention were to be destroyed, the scientists of other nations would discover the secret anew in their laboratories."

The dispatch then continues: "More awesome still is the realization that the political development of the world has not kept pace with its scientific knowledge — THAT WE KNOW OF NO WAY TO PREVENT THE MISUSE OF THIS NEW DISCOVERY. The thought of negotiating an international series of treaties renouncing the use of atomic explosives in war inspires no confidence in any one."

Two terrible world wars have proven — and the foregoing quotation underlines the fact — that capitalism is incapable of utilizing the great advances in science and technique for the enrichment of human life. In "peace," capitalism condemns the masses to poverty and insecurity amidst potential plenty. In war, it conscripts industry and science for the mutual destruction of the peoples.

Admission of Bankruptcy

THEY KNOW OF NO WAY! This admission of bankruptcy and helplessness comes from the most powerful ruling class on earth. Out of their own mouths they are condemned as the murderers of the human race. With an insane calmness they tell the people to await their doom.

Let no man deceive himself with the thought that because Germany and Japan have been defeated, a new war, at least during the lifetime of this generation, is unlikely. Capitalist appetites and imperialist rivalries remain. Only the focus of

the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was dead and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula of "peace by force" implies war and not peace. In unguarded moments the imperialists admit that they know of no way to prevent war. The admission is implicit in the maintenance of gigantic armaments. First Washington dispatches on the atomic bomb quoted official quarters as saying this new weapon would "revolutionize all future warfare." Could anything be plainer?

America Will Not Escape

Nor should any man deceive himself that America will escape the annihilating blasts of the atomic bomb in a future war. Air power and sea power will afford no sure protection. Scientists already tell us that an air force will not be necessary to carry this new missile on its deadly mission. It will be fired immense distances in the form of a jet-propelled rocket that will speed to its target at a lightning rate and with unerring accuracy. New York or Detroit or Los Angeles will be as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is at this point that the liberal apologists and defenders of the bloody capitalist system come forward to explain that the new weapon makes future wars "unthinkable," because its extensive use would mean the utter annihilation of the human race. Thus another dangerous illusion is sown.

After World War I these same liberals declared that another war was "unthinkable." Now that mankind has suffered another terrible blood-bath, do they seek to inquire why the "unthinkable" came to pass? They do not. For honest inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalism wars are inevitable and inescapable, and that once war begins all the diabolical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play. The liberal fakery is employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illusions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless incantation that a new war is "unthinkable."

THEY know of no way!
But there IS a way — THE WAY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

No Time to Lose!

Capitalism in its death agony, writhing in the toils of mortal crisis, has perfected an instrument of all-embracing annihilation. This deadly destructive force, held in the grip of the criminal capitalist rulers, will be used to decimate mankind unless it is snatched in time from their murderous grasp. The workers must awake, and awake quickly, to the realization that war with all its horrors is the product of the capitalist system.

To conceal the true source of war, capitalist propagandists divide the nations into "aggressors" and "peace-lovers." This is a lie. The people of every nation hate war, for they are its victims. They are plunged into war by the capitalist rulers, who alone profit from it. It contributes exactly nothing to an understanding of the profound social causes of war to say that Germany or Japan started it. Germany and Japan have been defeated. Yet the germs of war are STILL lodged in the heart of capitalist society. No trust whatsoever can be placed in the "peace-loving" declarations of the statesmen of capitalism in this or any other country. Only the utter wiping out of capitalist rule throughout the world can insure that atomic explosives will never again be used for mass murder.

We Always Told the Truth

Toilers of America! Years before the war and right up to the moment of its outbreak, the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyists, warned that war was inevitable if capitalism was allowed to live. We told the workers the truth!

When war began, we exposed the lie that it was a war for "democracy." We laid bare the truth that it was an imperialist war. We have never ceased to proclaim this truth. We proclaimed it alone against all the liars and deceivers of the people!

This truth was proclaimed by our comrades in other lands, in Europe and in Asia. Under the proud and stainless banner

(Continued on page 2)

Rally For Socialism! Nation-Wide Trotsky Memorial Meetings -- See Page 4

At end of World War II almost all political forces predicted an era of enduring peace. The declaration, "There Is No Peace" was widely regarded as a piece of dogmatism and an example of how Marxism is unrelated to reality. Within a few years the United

States had inaugurated the cold war and the world has lived under the shadow of the bomb ever since. U.S. aggression in Korea and Vietnam has demonstrated a great deal about the permanence of an imperialist peace.

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**Open the Books!
An Answer to GM**

— See Page 2 —

WORLD-WIDE GI DEMONSTRATIONS SHOUT DEMAND: "GET US HOME!"

Truman Pressures Murray Into Steel Strike Delay

Government Offers Price Boost, Limits Wage Concessions

Following a definite pattern of strikebreaking intervention, the Truman administration put the full pressure of the government on CIO Steel Workers President Philip Murray, who wilted and "postponed for one week" the calling of the national steel strike scheduled for January 14.

Truman's intervention was similar to his unsuccessful attempt to force the General Motors strikers to end their walkout. At the same time, a threat of government seizure of the country's telephone system was used to force a delay in the scheduled national telephone strike.

In using the prestige and power of the capitalist government to curb the crucial steel workers' struggle, the administration at the same time acted to whittle down as low as possible the wage demands of the CIO steelworkers, while providing big price increases to the steel corporations.

The instrument for chiseling down the wage demands of the steel union was the wage formula developed through the "fact-finding" semi-compulsory arbitration mechanism in the General Motors case.

HOG-GREEDY BOSSES

Having advanced a recommendation for a 17½ per cent instead of a demanded 30 per cent wage increase in auto, the government is now using this as a standard formula for foisting the lowest possible wage gains on the workers in steel, electrical and radio, packinghouse and other industries scheduled to strike following the now-delayed steel walkout.

Although the steel barons can well afford to pay the \$2 a day

wage increase sought by the steel workers without raising prices, the administration conceded a \$4 a ton price increase to the steel companies. Hog-greedy and arrogant, the steel moguls wilfully refused to meet the reduced minimum wage demand of 19½ cents an hour which Murray finally offered as a basis of settlement.

Taking advantage of Murray's spineless attitude and his fear of launching a militant union struggle, Truman forced a delay in the scheduled strike and gave further opportunity for the steel companies to press for still bigger price concessions before they concede even a minimum acceptable wage increase.

Instead of challenging this further attempted price-steal of the corporations by calling the steel strike on schedule, Murray called off the steel strike on his own personal responsibility without a by-your-leave from the steel workers. He thus dealt a disorienting and demoralizing blow to his own membership while giving additional leeway to the companies to blackmail the government for still higher prices.

BLOW AT GM WORKERS

It was a treacherous blow as well to the General Motors workers who have been on strike since November 21 as the spearhead in labor's fights for higher wages. The GM workers were looking forward eagerly to the backing

(Continued on Page 2)

Strong Blow Dealt Imperialist Plans

By Joseph Hansen

Wall Street's plans for global domination have been dealt a staggering blow by the sweeping world-wide protest demonstrations of the American GIs.

In actions unprecedented in the history of victorious imperialist armies, hundreds of thousands of battle-scarred veterans have shaken their mighty fists at Washington, shouting: "Get Us Home!"

These troops have defiantly denounced the American plutocracy's scheme to use them as tools for subjugating conquered peoples in other lands.

The angry, bitter protests against the delay in demobilization came from all over the world. The press publicized only the most spectacular — Philippines, Germany, Hawaii, France,

Brass Hats Lied About Bottleneck In Ships For GI's

Brass Hats have blamed the delay in demobilization on an alleged shipping shortage. This excuse now turns out to be a lie.

On January 4, Lieut. Gen. Lawton Collins, Director of Army Information, admitted sufficient shipping is available to bring back all eligible men overseas in "three months."

Other Reports And Editorials On Pages 3, 4, 7

Japan, Korea, China, India, England, Alaska and "dozens" of other places.

This colossal new wave of protests was provoked by a January 4 War Department announcement that demobilization would be slowed-down. This reversed a December 26 promise to speed up demobilization.

SWIFT ACTION

The GIs reacted with a swiftness that stunned official circles. On January 6 in Manila thousands of GIs demonstrated at separated points, shouting their resentment. Military police "broke up" one band marching toward headquarters of Lt. Gen. Styer. Another crowd was dispersed on Quezon bridge. Meanwhile, half a dozen Army outfits issued mimeographed calls for action.

On the same day approximately

2,000 men marched on camp headquarters at Camp Boston, France. They addressed a letter to Gen. Joseph T. McNarney protesting repeated delays in their departure for the U. S.

The following day, January 7, in Manila, more than 2,500 GIs marched four abreast to the headquarters of Lt. Gen. Styer. "The capital was tense," reported United Press.

In the evening at least 12,000 American soldiers jammed into the shell-battered ruins of the Philippine Hall of Congress. "The crowd ran as high as 20,000," said one report. Speakers attacked American armed intervention in China and the Netherlands Indies.

Simultaneously, on the other side of the world at Camp Boston, France, 2,000 GIs demonstrated. In Rheims more than 200 GIs cabled protests to the Senate and American newspapers.

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Labor! Back the GI Protest! You Fight in a Common Cause

By the Editors

The world-wide GI demonstrations coincide with the greatest labor upsurge in American history. These simultaneous struggles have truly colossal significance.

Undoubtedly the angry GI protests have been inspired to no small degree by the example of the militant labor struggle at home.

The signs of this deepening fraternity between the soldiers and workers first became manifest on the picket lines here at home.

From coast to coast, in every battle for labor's rights, the returned veterans have been out in front, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers.

In the titanic GM strike, in the general strike at Stamford, in the Western Electric battle, in the whole vast wave of strikes involving millions since V-J Day, the returned veterans have been among the foremost fighters against the employers' union-busting, wage-slashing offensive.

Thus Wall Street's cunning scheme to pit the returned servicemen against organized labor is being shattered on the rocks of working class solidarity.

This solidarity on the picket lines must be further fortified by an equally solid alliance between labor at home and the workers in uniform abroad. Just as the returned veterans have added their power to labor's battle against Big Business, so the entire labor movement must rally to the support of the GIs.

Labor Must Support The GIs

One common cause binds the workers and demonstrating soldiers together. They belong to a common class, the working class. They are engaged in a common fight against a common foe.

The men in uniform clamoring to come home are the sons, brothers, husbands of the men and women on the picket lines. These union fighters want their loved ones back home. But they want them to return to decent working and living conditions, not to sweatshops and breadlines.

For their part, the GIs don't want to be the hated oppressors of other peoples. They, too, yearn to be with their families.

Who opposes and denies these just demands of the workers and the soldier ranks?

A vicious gang of rich parasites and their agents, headed by a few billionaire families like the Rockefellers, Morgans and du Ponts.

These monopolists, who control American economy, who dominate the big banks and corporations, who dictate the policies of the government and its armed forces, have gorged themselves on unprecedented blood-profits during World War II.

Now these profiteers plan to extort still greater billions both from the American workers and from the peoples conquered by Wall Street imperialism.

That is why the Big Business government in Washington utilizes every lying pretext to maintain huge occupation forces throughout the world and to evade and stall the promised demobilization.

That is why the corporations so arrogantly reject labor's demands for living wages and security.

Neither Serfs Nor Slave-Drivers!

But the American workers refuse to be reduced to industrial serfdom. And the American soldiers are resisting the attempt to convert them into tools of imperialist slavemasters.

Members of the same working class, confronting the same capitalist enemy, impelled by common necessity, it is natural that the GIs have adopted militant methods and forms of struggle similar to that of the labor movement.

Moreover, just as veterans have stepped to the head of many picket lines, so experienced unionists have played a prominent role in the GI protest actions.

Those same democratic principles which imbue the labor movement, likewise animate the GI ranks. They have united regardless of race, creed or nationality. Among their elected spokesmen are not only labor leaders but Negroes, Jews, Italians, etc.

The numerous links of sympathy and mutual interest between the workers and the soldiers must be consciously forged into an unbreakable alliance.

United, the workers and the soldiers have the power to defeat Wall Street's plot to degrade American Labor and subjugate the world.

GM Delegates Hotly Debate UAW Board Wage Proposal

DETROIT, Jan. 13.—Despite the fact that the entire CIO United Auto Workers executive board lined up behind UAW-CIO Vice-President Walter Reuther in urging 19½ cents an hour as a basis for settling the General Motors strike, over a third of the delegates at the national GM delegates conference held here today voted against the proposal. They thereby indicated that they wanted the strike continued and extended until better terms were forthcoming.

This action came following a report by Reuther to the conference in which he explained that even Truman's fact-finding committee favored a 24 per cent raise for GM workers, if the whole issue of wages and prices in steel were not the paramount consideration.

Reuther blamed the top committee in the steel union for disregarding prices in their wage negotiations, which hampered the GM strike, and also attacked the Stalinist-dominated CIO Electrical and Radio Union for its failure to pull out the GM electrical division. His thinly veiled attack against the Stalinists received loud applause.

However, Reuther concluded his report by giving the recommendation of the executive board that 19½ cents be accepted as the best GM strikers could obtain under the circumstances. But this wage rate was made contingent on the company's agreeing to it no later than January 21, with the additional proviso that the company agree to settle all local grievances. Reuther also reported as the recommendation of the board that the GM strike be extended to the tool and die shops.

A motion to reject Reuther's recommendations was made by Leo Fenster, delegate from Cleveland Fisher Body Local 45, and supported by the other Local 45 delegates as well as by both militant delegates and Stalinists. They argued that since GM had rejected 19½ cents and since steel and UE were on the verge of coming out, the conference should not bind itself to a settlement which fell so far short of the union's wage demands.

The action of the discredited Stalinists in combining with the genuine militants on this issue caused considerable confusion, and undoubtedly kept many other doubters from coming out against the 19½ cent proposal. In spite of the vote which defeated Fenster's motion, discussion had to be concluded for lack of speakers from the floor who favored accepting the board's recommendation.

At the end of the conference, John Anderson, of Fleetwood Local 15 and secretary of the Detroit citywide strike committee, made a motion that the conference record itself as opposed to going back to work as long as any incentive plan, whether the present piecework or some new incentive proposal, exists in any GM plant. This motion carried unanimously.

Long Lines Phone Workers Back Strike in 44 States

BULLETIN

Leaders of the National Federation of Telephone Workers, under threat of government strike-breaking seizure of the nation's telephone system, on Sunday, January 13, called off 30 days the scheduled formal strike of 263,000 organized telephone workers. The latter's refusal to cross picket lines of striking communications equipment workers had already paralyzed long-distance telephone communications. The Association of Communications Equipment Workers, an NFWW affiliate, was asked to withdraw pickets to permit exchange operators through.

By Alan Braden

NEW YORK, Jan. 12.—The greatest strike in the history of modern communications swept across the nation yesterday when 26,500 long-line and local telephone workers solidly respected the picket lines of the 8,000 members of the Association of Communications Equipment Workers, an affiliate of the independent National Federation of Telephone Workers.

This dramatic demonstration of labor solidarity cut off 95 per cent of all long distance phone service and reduced local service to dial phones. Communications in New York City, the financial stronghold of America's Sixty Richest Families, and in Washington, D. C., its political center, were crippled as this paralyzing blow of phone workers spread the strike front to another vital industry.

In addition, the strike of the Western Union telegraphers, members of the American Communications Association (C.A.), further crippled New York and northern New Jersey communications.

The giant American Telephone and Telegraph corporation, biggest communication trust in the world, was forced to admit that the staggering blow by the embattled phone workers had virtually paralyzed phone communications in 44 states, from New York and Philadelphia on the East Coast to Seattle and Los Angeles on the West Coast.

This inspiring sympathy strike was, for the most part, conducted by the 263,000 members of (Continued on Page 2)

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Few young people today realize there was a mass radicalization in this country at the end of the second world war and that one of the most significant aspects of it was the massive "Bring Us Home" movement among GIs whom Washington wanted to keep

stationed around world as part of its plans for total world domination. Mass demonstrations of GIs forced wide demobilization that not only brought them home but helped halt U.S. plans for quick war against USSR, and moves against China.