

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 38

Friday, September 26, 1969

Price 15c

Roots of freedom struggle  
in Northern Ireland

--See page 4--

## Lindsay move to bar socialists from ballot evokes wide protest

--story page 11

**BRING ALL THE GI'S HOME, NOW!**  
**VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS! PAUL BOUTELLE FOR MAYOR!**



Photo by Britton

New York Socialist Workers nominees (above) and three wise men from board of elections below who said the socialist candidates hadn't earned place on ballot. At SWP press conference (left to right): Rod

Holt of campaign committee; Jeff Mackler for president of city council; Paul Boutelle for mayor; Derrick Morrison for Manhattan borough president.

Photo by Robert Langston



# In Greece, 'the bell tolls for all men'

## Greek political prisoners experience tragic ordeal

Parthenios Prison Camp  
Leros, Greece

[The following appeal was smuggled out of the prison camp, and a *Militant* reader in this country forwarded it to us for publication.]

The dictatorship is afraid of the silent testimony of the dead. That is why it has put all its efforts into the organizing of camps, which are slowly and methodically accomplishing the spiritual death of their prisoners. Rigid isolation has been imposed on us. All the bridges of communication with the outside world have been cut.

We are mobilizing our last strength to avoid the total destruction of man in us. The extent of the daily torment assumes tragic dimensions if one remembers that until the day of our arrest we were fully operating as social and professional units, with numerous ties and family relationships.

Such a deep trench is dug around us that we cannot even appeal to the traditional administration of "justice." To our tormentors we are ex-citizens and ex-men. For us there is no ministry of

## 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.

justice, no attorney, no court of appeal. We are captives of one organization only, the GDEA, which is our law-giver, our minister, our judge and our defense. These men hold the threads of our fate. Amidst daily insecurity, uncertainty and anguished expectation of even worse, we feel envy for the 'privileges' enjoyed by ordinary criminals, who are guaranteed at least the rights of convicted murderers and robbers — we, the convicts without a charge, we, the scientists, writers, journalists, poets, laborers, farmers, elected union and civic leaders, and members of parlia-

ment.

For us, time does not exist; our torture is "everlasting," like that of Prometheus. Here in this corner of the earth who knows for how many years we shall hear the cries of the vultures tearing out our heart?

Our ordeal indeed has the dimensions of the tragic, especially since a signed statement from us is enough to open the doors of our prison. For two years we have looked the Greek people straight in the eyes, have remembered the bitter faces of our wives and orphaned children and have kept ourselves erect against brute force. We steadily say "No!" to slavery and hold up the torch that lights free people — the torch of dignity, democracy and justice.

For we feel that when freedom was murdered in Greece the shots were heard throughout the world. Don't ask for whom the bell tolls. It tolls mournfully for all men, for human dignity.

That is why today, the second anniversary of our imprisonment, we make this appeal to the citizens of the world — to you, whose assistance, honest voices and fighting protests give us the right of this appeal.

*Greek political prisoners*

## Fan mail for Evelyn Reed

San Francisco, Calif.

Have just read the wonderful pamphlet, "Problems of Women's Liberation," by Evelyn Reed. It is a splendid contribution to the women's movement, and I shall do everything possible to personally promote it.

*E. M.*

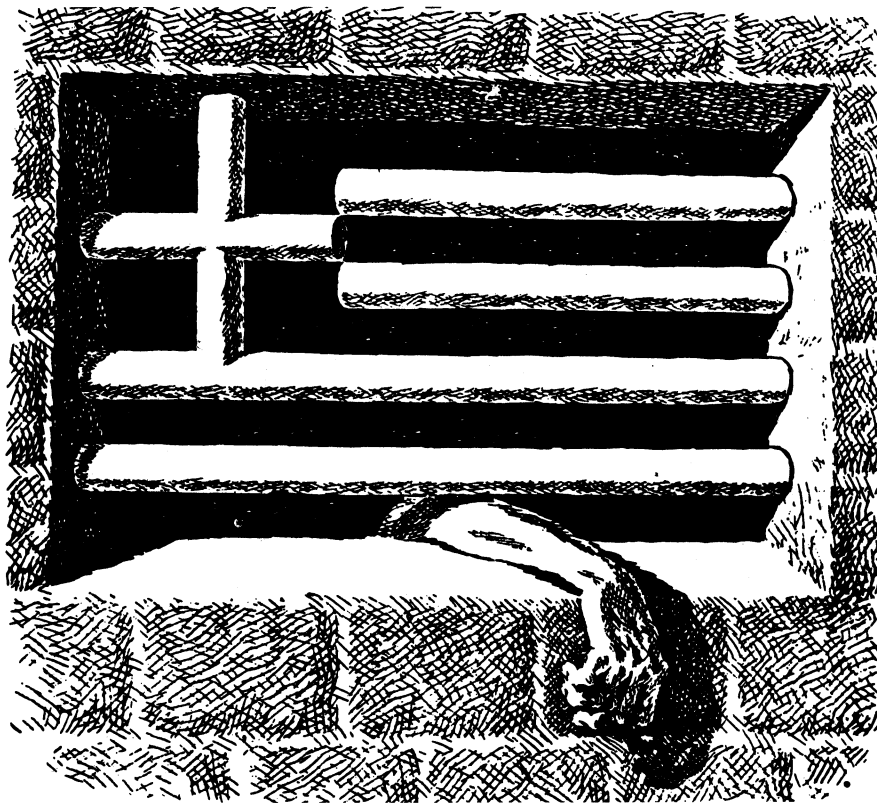
## Appreciates SDS articles

Toronto, Ontario

After reading the daily papers, one has to turn to *The Militant* to get the truth about what is happening in the world around us. The articles on the splits in SDS are very interesting and I hope they can win people over to *The Militant* and its views. Your articles on the antiwar movement and black liberation struggle are the only real information on what is happening in the USA.

Keep up the good work.

*M.S.*



The flag of Greece

*Democracy for Greece Report/ LNS*

## Self-determination for a black and Puerto Rican school district in Brooklyn

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The struggle for community control of education pressed urgently onward as the new school year began with mass meetings and sit-ins in District 13 in Brooklyn, where the black community is demanding the appointment of Louis Walker as their district superintendent. For nearly a week, parents and students sat in at the District 13 offices at 44 Court Street to make their demands known. Although the press reported the sit-in, it was negligent in reporting the harassment those sitting-in suffered with the air-conditioning cut off, phones disconnected, garbage uncollected, and an attack by the cops one night on a 16-year-old student who was allegedly in possession of a machete.

Louis Walker, the choice of the black and Puerto Rican community, is currently acting principal of Special School 85, a school for "disciplinary problems." Nathan Brown, the acting superintendent of schools, in total disregard for and defiance of the needs and desires of the community, said that a meeting of principals and heads of schools decided that Louis Walker was not the choice of the board of education for the

new District 13 school superintendent. The ostensible reason for Mr. Walker's unacceptability is that he lacks three credit hours in a course called "Tests and Measurements."

On the first day of school a community meeting of District 13 took place at which Margaret Campbell, Parent Association Council president, spoke, along with Rhody McCoy and Louis Walker. Mrs. Campbell emphasized that the struggle of the 26 schools in District 13 for self-determination is not an isolated one, but that its outcome will affect success of schools in the entire city as their struggles ensue. She said that "'doing your thing' must be an Establishment phrase" because "it doesn't work that way." She said that the community will succeed only if united. Mr. Walker, who addressed the audience of over 200 people, answered questions dealing with community problems. He stated that nothing can possibly be accomplished without a "partnership" of parents, students (many of whom were present) and teachers. One student from the all-black Boys High School voiced the sentiments of his student body when he appealed to Mr. Walker's efforts to improve edu-

cation after becoming the administrator of District 13. "We at Boys High," he said "are tired of promises for quality education, and must see something accomplished fast. Only 50 academic diplomas are awarded each year, out of

an enrollment of 2,700."


The supporters of Louis Walker collected \$105 at the meeting to get material printed and posters and leaflets out to publicize their demands.

*Martha Harris*

## THE MILITANT

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Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Volume 33  Number 38  
Friday, Sept. 26, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Sept. 19, 1969.

## What the UAW gave up

Detroit, Mich.

Until 1967, the UAW contracts included cost-of-living escalator clauses, guaranteeing that we would get pay increases every three months commensurate with the rise in the cost of living so that our real wages would remain the same despite inflation.

The UAW "compromised" with the big three auto makers on the escalator clause in 1967. In our shop, however, we maintained the old formula. This formula did have its own shortcomings — especially since the increases are based on the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics monthly estimate of living costs, which always understates increases in the cost of living. Nevertheless, the gains in our shop, allowing our wages to keep pace with inflation, have been significant. Our quarterly raises were five cents an hour during each of the last two quarters and totaled 32 cents an hour over the past two years.

Since it seems impossible for any two persons to agree on the reading and meaning of the escalator clause of the Big Three, it would be interesting to hear from a UAW member how much they received in money since Sept. 1967 compared with our shop's 32 cents, netted under the formula in old UAW contracts.

*F. V.*

## JOIN THE YSA

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

clip and mail

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

I would like more information

I want to join the YSA

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

City . . . . .

State . . . . .

Zip . . . . .

# Black community resists racist cops in Camden

BY MAREEN JASIN

CAMDEN, N. J. — Recent police invasions of the black community and frame-up arrests of black leaders have met with resistance and united opposition from the community. Like most of the U.S., this 28-percent-black industrial city of 100,000 across the Delaware River from Philadelphia was experiencing a "cool" summer until Sept 2.

That night, a small battle between citizens and police erupted in the South Camden ghetto when the cops allegedly tried to break up a sidewalk fight and got showered with bricks and fists. The next night, Sept. 3, a similar small "disturbance" occurred when police were trying to apprehend a "fugitive." All

ly weapons, inciting to violence and physical damage, contributing to the delinquency of children and conspiracy, most of the charges allegedly stemming from the night of the barricades.

In response to the armed-to-the-teeth police offensive, a unity meeting with an overflow crowd of 500 was held the evening of Sept. 8 at the Parkside Catholic Church. Organizations present included the NAACP, CORE, BPUM, the Welfare Rights Organization and the OEO.

Referring to the singling out of BPUM for attack and decapitation by city authorities, Mike Edwards, a militant, 22-year-old BPUM spokesman, said, "The pigs are out to get people who are speaking for the needs of black people." He stressed the need for unity and self-defense, quoting from Malcolm X on the subject.

Edwards stated that five witnesses saw a policeman shoot Marie McDonald. A petition demanding the suspension of three cops for brutality during the Sept. 3 armed police attack has been rejected by the mayor.

Undaunted by this, the representatives of the black community at the meeting decided to initiate plans to force the recall of Mayor Nardi, Police Chief Arakett and the infamous public-safety director, Harold Melleby, who began his vendetta against the BPUM two years ago in his former capacity as police chief.

The black community is circulating petitions in an attempt to get the 19,000 signatures required to place a referendum for recall of Melleby, Arakett and Nardi on the ballot. Other proposals being discussed include possible plans to shut down all construction in Camden and to stop work at Camden's two major industrial plants—Campbell Soup and RCA—until the police chief, the major and the public-safety director resign.



Sine

the available police power was then mobilized in the area.

Residents responded by building barricades of trash piled in the streets and forming human barricades. Gunfire broke out. A policeman and 15-year-old Marie McDonald were killed. Many were injured by bullets in the armed conflict that lasted through the night.

Using the South Camden ghetto revolt as an excuse, the cops conducted simultaneous raids at dawn, Sept. 9, at the headquarters of the Black People's Unity Movement (BPUM) and the homes of its leaders. They sledgehammered their way into the headquarters, methodically ransacking all the rooms and destroying equipment in the three-story building. Among those arrested were the two Dunbar brothers, Omar and Delores Daves, and Charles Davis. The cops allege to have confiscated from the BPUM headquarters narcotics and an arsenal consisting of one shotgun, swords, bows and arrows, daggers, four-foot-long spears and a battle-ax. The five are charged with possession of dead-

**MILITANT**

**New York Times**

Friday, July 11, 1969

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1969

## Pentagon makes concession to GI legal rights

By Michael Smith

(The author is a Detroit attorney active in defending the constitutional rights of U. S. servicemen.)

A letter concerning Pentagon policy towards manifestations of dissent in the Army and signed by the Adjutant General, Major General Kenneth G. Wickham, has been sent to all commanders-in-chief and commanding generals in the U. S. Army. The policy statement, which is tantamount to an Army regulation, is of crucial importance to the GI antiwar movement in that it lays out guidelines regarding possession and distribution of political materials, coffee houses, servicemen's unions, publication of underground newspapers, on-post demonstrations by civilians, off-post demonstrations by soldiers, and grievances.

The letter was sent on May 28, a date that coincided with the reduction of sentences of the Presidio men and the release of the remaining Ft. Jackson 8.

The letter states, "It is important to recognize that the question of 'soldier dissent' is linked with the Constitutional right of free speech and that the Army's reaction to such dissent will—quite properly—continue to receive much attention in the news media." The letter warns that any heavy-handed or arbitrary action may reflect adversely... on the image and standing of the Army with the American public."

## ARMY SETS RULES ON TROOP DISSENT

Tells Officers to Use Only 'Minimum Restraints'

By ROBERT M. SMITH  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—The Army has laid down guidelines for its principal commanding officers as to how to handle dissent among their troops, requiring officers "to impose only such minimum restraints as are necessary to enable the Army to perform its mission."

Specifically, the memorandum deals with the possession and distribution of political materials, coffeehouses, servicemen's unions, underground newspapers and demonstrations by soldiers and civilians.

Basically, the memorandum establishes Army policy "to safeguard the service member's right of expression to the maximum extent possible."

The memorandum was written by authority of the Secretary of the Army, Stanley R. Resor, and was signed by the Adjutant General, Maj. Gen. Kenneth G. Wickham.

It was issued at the end of May to Army commanders in the continental United States, Alaska, Europe and the Pacific.

NEWS BEAT. It used to be a standing joke among radicals that the movement press couldn't survive without the New York Times. And in periods like the McCarthy era, there was substance to the joke. But today the links with movements of struggle enjoyed by a paper like ours provide a certain advantage over the capitalist media. Our reporting of the antiwar, campus and third-world movements has far more of a first-hand quality than the Times could ever hope for. And sometimes links with movements, like the one among GIs, make for scoops like the one depicted above. The moral of it all is that if you don't want your friends to wait months for the news to show up in the Times, sell them one of our introductory subscriptions.

# Drive for new readers opens with 352 subs

BY BEVERLY SCOTT  
Militant Business Manager

When we announced last week that we were opening a drive to get 4,000 new readers for *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist* by Nov. 15, we predicted a good response. The first results confirm this. In fact, it promises to be our most successful circulation effort in years.

With the drive officially only three days old we already have 352 new subscribers!

Sparking the drive is the Motor City. Assigned a quota of 225 subscriptions, Detroit has already turned in 72. And they've decided we underestimated the potential of the movement there and have upped their quota by 50, for a grand total of 275.

In first place in terms of the percentage of quota met is the Harpur College YSA in Binghamton, N. Y. This is not surprising since Gary Wurtzel has just taken office as president of the student government there after being elected last spring as the candidate of the Young Socialist Alliance.

In a note accompanying their first 19 subs, Harpur YSAers report good sub sales from a campus table and advise, "It looks like we'll reach the

full quota in no time. School doesn't even open until Tuesday."

After their opening rush, we assume Harpur will want to reconsider so modest a quota.

The spread of radicalism is also making it possible to reach out to as yet largely untapped areas of the country. For instance, an at-large member of the YSA in Lexington, Ky., intends to secure at least 10 new readers for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* in his area. And down in Houston, Texas, a couple of pioneering SWPers and YSAers have advised us they will be getting at least 50 new readers in the area before the drive is over.

A final note: In New York, a young black woman walked into the Militant Labor Forum bookstore one evening recently and began going over the literature with the enthusiasm of someone who's struck gold. Members of the New York SWP-YSA third-world fraction had just finished meeting, and she was delighted to join some of them for coffee and discussion.

What had brought her up? A discarded *Militant* had caught her eye on the street and she had taken it home. "It was," she said, "just what I've been looking for."

She's not the only one.

A new book

## LEON TROTSKY The Man and His Work Reminiscences and Appraisals

By: Joseph Hansen, James P. Cannon, Natalia Sedov Trotsky, Jan van Heijenoort, Farrell Dobbs, Li Fu-jen, Charles Cornell, John G. Wright, Ernest Germain, Alfred Rosmer, Pierre Frank, George Novack, Rosa Luxemburg, Larissa Reissner, Karl Radek, Anatoly V. Lunacharsky, Adolf Joffe, Victor Serge.

paperback \$2.45  
Merit Publishers

873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

## Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs			
Binghamton, N. Y.	40	19	Twin Cities, Minn.	200	4
Providence, R. I.	40	17	Austin, Texas	150	3
Lawrence, Kan.	30	11	Washington, D. C.	75	2
Detroit, Mich.	275	72	Washtenaw Co., Mich.	50	1
Cleveland, Ohio	250	34	Chicago, Ill.	275	5
Boston, Mass.	275	37	Seattle, Wash.	150	2
Champaign, Ill.	30	4	Berkeley, Calif.	225	3
San Francisco, Calif.	250	26	Madison, Wis.	75	0
Boulder, Colo.	30	3	San Diego, Calif.	45	0
Kansas City, Mo.	30	3	DeKalb, Ill.	40	0
Phoenix, Ariz.	30	3	Hayward, Calif.	40	0
St. Louis, Mo.	30	3	Gainesville, Fla.	35	0
Atlanta, Ga.	125	11	Newark, N. J.	35	0
Houston, Texas	50	4	Chapel Hill-Durham, N. C.	30	0
New York, N. Y.	425	35	East Lansing, Mich.	30	0
Philadelphia, Pa.	200	14	Greenville, N. Y.	25	0
Los Angeles, Calif.	275	14	Kent, Ohio	25	0
Albany, N. Y.	25	1	Logan, Utah	25	0
Carbondale, Ill.	25	1	Portland, Ore.	20	0
Antioch College, Ohio	30	1	Lexington, Ky.	10	0
Bloomington, In.	30	1	General	105	18
			Total	4160	352

# Roots of the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland



**A MASS STRUGGLE.** Ghetto dwellers in Northern Ireland are united in resisting pogrom-like attacks. Children join in preparing defense.

The partition of Ireland into two sections was imposed by England during the 1916-1922 Irish revolutionary struggle against British rule. At that time, the 26 counties of Eire were declared formally independent of England. Six counties in the northern province of Ulster (now called Northern Ireland) remained as a small English-controlled enclave which remains politically united with England.

Eire is 95 percent Catholic. In Northern Ireland, the majority is Protestant.

Northern Ireland is ruled by the English Parliament, with certain lesser powers (housing, police, and other aspects of local government) being delegated to the Ulster Parliament which sits at Stormont in Belfast.

Politically, Northern Ireland is virtually a police state. A Special Powers Act passed by the British Parliament in 1922 gives the Stormont government the right to arrest without warrant, imprison without charge or trial, enter homes without a warrant, deny trial by jury, prohibit the circulation of any newspaper and arrest anyone who does anything deemed prejudicial to the preservation of "order" in Northern Ireland. There can be no inquest in cases where those detained under the Special Powers Act die in prison.

The Stormont government is controlled by a Protestant society known as the Loyal Orange Order, a fascist-like anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic organization of some 100,000 members. The Loyal Orange Order founded and has helped to maintain the Protestant-controlled Unionist Party which has ruled Northern Ireland for 50 years.

By GERRY FOLEY

[The following is an excerpted version of a speech on the rebellion in Ireland given by Gerry Foley of the staff of Intercontinental Press, at a Sept. 5 Militant Labor Forum meeting in New York.]

The resistance of the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland has demonstrated to the entire world the inflammable material which has accumulated during centuries of English oppression.

At this time, most of the large Catholic communities in Northern Ireland remain barricaded. They are defended and governed by neighborhood defense associations. Decisions are made in some areas by mass assemblies. Free radio stations and barricades' bulletins published by the fighters in the insurrectionary communities compete with the capitalist news media.

What touched off such desperate and far-reaching struggle by an entire people?

The leaders of the civil rights campaign estimate the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland at nearly 40 percent of the population. It is a deprived and humiliated population. The dominant property and business interests are in the hands of the descendants of the Protestants who were settled there by English power in the 17th century to serve as a permanent English garrison in Ireland. The Catholics are mostly workers or poor peasants.

The unemployment rate among Cath-

olics is estimated at 30 percent. Since the local government units are in the hands of the Protestants, Catholics are forced into crowded ghettos. This oppressed minority has been kept "in its place" by repeated brutal pogroms. There were massive pogroms in the early 1920s during the Irish struggle for independence from England and again in 1935, when the Anglo-Irish ruling class in Northern Ireland fanned hatreds between Catholics and Protestants in order to divide the radicalized workers. Some sources estimate that close to 100 Catholics have been in effect lynched since 1920.

The rebellion in Northern Ireland follows the tradition of working-class revolutions since the Paris Commune. Working-class people are fighting to defend themselves against the violence of the ruling class and have created their own defense force and, in a limited way, embryonic forms of their own government. The dynamism of the struggle moves in the direction of workers' power.

The very fact that the class struggle in Northern Ireland seems to take the form of a religious struggle—in fact a conflict between historical communities defined on a religious basis—tends to make revolutionaries outside Ireland indifferent to the fight going on there, to think that it has nothing to do with the world socialist revolution.

Nothing could be more false! The revolt in Northern Ireland is not only a part of the world struggle for social-

ism in the objective sense; it is at this moment an explosive front in that struggle. The active resistance in the North, and the lightning radicalization it has produced in the South, constitute a struggle against capitalism, against the peculiar form capitalism and capitalist exploitation have taken in Ireland.

Marx said that "capital is born dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and filth." This is especially true in Ireland, where the capitalist system was introduced by genocide, where one of the most ancient and original cultures in Europe was destroyed, where even the Gaelic language and identity of the survivors were eliminated.

Although the English invasion of Ireland came very early—in the latter part of the 12th century—the English could not subdue the island until the 17th century. The reason was that what was involved in the English conquest was not the conquest of one nation or people by another larger and better organized one, as the bourgeois historians portray it, but a fundamental conflict of antagonistic social systems.

Up until the mid-17th century, a deeply rooted system of primitive collectivism or tribal landholding existed in Ireland. The relative isolation of the island and the ingrained equalitarianism of Celtic civilization gave tribal collectivism such vitality in Ireland that it could survive centuries of war against a great power. After the initial shock of the invasion, the Irish clan system absorbed and defeated the assault of the Anglo-Norman feudal system, the most advanced and best organized feudalism in Europe. By the beginning of the 15th century, English power in Ireland had been reduced to a few small enclaves.

The real conquest of Ireland began with the rise of the absolute monarchy in England, with the Tudors, a system representing an incipient form of bourgeois society, a relatively centralized form of society with resources far in advance of medieval feudalism.

The conquest of Ireland by England was completed under the revolutionary bourgeois regime of Cromwell in a series of wars which, along with the accompanying famines and plagues, are estimated to have eliminated five-sixths of the native Celtic population.

History shows that every rising class, every newly dominant group that carries out a social revolution, projects an ideology that expresses its interests. The ideology of rising English capitalism, of the English capitalist class that exterminated Celtic civilization in Ireland, was Protestantism.

The war of private property against collective property took the form of a holy war. The English conquerors re-

garded Ireland as a land which had been granted to them by God. The "heathen" Catholics were forbidden to hold property and were denied all rights. All the secular political institutions of the Irish, the clans, the bardic orders, etc., were destroyed. The only institution left that in any way represented the despoiled and oppressed native population was the Catholic church.

It should be remembered that the loyalty of the Irish to the Catholic Church is an expression of the way capitalism was introduced and maintained in Ireland. The religious division in Ireland did not originate there. It was introduced by the conquering power. The Protestant community has represented a colonial ascendancy. From the beginning, it was fearful of the native Catholic population and developed a quasiracist mentality. In many ways this prejudice resembles racism against Afro-Americans in the U.S. Catholics are referred to by Irish Protestants as "animals," "lazy," "dirty," etc.

As a response to this whole history of oppression, Irish nationalism is eminently revolutionary. In a sense, the Irish nation only truly exists when Ireland is in rebellion, because it is only then that the heritage and memory of the long struggle becomes an active political force. It is only then that the Irish people are really Irish, and if you want to assess them as a people, you must judge them at those times, when they spontaneously seek to recover the past that has been taken from them.

The present upsurge is the first really mass rebellion in Irish history. The independence struggle which rose to a peak in 1916-1922 was carried on by a relatively small group of disciplined guerrilla fighters. This new mass character of the struggle in Northern Ireland reflects the fact that Irish society has now become essentially an urban society. The dominant class is no longer the peasantry, but the working class, a class which by its very nature is concentrated and relatively homogeneous—especially in Northern Ireland.

Thus, the nationalist struggle in Ireland has come full circle. It began as a defense of a classless society of primitive collectivism against the onslaught of English class society. Today it is being carried out as a mass struggle of the working class, and the logic of that struggle is in the direction of socialism. The oppression of the Irish-Catholic people is a peculiar type of colonial oppression which began with capitalism and which is part and parcel of the capitalist system. The national struggle in Ireland can thus succeed in the long run only as a part of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

## The Fifth Estate discussion

# Far-out SDS tactics stem from basic line

In our issue of Sept. 19 we reprinted three documents relating to the projected SDS demonstration in Chicago Oct. 8-11 and our comment on them. The three documents were: a wildly ultraleft leaflet issued by Detroit SDS advertising the Chicago action; a letter to national SDS from the *Fifth Estate*, a Detroit underground paper, criticizing the leaflet, and a reply from the SDS national officers defending the leaflet.

For the continuing information of our readers, we reprint here a letter to the Sept. 4-17 *Fifth Estate* discussing the paper's views of the action. The letter is from David Herreshoff, a professor at Wayne State University and a long-time friend of SDS.

\* \* \*

To the Editors:

The *Fifth Estate's* letter to SDS criticizing its projected Chicago action seems to fix the staff in the awkward position of people who draw back from the consequences of a perspective which they say they share with SDS.

I think SDS's tactics, which you characterize as adventurist and potentially disastrous, jibe pretty well with the role it thinks the white left can play. If SDS tactics flow logically from SDS perspectives, the *Fifth Estate* should either drop its objections to the SDS tactical line or else it should reconsider the assumption of its own current politics.

The SDS outlook on the world—as I extract it from a reading of the Weatherman paper—goes like this. The main

contradiction in the world is between the national liberationist third world and the imperial mother country. It gives rise to the encircling revolt of the world village against the world metropolis. All initiative in the international revolution is in the hands of the non-white insurgent peoples, including the black and brown internal colonies of the U.S.

The role of the white left can only be subordinate and auxiliary in the revolutionary process. It is in no way indispensable. Even in the U.S. the black and brown revolution can be victorious without one white finger being raised in behalf of the revolution. Of course the victory will be less costly to the extent that white support for the black and brown vanguard can be mobilized. And this is where SDS enters the picture—as organizer of the auxiliary support troops for somebody else's revolution. SDS apparently no longer believes that the radical, as opposed to the liberal, is one who feels the necessity to liberate himself.

The perspective behind the call to Chicago may be real or it may be hallucinatory. What is certain is that people in SDS whose intelligence and devotion command respect believe it is real. One

such person predicted to me that fifty to a hundred thousand young workers and students will answer the SDS call. We shall see. I question the prediction because I question the assumptions on which it rests.

First, I question the idea that the role of whites in the revolution must be subordinate and auxiliary. The decisive battles of the long class phase of human history will, I am convinced, be fought in this country. Any notion that the American revolution can be achieved without the organization of tens of millions of workers and of women to liberate themselves from class and sex oppression should be rejected. Those organizing efforts are as necessary for the success of the revolution as is the independent organization of blacks to win their national freedom.

The American revolution has three essential ingredients—the self-liberation of workers, of women, and of black and brown peoples. When it comes it will be the most radical revolution ever to have occurred. It will surpass for a time all efforts of the Russians, the Chinese, the Cubans, to transform the quality of life. We shall have no models to copy.

Second, I challenge the idea that the social war is on in this country ("It is happening here," says SDS) as well as the corollary that the time is right for fighting in the streets. To speak seriously about revolution is to speak of the transfer of power to new institutions. There can't be a revolution unless there is somebody to transfer the power to. "Power to the People" is a meaningless slogan where the people are not organized to exercise power. It's no more useful than Lincoln's phrase about "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

What has to be understood is that right now power is not up for grabs in this country. It will not be until millions of victims of the system have organized to win their emancipation. Until then revolutionaries must patiently explain, organize, engage in exemplary actions. But before the emergence of a revolutionary situation he who counsels street battles is an organizer of defeats and he who merely threatens them is a fraud.

This has been the year of the Escalating Slogan. There have been many contestants. Among the slogans which appear to have lost out in the judgment of certain leftists is "Bring the Troops Home." Some think that radicals should abandon that slogan to the liberals. Why? Has the demand for immediate withdrawal lost its urgency? Not to the NLF. It is point Number One on their

peace program. And not to hundreds of thousands of war-weary GIs. It is point Number One to them too. On the other hand, SDS is weary of the slogan. They prefer "Bring the War Home."

What this escalated slogan reveals is forgetfulness of the fact that a mass movement against the war is composed of war-weary people. SDS's slogan is a rough translation of Lenin's call to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war." But Lenin never used that phrase to rally a mass movement; it was meant to reassemble a shattered vanguard. When the time for mass action against the war arrived, Lenin's cry was "Peace."

Real revolutionaries are often distinguished by moderation of language in a revolutionary situation. They respect the mass audience and they take pains to make sense to it. Bluster, on the other hand, is often the language of powerless people to whom no one is listening.

"I will do such things—what they are, yet I know not; but they shall be the terrors of the earth." That's King Lear raving at his ungrateful successors. They have the state power. He has just had his last hundred troops taken away from him. Therefore he blusters—and goes mad.

"Off the pigs!"

"Tear up the fascist courts!"

That's the current tough-guy style. It begins to sound as though the SDS was down to its last hundred troops. Of course if 50,000 revolutionaries show for the SDS Chicago action I shall have to eat these words. That I shall gladly do.

Meantime whatever revolution-minded people decide to do about Chicago, I hope they will feel duty-bound to give much more than lip support to the actions around the demand for immediate withdrawal which will come after Chicago, in Detroit and in Washington. Duty-bound to whom? To the Vietnamese who need the Americans out of their homeland. To the blacks and working-class whites who are imperialism's cannon-fodder. Duty-bound to all the victims of oppression who will gain new courage to struggle for their liberation if mass actions are one of the causes for bringing this war to an end.

This is not a time for people who want to act like anti-imperialist internationalists to be doing their own thing. This is the time for the broadest offensive for immediate withdrawal of all troops. To dare to make common cause to get the U.S. out of Vietnam is to dare to win.

—DAVID HERRESHOFF



New Left Notes Photo

**FOR REAL?** This photo appeared in the Sept. 12 issue of *New Left Notes* with a caption, "The Red Army begins training in the parks of Cleveland." We reprint it here for the benefit of those who thought it was all just rhetoric.

## Robert Williams back in the U.S.; faces N. Carolina extradition fight

SEPT. 7—After eight years of exile in Cuba, China and Tanzania, Robert F. Williams is home. The black revolutionary, originally from Monroe, North Carolina, arrived in Detroit Sept. 12 on a special Trans World Airlines flight in which he and his lawyer were the only passengers.

Williams' return from exile received wide publicity last week when TWA and other air companies refused to honor his ticket as he sought to change planes for the U.S. in London.

For seven days, Williams was barred by the airlines from returning to the U.S. and held in custody in a British prison. As protests began to mount against this illegal harassment, the U.S. government finally made a formal request that a special flight for Williams be arranged.

One result of all this was the disclosure that TWA and other airlines have a list of "prohibited" passengers and that Williams was on that list. They have not explained who determines what names should go on such a list and for what reasons. TWA has reportedly said that the FBI had advised them not to transport Williams.

Robert Williams was forced to flee

the country eight years ago after Monroe, N. C. authorities sought to frame him up on a kidnapping charge growing out of his role in a local protest movement.

When Williams' plane touched down in Detroit, he was immediately arrested by federal authorities on a fugitive warrant issued by North Carolina and then released on \$1,000 bail. Wayne County officials then took him into custody and released him on personal recognizance of \$10,000. He is scheduled to appear on Nov. 10 for an extradition hearing on the kidnapping charge.

Upon his release, Williams met with members of the Republic of New Africa, the organization which elected him their president during his absence. He also gave a two-hour interview to the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. Williams told the newsmen, "I'm back to serve the cause of justice and freedom—to help black people in whatever way possible." From the way the Sept. 15 *New York Times* reported the interview, it was difficult to determine exactly what Williams' present political outlook and orientation is.

## Nixon's withdrawal announcement

# Tries to get antiwar forces off his back

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 18—Nixon's announced withdrawal of 35,000 troops from Vietnam is a calculated attempt to get the antiwar movement off his back. That is the frank assessment of major news correspondents in Washington.

Hoping that the continued military onslaught in Vietnam will enable him to wrest some kind of "honorable victory" from the Paris bargaining tables, Nixon desperately needs time. The withdrawal numbers game is designed to buy that time.

*New York Times* Washington correspondent Robert B. Semple Jr. has spelled this strategy out in article after article.

● "The overriding reason for starting the process of withdrawals, begun June 8 with a preliminary reduction of 25,000 men," Semple wrote Sept. 14, "was to ease public demands for an early end to the war."

● Again on Sept. 17 the same author wrote, "Mr. Nixon and his aides are not unmindful of the fact that the students are now back in college and, according to recent reports, are eagerly mobilizing for a major confrontation with the administration over the war."

● "Given such a prospect, the announcement of a second round of withdrawals at this time fits neatly into Mr. Nixon's strategy of placating public opinion at home to purchase more time in which to achieve a negotiated settlement in Paris."

● "The other aspect of that strategy is to persuade the North Vietnamese that a series of withdrawals would enable the U.S. to prolong the war almost indefinitely. . ."

Even the present supposed withdrawal rate, which amounts to about 60,000 every ten months, would stretch the war out for nearly ten years. But the reality is that fresh young forces are being thrown into battle almost as fast as they are being withdrawn.

● "The much heralded withdrawal of 25,000 troops from Vietnam has been moving at slower than a snail's pace,"

Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio) declared on the Senate floor Sept. 9.

● "At best, it was a mere token gesture. Our total troop level in Vietnam is now only about 2,500 below what it was when President Nixon was inaugurated on Jan. 20, 1969," Senator Young continued.

At that rate Nixon's withdrawal could be extended for 250 years.

What is not so well-known is that the



LNS

American casualty rate has *increased significantly* since Nixon took office. These facts were entered into the *Congressional Record* on Sept. 11 by none other than L. Mendel Rivers, South Carolina chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Rivers quoted the Aug. 2 *Armed Forces Journal*:

● "From July 20, 1968, through Jan. 18, 1969—the last six months of the Johnson administration—the U.S. suffered 4,894 combat deaths, or an average of 188.2 per week. During the period of Jan. 19, 1969, through July 19, 1969—the first six months of the Nixon administration—the U.S. suffered 6,358 battle deaths, or an average of 244.8 per week, *some 30 percent higher than the last six months under President Johnson.*" (Emphasis added.)

It is the same story with Nixon's phony hints about alleged plans to revise the draft system. Washington columnist Stewart Alsop described this as part of Nixon's "game plan" in a *Newsweek* article Sept. 15:

● "President Nixon and his advisers are convinced that the draft, even more than American casualties, provides the really combustible fuel for antiwar passions, especially on the college campuses."

The *New York Post* answered this one in an editorial entitled "Too Late for Games," Sept. 15:

● "It is unlikely that any changes [in the draft] will dull public sensitivity to the senselessness of this war—or that a new reprieve for many students will banish all campus unrest. It is worth remembering that the student protest began while most campuses were still safe refuges from Selective Service."

One thing is apparent from Nixon's crooked game—he fully appreciates the significance of the antiwar mood that grips the country and the political devastation it can cause him if it really surfaces.

Antiwar activists should show the same political understanding of the potentially lethal power of this sentiment. The way to demonstrate that understanding is to go all out in building the fall antiwar offensive now!

Build the Oct. 15 moratorium!

Build the Nov. 14 student strike!

A mammoth turnout in D. C. Nov. 15!

## The rebellion of Company A was no fluke

The Aug. 25 story of Company A's revolt by Associated Press correspondents Peter Arnett and Horst Faas was carried in newspapers across the country. It raised the question, was this unusual or does it reflect the mood of American GIs?

What is little known is that Arnett and Faas themselves wrote an article answering this question. It appeared on the front page of the Sept. 7 *Philadelphia Inquirer* under the title, "Draftees Discover War is Hell."

Arnett and Faas interviewed Lt. Col. Fred Lindsey, a commander in the 1st Air Cavalry Division. Here are excerpts from the article:

"There were the Vietnam war veterans whose main concern was to get out alive. There were those who openly questioned whether all the fighting and dying was worth it. . .

"And the dissenters talked every day about their doubts, thus threatening to undermine the fighting spirit that Lindsey felt he needed.

"There were those who were openly disobedient. A few days earlier five infantrymen temporarily refused to man an overnight observation post because of the danger. Another soldier was sent back because he wouldn't fight.

"Another shot himself in the foot to get out.

"Lindsey commented: 'This is a different war, a different Army than when I was here in 1966. Acts that I would have had a man court-martialed for two years ago, I ignore now. It's a civilian Army.'"

# Pot goes after kettle in United Mine Workers union

Charges and countercharges continued to be flung back and forth in the race between W. A. Boyle, incumbent president of the United Mine Workers and Joseph Yablonski, his opponent.

Yablonski produced an article from the Billings, Montana, *Gazette* renewing disclosures that Boyle's family had once been mine owners. Boyle charged Yablonski with bribery for publication of the articles.

It seems that Yablonski's aides had sent the reporter who wrote the article \$50 for "expenses." When the reporter realized the import of the money, he sent it back.

But so far no one of "The Montana Boyles," as the *Gazette* article is entitled, have sued the newspaper for libel. Most of the facts revealed are part of the Bureau of Mines records.

The newspaper title is apt. There are, or were, four Boyles involved in the mining industry and the union in Montana: the late Jack Boyle owned a mining company called the Mountain State Coal Company of Roundup, Montana.

W.A. Boyle was Montana Division president of the UMW until John L. Lewis called him to Washington in 1948 to groom him for the presidency. Richard Boyle took W.A.'s place as division president. In 1968 Richard made

## The National Picketline

\$36,000.

Antoinette Boyle, W.A.'s daughter and an attorney at law, collected \$43,517 for legal services from the district.

In 1956 when the Atomic Energy Commission put out bids for bituminous coal, Jack Boyle's main competitors were the Republic and Roundup coal companies. Suddenly and without federal inspection immediately prior, both companies had their mines closed for "safety violations."

When the rank-and-file safety committee at the Republic mine protested that there were no safety violations, Richard Boyle dismissed all of them for "inconsistency." After Jack Boyle captured the AEC contract, his coal was rejected as inferior.

In 1958 a disaster struck the Jack Boyle mine. Four men were killed by a roof-fall. Richard Boyle and the county coroner called it "an unfortunate accident."

Not so, said the state and federal mine-accident inspectors. They said the men had been repairing a previous roof-fall and that Jack Boyle himself

had decided that further shoring up of the wall and roof was not necessary.

All of this material was in the hands of the miners when W.A. Boyle made his Labor Day speech at Logan, W. Va. The *New York Times* reported that a new W.A. Boyle revealed himself—in a "fighting mood."

He now promises to fight for: real safety and health legislation; greater membership participation in union affairs at all levels; training the young for leadership responsibilities; changing the name of the organization to the United Mine and Allied Workers and organizing a drive to bring these allied workers into the union; a \$50-a-day minimum wage for all miners by 1971.

Boyle promised that the union would demand government action to end pollution by the mining industry in the Appalachian area; an improvement in the area's educational facilities for children; and a joint government-union sponsored program to finance miners' housing at low mortgage rates.

All of which makes it sound as though Boyle had studied Yablonski's election platform very carefully.

And all of which should make the 100,000 working soft-coal miners remember that they have heard such un-

ion election campaign promises before. And that as of now they have the most rigidly bureaucratized top union leadership in the country, including Yablonski and Boyle.

\* \* \*

Very soon the widows and mothers of the 78 men entombed last November in the Consolidation Coal Company mine at Mannington, W. Va., will be able to claim what is left of their husbands' and sons' bodies. The mine, now that the fire has been quelled, is being opened for slated operation again.

One widow, interviewed on TV, said it would be a great relief to bury the remains in their own graveyard. Another, with tears running down her face, said she didn't know what to expect. "Maybe it will be my husband, or just a belt buckle, or only a lump of coal."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

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## Iranian police-state terror described by U.S. attorney

Last year Khosrow Kalantari, an activist in the Iranian Students Association in the U.S., was threatened with deportation by American immigration authorities. The Iranian students retained David Carliner, an American attorney, to go to Iran to investigate the current state of civil liberties there.

The U.S. capitalist press has been criminally silent on the atrocities committed by the military dictatorship of the shah. Since the 1953 CIA-inspired coup d'etat the people of Iran have suffered not only increased impoverishment, but also the complete destruction of their civil liberties.

As part of their campaign to expose the crimes committed by the shah's regime, the Iranian Students Association at Penn State University recently sent us a report on attorney Carliner's brief submitted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service documenting the suppression of civil liberties in Iran.

A prominent Iranian intellectual who is a graduate of Cambridge University and a grandson of former Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh was to ar-

range for Carliner's interviews with Iranian citizens. This man was blindfolded and kidnapped by police intelligence officers, beaten by his captors, driven several miles outside of Tehran and shoved down a hill. He got the message and was unable to cooperate with Carliner.

With much difficulty, Carliner was able to interview 15 people. Although the Iranian ambassador to Washington had assured Carliner that he would have no problem, he reported that people he interviewed had been previously warned not to grant him interviews.

A case in point was Khalil Maleki, a social democratic leader who had mildly opposed the regime. Although Mr. Maleki, his wife, his receptionist and Mr. Carliner were the only people present when the interview was arranged, the minister of the shah's imperial court called Mr. Maleki an hour before the interview was scheduled to occur and warned him not to cooperate with Carliner. Maleki was interviewed. He has died since.

No publications critical of the government or its leadership may be distributed in Iran. It is a crime punishable by three to 10 years in solitary confinement, Carliner reports, to be a member of "a group or association which, in its policy or belief, is against the Iranian constitutional monarchy or has socialist ideology. . . . This law is also applicable to such persons, groups or associations outside Iran and will be prosecuted and punished as such."

The laws are much harsher in the case of working-class revolutionaries, many of whom are serving life sentences or have died under torture or been executed. Carliner's report does not mention the working-class prisoners' conditions, but one can safely assume from the brutality with which the regime treats lawyers, doctors and descendants of prime ministers that the ruling class treats its real enemies many times more brutally.

Recently the shah's regime has not always been able to murder its enemies. The militant activists among the Iranian students and in the international youth movement in general have been instrumental in forcing the military dictatorship to back down in several cases. Iranian students around the world have indicated their determination to step up even further their activities on behalf of their imprisoned comrades.

## Minn. socialists to open new hall

MINNEAPOLIS—The gala grand opening of Carl Skoglund Hall, the spacious new headquarters of the Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party, will be celebrated here Sat., Sept. 27. An open house, replete with punch, will begin at 6 p.m., followed by a 7 p.m. banquet featuring Swedish Smorgasbord in honor of Carl Skoglund, one of the founders of the SWP and a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster Strike.

Speakers, beginning at 8 p.m., will include Harry DeBoer, former organizer of Teamsters' Local 544, which led the famous strike; Fanny Curran, a founding member of the American Trotskyist movement; and Charles Scheer, a national committee member of the SWP and longtime friend of the late Carl Skoglund.

A party will follow. The festivities will take place at 1 University Ave., NE (at E. Hennepin).

## WSAers break up Boston SDS meeting

BOSTON—Approximately 60 Worker-Student Alliance SDSers broke up a RYM-SDS meeting Sept. 16 after a brief and bloody fight. 20 RYMers had come to the meeting to discuss the SDS Oct. 11 Chicago action. RYM's opposite number in Boston, the WSA-SDS, marched up to the door of the meeting in military fashion and demanded entry. RYM refused, maintaining that they had come to disrupt the meeting.

The WSAers then attempted to force their way into the room. The pushing match quickly developed into a violent fist fight. After a five-minute battle RYM left the building chanting "all power to the people."

Several YSAers who attended the meeting to present their criticisms of the Oct. 11th action assisted in the defense of the meeting. Afterward, they were threatened by PL-WSAers. One YSAer was told he would be "run out" of Boston and would never be "safe" in the city again.

BOSTON—A sectarian note has been added to the otherwise promising rise in the organized antiwar movement in

Boston. The Worker-Student Alliance SDS held a regional meeting Sept. 13 to call an antiwar action. The WSA-SDS openly admitted it had done little about the war in the past. Now they were going to take over and call the actions, at least in Boston.

One SDSer explained the need for an action right away. Oct. 4 has been set as their date. He stated, "We have to get the jump on the other groups." The meeting was attended by a hundred people and included quite a few members of Progressive Labor who explained at length how the Vietnamese NLF were "selling out" by negotiating in Paris. Various speakers falsely asserted the mass coalition antiwar actions were for negotiations not withdrawal. Speakers from the YSA and the SMC explained that the fall offensive actions were for immediate withdrawal and urged them to unite with other groups.

WSA-SDSers repeatedly attacked all the other antiwar groups, claiming only SDS (that is, their faction of SDS) was truly antiwar and that the Nov. 15 march on Washington would lower the consciousness of the American people and set back the movement.

## Medical research slashed to pay for Vietnam war

BY JOEL ABER

Discoveries that could save millions of human lives appeared closer to man's grasp a few days ago than they are today. The reason is the Vietnam war.

The National Cancer Institute has been forced to order the killing of 380 valuable research monkeys that were being used in a pioneering study of human cancer viruses. Thus \$2 million and several years in the productive lives of some of the top medical minds in America have gone down the drain.

The U.S. government budget for medical research is being trimmed so sharply that leading scientists predict "panic" at major universities and research institutions across the nation by the end of this year, when government research contracts come up for renewal.

Nobel prizewinner Albert Szent-Gyorgyi charged that the Vietnam war is responsible for the drastic cutback of research funds. Among the casualties of the slash in funds for medical science is Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi's current cancer research project at the Muscle Research Institute in Woods Hole, Mass.

It was announced Sept. 10 that the National Institutes of Health, which are responsible for funding 60 percent of medical school expenses in the U.S., would be forced to curtail research grants by 20 percent. After the initial storm of protest from scientists, administration officials announced Sept. 12 that the cutback would more likely be about 10 percent.

One section of NIH, the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, had its budget so drastically reduced that all but 10 percent of its 130 five-year grants up for renewal will have to be rejected.

While NIH has discontinued support of Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi's cancer research, Dr. George Wald, another Nobel prizewinner, disclosed at a Sept. 10 meeting of the American Chemical Society that a man from the Army's Edgewood Arsenal recently phoned him to ask whether he would help develop a temporary blinding agent.

Dr. Wald, a professor at Harvard who won the Nobel prize for his discoveries about the chemistry of the visual system, created a political sensation last spring at an MIT teach-in about the antiballistic missile system, when he delivered a slashing indictment of the Vietnam war and the entire American military-industrial establishment.

Dr. Wald told the chemical-society meeting that he had informed the man from the Army's Chemical Corps that he would not work on how to blind people; he is proud of his work and hopes that it will be used to heal, not harm, Dr. Wald said.

"Wouldn't you rather blind them than kill them?" Wald said he was asked, and he replied that, like tear gas, a blinding agent would not be used by the Army to save lives. Such an agent, Wald pointed out, would be used to force people into the open where they could be killed more efficiently.

This is the "reordering of national priorities" occurring under the Nixon administration; funds for cancer research suddenly dry up, but opportunities for scientists to do chemical warfare research abound. "For the amounts of money assigned to the doubtful ABM," says Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi, "thousands of research groups like mine could have worked for a hundred years."

Health, it seems, isn't as profitable as the Vietnam war.



His highness, the shah

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

THE NEW OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speaker: George Saunders, Author of "Rebels and Bureaucrats," Fri., Sept. 26, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

ULTRALEFTISM AND THE DEGENERATION OF SDS. Speaker: Peer Vinther, NY organizer and nat'l committee member, YSA. Fri., Sept. 26, 8:30 p.m. 873 B'way (at 18th Street). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

CRISIS IN URBAN MEDICAL CARE: THE HIGH COST OF GETTING SICK. Speaker: Dr. Griffin Bates, Asst. Professor of Psychiatry, Temple U., Fri., Sept. 26, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad Street (cnr. Fairmont). Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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## At the Socialist Workers convention

# Workshop on women's liberation

By STACEY SEIGLE

The growing concern among women to find forms of struggle which relate meaningfully to their status in capitalist society was reflected at the Labor Day weekend Socialist Workers Party convention in New York. Reports from 11 U. S. cities, together with special reports from Canada and Cuba, were the substance of a panel on women's liberation.

An initial report by Mary-Alice Waters of the editorial staff of *The Militant* outlined the general perspective from which Marxists can begin to formulate a program for the struggle. In the first place, it is important to recognize that the issue of women's liberation is one which has a long tradition in the history of revolutionary movements; it is one about which both Marx and Engels

wrote. As Marxists, we must begin with a basic class analysis of society.

Although some radicals tend to reject the issues raised by women's liberation groups—such as abortion reform—as distracting from revolutionary struggles, Mary-Alice Waters' report stressed the fact that women have great potential for radical action; their movement should be viewed as an important new arena of activity for revolutionaries. The issues—from demands for equal pay to the rejection of psychological conditioning—are ones which daily affect the lives of all women and around which significant demands can be raised and actions carried out. The general approach of the SWP is to try to lead the growing women's liberation movement in a revolutionary direction by developing a transitional program for it. This,

however, is a process which involves a period of analysis, observation, and continuing discussion. While demands such as those for day-care centers, free birth-control centers and equal pay are already generally recognized as basic to the struggle, others will be formulated as the movement develops.

In conclusion, Mary-Alice Waters proposed four tactics for revolutionary socialists to follow in relation to the woman's movement: 1) To explore existing groups to determine their particular character, and to work with those which are viable and worthwhile; 2) To continue to educate ourselves on the issues; 3) To initiate concrete actions around existing demands; 4) To use our press, forums, campaigns and literature to intervene in the struggle with the perspective of turning it in a revolutionary direction.

Many, but not all, of the women involved in liberation struggles have come from groups such as Resistance and SDS, and they consequently already hold radical views on many issues. The groups which they have formed, according to the area reports, range from such antimale groups as New York's Society for Cutting Up Men (SCUM) to groups involved in campus struggles and working-class women fighting for equal pay or against high food prices (FLIP—For Lower Prices). While all cities reported some activity in the area of women's liberation, the level of activity varied widely.

Three cities reported activity which involve working-class women. In Minneapolis, women clerical workers at the University of Minnesota began a struggle last spring to unionize in a fight for higher wages.

In New York, a group of Long Island women have begun boycotting super-



Mary-Alice Waters

## New British organization fights for women's rights

By ILENE HEARY

An exciting new organization is contributing to the struggle in England for the liberation of women.

On Oct. 22, 1968, a national action campaign was launched in England to achieve equal rights for women. Called the National Joint Action Campaign for Women's Equal Rights (NJACWER), the group evolved from a strike by women employees of the Ford sewing-machine company and was initiated by the National Union of Vehicle Builders. It is now composed of important sections of the trade-union movement and of women's political organizations.

The first point on NJACWER's working charter demands the removal of discrimination against women in employment, education, and social and public life. At present, only seven percent of the young women in England enter apprenticeships, compared to 43 percent of the young men. Furthermore, only 5.1 percent of all skilled craftworkers are women, and a woman's access to a better-paid job is restricted by her employer's reluctance to release her for training. In 1966, 538,000 employed men were released during working hours to take part-time courses, but only 87,000 women received the same "privilege."

NJACWER's second demand is "equal pay for work of equal value" in all agreements between employers and trade unions. Since women usually work in the clerical and service sectors of industry, while men work in the main-

tenance and production sectors, women must be paid fairly for those jobs which are equal in importance to those of men, although they are not identical.

While anyone who supports the liberation of women is welcome to join NJACWER, a number of militants from Nottingham have formed a Socialist Woman's Committee within NJACWER which advances, through its publication *Socialist Woman*, a revolutionary perspective on the struggle for women's rights.

The lead article of the first issue of *Socialist Woman* clearly outlines the necessity of drawing attention to the worldwide "interest and activity around women's demands in industry and the home." It points out that "women are one-third of the labor force and one-half of the population; at the same time women have many characteristics of an exploited minority." These socialist women within NJACWER look to Cuba and North Vietnam as good examples of how a traditionally oppressed group can begin to overcome historical obstacles.

The Socialist Woman's Committee stresses that the features of contemporary society that are oppressive to women can only be changed through action guided by a revolutionary perspective. The struggle for women for equality cannot be separate from that of the working class, because it is class society that produces female inequality.

Subscriptions can be ordered from *Socialist Woman*, 16, Ella Rd., West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG 2 5 GW, England.



Symbol used by women's committee

market meat counters to protest high prices. Their fight, which involves picketing in front of the stores and holding outdoor rallies, has spread to other cities and states, and leaders of the New York movement have received requests from other areas to help organize similar groups.

In Atlanta, SWP mayoralty candidate Linda Jenness' program includes the demand for complete equality for women. Both the local National Organization of Women (NOW) and Atlanta women's liberation groups of SDS-RYM have asked Linda Jenness to speak at their meetings and have offered support to her campaign. She is regarded as a vanguard figure in the women's liberation struggle and has consistently tied in the struggle for women's liberation with the revolutionary program of the SWP.

In addition to these three areas, several reports indicated that active welfare-rights groups are raising demands such as the right to free and legal abortions. In Los Angeles, a chapter of NOW, which consists of both men and women, is fighting to change oppressive legislation relating to women.

Participants in the panel were impressed by the contradictory nature of the struggle at this formative stage. In Detroit, for instance, a Women's Committee of the Detroit Coalition to End the War has been formed. Yet in the same city, a group of SDS women physically attacked a home-economics instructor during a class, presumably for acquiescing in the "system." However, the level of the struggle is seen as having generally progressed over the last several years.

The panel heard a special report by a member of the Canadian Young Socialists-Ligue de Jeunes Socialistes (YS-LJS), who was a guest at the SWP convention. The YS-LJS presented a brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, which outlined general demands of the struggle for equality. Canadian revolutionary socialists have been active in coalitions

## 50th anniversary greetings

The convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in New York on Labor Day weekend marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Communist Party.

The process of bureaucratic and reformist degeneration of the Communist Party in the 1920s culminated in 1928 in the expulsion of veteran militants, including party founders, on charges of "Trotskyism."

Among the expelled were James P. Cannon, present national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, and veteran Minneapolis revolutionary and labor leader, V. R. Dunne, also a leader of the SWP. Through the organization and development of the SWP, they kept alive the genuine traditions of American Communism, whose anniversary was marked by the convention.

Poor health kept both Cannon and Dunne from attending the party convention, and the delegates sent them messages of greeting.

Message to James P. Cannon:

It has taken 50 years to lay sound foundations for the revolutionary party in the United States. That prolonged period of party-building is inseparable from your work. This convention shows how well it was done. Thanks to your leadership through those difficult decades, our party is prepared to take full advantage of the broad possibilities opening for its expansion. Venceremos!

Message to V. R. Dunne:

As we enter the second half-century of American Communism, we pause to salute those veterans like yourself who have guided our movement through the past 50 years. Without your fortitude and foresight, we would not be gathered here this weekend in such numbers from all parts of the country, nor would our future look so bright. Venceremos!



Friday, Sept. 26, 1969

Friday, Sept. 26, 1969



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Symbol used by women's committees protesting "Miss America" contest

# Women in a classless tribal village in India

BY GISELA MANDEL

BRUSSELS, Belgium — I would like to remark on the anthropological history of the classless societies referred to by Evelyn Reed in her article, "Women and the family," in the Aug. 15 *Militant* and in her pamphlet, *Problems of Women's Liberation* (Merit Publishers, 1969). There are some tribes which even today live in this ancient stage of completely equal rights for men and women.

I visited some of these tribal villages in India, near the Tibetan border. Foreigners are not allowed to go to these regions, and I managed to get there only because I knew an irrigation engineer who went there from time to time.

These primitive villages are not yet acquainted with money, and the Indian government is still quite undecided about what to do—whether to integrate them into Indian society as a whole or to leave them as they are for the time being, since, in comparison to other parts of India and the Himalayan area, these people are relatively "well off."

Gold is absolutely unknown. Some people leave these villages to go to more modern parts of India or even to England. Most of them don't come back. Two men I met who had returned—one, from England—told me they didn't see any reason for introducing things like gold, money or even watches, because the things they had seen outside their region did not impress them as being superior.

Conditions will probably not remain as they are, because you cannot hold

back developments for too long. I know that at the beginning of the 20th century the same kind of community existed in the Russian Far East, and Lenin had a long discussion about what to do with them—whether to leave them alone and bring them directly to communism, or integrate them in the transitional society. Stalin then solved the problem by integrating them rudely and crudely. I am unfamiliar with Chinese policy in Tibet, but the Indians, at least, are concerned with the problem.

What struck me most was the fact that men and women even looked exactly alike. They had the same kind of homemade, hand-woven trousers and coats and the same long hair worn in braids, and everybody from 18 to 80 had absolutely the same rights, especially in the village councils. All this, I am sure, is nothing new to Evelyn Reed; but I wanted to mention the fact that these historic relics still survive.

A second point which should be of interest to your readers is that in certain regions of some capitalist countries, where agricultural production is poorly developed and inefficient and where a new wave of industrialization has set in, women are beginning to play the same role again in agriculture that they did in ancient times *before* the land was divided up. For instance, in parts of southern Germany, especially in Baden-Wuerttemberg, and in parts of southern France (though less so there, because the land is bought up by the state or landlords, and used for large vine-

**EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARY.** Gisela Mandel was active in formation of German Socialist Students Federation (SDS). She has conducted sociological studies in India and written extensively on that country.

yards), the peasants cannot live any longer from their small plots of land. For the past several years, the men have gone to nearby towns to work in the factories, and the women have taken over the villages, managing everything there. In quite a number of villages, they have even formed village cooperatives which buy heavy agricultural machines used by the whole village. If you drive through these villages you will find only women working there during the day.

These things, of course, are only interesting as sidelights, because of their transient character. Soon these villages will be abandoned by the children of the peasants, who prefer to work in factories, and the land will be bought up and used for large farms or housing projects. But it illustrates the points made by Evelyn Reed.

## Afro-American polls top vote in Detroit

BY FRANK LOVELL

DETROIT—Voters in the Sept. 9 primary election here selected Wayne County Auditor Richard H. Austin, an Afro-American, and Sheriff Roman S. Gribbs as the contestants in the Nov. 4 mayoral runoff election. The outcome of the primary contest was no surprise. It followed a low-key campaign on the part of both victorious candidates, each seeking to avoid "the racial issue."

Austin polled 124,941 votes compared to 105,640 for Gribbs. Both candidates in the nonpartisan election are members of the Democratic Party. Their campaign follows a plan drafted by the big-money rulers of this city, whose major concern in city politics since the 1967 ghetto uprising here continues to be maintenance of efficient and effective domination of the black community.

One group among these capitalist rulers has encouraged Austin, who seeks to become the next black mayor in a major city. He has been endorsed by all black politicians in the city and by the political arm of the United Auto Workers.

Gribbs is reported to be backed by some "key business and utilities executives." He comes on as a "moderate," thinks the major problem in city government is "one of communication," and is pledged to upgrade the police department and improve housing in the ghetto.

A runner-up in the primary, Councilwoman Mary Beck, was the "law and order" candidate. She received 71,065 votes, 21 percent of the total.

The turnout at the polls surprised the forecasters. A total of 339,000 votes were cast—48 percent of the total registration, one of the largest in recent history.

Voting patterns showed a clear line of demarcation in this half-black city. The

black community accounts for 20 to 25 percent of the total registered voters. In these precincts, even though the turnout was slightly below the average, Austin received a near-solid vote. He won 38 percent of the citywide total, more than any other candidate, but less than nine percent in the white-voter precincts.

Gribbs came in second with 105,640 votes, but the 71,000 "law and order" votes pulled by Beck are expected to go to Gribbs in the November election.

There are real issues in this campaign, but they have barely been touched on by Austin and Gribbs. One is community control of the police.

Earlier in the campaign a petition was circulated to put the issue of a citizen-police appeal commission on the November ballot. The proposed commission was to have the authority to discipline cops and fire the gun-happy ones. The petition failed to get the necessary 35,000 signatures. Austin endorsed the general idea but did nothing to promote it and heaved a deep sigh of relief when it died prematurely.

Another issue of special concern to the black community, where unemployment is high and climbing due to cutbacks in auto production, is *jobs*. How young black workers will find employment is an issue not mentioned by Austin or Gribbs.

Low-cost housing is a very important issue raised and endorsed by both runoff candidates. Neither has any realistic proposal for building homes. Both merely talk about the need.

The whole question of the city's relief rolls is a very urgent one, but these candidates for high office pretend it does not exist.

The war in Vietnam is one of the

immediate causes of many problems in the metropolitan centers. This overriding issue was mentioned exactly once by Austin and was never spoken about again by either of the two contenders.

All of these issues can be faced and practical solutions found by an organized and united black community. But this is the work of the community itself, prepared to employ the means of mass action to control the police, win jobs by cutting the hours of labor, build cooperative housing, and stop the war machine.

These are actions that will win the support of broad sections of the white population because they hold the promise of eliminating the very ills from which all of society suffers. The white workers and sections of the white middle class will come to welcome an independent movement among black people to end the war, build cooperative community homes, and make more jobs in industry by reducing the hours of work.

These things cannot be accomplished by subservient black politicians who cling to the political parties of the white ruling class and seek high office on the promise that if elected they will do everything within their power to prevent black people from organizing their own independent political actions.

These black politicians here forget that the independent, spontaneous, unorganized actions in the ghetto only two years ago make it possible today for them to present themselves as serious contenders for high posts in city government.

This is a fact that has not been forgotten in the ghetto. Many there are now thinking about how much more can be accomplished when they are organized, united, and plan independent mass action to gain specific attainable goals.



LNS

protesting "Miss America" contest

such as the New Feminists and the Women's Liberation Movement, with the perspective of adding clarity to the demands raised by the groups by helping to formulate a transitional program. In addition, they hope to work in the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, to establish links with working-class women. Independently, the YSLJS organized a very successful "drink-in" at local pubs in Quebec, where it is illegal to serve liquor to women. They are also planning a cross-country speaking tour on the topic of women's liberation.

Reporting on Cuba, Eva Chertov, who lived there for six years, outlined the institutional ways in which discrimination against women has been fought. There is, for example, no wage or job discrimination and there are infant and child care centers. However, no organization has yet called for basic education on the woman question, and problems remain on the level of personal relationships.

Following a discussion period, Mary-Alice Waters' summary stressed the importance of revolutionaries involving themselves in the women's movements as they exist, with the perspective of initiating concrete actions, contributing to the theoretical analysis of the struggle, and recruiting to the revolutionary socialist movement.

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# Student activists launch fall antiwar offensive

Preparations for the fall offensive against the war in Vietnam are off to a fast start as high schools and colleges open across the country. The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a movement of students fighting for immediate withdrawal of all troops, has already held meetings on scores of campuses and the large turn-outs indicate a tremendous potential for building the Oct. 15 moratorium, the Nov. 14 student strike and the Nov. 15 mass marches on Washington and San Francisco.

The following is a round-up of activities taking place in a few of the areas:

## BOSTON-CAMBRIDGE

Over 100 students attended the first Student Mobilization Committee meeting at Boston University and SMC meetings are planned for all Boston area campuses. The city-wide SMC has gathered 1,000 names of high school and college students interested in building SMC. A high school teach-in is planned for Sept. 20.

## BAY AREA

Plans are underway for a Western Regional Antiwar Conference to be hosted by SMC Sept. 28. Delegations are expected from many California campuses as well as colleges in Oregon,

Arizona, Washington and Utah. This student conference will be preceded by a regional conference sponsored by the Bay Area Peace Action Council.

SMCers are touring campuses throughout the Bay Area building both conferences in the high schools and colleges.

A meeting of the California State College Student Presidents Association passed an SMC-initiated proposal endorsing the Oct. 15 moratorium and the Nov. 14 student strike. The proposal provided for setting up committees, preferably SMCs, for building these actions on the campuses.

## CHICAGO

The High School Students Against the War in Vietnam will be holding a conference at the University of Illinois Sept. 24. A high school antiwar bulletin is being distributed to build the conference.

The SMC and related groups are moving at Northwestern, Northeastern, Loop Jr. College, Wright College and the University of Illinois Circle campus.

The Loyola University SDS was expelled by the national office of SDS and its members have formed an SMC chapter. The SMC at Loyola has initiated a struggle against ROTC which began with a walk-out last week from

# New Mobe announces plans for fall action

By ELIZABETH BARNES

NEW YORK, Sept. 18—The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam opened its fall offensive at an unusually large press conference here today with announcement of its planned activities, culminating in a mass march on Washington Nov. 15.

All the major news media were on hand as a number of prominent antiwar figures explained what actions are planned for the coming months and why.

Assailing the Nixon administration for its "public deception" in withdrawing only a token number of troops, Dr. Benjamin Spock declared that the announcement of troop withdrawals by Mr. Nixon is "a sop," and "an insult to the intelligence of the American people."

"We will not be fooled or tricked or deceived," the famed baby doctor said. "The plans we are making show clearly that the people are taking the initiative, the offensive."

Paul O'Dwyer, head of the New Democratic Coalition and last year's Democratic Party candidate for Senate, spoke of the impossibility of dealing

with the "plight of the cities" so long as the war continues.

Stewart Meacham, Peace Education Secretary for the American Friends Service Committee and co-chairman of the New Mobilization, described the March Against Death planned for Nov. 14 and 15 to precede the mass demonstration in Washington.

The potential for building the biggest national student strike ever for Nov. 14 was stressed by Carol Lipman, Student Mobilization Committee leader and co-chairman of a New Mobilization youth committee set up to reach out and involve high school, college and working class youth in the planned actions.

The upcoming Chicago trial of the "Conspiracy 8" was discussed by David Dellinger who is a co-chairman of the New Mobilization Committee and a defendant in the "conspiracy" trial. A demonstration will be held in Chicago Oct. 25 to dramatize support for the eight conspiracy defendants.

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 100 persons from some 25 peace, veterans, political, religious, campus and social action organizations met at the University YMCA Sept. 15 to form the Minnesota New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

A speech by Sydney Lens, a co-chairman of the national New Mobilization Committee, was followed by a discussion of concrete plans for building the antiwar movement here, culminating in the Nov. 15 Washington demonstration.

PHILADELPHIA—A Sept. 14 meeting of over 70 people representing a wide spectrum of antiwar forces launched the Philadelphia New Mobilization Committee here. Stewart Meacham addressed the group, describing the need for the most massive action ever Nov. 15. He confidently predicted over 500,000 people would be in Washington.

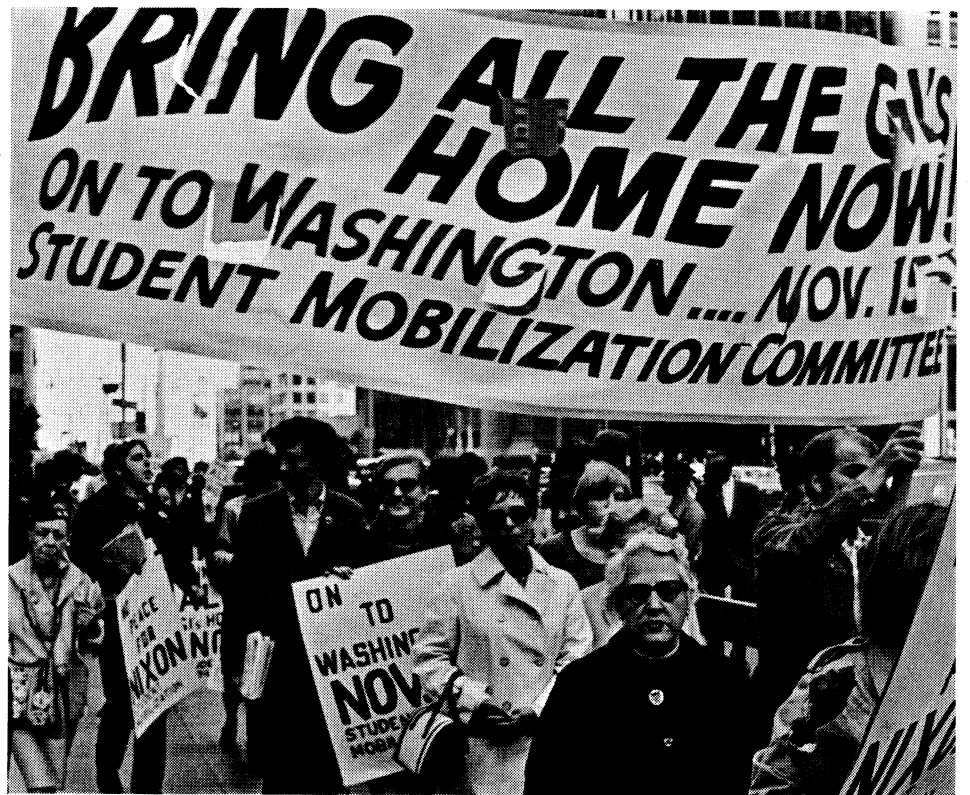


Photo by Britton

"NO PEACE FOR NIXON!" New York SMC initiated protest of Nixon's UN speech Sept. 18 and picketline at Waldorf Astoria. Speakers at a brief rally included N. Y. SMC chairman Joanna Misnik; Marilyn Marcusson, N. Y. moratorium coordinator; Ron Wolin, Vets for Peace; Carol Lipman, SMC nat'l chairman; and Cora Weiss, NMC cochairman.

a mandatory school rally in support of ROTC.

## CLEVELAND

Over 70 people attended the first Committee to End the War in Vietnam meeting at Case-Western Reserve where plans were made for a teach-in and workshops Oct. 15.

Plans for the Nov. 14 student strike include a petition campaign addressed to school boards in all areas demanding that school be closed Nov. 14 to provide for discussion on the war in the form of debates, workshops and symposiums. Nov. 14 in Cleveland will be known as *Vietnam Friday*. A city-wide rally will be held that day with prominent speakers and an open mike.

## DETROIT

Two full-time SMC activists are touring instate and outstate campuses, and a state-wide regional high school and college antiwar conference is planned for Oct. 4 sponsored by various student organizations including SMC and Detroit Resistance.

A Third World Vietnam Solidarity Committee is being initiated at a meeting Sept. 23.

At Oakland County Community College the university has removed the SMC's charter and SMC is in the process of rallying student support to regain campus recognition.

## PHILADELPHIA

The Philadelphia SMC had its first fall action Sept. 15 when some 80 people demonstrated at the induction center the day a black SMC activist was called up for the draft.

Over 100 students attended the first meeting of the University of Pennsylvania SMC, and some 50 came to a meeting at Temple University. Plans are rolling for a city-wide high school and college SMC meeting Sept. 20.

## NEW YORK

A preliminary meeting of organizers from 50 schools in the greater New York area made plans for a Sept. 27 mass high school and college meeting at New York University, Education Auditorium at 2:00 p.m.

## TWIN CITIES

Some 20,000 leaflets are being distributed to publicize a mass city-wide meeting of the SMC Oct. 4.

## WASHINGTON D. C.

Over 250 students attended the first meeting of the American University SMC and other meetings are scheduled at the University of Maryland, Georgetown U. and other campuses.

A city-wide SMC meeting will be held Oct. 4 at 1:00 p.m. at the New Lecture Hall, American University, to finalize plans for the Oct. 15 moratorium and the fall offensive.

George Shaffer, a student at Dickinson College, was arrested Sept. 4 as he was distributing SMC leaflets at the high school from which he graduated in Alexandria, Va. He was charged under a trespassing law which carries a one year sentence and \$1000 fine.

Shaffer is being defended by ACLU lawyer Larry Freidman and plans to go all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary to defend his constitutional right to leaflet.

# GI paper annoys military brass at Fort Bragg

SEPT. 17—Authorities at Ft. Bragg, N. C., violated a Pentagon directive yesterday when they denied members of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam permission to distribute their antiwar newspaper, *Bragg Briefs*.

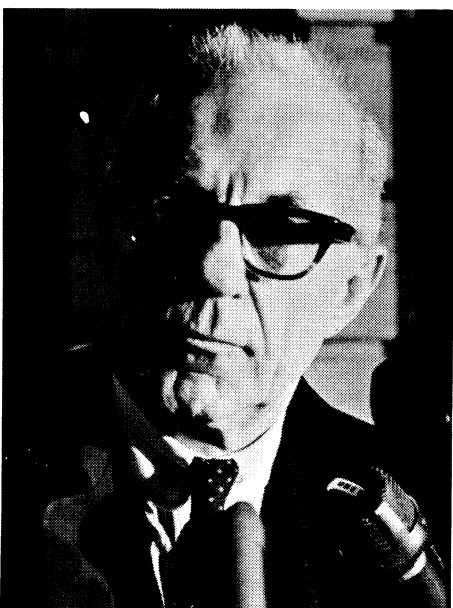
No reason was offered for the refusal despite a May 28 Army directive (see page 3) that clearly states that "cogent reasons" must be provided if distribution of literature on Army posts is to be denied.

This latest attempt to gag GIs comes at a time when more soldiers at Ft. Bragg are exercising their right to speak out than ever before. GIs United has held weekly meetings regularly for the past few months, the largest of all taking place the evening of Sept. 16, only a few hours after the communique prohibiting the distribution of their newspaper. The 45 GIs at the meeting laid out ambitious plans for the fall antiwar offensive at Ft. Bragg, including a demonstration to take place Oct. 11. They are requesting permission to hold the demonstration on the base.

A third notice of intention to distribute was filed this morning—one day after the most recent denial of permission. If at the end of seven days there is no response from the Army, or if distribution is disallowed, attorney Leonard Boudin of New York, in conjunction with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, will seek a federal injunction safeguarding the right to distribute.

The antiwar GIs at Ft. Bragg view their projected Oct. 11 demonstration on the base as the first step in a massive publicity campaign to tell GIs about the Nov. 15 mass action in Washington.

Funds for the legal expenses of carrying on the battle of GIs United for their civil liberties can be sent to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee at Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York 10011.



Dr. Benjamin Spock

**With democracy for some**

# Crooked Lindsay move scored

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK, Sept 18 — Liberal Mayor John V. Lindsay's attempt to deprive the Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties of their legal place on this fall's municipal-election ballot has evoked vigorous protest in liberal and radical circles here. The Ad Hoc Committee for a Fair Ballot, formed today under the co-chairmanship of Dave McReynolds, national field secretary of the War Resisters League, and Ruth Gage Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, made public a letter to Lindsay asking that he withdraw the challenges to the SLP and SWP nominating petitions.

Yesterday, the city board of elections yielded to Lindsay's maneuver and arbitrarily ruled the Socialist Labor Party off the November ballot. Today, it took the same action against the SWP. Both parties will fight the decision in the courts.

As of this writing, signers of the Ad Hoc Committee's letter include former city councilman Paul O'Dwyer, a leader of the New Democratic Coalition who has been a central figure in rallying liberal Democrats to Lindsay; columnist Nat Hentoff, who recently wrote a laudatory biography of the mayor; Norma Becker of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; writers Susan Sontag, Eric Bentley, Dwight McDonald and Paul Goodman; James Haughton of the Harlem Unemployment Center; Aryeh Neier, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union; and Julius Jacobson, editor of *New Politics*.

The basic facts in the challenges to the two parties' petitions are now clear. According to Lindsay's campaign manager, Richard A. Aurelio, the challengers — Mrs. Judith Weisgrau, a registered Republican and city job holder, and a Peter J. Keirnan — are "individuals favorable to us" and "we obviously have given them some assistance." The attorney for both challengers is Robert Brady, an election-law specialist who has been retained by Lindsay on several occasions in the past. And the motive — as Aurelio has virtually spelled it out — is about as base as any in the not exactly edifying history of New York City politics.

The voting machines used here have seven vertical columns available for candidates' names. The first four columns, under board of elections rules, are allotted to those parties — Democratic, Republican, Liberal and Conservative — that are assured of ballot positions because of the number of votes they received in the previous election. Three

top-row slots, then, are available to other parties, and under the rules they are allocated according to the time of filing of nominating petitions. When there are more than seven parties, the additional ones are squeezed in on lower rows in column seven.

In this election, under these rules, John Marchi's name would have appeared twice on the top row — as the mayoral nominee of the Republican and

and urgent problems confronting the people of New York City: the war in Vietnam and white-capitalist domination of the black and Puerto Rican people here.

Elimination of the two radical, minority parties seemed like an easy solution. The SWP and SLP had complied with all the capitalist election laws. They had taxed their small resources to gather the required signatures and process

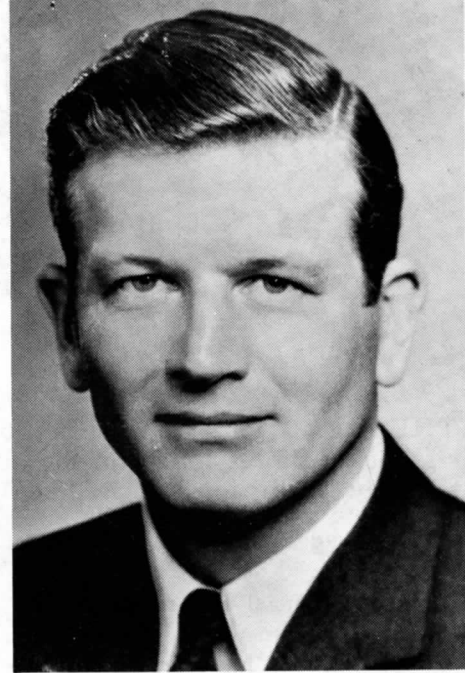


**Paul Boutelle**

Conservative parties. Mario Proccaccino's name would likewise have appeared twice — as the Democratic candidate and as the candidate of his own, oddly named Nonpartisan Party. But since Lindsay's own, even more oddly named, Independent Party filed its petitions later than the SWP and SLP, his name would appear on a top line only once — as the Liberal Party nominee. As the Independent Party candidate, his name would appear down in the middle of column seven, along with the Communist Party candidate.

This was felt by that pious defender of minorities to be an intolerable situation. But if the two minority parties occupying the coveted top-row slots could be eliminated, John the Just would join twice-born John the Jerk and Mario the Menace in their double, top-row good fortune.

In addition, Lindsay and his strategists surely found the prospect quite appealing that Paul Boutelle and the other SWP candidates might be relegated to write-in candidate obscurity. For they are not only explaining the necessity of socialism to the people of New York City; they are alone in offering a basic alternative to Mario and the two Johns on the two most immediate



**John Lindsay**

the petition sheets. Nearly 25,000 Manhattan voters had shown, by signing the petitions, that they believed the two parties should have the right to be on the ballot. But Lindsay had the money to subject the SWP and SLP petitions to the kind of minute examination that can "detect" insufficiencies in any handwritten document; he had more money for this purpose than the SWP and SLP have to finance their entire campaigns. And Lindsay has the necessary friends on the board of elections.

This solution, of course, is subversive of even the limited democratic rights provided by capitalist law. It is supremely contemptuous of the people of this city, both in its disregard of the thousands who want the SWP or SLP on the ballot and in its hope that those repelled by Liberal Party stench will find the perfume of the Independent Party irresistible. And its meanness can only further corrode the shrinking remnants of elementary decency and fair play still present in the political morality of capitalist society. But such considerations mean nothing to a John the Just, hard-pressed to keep a job.

In addition to the court fight, the SWP is mounting a political offensive around this issue. It intends to expose

## A letter to Lindsay

(The following letter to Mayor John V. Lindsay was made public Sept. 17.)

We have been deeply disturbed by the efforts of your campaign manager, Richard Aurelio, to force off the ballot the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party in order to insure a second line on the ballot for your own candidacy. Both of the parties involved have made what we believe to be serious and extended efforts to qualify for the ballot, involving literally hundreds of man hours of time in gathering and processing their petitions. Both parties are established parties in New York and have run candidates in every election for many years.

No political issue facing the city justifies — or could justify — the effort to deprive voters of their right to cast a ballot for one of these two parties if they chose to do so. We ask that you and your campaign committee reconsider and withdraw the challenges to these parties on the basis of the democratic right of any political party to be represented on the ballot.

- Dave McReynolds
- Ruth Gage Colby
- Paul O'Dwyer
- Norma Becker
- Eric Bentley
- Paul Goodman
- Aryeh Neier
- Nat Hentoff
- Susan Sontag
- Dwight McDonald
- James Haughton
- Julius Jacobson

the fraudulence of Lindsay's progressive claims. It is seeking to mobilize to the fullest public opinion in defense of the democratic right of access to the ballot, because if Lindsay gets away with it now, it will make it considerably more difficult for radical ideas to get a hearing in the future.

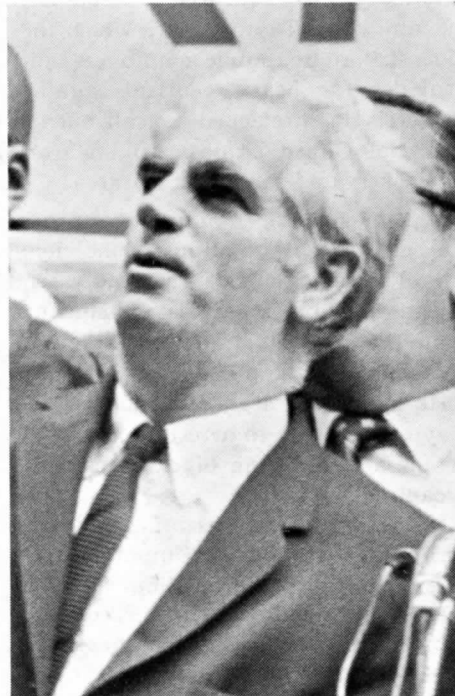
The SWP will show that Lindsay's attack is a concrete illustration of the illusoriness of democracy under capitalism, and that it is an example of the extreme vulnerability to subversion by capitalist politicians of the limited democratic rights guaranteed by capitalist law. It will serve as one more proof that democracy will only be real and secure once capitalism has been abolished. We do not think Lindsay will get away with it.



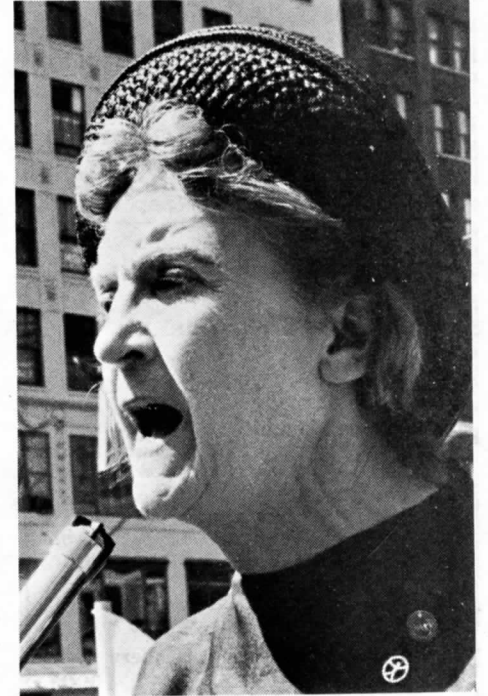
**Dwight McDonald**



**James Haughton**



**Paul O'Dwyer**



**Ruth Gage Colby**

# What the front-runners offer New Yorkers

BY HOWARD REED

NEW YORK — The two front-runners in the race to become mayor of the country's biggest and most turbulent city are Mario Procaccino, the Democratic nominee, and incumbent John Lindsay, running on the Liberal Party line.

Procaccino has emerged as the main candidate symbolizing racist "law and order." He has red-baited student demonstrations, particularly those involving blacks and Puerto Ricans, and he has made ominous remarks about the fate of welfare recipients under his future administration.

He is not making any serious attempt to win black and Puerto Rican support, and he does not even claim to be much concerned about the poverty that crushes the lives of millions of New Yorkers. At every opportunity, he praises the police.

John Lindsay is trying to cadge the votes of those repulsed by the scarcely concealed racism and overt conservatism of Procaccino's campaign. He has recently endorsed several black political aspirants, spoken repeatedly of the "social causes of poverty," and assumed a typically "dove" stance on the Vietnam war.

(Lindsay's concern for minorities does appear to stop somewhere short of concern for the rights of minority political candidates, as evidenced by his current efforts to keep the Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties off the ballot.)

The patronage-hungry bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, which has been tied to the Democratic Party for many years and is dominated by the heads of craft unions notorious for barring Afro-Americans from the



Photo by Alan Mercer

**THE REALITY.** New York liberals argue that significant things hinge on the outcome of the contest between an open racist like Mario Procaccino

and a liberal capitalist politician like John Lindsay. We believe that the reality of social relations expressed in this photo will not be changed by either.

building trades, have endorsed Procaccino.

Lindsay's official labor support has come mainly from unions that bargain with the city and have a high proportion of black members. Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents 80,000 city workers, and the heads of the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union, have endorsed the mayor. John DeLury of the Sanitation Workers has said kind things about him.

The Communist Party, although running its own candidate for mayor, has supported the policy of the pro-Lindsay union heads. An editorialist in the Aug. 23 issue of the CP paper, *Daily World*, wrote of the fight waged inside the CLC by the pro-Lindsay group:

"The unions of the minority bloc are mature enough not to be swayed by secondary, narrow considerations. They have an eye on the major issues before the country—the urgency of peace, a shifting of the war expenditures against poverty and for solving the urban crisis. . ."

The CP and the more "progressive" trade-union-bureaucrats to the contrary notwithstanding, Lindsay is in practice just as opposed as Procaccino to the struggles of the black community and of the labor, antiwar and student movements. As with Johnson and Goldwater, Procaccino talks about it, while Lindsay simply does it.

Lindsay, like Procaccino, supported the antilabor Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees and provides for heavy reprisals against strikers. He threatened to call out the National Guard against striking transit workers and sanitation workers.

While he has done nothing to improve the scandalous conditions of the city's school system, he has repeatedly sent cops against black parents and students protesting the situation and trying to do something about it.

He sponsored legislation to give the mayor authority to arrest up to 10,000 people a day during black and Puerto Rican rebellions.

His cops viciously assaulted students occupying buildings at Columbia University in the spring of 1968, and this spring more than 200 of his cops occupied the City College campus for a week.

Lindsay refused to support a city-council resolution which would have

raised the minimum wage of workers in firms doing business with the city from \$1.75 to \$2.50 an hour; the mayor found the proposed higher minimum wage "unrealistic."

In the long run, real change can be made in this society only if a revolutionary movement is built in complete independence from capitalist politicians.

And even in the short run, the effective way to fight the conservatism and racism represented by Procaccino is by independent, mass action. What men like Lindsay or Procaccino do in office is little affected by their personalities or whatever views they may hold. Every capitalist politician is, within the framework of his basic commitment to the capitalist system, first of all an opportunist, and what he does will be largely determined by the response his actions

engender in the population.

Procaccino's policies will be stopped, not by Lindsay, but by an independent mass movement.

This is the message of the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Paul Boutelle, the SWP mayoral candidate, and his running mates are waging their campaign in order to give political support and leadership to the mass struggles in the city, and not, like the CP candidates, to mask real support to Lindsay.

All the SWP candidates are active builders of the antiwar movement. They actively support black and Puerto Rican control of the black and Puerto Rican communities. They fought the racist school shut-down last fall. They are utilizing their campaign to win mass support for these struggles.

## Three radical leaders fight frame-up in Florida

BY JOHN SUGG

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — Three leaders of the radical movement here will be brought to trial soon on a variety of frame-up charges intended to discourage movement activity. The trials are scheduled to open within the next six weeks.

The three are Charles Fulwood, former minister of information of the Junta of Militant Organizations, who is now associated with the Black Panther Party in Boston; Edward James Fine, a founder of the Florida Socialist Union and currently a Young Socialist Alliance activist here; and Edward Freeman, former chairman of the Gainesville SDS.

Fulwood was arrested April 5 while traveling from Gainesville to Sarasota to deliver a speech on the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination.

After having been held illegally for 36 hours and subjected to a series of racist humiliations, Fulwood and his companions were released on \$500-per-person bail. Fulwood was charged with "transportation of obscene literature." The "obscene" literature in question was a Black Panther Party film and a copy of a black community newsletter, *Burning Spear*. Fulwood is being represented by attorney Maynard Swanson, vice-chairman of the Florida Civil Liberties Union.

Fine has been charged with "technical probation violation," and if an Oct. 30 hearing finds him guilty, he could go

to prison for four years.

Fine was convicted on a phony marijuana charge last year, after deputies illegally searched and ransacked his house. He was sentenced to four years on probation, and one of the terms of his probation was that he had to inform his probation officer each time he left the county. But the probation officer gave Fine blanket permission to travel up to 100 miles from Gainesville. On a number of occasions, Fine made such trips.

In June, Fine was arrested and charged with having left the county—three months before, when he had traveled to Cecil Field Naval Air Station (57 miles away) to distribute leaflets inviting GIs to join the forthcoming antiwar mobilization. One of the deputies who arrested Fine admitted he was being picked up for "political" reasons. Fine's probation officer now denies that he ever gave the blanket, 100-mile travel permission. Fine is free on \$2,500 bail.

Edward Freeman is being framed on a drug charge. His arraignment is scheduled for Sept. 11.

These attempts to silence radicals by use of "drug" and "obscenity" charges and technical probation violations must be defeated. The Florida Defense Committee urgently needs funds to cover legal expenses for these frame-up victims. Contributions should be sent to Florida Defense Committee, Box 13157, University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

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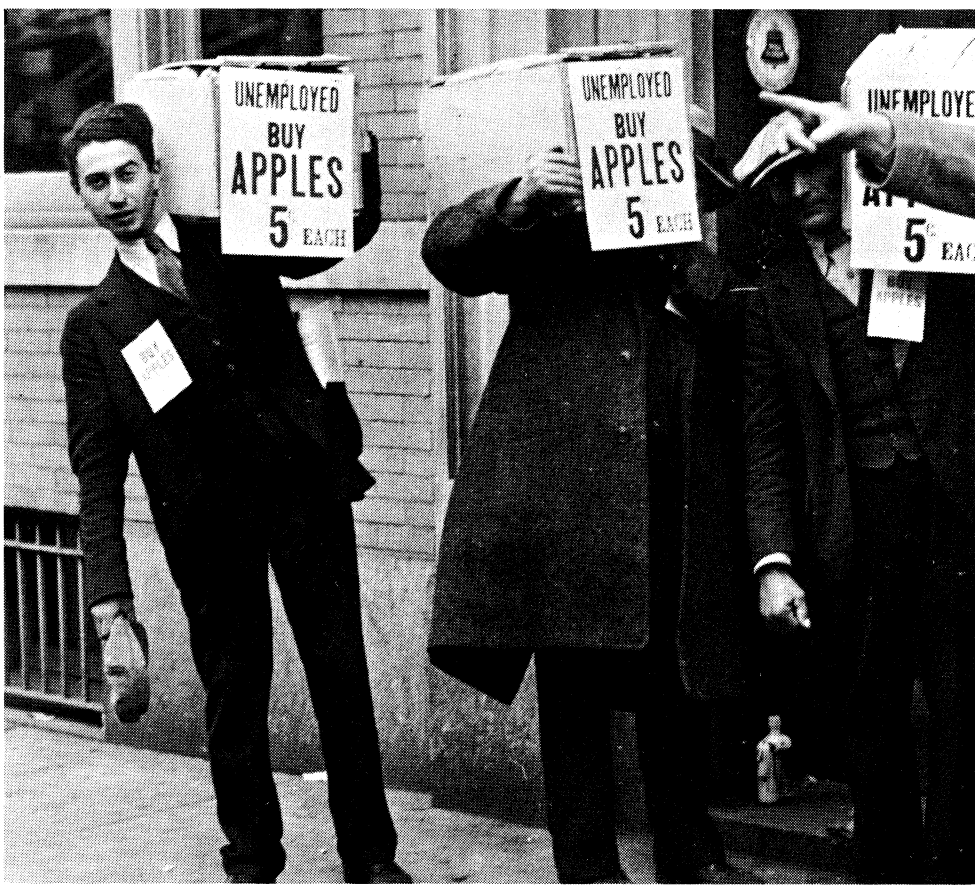
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**APPLESAUCE?** Nixon says more unemployment will bring lower prices. With current inflationary pressures next depression may see apples peddled at 50 cents.

# Nixon's moves to slow economy

BY DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 16—The longest upturn in the history of the American economy has overreached itself, according to the economic specialists and advisers of the U. S. ruling class.

The Nixon administration has adopted economic policies bent on slowing the economy, possibly by the year's end. It is following this course although there have been increased warnings that such a slowdown could lead to recession.

Washington dopesters Rowland Evans and Robert Novack spelled this out in their nationally syndicated news column Aug. 30:

"Behind the facade of forced optimism about the state of the economy, President Nixon's economic policy makers have decided to stick indefinitely to the tight money attack against inflation despite the grim forboding that it almost surely will produce a 1970 recession—possibly of severe dimensions."

Evans and Novack reported that the hard-line recessionary measures were being followed despite "growing realization inside the administration that this policy will stop the inflation later than had been hoped and at a cost to the economy far greater than expected.

"That is," they continued, "lack of financing will slow down the economy so much that business activity will slump and unemployment will soar."

In order to understand these policies, it is necessary to place them in the context of the sharply increased competition in world trade. Inflation of the American economy has meant that U. S. goods have been increasingly priced out of foreign markets while cheaper foreign-made goods have been able to penetrate the American market.

One has only to note the sharp profit declines of U. S. auto corporations together with the figures on foreign-car sales in this country—over one million last year—to get to the essence of the imperialists' worries.

They see a recession—cutting back jobs and wages—as the best way to salvage their declining advantages in world trade.

At a time when a capitalist economy

has near to full employment, as has been the case in this country since the first major escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965, workers are more inclined, individually and through their unions, to press for higher wages. Similarly, when there is a favorable job market they are more inclined to resist employer efforts to increase profit margins by speeding up workers.

And in a good job situation those seeking work tend to turn down the lower-paying jobs, forcing sweatshop employers to raise wages to compete for available labor.

American workers have been all but denied the advantages of the wage increases they have won during this period by the war-primed inflation that drives prices up at even faster rates. The real weekly earnings of American workers, that is, the buying power of their dollars after taking into account higher prices, has increased only marginally since the beginning of the escalated war.

Nevertheless, this price inflation is intolerable to the capitalists *in world trade*. Inflation keeps up their profits—it does this at the risk of endangering long-run profitability in international competition. As far back as January 1968, the president's Council of Economic Advisers declared:

"The task of decelerating price and cost increases and of gradually restoring price stability is the key assignment for economic policy in 1968." It is all the more so today.

The capitalists hope to increase the pool of unemployed workers and drive wages back. They want to reverse the near-to-full employment conditions described above. They are resorting to the classical formula of enlarging the "reserve army of unemployed."

With increased unemployment, of course, the conditions which make for higher wages tend to turn around. The Nixon administration is bent on turning them around.

"The administration is prepared to inflict pain," *Business Week* opined Sept. 6. "If policy makers do opt for a harsher policy, they will have to shut their ears to protests about unemployment . . ."

The White House made two significant additions to its recessionary measures recently which illustrate the course it is following.

On Sept. 3, while black workers were being attacked by Pittsburgh cops for demonstrating to get construction jobs, Vice President Agnew announced that the administration was cutting federal spending on construction a whopping 75 percent.

This comes at a time when the construction industry, which accounts for over one tenth of national output, is already hard hit by inflation. Furthermore, increased federal interest rates mean more expensive home mortgages and a consequent slowdown in housing starts.

The second administration move toward recession was the tax bill announced Sept. 4. This bill was significantly tougher than one passed by the House of Representatives in August.

"Wall Street reacted with undisguised glee yesterday to the Nixon administration's tax bill," a *New York Times* correspondent wrote Sept. 5.

"What they are going to do," Senator Hartke (D-Ind.) complained in Congress Sept. 4, "is increase the taxes for the ordinary taxpayer, the individual, by \$1.7 billion, and at the same time they will decrease the amount of taxes which corporations would have to pay by \$1.6 billion. Apparently president Nixon believes that his forgotten American is a president of a corporation."

Nixon's "gradualism," his "secret plans," his promises of reform, his "care" for the "lowest-income bracket," is washing out with the deepening contradictions of U. S. capitalism. He steps into stride as the chief executive in the government of the capitalist ruling class and presses its needs against those of the overwhelming majority of the population.

The contradictions of the capitalist system cannot be more clearly expressed than in the terms of the present economic conjuncture: It cannot tolerate prosperity! The "boom" is too much. Day after day the economic specialists of the bourgeoisie search the facts and figures for signs that the recession they so fervently desire is finally beginning to materialize.

An ironic example was the announcement in Washington Sept. 8 that the rate of unemployment fell in August, from 3.6 to 3.5 percent, despite recessionary policies. It meant 313,000 Americans found jobs when the government is trying hard to reduce available jobs.

Howard Stambler, a spokesman for

the Labor Department, was at pains to explain that the overall trend is in the other direction. The "indications of an easing in the demand for workers seem to be getting a little stronger," Stambler assured reporters.

It may seem insane, but in contrast to the days when government spokesmen were always assuring that employment was on the rise, now they feel moved to assure that unemployment is increasing!

"Other signs of a welcome slowing down of the nation's inflationary economy," the *Wall Street Journal* reported Sept. 9, "included a decline in the closely watched average work week in manufacturing to a seasonally adjusted 40.6 hours from 40.7 hours in July . . ."

Although the "unemployment rate for white workers remained unchanged at an adjusted 3.2 percent, the volatile rate for Negro and other nonwhite workers climbed to 6.5 percent last month from 6.4 percent in July."

Why is it, when what are more than ever needed are more jobs, more building, better houses, better education for literally millions of Americans—and this is not to speak of those two-thirds of the world's population who go to bed hungry every night—the glutted U. S. economy is too fat? And the "fat" that must apparently be stripped away is precisely the jobs, the housing, the health, education and welfare of the poor?

The capitalist economic system is governed in the interests of a few giant corporations and their worldwide monopolies and investment empires. The pressure for recession comes from the monopolists; it is designed to bolster their competitive position in world trade and to do this without cutting back on their vast military machine and their attack on Vietnam.

It need hardly be pointed out that the best and quickest way to end the inflation would be to get out of Vietnam now. The very fact of Nixon's recessionary policies proves that he has no intentions whatsoever of withdrawing from Vietnam.

It is the war that has inflated the American economy and has driven up the prices of U. S. goods, undercutting the competitive ability of U. S. monopolies in world trade. The recession is designed to shift the weight of this inflation onto the backs of the masses of Americans, through job cuts, through wage cuts, without ending the war.

**BACK AT SCHOOL?** If so please let us know your change of address. Important: Be sure to include your old address.

# Blacks press Pittsburgh job fight

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 17—The federal government will enter today the deadlocked talks in Pittsburgh between the Black Construction Coalition and the white-ruled building trades unions.

This follows a 4,500-strong "Black Monday" Coalition demonstration on Sept. 15. The same day Coalition representatives tore up what was supposed to be a concession offer by the unions.

The Sept. 15 march in downtown Pittsburgh was the largest demonstration so far in the ongoing battle of black workers for a fair share of well-paid construction-industry jobs. Parade marshals were reported to have kept strict order throughout the two-and-a-half hour march.

The Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations has estimated that of the more than 30,000 construction jobs in the Pittsburgh area fewer than 2 percent are held by blacks who make up 20 percent of the city's population.

The racist officials of the building trades unions make a pretense of allowing blacks in, but the Sept. 6 *Business Week* reported that: "Black mem-



Photo by Diane Hypes/Pittsburgh Point/LNS

## Pittsburgh cops attack black job demonstrators Aug. 26

bership has increased by less than one percent since 1963 when the Pittsburgh Building Trades Council pledged to end discrimination in its ranks."

A steelworker named Carl Morris told *Business Week*, "I was at the demonstration [Sept. 3], as a past construction worker. I used to be a hod carrier, but I just couldn't get any higher. You can't get into the union without pull."

"The gap between the two factions never was wider in the black community's drive for more union jobs," the *Pittsburgh Press* reported Sept. 16 when Coalition spokesmen rejected a union offer.

The offer consisted in nothing more than "agreement" by the unions to "ask" Pennsylvania Labor Industry Secretary Clifford Jones to survey the "people in the minority community who wish to be considered under the program."

Before this "offer" the Coalition had demanded 2,200 to 2,500 black jobs

in construction in five years. After tearing up the "offer," Coalition spokesmen demanded 25 percent union membership for blacks—7,500 jobs.

"They came in here and said 'You niggers go to hell,'" one Coalition speaker told the *Pittsburgh Press*.

Federal government negotiators stack the cards even further against black workers in the Pittsburgh talks. The Nixon administration's contempt for black people and their struggle for decent living conditions has been more than amply demonstrated in the eight months since Nixon took office.

Instead of launching a vast housing program and rebuilding the cities to provide jobs for all, Nixon is doing the same thing the Democrats did before him: pouring billions into the war while slashing federal spending on all fronts.

Nixon's recessionary measures include a drastic cut of federal construction contracts (see story page 13).

According to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Attorney General is supposed to be empowered to enjoin offenders when there is a "pattern of discrimination" in federally-financed jobs. That certainly applies to building trades unions and contractors.

But U.S. Attorney General Mitchell is sitting tight while the demand for fair hiring in construction jobs seethes around the nation.

Meanwhile, the government pretends to be interested in helping minority youths get around discriminatory union training programs. It has an operation called "Apprenticeship Outreach." That is training exactly 3,800 youths on a national basis and is funded at \$3.8 million—the cost of one hour's fighting in Vietnam.

That one statistic gives a pretty clear picture of where the capitalist government stands on the question of jobs for black people.

## U. of Ill. YSA presses job fight

CHICAGO—Students at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus are planning actions in support of the Coalition for United Community Action battle for black jobs in the construction industry.

Pointing to university complicity with the racist practices of the construction industry and job-trust union officials, the University of Illinois Young Socialist Alliance issued a call for a broad ad hoc committee to fight the university's hiring policies.

The university contends it is not involved in the controversy over employment practices in construction.

But a YSA leaflet pointed out, "If the university really upheld their supposed policy of non-discrimination, they would have:

"1) Broken the construction contract when these racist hiring policies were revealed.

"2) Strongly protested the police harassment of the demonstrators and demanded that all charges be dropped.

"3) Condemned the circuit court injunction which protects selfish interests of the employers and union bureaucrats."

A meeting to form a committee and to start planning strategy is called for Tues., Sept. 30, at 12 noon in the Ward Gallery, Circle Center.

# The Chicago building trades battle

CHICAGO—Mayor Daley has joined hands with the racist building-trades union bureaucrats and the construction industry in their attempt to thwart the escalating struggle of Chicago blacks for a fair share of construction jobs here.

This has led to a possibly unexpected rebellion—in the ranks of the police force itself.

On Sept. 8, Daley's cops arrested four leaders of the Coalition for United Community Action at a construction-site demonstration on the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus.

The Coalition leaders arrested were the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national head of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket; Leonard B. Sengali of the Black P. Stone Nation; Frank Weathers of the Black Disciples and Lawrence Patterson of the Conservative Vice Lords.

On Sept. 10, despite Police Department orders to the contrary, the Afro-American Patrolmen's League held a news conference in the lobby of the Central Police Headquarters and came out in support of the Coalition struggle.

Buzz Palmer, executive secretary of the Patrolmen's League, declared: "For policemen to say, 'We are only doing our job' is to quote Adolph Eichmann when he defended the extermination of 10 million people. . . . The black community will struggle for the right to

construct buildings in Chicago."

The Sept. 8 demonstration, numbering about 800 and composed largely of militant South Side youths, had been called in defiance of a court injunction confining the number of construction-site pickets to six.

The pickets assembled in front of the Circle Center Building in the center of campus, held a brief rally and moved to the construction site. There were 200 cops alongside the fence surrounding the \$17-million university construction job.

The cops allowed Coalition leaders to enter the site and meet with representatives of the company and building-trades unions. After a brief, unfruitful meeting, Coalition leaders left four members inside to talk to construction workers while the others returned to the picket line.

It was then discovered that the four who had remained inside were under arrest on charges of—trespassing!

Buzz Palmer was flanked by uniformed black policemen and surrounded by about 100 other Afro-Americans in the Sept. 10 news conference, which was packed with radio, TV and newspaper reporters.

"At this critical point in history," Palmer stated, "we black policemen are standing up to be counted. People who are denied the right to build their own

destinies have few options. In order to survive they must either struggle or surrender. . . .

"In struggle, the potential for violence escalates. The need for a fair, just and impartial police department becomes paramount. We members of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League will continue to work toward that goal. We will no longer allow ourselves to be used as the oppressors of this black community in which we live. We will become its protectors."

Palmer protested racism within the police department and the refusal of Police Commissioner Conlisk to meet or talk with representatives of the League, which was formed about a year ago and has a membership of between 600 and 700 policemen.

The last attempt to talk with Conlisk was after the shooting of a black teenager in the back in a white neighborhood, by a white off-duty cop. A few weeks later in the same neighborhood, a young black got out of his car to repair a defective muffler and was beaten to death by a white man.

Palmer called it "the first open lynching in modern Chicago history."

Responding to a question on law and order, Palmer said, "Until there is law and order in the police department there cannot be law and order in the community."

# The Great Society

*He catches on*—"I am convinced from the headlines that a confused picture has been presented in the United States on the military situation in Vietnam, and that much misinformation prevails on the economic and political situation there."—Rep. Robert Sikes, Fla.

*Skip the malarkey*—Army reservists from the Omaha, Neb., area, due back from Vietnam next month, have written their congressmen and local officials emphasizing that they don't want any welcoming speeches, parades, etc. They said they just want to return to their families.

*Doublespeak dep't*—Philadelphia's police department, one of the most notorious head-busting agencies in the country, apparently has some kind of a sense of humor. It advertises in the local press for new hands with a heading: "Peace Men."

*Pearls before Fine?*—In tribute to New York's Finest, a city council subcommittee approved a bill to name a street in the area of the slated new \$45-million police headquarters "Avenue of the Finest." The site of the new headquarters begins at Pearl St.

*It all depends*—Actress Shelley Winters, 46, on why she will not be appearing nude in any of her performances: "Because I think it is disgusting, shameful and damaging to all things American." "But," she adds, "if I were 22 with a great body, it would be artistic, tasteful, patriotic, and a progressive, religious experience."

*The high cost of living high*—Several weeks ago we commented, perhaps in an unduly caustic way, that Mrs. Jackie Onassis had contributed a big \$200 to striking South Carolina hospital union workers. We didn't realize then what she was up against. According

to Boston *Record-American* correspondent Ned Sparks, the Onassis' had living expenses of more than \$15 million during the first year of their marriage. This included upkeep on nine homes, a yacht and an island, plus wages for over 200 servants. Maybe those hospital workers ought to take up a collection for Mrs. Onassis.

*Preview for SDS?*—The July issue of *The New Worker*, voice of the Communist Party USA (Marxist-Leninist), contains the following notice: "All Party members who have either been expelled or suspended since the last National Party Congress and desire to attend the Second National Party Congress should communicate with the National Office in Los Angeles. All suspended or expelled Central Committee members will receive invitations."

*Lack early love*—Prof. James Skipper of Case Western Reserve has made a close study of strippers. He found they're bigger than average and have "extremely well-developed breasts." He further concluded they become strippers because of a lack of affection at home, particularly from their fathers. Maybe the fathers are all out at the burlesque.

*Let's do it again*—"On Jan. 22, 1946, on Capitol Hill, Gen. Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff, was ambushed by militant representatives of the 'Bring Daddy Home Clubs.' Angry women backed him against a wall and laid down a barrage of demands that left him flushed, breathless and, in his own words . . . 'emotionally upset.' In this atmosphere it is not surprising that congressional leaders of both parties sought to outbid each other for public applause in the drive to disband our armies . . ."—Former Congressman Chester Bowles in the Sept. 9 *Look*. HARRY RING

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## Reading for revolutionaries

# May 1968 in France



"STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND WORKERS TOGETHER," said banner at front of the demonstration May 13 in Paris at height of general strike.

Revolt in France. Published by Les Evans. Distributed by Merit Publishers. 168 pp, \$1.95.

This is the story of the unprecedented uprising that shook France in May and June of 1968. It is a rich collection of articles from various publications arranged by subject matter and written by many authors, some of whom were on the spot witnesses and others, leading participants in the events. There are many excellent photographs and cartoons in the book as well.

The May-June events are still the subject of differing points of view. What happened and why, what could have been done, and where do France and all Western Europe now stand as a result—these are some of the questions that are still being debated, especially in radical circles.

The French Communist Party, those who agree with its position in other countries, and some other observers hold that the upheaval was not a revolutionary uprising, that the conditions for a revolution were not present. This view is challenged by the contents of this work. The evidence sustains the view that there was indeed a revolutionary situation created by the student uprising which brought on a tremendous general strike encompassing the majority of the French working class, 10 million workers, and drawing in its wake large elements of the farm

population, intellectuals and middle-class elements.

The book tells about the activities of these people and the reaction of the ruling class and the de Gaulle government. It describes the day-to-day acts of the various political parties, how they reacted to the crisis, what they proposed, what they actually said and did, and how events were influenced as a result.

There is a special emphasis on the activities of the Communist Party of France, which is the largest working-class party in that country and the most influential in the unions.

One of the many lessons to be drawn from the French events is in connection with the working class as a revolutionary factor in industrially developed capitalist countries. One school of thought, identified with Herbert Marcuse and other new left writers, has held that the workers cannot be expected to act in a revolutionary way any longer because they are quite comfortable, bought off by capitalism, and are now a part of the establishment. This school believes that if there is to be a revolution, it will have to be made by someone else.

The French events throw considerable light on this extremely important question. This collection of articles, reprinted as they were first written in the heat of battle, indicates that the new left writers were somewhat premature in consigning the working class to oblivion. The 10 million who conducted the largest general strike in history, have, like Mark Twain, stated that the report of their death has been exaggerated.

The book also contains reports of the reactions to the French events from several other countries.

—MILTON ALVIN

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## Atlanta socialist vows continued election fight

ATLANTA, Sept. 17—Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, declared today that despite the undemocratic Atlanta election law that has barred her from the Oct. 7 ballot, she will continue to wage her campaign, now on a write-in basis, as vigorously as before.

She has been barred from the ballot by a section of the law requiring of candidates two years' residence in Atlanta.

The socialist candidate's fight for the right to run was instrumental in overturning—temporarily, at least—one part of the discriminatory, undemocratic election law. On Sept. 9, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ruled on an action initiated by Linda Jenness that the city of Atlanta would either have to postpone the fall elections or reduce the prohibitively high \$1,000 candidates' filing fee. Rather than risk having to postpone the election, the city's board of alderman decided that anyone who considered himself financially unable to pay the fee would be exempt from it.

Previously, the city had demanded a \$5,000 filing fee, but on Aug. 5, a three-judge panel, responding to a petition by Linda Jenness, ruled that the law was discriminatory and ordered the fee reduced. The board of aldermen then set the \$1,000 charge—which was, of course, practically just as prohibitive for independent candidates representing the poor, the black, and the working people to meet as the higher one.

When Linda Jenness went to the city clerk's office yesterday to file for a ballot place, she struck out of the affidavit she was required to sign a sentence reading that to qualify for mayor a voter must have lived in Atlanta for

two years. The city clerk then refused to accept the affidavit.

In a statement issued today, the SWP candidate, who is a native of Georgia, said, "I have lived in Atlanta for a little more than one year. I am a qualified voter in this city, and on that basis I have the right to run for office. The two-year residency requirement is discriminatory, it is unconstitutional, it deprives me of my rights as a qualified voter." She also noted that the city ordinance contradicts the state law, which allows any qualified voter to run for office.

Despite the law's unconstitutionality, Linda Jenness said, "after consultation with several lawyers, we have concluded that it is too late to challenge this particular law in the courts at this time. Because of this discriminatory law, and the short time between now and election day, and only because of this, I plan to carry out a spirited and serious write-in campaign for the office of mayor of Atlanta."

She stressed that in the future as in the past, her campaign would not be simply an educational one. "I have run a fighting campaign," she declared. "I have fought in the courts against the outrageously high qualifying fees and for democratic elections. My campaign is fully identified with that fight. As a candidate, I have actively participated in demonstrations against the Vietnam war and in demonstrations against the Atlanta Housing Authority, and I have demonstrated against the hike in bus fares. I intend to carry out the same kind of fighting, action-oriented campaign in the form of a write-in."

In the fight against the filing fee, the socialist candidate cooperated closely with two aldermanic candidates, Ethel



Linda Jenness

Mae Matthews and Julia Shields. Justice Black's decision was formally on a suit brought by them, in which, for technical reasons, Linda Jenness could not be included. But it was a "class action," that is, one that pertains not only to the two petitioners but also to all individuals in the same situation. Black's decision thus pertains to anyone who wishes to run for office here but is unable to satisfy the \$1,000 filing-fee requirement.

On Sept. 10, the day following Black's ruling, the socialist standard bearer explained the importance of the decision at

a news conference. "The impact of yesterday's ruling," she said, "cannot be underestimated. It means that poor people, both black and white, who otherwise could not pay the qualifying fee, now have the opportunity to run for office in the coming city elections. I sincerely hope that in light of this ruling many people, especially from the black community, people who have been active in the struggles in their communities, and those who are independent of the Democratic and Republican party machines, will announce their candidacies and qualify."

## 400 protest cop brutality, hear Linda Jenness

ATLANTA, Sept. 12—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Atlanta, was among the speakers at a rally protesting police brutality in the black community tonight. The rally, called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and by supporters of Dr. Horace Tate, the only black candidate running for mayor, was held in response to the beating of black prisoners behind closed doors in the city jails. About 400 attended.

The incident was made public when a black veteran of the police force, Dewitt Smith, held a news conference and described the beating.

There were numerous board of aldermen and board of education candidates present at the meeting as well as Maynard Jackson, black candidate for vice-mayor. Jackson was booed and hissed off the platform by the predominantly black audience, mostly Tate supporters, when he refused to say that he would endorse Tate.

Linda Jenness was introduced by Hosea Williams of SCLC as the "socialist candidate who has saved many of you who are running for office lots of money." She described incidents of police brutality that had been reported to her and called for a police force in the black community that would be controlled by the community, and made up of

people from the community.

Asked if she supported Tate, she received applause when she stated, "I will support any black candidate that is running independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The Democratic and Republican parties are racist to the core and have sold black people down the river for hundreds of years.

"I support independent black political action and support the formation of an independent black political party. If Dr. Tate is running independent of those two racist parties and opposes those two parties, then he should say so and I would then welcome the opportunity to support him."

One of the best received speeches of the evening was given by John Shabazz of the Black Muslims. "Don't go to Mayor Ivan Allen complaining that (police) Chief Jenkins ain't getting the job done," he explained. "That's like going to Capone with tales about Dillinger."

When Mrs. Jenness accompanied other candidates on a tour of Mead Packaging, the largest paper company in Atlanta, campaign supporters accompanied her and distributed campaign platforms and stickers to the workers, many of whom are black. Most accepted the material enthusiastically and several raised clenched fists in solidarity salutes.

## Chicanos mobilize to defend youths framed by L. A. cops

LOS ANGELES—Alfredo "Bear" Bryan, a 16-year-old Chicano, and Richard "Richeo" Ortiz, 15, face murder charges.

Alfredo Bryan was shot five times—three times in the back, once in the groin and once in the leg—when cops invaded the Pico Gardens housing project Aug. 19. Richard Ortiz' mother described what happened to him: "The police took my boy across the railroad tracks and beat him, and when I saw him again he was in a daze; he couldn't understand what I was saying."

A cop named Jerry Maddox died during the police invasion, and the police arrested Bear and Richeo as well as Jaime Rodriguez, John Fernandez and Marco Gutierrez. The other three were released for lack of evidence after being held for three days, but Bear and Richeo were charged with murder.

While Alfredo Bryan lay in the hospital in serious condition, about 50 Chicano residents of Pico Gardens met Aug. 23 to form the Bear and Richeo Defense Committee. A leaflet had been distributed calling for a meeting of all community residents and asking, "What really happened at the shooting?" and, "What are you, as part of the concerned community, going to do about it?"

Bryan's attorney, Robert N. Harris, told the defense meeting, "Freddie is in danger of being tried as an adult, convicted of murder in a prejudiced atmosphere, held until he is 18 and then executed. We're fighting for a fair trial. And, because of the attitude of the Los Angeles Police Department toward the Mexican community, we need all the help we can get."

Harris is also protesting a bedside court hearing in the prison hospital in which Bryan was forced to make a statement while still feeling the effects

of sedation following an operation; the statement was not made available to the attorney.

The night Bryan was shot and Maddox died, 20 to 30 youths were dragged out of their homes and held for questioning. The mother of Jaime Rodriguez reported that two men in sports clothes, who only later identified themselves as police, pushed themselves into her home asking for Jaime and ridiculed the La Raza posters on the walls. When Jorge Rodriguez, 17, asked what they wanted, they replied, "Shut up, you little son of a bitch."

About 600 families live in Pico Gardens, estimated by the defense committee as 70% Chicano, 20% black and 10% Indian, Samoan and poor white. The pattern of police harassment there is well-known. Says a 28-year-old law student who lived for 14 years in the project and then returned to join the defense committee:

"You have to be careful about noise here. If your boy is in 'gang activity,' they can kick you out. You give up your privacy and personal liberty in order to live here. Not only the project cops, but also the LA police department are always hanging around, hasseling you. . . . I was 21 before I realized the cops had no right to beat us."

The Bear and Richeo Defense Committee has sent out speakers asking for support from other organizations and holds Sunday morning menudo (Mexican stew) sales in Pico Gardens to raise funds. They plan to issue two buttons, with the words, "Son Inocentes" (They are Innocent) and Libertad y Justicia para Alfredo y Richeo."

Contributions may be sent to: Bear and Richeo Defense Committee, 1630 E. Fifth St., Los Angeles 90033.