

# DEFEND THE BLACK PANTHERS!

— editorial, page 11

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 33 No. 49

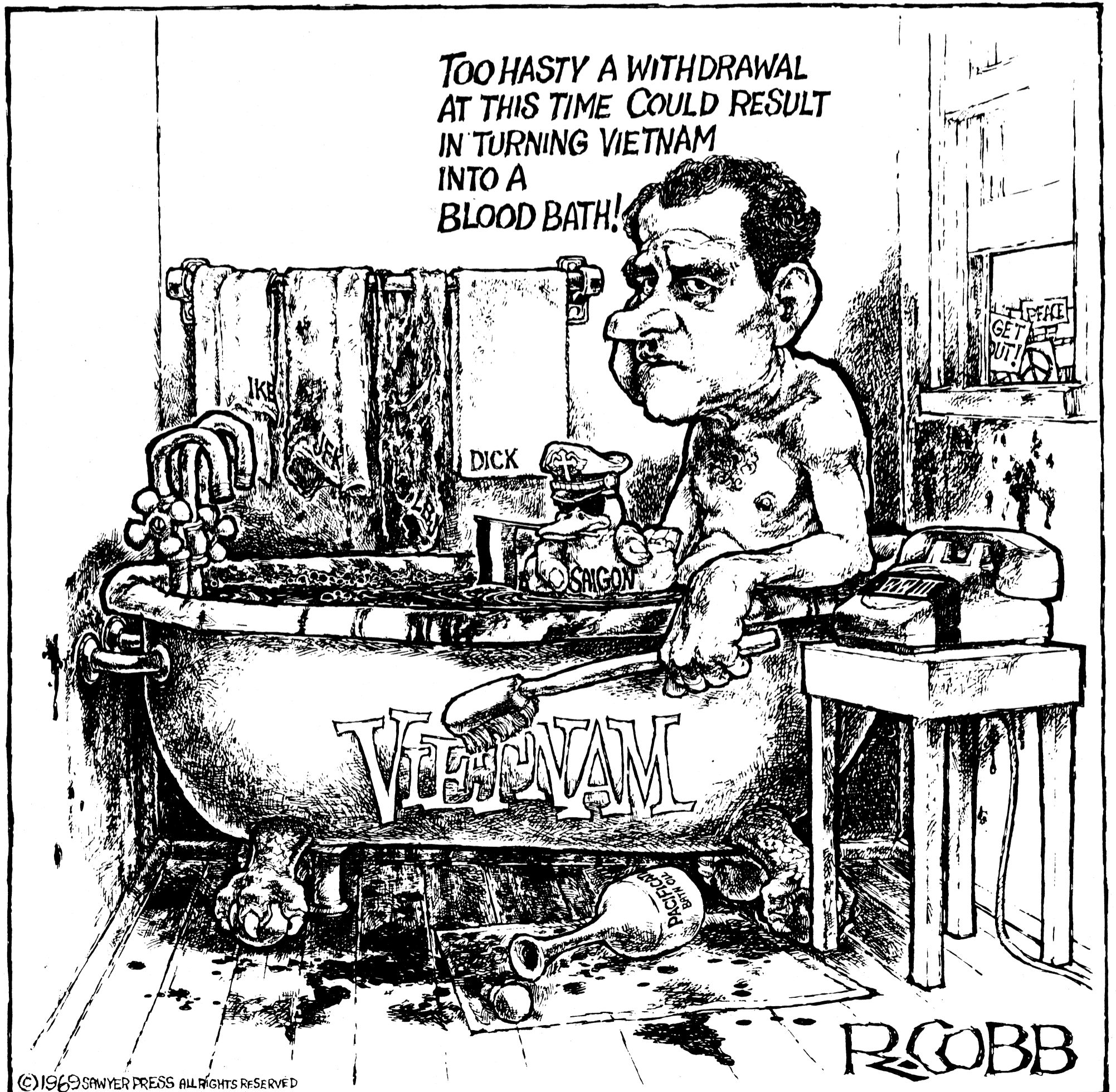
Friday, December 12, 1969

Price 15c

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# Buried facts about Songmy and other U.S. massacres

— see pages 7-9



# Berkeley 3 launch counterattack

## Demand Federal Court quash indictments

Berkeley, Calif.

The Berkeley Three have won a very important victory for civil liberties and democratic rights. On Oct. 29 a jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" for Peter Camejo on the felony charge of "conspiracy to commit misdemeanors." The jury was unable to reach a verdict in the cases of Jack Bloom and Paul Glusman, but the final votes were 8 to 4 in favor of acquittal.

Today the court set March 2, 1970, as the new trial date for Jack and Paul at the request of the District Attorney, which indicates, because of the remoteness of his date, that the D.A. is not anxious to try the case again. Nevertheless, the Berkeley Three are now preparing a new attack on the conspiracy indictment itself. We will petition Federal Court to throw out the indictment on the basis that the evidence used, namely public statements and associations, violate First Amendment rights. If our petition is upheld, any future use of the conspiracy law in political cases will be seriously hampered.

The effects of our victory can already be seen. The Alameda County Grand Jury just published a report on the People's Park confrontation in which political activists involved were named. Prior to our trial, there was a high probability that indictments would be made against several of the named leaders. However, our acquittal seems to have discouraged the District Attorney's office from any action of this sort.

The credit for this victory lies with the fine legal defense prepared for the three defendants, and the wide support they received from people across the country. Thank you again for your continued support. In time you will be hearing from us as to our next step in this important case.

David Warren, Secretary  
Berkeley Defense Committee

## GI supports struggle for socialist America

Gemerode, W. Germany

Through a gradual process, my political thought has evolved to the point where I recognize the ultimate value of the socialist program. Thinking men and women owe it to themselves and to society to attempt to think out our many problems in new directions, with new methodology. I suspect (and hope) your ideology and party will play a great role in the transformation I deem to be necessary, and indeed, inevitable.

Therefore, I hope you will accept the small contribution [\$20—Ed.] I enclose in this letter to continue whatever work you consider most important. I regret it is not more, but an enlisted man in

## 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.

the Army is not exactly in a high tax bracket. For whatever it is worth, my sincere good wishes are offered as well.

R. G.

## Quebec's struggle for self-determination

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

As a Canadian socialist who regards *The Militant* as indispensable reading, I was very disappointed to see no coverage of recent events in Quebec, specifically the Montreal police strike of Oct. 7, and the demonstrations around the struggle for French unilingualism initiated by the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire and being carried on by the Front du Quebec Francais, a united front of more than 100 organizations including trade unions, student groups, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The tremendous politicization beginning in Quebec, reaching deeply into the ranks of the students and workers, begins with the language issue and leads to the question—who control Quebec society and to what ends? As the answer is American and Anglo-Canadian capital to serve the needs of the American and Anglo-Canadian ruling classes (the U.S. has more invested in Canada than in all of Latin America), these struggles of the Quebec students and workers have a direct bearing on American politics and deserve attention and support from the vanguard of the American left.

Aside from these direct political interests and responsibilities, coverage of Canadian and especially French-Canadian events is of particular importance since the American Left, as well as the majority of the American public, often has little or no knowledge of "picturesque French Canada" or the Canadian political scene in general. The support of French unilingualism and self-determination for Quebec is as primary and explosive a demand as the right of self-determination for Black people in the States. An in-depth article on the background of the present

struggle in Quebec and continuing articles as the situation develops would do justice to the importance of the struggle in Quebec and be an indispensable contribution to American readers. Ven-  
ceremos.

R. M.

[In coming issues we plan to carry news and analytical material from Quebec that will help make up for our lack in this regard.—Editor.]

## Some xmas gift suggestions

Brooklyn, N. Y.

A Merit Publishers customer gave me an excellent Christmas card suggestion, and I want to pass it on to your readers. This holiday season she is sending inexpensive pamphlets published by Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, 10003, to her friends instead of Christmas cards. She chose *Pioneers of Women's Liberation* by Joyce Cowley. I have chosen *Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation* by George Novack, which fits perfectly into a letter size envelope. These are 25c and if you order twenty-five copies you get a 40% discount.

Others may want to send their friends the pamphlet *Antiwar GIs Speak Out* by Fred Halstead (50c).

Mary Jane Hodgett

## Oranges anyone?

Detroit, Mich.

The Tulare County, California, orange growers are in a quandary what to do about 2,500 carloads of excess oranges. Should they unload them at the county dump, or give them away to schools and welfare offices?

The growers blame their predicament on "poor planning." The trouble, according to them, is governmental red tape. The Federal Navel Orange Administrative Board failed to notify the big food chains in time for them to make the necessary price changes "in advance." Thus the chains are not buying as many oranges as usual.

You can bet your bottom dollar neither the growers nor the grocers are hurting. They are getting their profit margin on the deal. It's the working people in this land of plenty who pay the piper.

Here's a good question for the Galbraithians to solve: How do you reconcile "scarcity" with the "Affluent Society?" Socialists could answer the dilemma that faces the orange growers very simply.

Jim Campbell

## Free speech victory in Kansas

Topeka, Kansas

Kansas is generally regarded as a conservative state, but at Washburn University in Topeka, we defeated the administration's attempt to prevent us from selling socialist literature on campus.

We first tried to set up a table as an "outside" organization — i.e., one not "recognized" by the administration. This was a predictable failure. Only the Army, Dow Chemical, and similar outside organizations are given the free use of university facilities.

We then decided to get a "recognized" student organization to sponsor our table. Much to their credit, the Young Republicans considered the defense of free speech to be part of their business and readily agreed to sponsor the table.

At this point, the administrators showed that they were out to prevent our presence on campus under any circumstances. The Dean of Student Activities, Mr. Dotson, scurried over, pulled the president of the YRs out of class, and demanded to know what was going on. Dotson, a hardcore Repub-

# THE MILITANT

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Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$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 49

Friday, Dec. 12, 1969

Closing news date—Dec. 5

lican, brought so much pressure on the kid that, rather crestfallen, he told us we'd have to close up shop.

Still, we weren't defeated. A young black guy who had been standing at the table and listening to the debate suddenly disappeared and returned five minutes later with the president of Black Organized Student Society (BOSS), who told the Director of the Student Union, Mr. Thorpe, that BOSS was sponsoring our table. Thorpe stalked off to figure out what to do next.

Later, Thorpe sought out the president of BOSS and told him there had to be a member of the organization at the table at all times. The BOSS president responded by coming over and telling us we were going to become honorary members of BOSS (we're both white). Thorpe was foiled once again and the literature table stayed.

Despite the harassment, we sold a lot of literature that day and collected several names for a mailing list. Everyone on campus, from the president of the university to the school paper (which interviewed us), know about our successful fight. This experience proved to us that "even in Kansas" if you fight for your rights you can win.

Naomi Allen  
YSA regional traveler

## 7th grader wants to join

New York, N. Y.

I have applied for membership in the YSA. Up until two months ago I was a liberal. I am 12 and in the 7th grade.

G. M.

## Has some basic differences

Minneapolis, Minn.

Trotskyists are doing good organizing work in the antiwar movement, and *The Militant* is well worth reading. However, I have some basic differences with your position. For example, I believe that the USSR has a socialist system which is working very well, indeed. It represents the main bulwark against U.S. imperialism. The action of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries to prevent counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia was correct.

Also, it seems that in the West, Communist Parties still inspire the workers and the parties are growing everywhere. This is especially true in France where the CP did not resort to adventurism and make a premature attempt to seize state power.

James Erickson

[*The Militant* has expressed its viewpoint on these questions on many occasions. Responses from other readers are invited.—Editor]

## 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

## Fascism:

### What It Is How to Fight It

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

## Report from Atlanta

# RYM II parley fails to adopt viable program

By ILLONA STANTON

ATLANTA, Ga. — A national convention of the Revolutionary Youth Movement II was held here Nov. 27-30. RYM II which, like the Weatherman faction and the Worker-Student Alliance faction, considers itself to be the *real* SDS decided to build a "mass anti-imperialist youth movement" which would seek to construct "united fronts" to fight male supremacy, "white skin privilege" and anticommunism. The statement of principles adopted did not characterize RYM II as a socialist youth group.

The convention opened with a women's liberation conference attended by approximately 100 women. However, the day's agenda didn't go quite as expected. RYM II leaders had decided the night before to exclude a number of organizations from attending the conference, including the YSA, SWP, Communist Party, WSA-SDS, the Progressive Labor Party, and the International Socialists (formerly Independent Socialist Clubs). All these organizations were refused entrance on the basis that they disagreed with what the RYM II leaders deemed to be revolutionary policies on "white skin privilege," male supremacy and anticommunism. (A representative of the Weatherman "real" SDS was permitted a ten-minute statement and then left.)

Many of the women attending the first day of the convention felt that such political exclusion was wrong, and they waged a determined fight to reverse the decision made by the RYM II leadership. At one point when the issue was put to a vote, the exclusionary motion carried only by the slim margin of 31-27.

The convention, which drew a total of about 250 people to one session or another, brought together several factions of the RYM II SDS. The faction led by Mike Klonsky and Lynn Wells was the strongest advocate of fighting "white skin privilege" and male supremacy. They also advocated support for

a separate black state in the southern "Black Belt," a theory adopted by the Communist Party in 1928 and then, in the '30s, permitted to die. The Klonsky faction proposed at the beginning of the convention that RYM II be a centralized organization, based on the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and that it propagandize for the formation of a party. Many of the RYM II leaders were sporting large-sized Stalin buttons throughout the convention.

Bruce Franklin and Bob Avakian, spokesmen for the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, another faction attending the convention, denied the existence of a "white skin privilege" and in a document they distributed at the convention opposed the orientation of revolutionary youth going into working-class areas telling workers that they are racist and male supremacist. They counterposed to this a strategy of calling on white workers to support the black liberation struggle, especially the Black Panther Party.

The Revolutionary Union argued that RYM II should become a "mass, anti-imperialist youth group" as opposed to an organization which would eventually lead to the formation of a party. Avakian's group received no representation on the RYM II national steering committee, which was elected from the floor at the last session of the convention.

A third group of people attending the convention was composed of those aligned with neither Klonsky nor Avakian and who wanted to make RYM II similar to the old type of SDS, a mass, heterogeneous, "anti-imperialist" youth group. Carl Davidson, Clark Kissinger and Les Coleman lent their support to these views. Towards the end, the Klonsky faction made a compromise with the other groups and agreed to support the formation of a "mass, anti-imperialist youth movement."

### Antiwar movement

During discussion of the antiwar movement several criticisms of the organized antiwar movement were ad-



**COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY HAILED.** RYM II leaders offer Stalin as "revolutionary" model. Shown here at World War II meeting with Roosevelt and Churchill, Stalin initiated Kremlin policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and beheaded revolutionists and revolutions for the sake of such coexistence.

vanced. At the same time they criticized themselves for not participating in the antiwar movement and decided to enter the Student Mobilization Committee and the New Mobilization Committee to try and convince the antiwar movement to make support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam a political basis for building the movement. RYM II also wants the antiwar movement to raise demands against "white skin privilege" and male supremacy.

All factions of RYM II criticized the antiwar movement for being "bourgeois." While they repeated their intention to participate in the antiwar movement they did not mention their spring offensive against the war in Vietnam which was agreed on at the Detroit RYM II national committee meeting in September.

### Women's liberation

The women's liberation conference on Thursday ended with very little accomplished. Plans were discussed to build a women's liberation group in which RYM II can participate and which will support their political line. They denounced women's liberation groups which include "petty bourgeois and bourgeois" women on the basis that they are anti-working class.

In order to be effective in the women's liberation struggle, RYM said, women must first fight against "white skin privilege." The so-called united front of women that they propose will exclude all those who do not yet see the need for an "anti-imperialist" movement. The predominant slogan heard at the conference was "Fight male supremacy" and there was much criticism of male supremacy within their own ranks. However, there were few concrete suggestions about the programs and demands necessary to wage a successful fight against male supremacy.

Several times during the convention the women's caucus met and presented proposals to the convention as a whole. One of these proposals was that women be given a majority of the representation on all committees set up by RYM II. The women's caucus threatened to walk out and form their own anti-imperialist women's organization unless their demands were met. This proposal along with the others was accepted.

### Black liberation

The convention was divided over the question of black liberation. Klonsky's faction proposed as a strategy to fight national oppression of blacks that all revolutionaries should renounce their "white-skin privilege" and educate the white working class to do the same. They never explained what steps a white

person must take to renounce "white-skin privilege," but the essence of their position is that the primary responsibility for racist oppression in the U.S. rests with those whites who fail to renounce their special privileges. There was no written proposal for any action.

Although the faction of RYM II grouped around Lynn Wells and Mike Klonsky advocates the "black belt theory" [i.e., setting aside a section of the deep South to become an independent country for Afro-Americans], there was no attempt to defend it on the floor of the convention. Strong objections were raised to it by Bob Avakian and Charles Fulwood, a black militant from Gainesville, Fla., and the majority of people attending the convention appeared to be opposed to it. Parallel to the black belt theory, a "red belt theory" was also proposed by some—i.e., setting aside some specified area of the country for American Indians. There were no concrete proposals about supporting the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination, nor was there any discussion centered around the demand that the black struggle has raised in the last few years for black control of the black community, black control of black schools, etc.

The closing session of the convention nominated and elected the national committee members of RYM II. Those elected were Lynn Wells, Atlanta; Steve Farrar, Gainesville; Jim Goodman, Ft. Benning; Brydon Gordon, North Carolina; Helen Felhorst, Baltimore; Pat Burton, Los Angeles; Donna Duke, North Carolina; Mary Ravitz, Detroit; Ellen Kehr, Chicago; and Sue Manniker, New Orleans.

Since the split in SDS last spring, some campus activists have looked to RYM II as being the formation from which an effective SDS might be reconstituted as counterposed to the lunacy of the Weathermen and the dead-end sectarianism and factionalism of the WSA-SDS. The failure of the RYM II conference to elaborate anything remotely resembling a program that relates in a meaningful way to the newly radicalizing youth should make clear that there was little reality to such hopes.

Despite the fact that the YSA was excluded from observing the convention, over \$170 of Merit literature was sold at a Young Socialist movement center set up in the student union at Emory University where the convention was held. A number of students attending the convention expressed interest in attending the Young Socialist national convention to take place at the end of December in Minneapolis.

## Detroiters protest against moves to extradite Williams

By JOHN HAWKINS

DETROIT—Robert F. Williams, president of the Republic of New Africa, appeared in circuit court Nov. 26 in the first of a series of hearings to determine whether the temporary injunction on his extradition to North Carolina will be made permanent.

Since 1961 Williams has been under indictment in that state on a frame-up charge of kidnapping. He returned here in September after spending eight years as a political exile in Cuba and China. The decision to extradite Williams was handed down by Michigan Governor William Milliken.

More than 200 people, mostly black college and high school students, turned out to demonstrate their support of Williams during the hearing. Several high schools in the city were partially shut by student strikes in Williams' defense. The demonstration was organized by the Committee to Aid the Defense of Robert F. Williams, a coalition of three groups in the Detroit black community: the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Republic of New Africa,

and the All African Peoples Union.

The defense committee has initiated a petition drive in an effort to present to the governor the signatures of those who oppose the extradition. Plans are being made also to continue and enlarge the demonstrations and to expand the defense on a national and international basis if necessary.

Later in the day Williams spoke to a meeting of over 300 at Wayne State University, sponsored by the New University Conference, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Black Student Alliance and the Young Socialist Alliance. After reviewing the history of his movement in North Carolina and the nature of the frame-up charges, Williams answered questions on his case, on his experiences during his eight-year exile, and on perspectives for the black struggle and revolution in the United States.

Contributions to the defense can be mailed to Committee to Aid the Defense of Robert F. Williams, Linwood Station, Box 666, Detroit, Michigan 48206.

## A key labor battle

# GE strike a basic test of strength

By FRANK LOVELL

DEC. 3—The stalemated nationwide strike of 147,000 General Electric workers, now in its sixth week, has brought into sharp relief some of the issues that make this strike a pivotal turning point for the future of organized labor.

Both GE and the Nixon administration see the strike as a necessary part of the economic controls now used in unison by bankers, industry and government agencies to curb inflation without impairing profits.

The administration policy is to put the cost of the war-created inflation on the workers by holding down wages, cutting back temporarily on expansion of plant and facilities, and curtailing production in order to eliminate a significant number of jobs and reduce consumer purchasing power.

Looking ahead to the coming 1970 round of wage negotiations in such basic industries as railroads, communications, trucking, construction, and auto, the administration in Washington has picked this time and this industry to try to draw the line on wage increases. They chose General Electric because the GE management was itself anxious for

a showdown with the unions, and because of the relatively weak and divided state of the unions in the electrical industry in the past.

In this strike, GE management is pursuing a version of a general anti-union policy which they have followed since 1946. Refusing to negotiate any of the proposals presented by the officials of the 13 different unions involved, GE has made a flat take-it-or-leave-it wage offer to the workers. They couple this refusal to negotiate with an attempt to organize a back-to-work movement, using various agencies of government to help herd workers into the struck plants, and seeking court injunctions against pickets.

In the first days of the strike, GE had Gov. Deane C. Davis of Vermont alert the National Guard and place 50 state troopers at the gates of the company's armament systems plant in Burlington.

At the GE plant in Baltimore, Md., railroad workers refused to take a train through the picket line. Police and rail-detectives then escorted the train through, manned by scab supervisors.

Some campuses have been invaded by GE scab herders trying to recruit strike breakers. At Columbia University they were met by radical student groups who drove them away.

While these time-tested strike-breaking methods are quietly put into operation, a noisy "public spirited" campaign is launched by GE against "super-inflation" which they assert is a product of "unreasonable" wages.

This unyielding pursuit of its drive for higher profit, publicly encouraged by the Nixon administration, has brought GE into direct confrontation not only with 147,000 GE workers, but also with the entire trade union bureaucracy.

The labor bureaucrats, unable to skirt such a fundamental challenge to their role as "regularly constituted" representatives of the workers, have felt moved to muster a significant campaign in defense of the GE strikers. They have set the machinery of the entire labor movement in motion to collect millions of dollars for strike relief. They have initiated a boycott of GE products.

However, it is important to realize that the measures AFL-CIO President George Meany and his cohorts are taking do not spring from any sudden concern for putting the interests of the workers first. They are acting, as they always do, in the interest of preserving the extensive material privileges they have accrued as a result of their positions as brokers between the union ranks and management.

The union officialdom is primarily concerned about the adamant refusal of GE to negotiate with the "regularly constituted" representatives of the workers. If the GE take-it-or-leave-it wage policy, combined with its practice of trying to

speak directly to its workers over the heads of the unions, were to spread to other industries, there would be no role left for the labor brokers.

The 13-union coalition of electrical workers are pressing for wage increases to compensate for swiftly rising prices, and a 30-month contract. But Meany has indicated a settlement is possible on lesser terms if and when GE recognizes the established bargaining role of the union in all labor-management relations.

On Nov. 5 Meany dispatched a letter to all AFL-CIO affiliates urging full support to the strike. In this letter he also refers to the 1966 GE negotiations. "Three years ago, for the first time, the unions coordinated their efforts through the AFL-CIO committee. They did force GE to alter its 'one and only' offer enough to be acceptable. But the company came back this year with even greater rigidity to its one-offer technique."

Here Meany is saying that a new offer which legitimizes the union as the undisputed bargaining agent for the work-

ers in its jurisdiction doesn't need to be much—just "enough to be acceptable."

But, on the picket lines, the strikers are demonstrating that they are not willing to settle for anything less than the 35-cents-an-hour being asked, which is little enough.

The serious commitment of the workers in this strike is for quite different reasons than those of the bureaucrats. These workers, regardless of which union they belong to among the 13, know that as long as they have been working for GE, they have been underpaid and cheated.

It is these 147,000 determined unionists who are primarily responsible for the development of the strike to this point. Without the solidarity and militancy of the picket lines, GE would by now have its back-to-work movement in full swing and the union bureaucrats would be in retreat.

In coming issues of *The Militant*, we will discuss the grievances of these 147,000 strikers and the means by which the anti-union onslaught can be effectively countered.

## 4,000 unionists protest slashes in N.Y. welfare

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Four thousand union members demonstrated in front of Governor Rockefeller's office Nov. 25 protesting cuts in welfare, medicaid and school lunch programs and demanding a special session of the state legislature to restore the cuts.

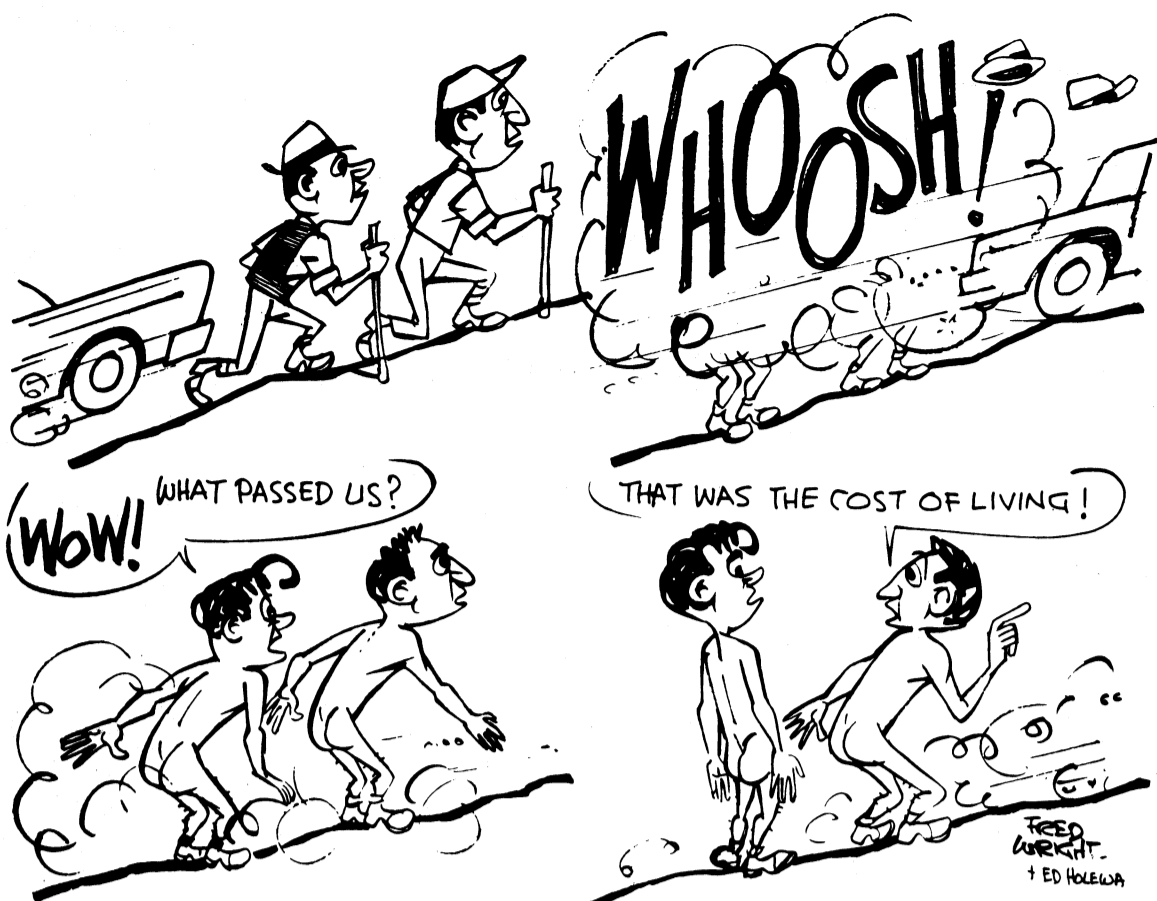
The demonstration was called by a trade union committee of 14 unions. Major participants were the Social Service Employees Union, local 371; District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers; District 65 (American Labor Alliance) and International Longshoreman's local 1814.

Representatives from welfare client groups also participated.

Demonstrators were drawn from all age groups and included many black people. Picket signs demanded: "Gov. Rockefeller Can You Eat on 66c a Day?"; "Stop the War on Children"; and "Heal Medicaid, Stop the Cuts."

A family of four on public assistance in New York City now receives about \$208 a month. Brutal slashes were enacted by the legislature last year eliminating special grants for such things as moving, babysitting, rental security deposits and furniture. These cutbacks have caused serious problems and have so far required four emergency programs to restore some of the money to the aged, blind and the disabled. Nothing has been restored to families with dependent children, the largest segment of welfare cases.

A sour note in the demonstration was the attempt of some of the sponsoring union officials to use it to promote the candidacy of Howard Samuels, millionaire aspirant for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Samuels addressed the rally.



## General Motors provokes UAW strike at Flint plant

DEC. 3—The General Motors plants in Flint, Mich., have been closed for the past two months by 2,300 striking UAW members at Fisher Body Plant No. 2. These workers walked out Sept. 24 closing a second plant, Chevrolet assembly, which employs another 1,600 workers.

The strike was provoked by an arbitrary decision on the part of management to reduce the work force and increase production. Under the UAW contract such unilateral action by management is a "strikeable issue" and it was assumed by all concerned when the changes in job make-up were announced that a strike would follow.

Sam Duncan, UAW local 598 president, says that according to local news accounts, "Fisher Body wants a 25 percent increase in production with a 15 percent reduction in manpower."

A member of the local 598 UAW bargaining committee since 1957, Ken McArdle, says GM laid off 473 workers when the 1970 model production started, and at the same time the line speed was increased. As an example of what this means, McArdle cited one operation. "Last year, four men installed the headrests. They are identical this year, but GM now expects three men to do it, and to turn out 11 1/2 more units per hour."

The strike is solid. The UAW pays strike benefits of \$30 a week. Some workers have found part-time jobs. Wives are working in some families.

The strike will continue. Management shows no sign of changing its demands for more speedup. There is no effort by management to open the plants; supervisory personnel remains on the job. A company spokesman complacently and cynically remarked, "The union goes right on spinning its wheels."

A report in the Nov. 28 *Wall Street Journal* reveals that GM is also "spinning its wheels." According to this authoritative source: "This week, auto makers planned to build 123,950 cars in the U.S., down 32 percent from 182,715 last week and 29 percent below the 174,443 cars assembled in the year-ago period."

This is one of the signs of the general downturn in the economy induced by the economic policies of the government which aim to curtail production, raise the rate of unemployment, and reduce real wages.

Under these conditions the giant corporations are taking advantage of their present over-extended inventories to lay off workers and speed up production. Increasingly their answer to all union grievances now is: "If you don't like it, strike."

## Strike at St. Regis plant

# Ohio paper workers fight union busters

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

URBANA, Ohio—The workers of the St. Regis Paper Company Processing Center here began an unauthorized strike Nov. 7. Their union, local 303 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Millers, is the strongest union in Urbana, a nonunion stronghold. For this reason, company officials believe that they can completely destroy all trade union activity in the area by forcing the St. Regis workers to settle on company terms.

During contract negotiations last June, union representatives asked for a ninth paid holiday and a fifth week of vacation for workers who've been at St. Regis 20 years. The union agreed to table these demands when the company promised to grant them to the Urbana mill as soon as they were granted to any other mill. After these demands were granted to three other St. Regis mills, the Urbana workers demanded that they also be given these benefits. When the company refused, denying having ever made the agreement, almost all the 250 workers involved walked out.

Company officials began a series of strikebreaking measures. They arbitrarily fired 35 workers whom they considered strike leaders and obtained a court injunction so that "members of local 303 are not allowed to picket in front of the plant, are not allowed to picket on Muzzey Road or any other road leading thereto." Thirteen workers were charged with contempt of court and released under \$200 bond each for the "crime" of walking on the public road in front of their plant. Strikers have been blacklisted from all area plants. Workers are making a legal fight against these attempts to take away their civil liberties.

Company intimidation, financial pressure, and reports in the local paper that the strike is over, led many of the workers to return to work. Conditions inside the plant have worsened considerably for those who returned. One of the strikers described the atmosphere in the plant by saying, "It's just more or less like they were in a labor camp or something."

Since the court injunction only applies to union members, strikers asked students to help by manning the picket line. Wives of St. Regis workers, young

Columbus workers, and students from Antioch and Ohio State are currently manning the line. The Teamsters are honoring the strike. Plant operations have been cut back 60 percent.

The strikers are now demanding only that everyone be reinstated with no loss in seniority. One of the strikers stated that if the strikers are rehired, "It would definitely be a stronger union. We'd elect strong union officers, which we don't have now. That's what this whole town's afraid of. If we get back in there, we'll have a strong union."

Company efforts to divide the striking workers by permitting each fired worker to return as soon as his grievance is corrected or arbitrated have failed. The workers have made it clear that, although they will accept an offer to return to work, they will walk out again if the company refuses to reinstate everyone.

The official union leadership refuses to oppose the company. They went so far as to purchase a half-page ad in the Urbana paper denouncing the "illegal" strike and the use of "outside elements" on the picket line, and to reassure everyone that they plan to honor their commitment not to strike. Because the strike is unauthorized, the workers do not have access to union strike funds. Money is urgently needed for legal expenses and to prevent St. Regis from starving the workers back in on company terms. Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: St. Regis Defense Committee, c/o John Griffith, 235 W. Reynolds St., Urbana, Ohio.



"Unfortunately, some . . . will feel this necessary adjustment more directly than others." — President Nixon in his address to the nation in which he called on working people to give up their wage demands.

## Shanker resists Viet referendum

By ALEX HARTE

NEW YORK—While opposition to the war in Vietnam mounts in the New York Federation of Teachers union, UFT President Albert Shanker is continuing his hard-line, prowar position and is trying desperately to prevent the union membership from registering its views on the war.

On Oct. 21, the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam, a group of New

York City teachers, began the work of initiating a union referendum on Vietnam.

Since 40,000 teachers took part in the Oct. 15 Moratorium in New York, it would be likely that the committee would be able to collect the 4,000 signatures necessary to initiate such a referendum in record time.

Nevertheless, Shanker couldn't resist taking another stab at the efforts of the rank and file to bring the issue of the war into the union. He promptly sent a letter to all chapter chairmen which scurrilously characterized the Teachers Committee as an "outside organization" which could use the signatures gathered to collect a mailing list for the purpose of breaking future UFT strikes. While Shanker claimed to support the principle of teacher-initiated referendums, he insisted that such efforts would be considered "outside the union" if the signatures collected were not sent directly to the union headquarters.

Three weeks later, Shanker proudly announced at the union delegates assembly meeting that not more than 300-odd signatures were received at UFT headquarters. What Shanker did not announce, however, was that the Teachers Committee had already received several thousand signatures and were well on their way to securing the required number.

On the same day, the New Coalition, a group of teachers who have opposed the Shanker leadership in the last two UFT elections, picketed UFT headquarters and demanded that the union allow the ranks the opportunity to vote on the war in Vietnam. The New Coalition pointed out that if Shanker were so concerned about the rights of members to initiate referendums, his own executive board could immediately ini-

tiate a referendum with a vote of only one-third of its members. That is, only 17 members of the union executive committee can begin a citywide UFT referendum.

Shanker's prowar activity stretches over the past several years. He has opposed every effort of the ranks to take a stand on the war. At last summer's American Federation of Teachers convention, it was Shanker and his cohorts in the UFT leadership who prevented the delegates from bringing the Vietnam question to the floor of the convention.

But, Shanker notwithstanding, thousands of teachers went to Washington on Nov. 15 and many AFT locals have already come out in opposition to the war. It appears that in a few weeks, the UFT, the largest AFT local in the U. S., will vote on the war.

## New York Black militants fight a police frame-up

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — On Aug. 16 three members of the Black Panther Party were arrested in Harlem by District Attorney Hogan's cops, working in conjunction with the FBI. All three—Alfred Cain, Jerome West, and Ricardo De Leon—were charged with conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to commit robbery, felonious assault, and illegal possession of fire arms.

This week I had a chance to talk with Anthony Cain, brother of defendant Alfred Cain. He told me that the three were arrested along with a man who he said was a provocateur who was supposedly working for the Black Panther Party. He said this person, Wilbur Thomas, was an undercover agent for the FBI.

He said that after approaching the brothers with news of a very vague and ambiguous nature of which he could not talk at the time, this Thomas managed to convince the three freedom fighters that their presence in Harlem was of vital importance.

Then, Cain said, he put his plan into action. This plan was to frame-up the revolutionaries on charges that they were trying to "liberate" money for the Black Panther Party.

Brother Cain explained that the frame-up plan included the planting of firearms in the car, the drawing up of phony plans of a building layout and other "necessary ingredients" for springing a trap. He said that Thomas must have informed the police beforehand of just what he was doing.

The three brothers were arrested and are presently in jail, each of them with bail set at \$50,000. Due to unfortunate circumstances, the Panther Party has severed connections with these brothers. Their trial is set for Dec. 15 at 100 Centre St., Part 39 at 9:00 a.m.

Financial contributions and your presence at the court are needed to help support these framed-up victims. For more information on the case contact: The Cain Family, PO Box 2053, Brooklyn GPO, N. Y.



Albert Shanker

## Reply to a male chauvinist

# Hamill uptight over women's liberation

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

Pete Hamill, the popular *New York Post* columnist of liberal reputation, seems always to be for the rights of the underdog—until those who are being oppressed begin to organize and fight for their own liberation. Then he gets uneasy, or perhaps you might say scared—and all of a sudden he doesn't appear quite so "liberal" anymore.

We saw this transformation before when Hamill began getting scared by the militancy of the black liberation struggle. He discovered that black nationalism was really racism in reverse, and that he, as a "friend" of black people, didn't like it.

Now Hamill is feeling threatened by the growing women's liberation movement, and showing his true colors once more. He devoted his Nov. 26 column to a disgracefully bigoted attack on the women who organized and participated in the Congress to Unite Women (see *The Militant*, Dec. 5). Being broad-minded, Hamill explained that he could go along with the anti-Miss America demonstrations, that he could only cheer and applaud the ban-the-bra movement and was all for burning girdles, "that modern chastity belt."

But, he considers that things are really getting out of hand now that women are organizing to demand such society-shaking changes as free 24-hour child-care programs, repeal of abortion laws, opening of trade schools and all-male unions to women, and women's studies programs in the universities.

"I would like to see a woman in the ironworkers union, just for laughs, but I'd much rather see black males get into that union first," Hamill piously exclaims, trying to divide the black liberation movement and the women's liberation movement by suggesting that women's lib is a threat to black men and women, rather than a potential ally. (And what's so funny about a woman ironworker?)

"I suppose Women's Studies would provide some kind of intellectual facade for hatred on the basis of sex, and might have some therapeutic value, but Joseph Conrad would still be a better writer than Jane Austen, and Caesar more important to history than Cleopatra." Those, of course, are the opinions of Pete Hamill, white American male journalist, and, to put it kindly, his opinions are, at best, debatable. But it should also be added, in case Hamill didn't know, that Jane Austen and Cleopatra hardly exhaust the list of women who have played important roles in history.

If women are today growing angry because they are learning that textbooks written by men like Pete Hamill have blatantly lied about women for centuries—in order to reinforce women's socially created inferiority complex—Hamill can call it anything he likes, but it is a thoroughly progressive and justified anger. If it were to become a "hatred for men on the basis of sex," the reactionary male chauvinist "friends of women" like Pete Hamill would well be able to take a large measure of the credit. And, as if to add injury to insult, Hamill reserves some of his most ignorant and backward remarks for an attack on abortion reform!

"In the age of the pill, it is a rare or stupid girl who gets herself pregnant; if a girl shares pleasure, why should she not face the consequences? (Rape, extreme youth, medical reasons, etc., are, of course, exceptions.) At what point does life become sacred? And how does the State legislate away a life?"

Hamill's chauvinist attitude toward women, inferior and "stupid" beings whose social function is to reproduce, screams out from every sentence.

There are an estimated million to million and a half illegal abortions in the U.S. every year. For every woman who succeeds in getting an abortion, one can conservatively estimate that



Photo by David Fenton/LNS

**UPSETTING TO SOME.** Supporter of New York Panther 21 makes her voice heard. Upsurge of such activity by women is apparently disturbing to men like Pete Hamill.

there are another one or two who cannot afford an abortion, or decide not to face the serious health risks entailed by an illegal abortion, often under unsanitary conditions. Yet in 1967 there were only three and a half million births in the U.S. Clearly, the majority of pregnancies are unwanted ones—hardly a "rare" occurrence.

There are millions of women who are unable to use the most effective means of birth control due to their side effects, their cost, or their unavailability—to say nothing of the health risks they entail, about which very little is known in reality.

Hamill's statement about "stupid girls" and unwanted pregnancies simply translates into the fact that he thinks the average woman is not as intelligent as the average male. It's an attitude held by most men (who are not anxious to take any "risks" for their "pleasure"). The only thing unusual is that most men who consider themselves enlightened and liberal-minded would be embarrassed to say what Hamill does, much less put it in print.

How about the question of "sacred

life"? It's an argument invariably put forward by the most reactionary institutions and forces in society—like the Catholic hierarchy which wars against birth control while simultaneously supporting the "war against communism" in Vietnam and gives its blessing to a government that commits mass murder and other war crimes. The defenders of "sacred life" remain silent while Vietnamese infants and children are murdered, while millions of children the world over die of starvation. But when a woman wants an abortion, they howl, "life is sacred."

What about the "sacredness" of the life of the mother, her right to live as she wishes, without children if she prefers? Why should her life—either physically, mentally, socially, artistically, intellectually—be destroyed, sacrificed to a cluster of cells? It's all part of the old myth that a woman gains fulfillment only in being submissive and self-deprecating and by subordinating her needs, her life, her interests to the whims of others.

The right of a woman to control her own body cuts deep in this society because it is precondition number one to the liberation of women. And that is precisely what terrifies the men like Pete Hamill who can feel their identity, their whole social order built on male supremacy, crumbling at their feet.

## Heavy jolt for ruling class

# Massive strike wave hits Italy

By DICK ROBERTS

DEC. 4—Capitalist rule in Italy is being shaken by wave after wave of massive strike struggles. On Nov. 19, for the third time this year, a national general strike was staged:

"It is estimated that 10 million workers—about half of the entire working population including farmers and the self-employed—stopped work," the *New York Times* reported.

The general strike "involved more categories of workers than any other since July 1948," according to Britain's authoritative financial magazine, *The Economist*.

Italy is facing its "worst political crisis of the post-Fascist period," the *New York Times* complained in its editorial columns, Nov. 29.

The huge upsurge of Italian workers marks a new stage of the European labor battles that exploded with the May-June general strike in France last year. Significant is the fact that many of the battles have erupted from the ranks and over the opposition of the trade-union bureaucracies.

Moreover the demands of the strikers go beyond wage demands to call into question major aspects of government policy.

The central demand of the Nov. 19

general strike was for better public and private housing for low-income families. "The strike was almost totally effective in Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Naples and most other Italian cities," according to the *New York Times*.

"Apart from bars and cafes, which remained open because even strikers need a beer and a sandwich, commerce, public transport, manufacturing, communications and the press came to a halt. Millions of striking workers participated in protest meetings in public squares and then departed in holiday mood for beach or mountain in crisp, sunny autumn weather."

The housing crisis in the industrial cities of northern Italy is a product of the deep transformation of that nation under the hammerblows of postwar international capitalist competition.

The agricultural region of southern Italy has been gravely depressed for over a decade and millions have been forced to move north to find work. This is actually encouraged by the government because it provides a source of cheap labor for the northern industries. The spectacular growth of the Fiat corporation in world sales is an example of the "success" of these policies.

At the same time, however, the gov-

ernment has made practically no attempt to provide housing for the influx of labor. And—of course—landlords have jacked up rents to the skies.

Pertinent figures were supplied by *The Economist*, Nov. 22: "At present many people are spending from 40 to 60 percent of their earnings on a home which is often miserably inadequate.

"The shortage of low-priced workers' flats is one of the most dramatic consequences of the great population shift into the towns which, in the space of little more than ten years, has quite altered the traditional patterns of Italian life.

"Since 1957 some 17 million people, a third of the population, have changed their homes. The influx from the country into Milan and Turin is at the rate of between 2,000 and 3,000 a week. . ."

Many families, however, cannot afford to live in what apartments there are and have been forced to live in miserable shanty towns that sprawl around the outskirts of all the northern cities.

It was the dramatic attempt of workers living in Rome to force the government to provide housing, by burning their shacks down, that triggered the massive Nov. 19 general strike.

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: Jon Rothschild. Fri., Dec. 12, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. (1 bl. from Mass. Ave.), Rm. 307. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

ZIONISM AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: David Katz. Mon., Dec. 12, 8:00 p.m., 3737 Woodward. Admission: 75c, students and unemployed 35c. A usp. The Militant Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

MYLAI MASSACRE: INDIVIDUAL ACT OR GOVERNMENT POLICY? Speaker: Mike Garza. Sat., Dec. 13, 8:00 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE. 333-7781. Contrib: 75c, students 50c. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE NEW RADICALIZATION. Speaker: Frank Lovell, veteran unionist and Labor Editor of *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 12, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.) Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

THE NATIONAL GE STRIKE AND TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Morris Chertov, SWP, United Electrical Workers Local 107 at Westinghouse. Fri., Dec. 12, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. (cnr. Fairmount). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

# How lid on Songmy was lifted

By ROBERT LANGSTON

It took the power of the organized antiwar movement to break through the conspiracy of silence and distortion sustained by all the established institutions of American capitalist society, and bring to the attention of the world the Songmy massacre by a U. S. Army task force.

The capitalist press is now attempting to claim credit for having disclosed what happened to the Mylai hamlet at Songmy. An examination of the way the story unfolded shows the fraudulence of this claim.

Writing in the Nov. 30 *New York Times*, James Reston quite properly analyzed the consequences of an arrangement in which the investigators investigate themselves. Referring to recent disclosures of corruption in the management of military service clubs and to the handling of the Green Beret murder case and the Mylai slaughter, Reston commented:

"These cases have a way of disappearing almost as mysteriously as they appear. Almost always there is an investigation. Sometimes it follows through to a satisfactory conclusion, but usually the facts are muffled in the bureaucracy, or hastily dropped. . . ."

A paragraph later, Reston smugly asserts, "The Songmy massacre was getting the same treatment until it was forced into national attention by press and television."

In this sentence is contained the whole carefully cultivated myth about the role of the "free press" in capitalist democracy. The "independent" media assumes and fulfills a civic duty to "force" awareness of the misdeeds of the mighty on an apathetic and ignorant public.

In fact, however, it was not "press and television" that sought the truth about Songmy, at least not the press Reston means and certainly not his own *New York Times*. The story was developed by a free lancer, working on the fringes of establishment journalism, who conducted his investigation on a small budget provided by a supporter of the antiwar movement.

And when the establishment press finally broke the story, it was not because of any dedication to public enlightenment. Rather, it was because a public consciousness had developed—and reached a mighty crescendo be-



**THREE OF WASHINGTON'S WAR PARTNERS.** Many politicians have helped carry through U. S. aggression in Vietnam. These three (left to right) were members of LBJ's administration: McGeorge

Bundy, special assistant to the president; Secretary of Defense McNamara; and acting Secretary of State George Ball.

tween the Oct. 15 Moratorium and the Nov. 15 mass demonstrations—that demanded some genuine knowledge of the U. S. rulers' depredations in Vietnam. This consciousness developed thanks to the work of the organized antiwar movement and despite the best, or worst, efforts of the establishment press to block it.

That press has consistently sought to make the endless series of atrocities perpetrated by the U. S. government in Vietnam and reported by its own correspondents appear other than they are. It defamed the careful investigations conducted by the War Crimes Tribunal of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. It has gladly encouraged the "body count" psychology that reduces human beings to things to be eliminated once they have been classified as "reds" or "Vietcong." It has consistently mutilated its language, and thus mystified its readers' consciousness, by accepting Pentagon euphemisms like "pacification" for annihilation and "strategic hamlets" for death camps.

Despite all this, there was a climax of public antipathy towards the war during the first weeks of November. And this intense sentiment confronted a press that is capitalist not only in the sense that it is the purveyor of capitalist ideology but also in the sense that it consists of competitive, capitalist, profit-seeking firms. Not civic responsibility, but simple old-fashioned capitalist avarice made it impossible to suppress the story, once public awareness and questioning of the war had reached such intensity, and once a maverick journalist was working on the story. The "free, publicly responsible" media had every opportunity to develop and break the story previously, and they did not do it.

Ronald Lee Ridenhour, who is now a student at Claremont College in California, served in Vietnam during 1967 and 1968. In April 1968, just a month after the Mylai massacre occurred, he heard rumors of it. During his remaining eight months in Vietnam, he devoted all his free time to gathering, collating and sifting rumors and purported eyewitness accounts of the affair. By the time he returned to the United States, he had a substantial dossier.

Early this year, Ridenhour composed a 1,500-word summary of his findings, and he sent it to the President, Secretary of Defense Laird, and to such "doves" as Senators Edward Kennedy, George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy, plus some 20 Congressmen. He received one lone reply indicating any interest, and he received a single visit from an Army investigator.

In June, despairing of official action, Ridenhour turned his report over to a Connecticut literary agent, Michael Cunningham, in an attempt to break

the story publicly. The report was apparently offered to "major newspapers in Boston and New York"—as Christopher Lydon coyly put it in the Nov. 29 *New York Times*—as well as to "three national magazines, two news agencies and at least one of the three major television networks."

"Everybody Mike Cunningham talked to actively discouraged him," Ridenhour told Lydon. "Supposedly responsible people all said, 'What are you associating yourself with something like this for?'" Ridenhour gave up.

Then, according to Peter Osnos in the Dec. 1 *Washington Post*, on Sept. 6 an AP story datelined Ft. Benning, Ga., came over the wires. It began: "An Army officer has been charged with murder in the deaths of an unspecified number of civilians in Vietnam in 1968, post authorities have disclosed." One might expect that Benning or the Pentagon would have received a phone call or two from representatives of a "free press" committed to forcing a passive public to face the truth of things, and mindful of government's penchant for covering up. And in fact, according to Osnos, the Pentagon "prepared for a barrage of press queries about the specifics of the charge. None came. The Associated Press story was all but ignored."

Some six weeks later, however, Seymour M. Hersh, a free lancer associated with the small, non-establishment Dispatch News Service of Washington, D. C., received a telephone tip about the case, and he *did* go after the story. He got a \$1,000 grant from the Foundation for Investigative Journalism, which is funded by Philip M. Stern, an active supporter of the Moratorium and New Mobilization.

It was Hersh, working virtually alone on his \$1,000, who rescued Ridenhour's memorandum from the oblivion to which it had been consigned by the Congressional "doves" and the establishment press. It was Hersh who found three former servicemen who admit having been present at the massacre. It was Hersh who arranged for one of them, Paul Meadlo, to appear on television.

The capitalist media had been wholly indifferent to Ridenhour's report, and to the September AP dispatch. Two months earlier, they could and would have given the same treatment to Hersh's story. They would have bought it and suppressed it, or forced him to publish it in the underground or movement press, where they could more easily discredit it.

But in the second week of November that was virtually impossible. The antiwar movement's activity had made the Songmy story the hottest piece of merchandise in the journalistic market. On Nov. 13, a number of major dailies ran Hersh's initial piece on their front pages; the *New York Times* ran its own

first story on Mylai.

It required a social movement capable of mobilizing more than a million people in the streets in opposition to the Vietnam war to move the "free press" to disclose just one, especially horrifying, expression of imperialism's nature. It will take an even greater movement to force the U. S. out of Vietnam. And it will take a mightier movement still to end forever the social system that makes the endless repetition of the murder of Songmy inevitable.

## Pleiku medics' antiwar fast

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Large numbers of GIs at the Evacuation Hospital at Pleiku, South Vietnam, took part in a Thanksgiving fast to protest the war. According to the Nov. 28 *New York Times*, only 377 hospital personnel turned up for the regular Thanksgiving meal. The usual number for the midday meal at Pleiku is 530, and on Thanksgiving the number is always much higher. Similar fasts on a smaller scale were also held in other scattered units.

A letter to the President signed by 200 GIs explained the fast:

"Sir: So long as American soldiers continue to fight and die in a senseless war that cannot be won, we the undersigned feel that we have very little for which to be thankful. Therefore we:

"1. Intend to fast on Thanksgiving Day from 0100 to 2400 hrs.

"2. Respectfully request that our Thanksgiving rations be redistributed among the poor of the United States and Vietnam."

During the protest, a steady stream of casualties continued to arrive at the hospital. One of the GIs, 20-year-old Richard Howes, explained that what he saw at the hospital was enough to convince him to be against the war:

"You can't believe how much suffering there is until you see it. You get so numb that when a doctor gives you a leg in the emergency room, you just go outside and burn it without even thinking."

## Students in Saigon hail U.S. movement

A Saigon student group has praised student antiwar demonstrators in the U. S. for being "very brave and clairvoyant," according to a Dec. 1 *New York Times* dispatch from Saigon.

The Saigon Student Union, with a reported membership of 10,000, made the statement in a letter addressed to U. S. college students. "Millions of Vietnamese have died in vain," the letter continued, "so we hate war and we do not want our people destroyed or sacrificed for any inhuman policy."

# The U.S. record in Vietnam: 5

By DICK ROBERTS

Very nearly the height of twisted "historical" journalism must have been achieved in a Nov. 28 *New York Times* "background" article. In this article, reporter Douglas Robinson blandly asserts that there have been exactly "two noteworthy massacres" in U.S. history "before the Songmy incident involving the shooting of men, women and children by soldiers of the U.S. Army."

These were: first, a massacre by the U.S. Cavalry of 300 Sioux Indians in South Dakota in December, 1890; and second, a massacre of Filipinos during the Spanish-American War on Jolo Island in 1906.

"Two massacres"! How implausible can you get! In the World War II U.S.



fire-bombing of such cities as Dresden, Hamburg and Rotterdam, there were not several hundreds or several thousands but literally hundreds of thousands of persons baked alive in the bomb-sealed basement ovens.

The atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki took an initial toll of one-quarter of a million citizens in seconds. The ultimate toll, taking into account lethal diseases caused by fallout, cannot yet be calculated.

And both of these cases must take second place to the "premeditated," genocidal, five-year-long "war of attrition" Washington has waged against the peo-

ples of Vietnam.

This is not simply a moral judgment. It is based on facts and figures.

A peculiarity of the *New York Times* appears to be that writers are promoted on that newspaper's staff, not for their ability to remember what has appeared on previous pages—but for their ability to forget.

The *Times* stated the essence of the Pentagon's strategy in Vietnam under the heading "Policy of Attrition," April 30, 1967, as follows:

*"The intensified air assault matches the measureless energy of the world's greatest industrial power, expressed in nuclear carriers, endlessly replaceable jet planes and pilots and high-yield explosives, against the sinews and muscles of a largely agricultural nation of 17.5 million."*

*"No one in the American command denies that the North Vietnamese are tough and resilient. But, it is argued, everyone has a breaking point, and bombing will go on until that point is reached."* (Emphasis added.)

If the estimation proved incorrect, one should never forget that the Pentagon tried. The bombing of North Vietnam until late 1968, the bombing of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to this date—it is going on as I am writing this article—sweeps away the whole past history of mankind's barbarism in the category of genocidal warfare.

## AIR WAR IN VIETNAM

The pictures of the F-105 bombers and bombing patterns over Hanoi on this page are taken from the November 1966 issue of *Flying*, a magazine for American pilots.

The issue is a special one devoted to popularizing for pilots the murderous bombing of North Vietnam, based on personal accounts. Here are several quotations:

"The missions I have described exemplify the fact that it isn't much of a problem, with our overwhelming aerial fire power, to shoot up Charlie pretty bad once we engage him. It isn't easy to lose with a modern air force when all you're up against is small arms fire.



F-105s in bombing mission against North Vietnam

"Charlie used to feel safe in his jungle redoubts. He could light up a cooking fire at night and eat his supper with serenity. But nowadays we fly over him in RF-4C Phantoms with infrared cameras and take pictures ('red haze photos') in which his fire shows up as a white dot with a tail.

"We turn these pictures over to the Arvin gunners . . . and suddenly, out of the peaceful sky, a large explosive shell falls in the middle of Charlie's meal.

"If Charlie tries to cross a river in boats on a pitch-black night, even in rain or under a solid overcast, the RF-4Cs still find him . . . The recon planes give the word to the fighter bombers or to the artillery, and suddenly Charlie's piece of the river blows sky high. Charlie never knew what hit him or why."

## OR, "ANYTHING THAT MOVES"

Pseudo-scientific jargon covers over much that is paleolithic. A manual of the U. S. A. F. ROTC Air University entitled, "Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems," gives the following definition of "targets":

"A strategic target is any installation,

network, group of buildings, or the like, considered vital to a country's warmaking capacity and singled out for air attack; and a tactical target is any physical object, person, group of persons, or position singled out for attack during the course of battle or tactical operations in order to reduce or destroy the enemy's ability to sustain his combat operation."

This quotation and several others in this article are selected from the valuable investigation of U.S. warfare in Vietnam conducted by the Bertrand Rus-



sell International War Crimes Tribunal in 1967. The entire proceedings are available in a \$5.75 volume from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y., 10003. It is a very worthwhile book.

The War Crimes Tribunal investigators paid particular attention to the effects of fragmentation bombs—CBUs ("Cluster Bomb Units")—extensively used against civilian populations. Henrik Forss, M.D., a Finnish physician, visited North Vietnam in August 1967:

"In the province of Nam Ha, I was able to see a few victims from recent bombings. One was Nguyen Thi Nam, a 24-year-old woman . . . She was pregnant in her ninth month. Fragments of the CBU penetrated the intestines and the uterus, killing the foetus which had been removed surgically. Forty centimeters of the intestine had to be removed at the same time . . . It is uncertain whether she can have any more children.

"The case of an 8-year-old girl, Tran Thi Tanh, is very tragic. Her parents and brother were killed during bombings of Nam Dinh in April 1966 . . . On June 23, 1967, she was hit by a CBU . . . I found that aftereffects consisted mainly of psychic disturbances: she was suffering from crises of stupor."

"Sure we used CBU in North Vietnam," a U.S. military official told AP reporters in Saigon (*New York Post*, April 10, 1967).

# GI REBELLION IN CU CHI

(The following dispatch from South Vietnam by Tom Tiede appeared in the Nov. 22 *Cleveland Press*. It is a striking indication of the mounting opposition within the armed forces to the war.)

CU CHI, South Vietnam—Some time ago, Capt. Frank Smith (Bravo Company, Second Battalion, 27th Infantry) passed the word down to his First Platoon that he needed a patrol near the Cambodian border.

The platoon, however, declined to go. Smith, faced in fact with mutiny, said immediately that he was not asking for volunteers. He was ordering the platoon into activity and he expected instant compliance.

The answer was still no. What followed then was, according to Capt. Smith, "the damndest thing I ever dealt with" and one of the most blatant illustrations of this war's deteriorating discipline.

A group of 21 GIs, all with extensive combat experience, told the company commander that they didn't think it was fair for them to go on another patrol action.

They claimed they each had less than 30 days to serve in Vietnam—and the captain was violating an unwritten but time-honored unit rule against sending "short timers" into hazardous action.

(The Army says there is no such rule, unwritten or otherwise.)

With that, the 21 men refused again to obey the patrol order—and their officer was forced to use another platoon.

This example of troop rebellion, of course, is not without precedent in these late days of the Vietnam war.

Not long ago, a company of U.S. soldiers received world-wide news notoriety when some of its members balked during battle action.

But the hitherto-unreported case of Capt. Smith's platoon may be the most serious of all. It involved greater numbers of men than the others. The GIs went to greater lengths of disobedience than most others.

Says Capt. Smith:

"At the time, I never did get those men to obey me. I tried. Because if they had changed their minds then, and gone on patrol, I probably wouldn't have had to take any further action. But they just wouldn't go. So I had to bring charges against all of them for military violations."

Herein, says Smith, was the real rub of the affair. He says the men were given little more than slaps on the wrists:

"They were dead guilty. That's all there was to it. No subordinate in war has a right to tell his commanding offi-

cer when he will and when he won't go on patrol. . . .

"But even so, the men were just found guilty and reprimanded. That's all—reprimanded. Even the ringleaders, the guys I felt should be really penalized, were just reprimanded.

"Hell, they weren't even sent to other companies. Some of them have gone home, after normal tours expired. But the rest of them are still right here in my unit."

Smith, a 17-year Army veteran, and many other career soldiers in Vietnam complain that the disposition of this particular example of mass disobedience hardly assures the prevention of such things in the future. . . .

Troop discipline, the topsoil of military organization, is steadily eroding here.

Just look around. A troop on guard duty is playing poker in the shade. A newly promoted sergeant sews his stripes on upside down. A major hands out an antiwar poem during an honor ceremony.

An underground (antimilitary) newspaper circulates. The polarization of officers and enlisted men grows greater.

"You never know any more," says one concerned NCO. "If you tell a man to do something, you just never know if he will."

"In . . . of inj . . . small . . . Smoo . . . hospi . . . "The . . . now . . . woun . . . millio . . . of the . . . 26, 1 . . . NO . . . Ha . . . assist . . . Nort . . . most . . . Nort . . . the c . . . "milit . . . On . . . Salis . . . press . . . iques . . . that . . . flictin . . . its en . . . The . . . a jo . . . The . . . out o . . . tion; . . . been . . . cause . . . city's . . . 12,4 . . . Ha . . . itary . . . wrot . . . far . . . [thar . . . . . ry fa . . . bom . . . fired . . . prob . . . war . . . Tw . . . bom . . . a cor . . . So . . . to m . . . sacr . . . ties . . . plac . . . befor . . . in h . . . "W . . . happ . . . Com . . . last . . . there . . . whic . . . shot . . . grav . . . Thi . . . in th . . . port . . . of b . . . virtu . . . of S . . . tion



# rd in Vietnam: 5 years



F-105s in bombing mission against North Nam

"Charlie used to feel safe in his jungle redoubts. He could light up a cooking fire at night and eat his supper with serenity. But nowadays we fly over him in RF-4C Phantoms with infrared cameras and take pictures ('red haze photos') in which his fire shows up as a white dot with a tail.

"We turn these pictures over to the Arvin gunners . . . and suddenly, out of the peaceful sky, a large explosive shell falls in the middle of Charlie's meal.

"If Charlie tries to cross a river in boats on a pitch-black night, even in rain or under a solid overcast, the RF-4Cs still find him . . . The recon planes give the word to the fighter bombers or to the artillery, and suddenly Charlie's piece of the river blows sky high. Charlie never knew what hit him or why."

**OR, "ANYTHING THAT MOVES"**

Pseudo-scientific jargon covers over much that is paleolithic. A manual of the U. S. A. F. ROTC Air University entitled, "Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems," gives the following definition of "targets":

"A strategic target is any installation,

network, group of buildings, or the like, considered vital to a country's warmaking capacity and singled out for air attack; and a tactical target is any physical object, person, group of persons, or position singled out for attack during the course of battle or tactical operations in order to reduce or destroy the enemy's ability to sustain his combat operation."

This quotation and several others in this article are selected from the valuable investigation of U. S. warfare in Vietnam conducted by the Bertrand Rus-



"In this offensive we've seen every type of injury because of rockets, shrapnel, small arms fire and mortars," Dr. L. A. Smookler told Bernard Weinraub in a hospital in Cantho, South Vietnam. "The horror of modern weaponry is that now you just don't end up with a bullet wound. These weapons break into a million pieces and they reach every part of the body." (*New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1968 — one month before Songmy.)

**NORTH VIETNAM DEVASTATED**

Harrison Salisbury, *New York Times* assistant managing editor, visited North Vietnam in December 1966 — almost two years before the bombing of North Vietnam stopped — and exploded the carefully nurtured hoax that only "military targets" were being bombed.

On Christmas Eve, Dec. 24, 1966, Salisbury wrote: "Contrary to the impression given out by U.S. communiques, on-the-spot inspection indicates that American bombing has been inflicting civilian casualties in Hanoi and its environs for some time past."

The following day: "Christmas wasn't a joyous occasion for Namdinh . . . The [Catholic] cathedral tower looks out on block after block of utter desolation; the city's population of 90,000 has been reduced to less than 20,000 because of evacuation; 13 percent of the city's housing, including the homes of 12,464 people, have been destroyed."

Hanson W. Baldwin, formerly the mil-

**CU CHI**

# n: 5 years of mass murder



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Hanson W. Baldwin, formerly the military expert for the *New York Times*, wrote Feb. 6, 1967: "Though there are far fewer planes engaged in Vietnam [than in World War II] the aircraft used . . . fly more sorties per plane and carry far more ordnance. The tonnage of bombs dropped and number of rockets fired against any area of similar size probably exceeds that of any prior war."

Two-and-one-half years later, that bombing is continuing day after day on a considerably escalated scale.

#### RESPONSE TO THE TET OFFENSIVE

Some Pentagon officials have tried to make a case for the Songmy massacre by describing Vietnamese atrocities that were supposed to have taken place during the Tet offensive, a month before Songmy. President Nixon stated in his Nov. 3 speech:

"We saw a prelude of what would happen in South Vietnam when the Communists entered the city of Hue last year. During their brief rule there, there was a bloody reign of terror in which 3,000 civilians were clubbed, shot to death, and buried in mass graves."

This alleged incident was not reported in the press at the time. What was reported, was the horrifying rain of bombs the U.S. poured on Hue and virtually every other city and village of South Vietnam to drive the revolutionaries out.

"It became necessary to destroy the town to save it," was the now-famous remark of a U.S. major, reporting the flattening of Bentre, according to a Feb. 7, 1968, AP dispatch.

The dispatch continued, "He was talking about the decision by allied commanders to bomb and shell the town regardless of civilian casualties to rout the Vietcong."

In Hue, destruction was fierce. "U.S. Marine jet bombers hit enemy positions outside the south Citadel wall in Hue yesterday with rockets, bombs and napalm. The attack followed a five-day pause because of weather," the *New York Times* reported Feb. 22, 1968.

Perhaps Nixon mixed up his retaliations. The previous day's *New York Times* carried this account: "The South Vietnamese leader of war-devastated Hue today ordered that looters be shot on sight and announced that there would be public executions within two days of some Communists arrested recently . . ."

"American officials in Hue expressed approval. A United Press International dispatch quoted one U.S. official as having said, 'There will be summary executions of VC and hopefully some of the infrastructure.' The reference was to Communist Party leaders."

The previously cited Feb. 22 *New York Times* gave figures for the results of three weeks of U.S. bombing: "A total of 609,000 South Vietnamese were made refugees . . . 133,500 of them in the Saigon-Cholon area. Houses destroyed during the fighting total 39,700 a [Saigon government] spokesman said."

#### "ALL BUT DEFIES COMPREHENSION"

The Pentagon's response to the Tet offensive underlined the total disregard for the Vietnamese civilian that is the very basis of U.S. military strategy in Vietnam. It occurred a few weeks before Songmy. Two months later, Edward Kennedy (D.—Mass.) addressed the Senate:

"Since early 1965, some 3,000,000 persons have been officially registered by the Saigon government as refugees.

At least 1,500,000 remain officially in that status and the number is growing daily. In Saigon alone more than 100,000 were made homeless during the last Vietcong offensive against the capital city.

"But the official register is only part of the picture. At least two to three million additional persons displaced by the war are not recorded on the government's rolls — but are found in the slums of Saigon and other cities, and in the squatter towns which dot the countryside and the outskirts of provincial and district capitals throughout the country.

"It is an alarming fact, that because of the war more than one-fourth of the population of South Vietnam is displaced. The tragic and disruptive consequences of this tremendous movement to the life of the individual refugee and in the society of which he is a part, staggers the imagination and all but defies comprehension." (*Congressional Record*, May 16, 1968, p. S 5737.)

#### "WHAT LIFE'S LIKE" IN VIETNAM TODAY

Since the Tet offensive and the initiation of Washington's massive effort to shift attention away from the Vietnam battlefield onto various political aspects of the war, there has been considerably less detailed coverage of the day-to-day war in the U.S. press.

Nevertheless, it is well known that the bombing of South Vietnam was escalated following the cessation of bombing North Vietnam. Casualty figures for American soldiers in the first six months of 1969 were 30 percent higher than in the last six months of 1968 (*New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1969).

There can be little question but that the U.S. military has continued to press to the maximum its genocidal onslaught in South Vietnam. Pentagon officials have even cynically admitted that "highly sophisticated" tactical bombing has replaced the "search and destroy" operation.

A recent confirmation of this came in a revealing article by Tom Buckley, *New York Times Magazine* staff writer, Nov. 23, entitled, "What Life's Like in Vietcong Territory."

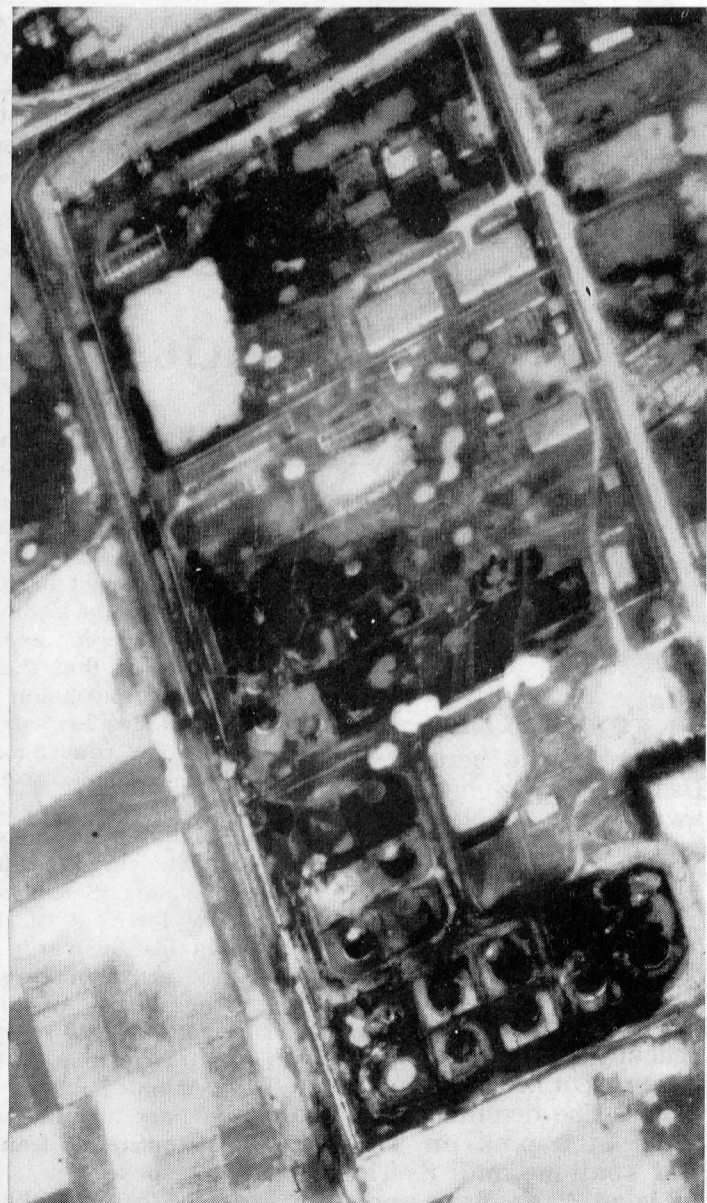
"Because the Vietcong saw from the beginning that victory could not be achieved without the support of the countryside, they were always careful to respect the peasants' customs . . . Even now, the cadres in the hamlets remaining under Vietcong control in Tanloc village seem to use coercion and punishment only as a last resort . . ."

"Saigon and Washington have chosen another method. 'We are blasting their



villages right out from under them,' a young American in the pacification program told me. To fly over the Delta or the central lowlands is to see the truth of that statement — bomb craters beyond counting, the dead gray and black fields, forests that have been defoliated and scorched by napalm, land that has been plowed flat to destroy Vietcong hiding places. And everywhere can be seen the piles of ashes, forming the outlines of huts and houses, to show where hamlets once stood." (Emphasis added.)

Little more need be said. Washington's strategy in Vietnam is mass murder, today, as from the beginning of the war. Songmy — clearly — is only a drop of the Vietnamese blood that has been shed in its valiant defense against the imperialist war machine. And the real mass murderers are not the soldiers on the battlefield; they are the imperialist perpetrators of the war.



1966 bombing of Hanoi

## Antiwar groups aid strike against GE war profiteers

SAN FRANCISCO—The major December Moratorium action of the Bay Area Peace Action Council (BAPAC) will be a rally, march and picket line Dec. 13 in support of striking General Electric workers. The action will be co-sponsored by the Northern California Student Mobilization Committee.

United Electrical Workers Local 1412 has voted full support and endorsement to the action. Union members will speak at campus and other rallies to build the Dec. 13 demonstration. The union is urging other locals and labor councils to back the action; indications are that many unions will respond favorably.

The Student Mobilization Committee will sponsor GI teach-ins and conferences throughout the Bay Area, and continue to rally high school students in the struggle against the war and for student rights. The SMC is already planning a war crimes tribunal to be held in the early spring.

The Peace Action Council has voted to help distribute GI newspapers on bases throughout December and to help build a Dec. 12 demonstration at the stock exchange here, sponsored by the Downtown Peace Coalition. The DPC successfully held a similar action Oct. 15.

The BAPAC is also sponsoring a downtown rally at the Presidio on Dec. 24, and it is urging churches to hold special Vietnam services on Christmas.

The Student Mobilization Committee has announced that it is offering a special "Out Now" holiday greeting card. They can be ordered for 25 cents each—15 cents each for high school students and 20 cents each for boxes of 25—from the SMC Regional Office, P. O.

Box 31326, San Francisco, Calif. 94131.

AUSTIN, Texas—The Student Mobilization Committee here has announced plans for the December Moratorium. During the week preceding Dec. 12, the SMC will leaflet shoppers throughout the city, inviting them to join in antiwar activities. From 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., Dec. 12, there will be a picket line at the Balcones Research Laboratory to protest the University of Texas' complicity with the Vietnam war. At 1:30 p.m., a rally will be held on the UT Main Mall, followed at 3:15 by a march to downtown Austin. Beginning at 7:30 p.m., a vigil will be held at Zilker Park. The names of Texas war dead will be read, and a candle lighted for each one. Candles will also be lighted for the victims of the My Lai massacre and for the other Vietnamese victims of U.S. aggression.

The next day the SMC will host a regional antiwar conference on the UT campus. The conference will begin at 10:30 a.m.

NEW YORK—The SMC will sponsor a rally at Columbia University on Dec. 11 to support the striking General Electric workers and demand university compliance with the boycott of GE. The rally will begin at 4 p.m. in the auditorium of Earl Hall. Speakers will include representatives of the United Electrical Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers.

On Dec. 12 there will be an SMC-sponsored picket line between 4 and 6 p.m. in front of the General Electric Company's corporate headquarters, 51st St. and Lexington Ave., in solidarity with the GE strikers.

The following day a major high school rights conference will be hosted by the SMC at Community Church, 35th St. and Park Ave., from 2 to 6 p.m.

**HAVE YOU MOVED?** If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

## 8 new YSA locals formed as nat'l convention nears

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEW YORK, Dec. 4—Preparations for the Young Socialist National Convention in Minneapolis Dec. 27-30 were well underway this week, as the YSA national office announced the formation of eight new YSA locals over the period of the last month.

This recent expansion of the YSA promises that this year's Young Socialist convention will be quite large. An indication of the expected size is that the convention will be held at the same facilities at the University of Minnesota that only a few years ago accommodated a convention of the National Student Association.

Young Socialists, who have been in the forefront of this year's offensive against the war in Vietnam and among the active builders of the Student Mobilization Committee, are currently engaged in a variety of activities aimed at broadening participation in the convention. Regional centers around the country are holding socialist educational conferences featuring prominent radical spokesmen.

At the same time regional travelers are visiting campuses in outlying areas spreading the word of the convention.

An editorial

## Defend the Panthers!

As *The Militant* went to press, the shocking news came that once again the Chicago cops have carried out a murderous assault on the Chicago Panthers.

At dawn, Dec. 4, a squad of police forced their way into the apartment of Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, and Bobby Rush, another Panther leader, and opened fire. In what the cops claim then was a "gun battle," the Illinois Panther chairman was killed, as was Mark Clark, 22, a leading Panther from Peoria, Ill. Four other Panthers are in critical condition in the Cook County hospital, and an additional seven have been arrested, including two pregnant women. All were in the apartment at the time of the raid. Those who were arrested have reportedly been denied their right to contact lawyers so far.

Two cops were supposedly injured in the "gun battle"—one received some glass



Fred Hampton

in his hand, the other a shotgun pellet in his leg!

The Panthers deny that the cops were refused entrance, and say there was no need for them to bust down the door. Hampton was killed as he was lying in bed.

The cops were armed with a search warrant, supposedly because they had received information that a large cache of weapons was hidden in the apartment. The cops claim they had confiscated about two dozen firearms, several thousand rounds of ammunition, and other weapons.

Meanwhile the day previous in San Francisco, David Hilliard, the national chief of staff of the Panthers was arrested on trumped-up charges of threatening the life of the president and his bail—which Attorney Charles Garry rightly termed "ransom"—was set at \$30,000.

This fantastic charge stemmed solely from a speech made by Hilliard at the Nov. 15 antiwar rally in San Francisco in which he is accused of saying the Panthers will kill Nixon. What he actually said, according to Garry, is that the Panthers "would kill Nixon or anyone else that stood in the way of their freedom."

As Garry pointed out, this was clearly and simply rhetoric, and, "If he can't say that, then the First Amendment doesn't mean a damn thing."

A third important development this week in the continuing vicious campaign against the Panthers was the decision to plead guilty made by two of the 14 accused Panthers in the Connecticut frame-up for the alleged murder of Panther Alex Rackley. George Sams, who originally implicated Bobby Seale in the case, and Loretta Luckes pleaded guilty to second degree murder and conspiracy to kidnap resulting in death, respectively. Loretta Luckes then took the witness stand against five Black Panthers who were seeking release on bail.

All these developments are part of the sinister, systematic campaign of murder and imprisonment directed by the state and federal authorities against the Black Panther Party. Virtually every conceivable measure has been and is being used to physically destroy the Panthers—murder, frame-up conspiracy charges, outrageous bails of hundreds of thousands of dollars, harassment and physical punishment in jail, destruction of Panther property and equipment and supplies, etc., etc. There is scarcely a major American city one can think of where the Panthers have not been the target of this kind of vicious attack—the New York 21, the New Haven 14, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, Portland, Philadelphia, Sacramento . . .

The brutal murders and illegal attacks on the Black Panther Party are directed not only against them but against the entire black community and radical movement in this country. They must be stopped. Defend the Black Panther Party!

## New Yorkers set to picket Nixon



NEW YORK — President Nixon will be here Tuesday, Dec. 9, to receive an annual award from the National Football Foundation. Plans are underway for a large antiwar demonstration at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel where the affair will occur. Sponsored by the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, the action is being energetically built on campus by the Student Mobilization Committee. The demonstration will begin at 5 p.m. on Tuesday and continue until 8. The hotel is at Park Ave. and 49th St.

**State and Justice Dep'ts split**

# Mandel ban stirs controversy

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

The controversy surrounding the Justice Department ban against Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist, internationally known economist and contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, continues to mount. And on the heels of his exclusion from the country, it was also learned that Tariq Ali, a Pakistani who is a leader of the British antiwar movement, and a well-known Trotskyist, has also been denied entrance to the country. Ali had been scheduled to speak at the second annual convention of the Arab American University Graduates, and a Young Socialists educational conference, both in Detroit the weekend of Dec. 5.

The dispute over Mandel's visa reached into the highest government circles, causing a public breach between the Department of State which advised that Mandel should be admitted and the Department of Justice which denied the State Department's request.

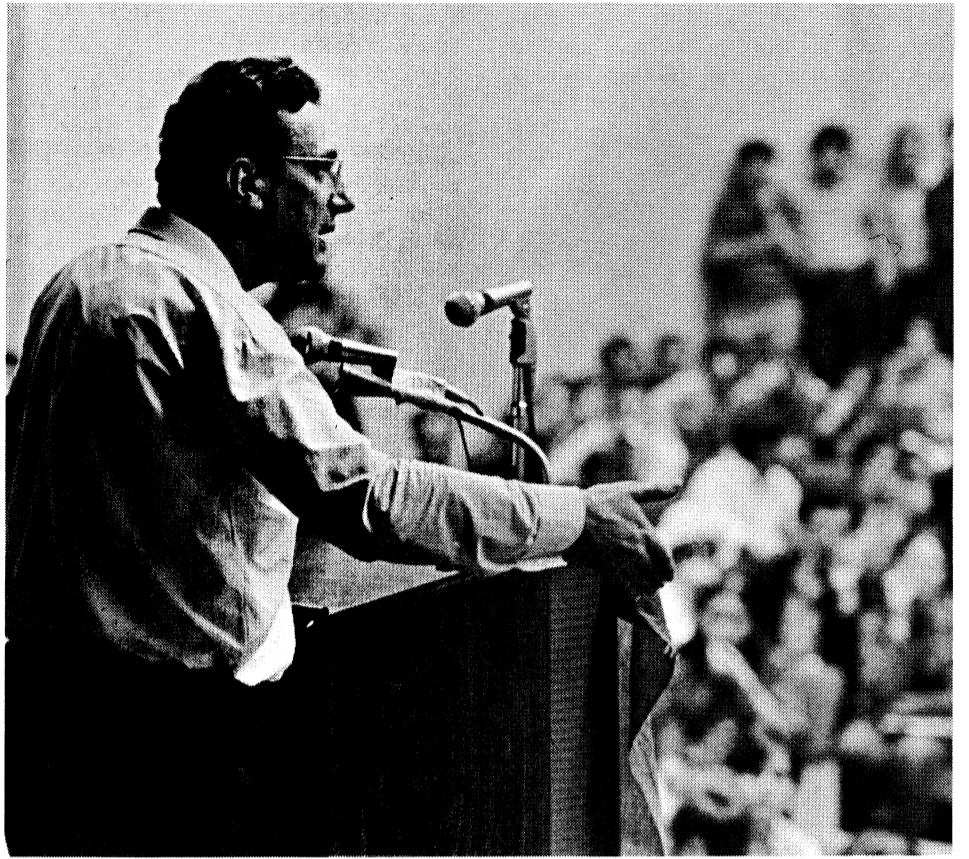
Mandel was barred under a provision of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act that

refuses entry to foreign revolutionaries who belong to organizations on an unpublished list drawn up by the administration. This is despite the fact that Mandel has been admitted to this country twice before, in 1962 and in 1968, the second time for an extended speaking tour. The Justice Department's refusal to admit Mandel to fulfill a number of academic speaking engagements, was the second time this year Mandel has been denied a visa.

Tariq Ali has also been admitted to this country on at least one previous occasion to fulfill speaking engagements at colleges and universities. The State Department spokesman refused to give a reason for the ban when questioned by a lawyer for the Arab American University Graduates, contending that it was illegal for him to state the reasons. The *New York Times* reported Dec. 3 that Ali was banned because he burned an American flag in front of the United States embassy during an anti-Vietnam-war demonstration in London Nov. 23.

Such clear violations of the basic rights of American citizens to hear whatever points of view they wish have drawn widespread condemnation. Two Nobel laureates, Salvador E. Luria of MIT and George Wald of Harvard, the Presidents of Stanford, Princeton and Vassar, and faculty members of over fifty universities condemned the administration's earlier refusal to permit Mandel to debate Professor Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University on Oct. 18.

The second banning of Mandel has drawn sharp editorial condemnation from such influential newspapers as the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*, and has made Attorney General Mitchell the butt of many scathing at-



Ernest Mandel

## 'Social change' subject of N.Y. conference

NEW YORK — "Agencies of Social Change" was the theme of an all-day conference held here Nov. 29 under the auspices of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of America and the Socialist Scholars Conference. Participants in the conference included James O'Connor of San Jose, Calif., State College; Andre Gorz of the French journal *Les Temps Modernes*; Art Fox of UAW Local 600 in Detroit; Paul Sweezy, co-editor of *Monthly Review*; Stanley Aronowitz, columnist for *The Guardian*; and Steve Zeluck, president of the New Rochelle, N. Y. Federation of Teachers.

Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Trotskyist theoretician who made an extensive tour of U. S. campuses last year, had been scheduled to participate, but the Department of Justice prohibited his entry into the country. The conference heard a tape recording of Mandel's contribution. A trans-Atlantic telephone hook-up had been planned so that Mandel could participate in the discussion, but the circuit failed.

The discussion at the conference was somewhat diffuse but tended to center on the question of the need for a revolutionary vanguard party. Andre Gorz, enthusiastically seconded by Stanley Aronowitz, advanced an almost pure anarchist perspective: no party and no state. The taped presentation by Mandel, on the other hand, stressed the necessity of building revolutionary parties linked together internationally in order to assure the triumph of socialist revolution.

During the one-hour lunch break, two young women from the women's liberation movement took the platform to discuss with the audience the fact that there was no woman among the participants. Arthur Felberbaum, executive secretary of the Russell Foundation, expressed the conference planners' regret for this and said that several women had been invited to participate but had been unable to do so. The two women were invited to join the panel in the afternoon as participants, but they declined to do so since they had had no time to prepare contributions.

The conference passed a resolution condemning the barring of Ernest Mandel, and there was a collection to help finance the continuing legal fight against the Justice Department's arbitrary action.

tacks against the most outspokenly reactionary wing of the Nixon administration.

Departing from its often blindly factional attitude on such issues the Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, editorially condemned "the latest Mitchell thrust . . . barring entry to the U. S. of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Trotskyite, to address today's Socialist Scholar's Conference . . . By preventing entry of Mandel the Justice Department attacks not only the conference but also the First Amendment rights of all Americans, irrespective of views. The Mitchell diktat should be reversed."

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and its chief counsel, Leonard Boudin, are studying possible legal steps to challenge the constitutionality of the McCarran Act, and, as one government official was quoted in the Nov. 28 *Los Angeles Times*, "The last chapter has not been written on this case."

**New York Post editorial**

**Mr. Mitchell vs. Mrs. Mitchell**

[The *New York Post*, a liberal daily, expressed its views November 28 on the Ernest Mandel case in the following editorial, titled "In re Mitchell vs. Rogers."]

\* \* \*

Secretary of State William Rogers believes it would be "in the national interest" to permit Dr. Ernest Mandel, editor of a Belgian Marxist journal, to enter this country and participate in a series of public discussions. Twice before—in 1962 and 1968—he has been allowed to do so despite provisions of the oppressive McCarran-Walter Act that would brand him a dangerous character. Our democracy survived his presence on both occasions.

Unhappily Mr. Rogers' appeal to rationality had to be addressed to Mitchell's Justice Department. In that hotbed of hysteria, it was rejected. Perhaps Mr. Mitchell just didn't know how he could explain such tolerance to Mrs. Mitchell after bringing her to the brink of panic over the peace demonstrations.

The unsolved mystery remains. When two Cabinet members of high rank disagree on an issue that is already subjecting us to ridicule and resentment in much of the world where is President Nixon? Did he throw his weight behind Mitchell's folly? Is it conceivable that the case was never brought to his attention?

**New York Times editorial**

**Public humiliation for State Dep't**

**Newsweek:**

## And where was the president?

(*Newsweek*, Dec. 8, reported on the reverberations caused by the Mandel case in the following way.)

Critics who charge that Mitchell's administration of justice is tinged with more politics than pragmatism found support recently from an unexpected quarter, the A.G.'s wife, Martha. On a now-famous television interview she allowed that her husband would like to take "some of the liberals in this country" and "change them for the Russian Communists." Last week, Mitchell felt obliged to edit the text. "If you will transpose the word 'liberal' into 'violence-prone militant radicals,'" he amended, "I would be delighted to change them for some of the academically inclined Marxist Communists."

But, as the Attorney General urges, Mitchell's actions bear more watching than his words. Last week an academically inclined Marxist named Ernest Mandel . . . was hoping to begin a one-week lecture tour of several U. S. cities and campuses. Under the provisions of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, Mandel was ineligible for a visa . . . but previous Attorneys General had waived this old McCarthy-era restriction to enable him to come to the U. S. in 1962 and 1968. Once more the State Department urged a waiver. No, came the reply from Mitchell's shop. "Why should we be afraid of this man and his ideas?" Secretary William Rogers fumed to an aide, and outraged State officials didn't even bother to paper over the interagency rift.

[Under the title "McCarranism Revisited," the *New York Times* expressed the following editorial opinion, November 27, on the Ernest Mandel case.]

The arbitrary refusal by the Justice Department to issue the waiver that would have allowed Dr. Ernest Mandel, a Belgian Marxist scholar, to speak at academic conferences in the United States, is an incredible example of autocratic insensitivity. It has resulted in public humiliation of the State Department by an Attorney General who ignores the damage thus inflicted on the image of America as the defender of freedom of ideas.

The denial of the waiver that was necessary for issuance of a visa by the State Department assumes added significance because Secretary Rogers himself is known to have recommended approval of Dr. Mandel's visit. While the battle of the visa began at low levels of routine bureaucratic hurdles, it has culminated in a contest of conflicting authority and ideology at the highest stratum of the Administration. The plain fact is that the Justice Department, on Attorney General Mitchell's orders, overruled a request which the State Department considered in the national interest.

The planners of the Socialist Scholars Conference now expect to have the Belgian professor "attend" via trans-Atlantic telephone. The empty chair on the panel and the electronic circumvention of the travel ban will add to the embarrassment suffered by this country as a result of this triumph of police over diplomacy, of fear over freedom and of ideological rigidity over democratic common sense.

# Ky. GI coffeehouse fights back

By JON BRITTON

Over the past several months, coffeehouse organizers in Muldraugh, Ky., have suffered police harassment, a court-ordered eviction, jailings, and a deadly firebombing attempt, all aimed at preventing them from opening a coffeehouse for GIs at nearby Ft. Knox. But they have stood firm, fought back, rallied GI and civilian support, and won a number of tentative victories.



## Suit by NECLC seeks abolition of Dix stockade

NEW YORK—The first lawsuit seeking abolition of a military stockade was filed by five Ft. Dix soldiers in the Newark, N.J., federal district court Dec. 1.

The complaint charges cruel and unusual punishments, such as brutality by guards, medical abuses, general physical maltreatment, diet deficiencies, denial of chapel, mail and exercise privileges, and interference with prisoners' right to counsel.

The suit also charges that servicemen are deterred from exercising their First Amendment rights of free speech and association because of their fear of being imprisoned in the stockade.

Two of the GIs filing the suit, Terry Klug and William Brakefield, who still face court-martial charges for allegedly having participated in a Ft. Dix stockade "riot" on June 5, 1969. All five of the soldiers are members of the American Servicemen's Union who are presently serving, or have served, sentences in the Dix stockade.

Defendants in the suit are Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor; Lt. Col. William J. Allen, the Dix stockade commandant; Colonel Bernard E. Carr, the Post's provost marshal; Major Andrew Casey, the assistant correctional officer of the stockade; and Maj. Gen. Kenneth Collins, Ft. Dix commander.

The suit is being sponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the James Madison Constitutional Law Institute, and the New York Military Law Panel.

Victor Rabinowitz, counsel for the NECLC, termed stockade conditions "a gross violation of the Constitution's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment and of the Army's own regulations. The treatment accorded prisoners at Dix is barbaric. There is no other word to use."

The coffeehouse was started by civilian and GI supporters of the Ft. Knox GI paper, *FTA* (Fun, Travel and Adventure).

On Sept. 2, two days after the coffeehouse first opened, the town officials hastily amended the town charter to require police investigations of all new businesses. This provided a pretext for closing the coffeehouse and for subsequent harassment and intimidation of coffeehouse supporters under the guise of a "police investigation." Pending the outcome of their apparently interminable "investigation," town officials have refused to grant a business permit for the coffeehouse.

Pressured by the Ft. Knox brass and town officials, the landlord refused rent payments, even one sent by registered mail. He then requested Meade County Judge Bert Allen to order the coffeehouse evicted—for nonpayment of rent! The judge, on Oct. 1, readily complied.

Action was held off pending appeal and the judge set appeal bond at \$3,000, to be paid within three days. The coffeehouse organizers raised that amount, but then Judge Allen jumped the bond to \$10,000—the entire amount in cash! This exorbitant sum was finally met, thanks to a strenuous effort to raise funds and secure loans from coffeehouse supporters.

A successful rally was held Sept. 28 which involved some 100 GIs in a lively discussion of the Vietnam war and the role of the GI in the Army and what he can do about it. At the same time, the coffeehouse was again opened to the public. About 150 citizens of Muldraugh lined the streets at the beginning of the rally and, when they saw that all was peaceful, many of them came into the coffeehouse and observed for themselves what the place was like. The cops did not interfere, and the

coffeehouse has been open ever since though, because a business permit has still not been granted, food and beverages cannot be served.

On Oct. 6, a Meade County grand jury was convened. Fourteen people including the coffeehouse staff and a number of GIs were summoned to testify. It was clear that any association with the coffeehouse was potential grounds for indictment, and so a decision was made to not answer questions because such testimony might be self-incriminating. The grand jury was recessed until Oct. 30.

A deadly attack was made on the coffeehouse by unknown persons the night of Oct. 9 when two molotov cocktails were thrown through the window. There were five people upstairs at the time, including a 16-month-old baby. Luckily, the bombs didn't explode though a burning wick caused a small fire.

Later, the cops told the press that they were investigating the incident "from both sides," insinuating that the bombing might have been an inside job.

The Meade County grand jury reconvened Oct. 30 and handed down indictments against the Rev. Terry Davis and his wife, Kathleen; Dave Portugal; Susan Schermerhorn; Don Rodes; and Tom Jackson, a GI. All had been questioned by the grand jury. All but Portugal, who was out of town, were arrested and jailed on charges of "maintaining a common public nuisance" and "failure to comply with sanitary regulations."

The next day, the grand jury asked Circuit Court Judge Murray Beard to cite four other activists for contempt because of their refusal to answer questions. They too were jailed.

After a number of protest rallies and vigils in which significant numbers of



GIs participated and an appeal to the Kentucky appeals court, all those arrested were allowed to post bond.

Since then, a preliminary injunction has been obtained from a federal district judge blocking any further prosecution or harassment of the first six people indicted pending a hearing before a 3-judge federal court.

In the meantime, a crippled but more determined GI coffeehouse carries on. But the coffeehouse organizers are deep in debt. The Meade County grand jury is scheduled to reconvene Dec. 4 to consider further indictments. And an appeal of the eviction order is to be heard in February. Contributions can be sent c/o *FTA*, Box 336, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

## IN PASSING

# Report on U of Peking students

*The Cultural Revolution at Peking University* by Victor Nee with the assistance of Don Layman (Monthly Review Press, \$4.50) is an intriguing, sophisticated and essentially honest-minded attempt to make sense out of the Chinese "cultural revolution" from a pro-Mao point of view. This is not one of those essays that tries to prove its point by simply making unsubstantiated assertions with the trinitarian authority of speaking in the name of Mao, Lin Piao and the Holy Joe.

The book focuses on the history of the "cultural revolution" at Peking University, carefully piecing together information from observers with varying degrees of sympathy for Maoism in an effort to show that the "cultural revolution" began as a spontaneous, antibureaucratic mass struggle that, once it began, received the whole-hearted support and encouragement of Mao.

What makes the book unconvincing is the one-sidedness of its information. The positions taken by the anti-Mao forces are always from reports given by pro-Mao sources. To make their points, the authors are frequently forced to interpolate so much about the program and motivation of the anti-Mao group that it sometimes seems as if they have the ability to read minds.

Also, the authors de-emphasize the most unbelievable of the accusations made against the anti-Mao forces—for instance, that they were attempting to restore capitalism in China. In addition, the authors give no indication that there is any such thing as the cult of Mao in China.

Three articles from a Peking Red Guard paper, *Spring Thunder*, are ap-

ended to the book. They are valuable examples of the antibureaucratic rhetoric of the Red-Guard movement, which to my mind demonstrates rather clearly that the Chinese masses were mobilized during the "cultural revolution" by appeals to their opposition to the Chinese bureaucratic caste. Unfortunately, the weight of evidence shows that the Maoist antibureaucratic propaganda during the "cultural revolution" has amounted only to campaign promises in the "best" traditions of bourgeois politics. Nowhere has the promised proletarian democracy of the Paris Commune of 1871 been instituted.

I don't believe that anyone can say with a straight face that the "cultural revolution" in China has brought about any improvements in culture. Unless, of course, you happen to be the sort of person that counts unending sycophantic praise of Mao as an improvement.

In the English-translation Maoist journal published in Peking, *Chinese Literature*, No. 6, 1969, we find some of the showpieces of current Chinese art and literature. The issue contains several poems, short stories, a reproduction of an oil painting, and the story from a current film. If any of these items has any artistic merit, I have been unable to discover it. Rather, it is the same old "socialist realism" of the Stalinist school. Let me quote the entire first stanza of a poem by Hsiung Tao-heng entitled "A Letter to Mama":

"By the Heilung River, under the Lesser Khingan Mountains, / Like a scroll the wind unfurls our scarlet banner; / As the wild goose flies up the blue

sky, / Our fighters' songs soar to the bright clouds. / Tomorrow our red detachment of women / Pack up and go to cut wood in the forest. / Before our departure, / I must write a reply to my mother. / Heart throbbing with exhilaration, / So many words jostle for expression: / Shall I tell how the political instructor and myself / Together creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, / Fight self, repudiate revisionism and decide to strike root here?"

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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A revolutionary's view

# Socialism as the basis for unity in Ireland

BY EILISH McDERMOTT

(Eilish McDermott is a student at Queens University in Belfast. She is a leader of People's Democracy, the militant student wing of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement, to which Bernadette Devlin also belongs. The following is an abridged version of a speech that she gave Nov. 8 to the founding convention of the National Association for Irish Justice in New York.

(In an interview with *The Militant*, Eilish McDermott stressed that the main point she wants American socialists to understand is the new long-term perspective evolved by People's Democracy calling for "a 32-county workers' and small farmers' government" uniting all of Ireland. She emphasized that this conclusion was reached not on emotional grounds, but because of the situation in Ulster discussed in her speech.)

\* \* \*

As you've heard, I'm a member of People's Democracy, and what I'd like to tell you about this morning is the role that People's Democracy is intending to play in the struggle for civil rights, North and South.

People's Democracy, as you know, has been active in the struggle for civil rights, for more jobs and houses, and against Toryism, North and South. It believes that its objectives can only be obtained by the ousting of both Tory governments and the setting up of an Irish workers' republic.

We came to this conclusion after considering three basic factors, all of which occurred post-August this year. The first factor which concerned us was the Protestant backlash and the threat of Orange fascism. The second was the use of 8,500 British troops in Northern Ireland. The third factor was the necessity for support for our cause from the South.

*Protestant backlash and Orange Fascism*

The People's Democracy recognized long ago that an end to discrimination

was not enough. Slums and unemployment would remain, breeding violence and misery.

The Protestant working class has been shielded from some of the worst aspects of economic depression by the system of discrimination. They now see this privileged position coming to an end. The result has been, in Northern Ireland, Orange fascism and the movement whipped up by Rev. Ian Paisley.

This phenomenon is a reality. The pogrom in Belfast on Aug. 14 and 15 and the subsequent campaign of burning and intimidation showed the fascists' pique.

The Protestant workers are moving towards Paisley because he provides the best defense from these dangers. These people will not be wooed by promises that Catholics won't harm them. They will not be wooed by recognizing the constitution. They will only be won away from Paisleyism by involving them in struggle with their fellow workers against redundancies [lay-offs], for higher wages and for more houses.

All this means launching a campaign for socialism and supporting workers' struggles on day-to-day issues. But Northern Ireland, with its current economic system, cannot provide more jobs and houses. It cannot provide higher wages. It is a fringe area of the United Kingdom economy. It is England's backyard. It is experiencing a rundown of its traditional industries. The new industries being established are only made viable by massive investments or grants or are subsidiaries of British companies which will be closed down during periods of squeeze in the British economy.

Only large-scale public ownership and control of the flow of profits and capital out of the area can end the shortage. However, Northern Ireland is by itself unviable. And this strategy would have to be applied over the larger area of Ireland as a whole.

*The British troops*

You all know by now that in the middle of August British troops were moved into Derry and Belfast. Since then the number of British troops was increased, and it is anybody's guess when they are going to go away.

When they arrived, they served to defuse the situation. And even now they provide protection for the threatened Catholic ghetto. But no one, except Nationalist Party leaders and the Catholic hierarchy, dreams of trusting them completely.

They have already helped the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary, the "official" police in the North] to raid Republican houses and arrested people for putting up People's Democracy posters.

Now the Hunt Report by the British government has recommended, to Paisley's dismay, the disbanding of our beloved B-Specials [volunteer, vigilante-type police].

Just at the moment there are some contradictions between the interests of the British government and the British companies and friends they represent and the Unionists. In the interests of long-term stability, Whitehall wants reform here and is trying to push the Unionists.

But if the left and the civil rights movement aren't satisfied with the reforms agreed upon by [British Minister



Photo by Joel Aber

**ADDRESSES RALLY.** Eilish McDermott addresses convention in New York of National Association for Irish Justice. Seated is Frank Gogarty, chairman of Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

of Home Affairs] Callahan and Chichester-Clark, no one should doubt that the British troops, who are now very friendly and smile at you on the street, will be used to enforce bans on meetings and demonstrations and even to round up "subversives" if the British decide that that is in their interests.

We know that the troops are merely tools of the same British imperialist policy that was followed by Britain in Korea, Malaya, Aden and Kenya, where General Freeland, the general officer commanding in Northern Ireland, also served. When British troops are in Northern Ireland, or only an hour's flight away in London, the granting of civil rights in Ulster will be at the whim of the Westminster government. This is intolerable!

The struggle for a socialist republic brings the economic class consciousness of the Protestant working class into harmony with the anti-imperialist outlook of the Republicans.

We can fully realize and work with the fact that Ireland is not one culture. Ireland is not Irishmen born and bred. Ireland has two cultures: probably what we would best be able to define into groups as the Catholic and the Protestant, the Irish and the English-Scot. But just because a man's family has only been living in Ireland for 300 years doesn't mean to say to me that he isn't an Irishman!

*Support from the South*

The third point is that we must be able to rely on some support from the South should another pogrom arrive. But by support from the South we don't mean [Southern Ireland Prime Minister] Jack Lynch's army walking up to the border and walking down again. We think that he serves only to inflame the Protestant population and drive them to become Paisleyites out of sheer fear.

Thus it is necessary to heighten the struggle against economic imperialism in the South, finally, once and for all, breaking the chains of British—and American—control over the Republic's actions.

And to change the Tory nature of the state in the south. Most of you know the most insidious examples of the Tory nature of the state. A Protestant person living in the south of Ireland does not have a right to a divorce. He does not have the right to use contraceptives. And by Section 44 of the constitution, the Catholic Church is given a special position. It is hardly what could be called democratic.

So we feel that the only time when intervention from the South can now be successful is when that intervention is coming with the intention of forming a socialist Irish workers' and small farmers' republic. The People's Democracy

have already formed links in the South in Galway, Dublin, Cork and Limerick, and they have found the results there very encouraging.

*Why socialism is necessary*

Why should the people of Belfast put up with the conditions such as those in the ghetto areas of Belfast? And let me tell you that 91 percent of Belfast, Catholic and Protestant, is a ghetto area. The houses do not have proper water facilities. They are without baths, without inside toilets. They are not humanly habitable.

What sort of manner is the Unionist government duping the Protestant population in that it can actually think it has privileges in our corrupt state? This is something that we are trying to set out to change. The process will be long. It will be difficult.

Why should the people of the so-called Irish Republic have to emigrate to earn their living? Most of the ancestors of the people here, perhaps some of yourselves, were forced to emigrate because they could not find jobs in Ireland. The situation is growing no less grave at the moment. The emigration rate isn't going down.

Nothing will change until the people are in control of the means of production—the means of distribution—the sources of wealth—and can share equally as dignified human beings in the profits of their own labor!

Let me say to the students in this hall on behalf of students in Belfast that we extend our greetings to you, and secondly that we hope you can do in America as much as the students did in Belfast (I don't mean that in a boastful sense; I just mean it is possible for young people to take the initiative.) And I think that all support should be given to students in their own fights—in their fights for civil rights and human dignity in no matter what part of the world they live.

—A new pamphlet—

**Pioneers  
of  
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By Joyce Cowley

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## Life in an auto plant

# What it's really like in modern sweatshop

By TOM CAGLE

(This is the first of several articles on life in an auto plant. The author is a veteran union activist who has worked for many years at the General Motors plant in Fremont, Calif.)

About a month ago United Auto Workers Local 1364 here in the San Francisco Bay Area threatened to tie up the Fremont General Motors plant unless grievances over speedup are settled. The company and the union reached agreement, and the union issued a press release about the settlement.

It was a simple statement of the facts, as follows: "Under the settlement some 500 grievances involving speedups and hazards on the assembly line were resolved by the company agreeing to increase the manpower by 60 additional workers, at the present line speed."

When this appeared in the Oct. 27 Oakland Tribune (The East Bay daily owned and controlled by the infamous and discredited former U.S. Senator Knowland) it read differently. Here is the Tribune version: "Under the settlement, some 60 grievances involving alleged speedups and hazards on the assembly line were resolved, a union spokesman said." (Emphasis added.)

This is deliberate distortion of the facts. Newspapers always like to make the big advertisers look good—and keep their readers misinformed.

I would like to explain in detail what really goes on inside an auto plant because there is a need to understand this problem which is a common condition in all basic manufacturing industry today.

### Speedup: the gold-plated sweatshop

GM Fremont auto workers are angry over rapidly deteriorating working conditions that resemble sweatshop conditions of "old pre-union days."

An arrogant management has instituted speedup conditions which intensify the workload on everyone here. This is done with a punitive set of arbitrary shop rules (41 in all) that must have been copied from Folsom



Commandos address Lebanese masses who poured out for funeral of slain Palestinian liberation fighters.

Prison and which are applied to workers and union representatives alike.

This heats up class war on the factory level and partly explains how the giant corporations extract profits from the workers, with an able assist by top union bureaucrats and outside cops.

The record of what actually happens can begin with the change-over for the 1970 model production, August, 1969.

At this time management arbitrarily decided to cut car production from 44 jobs per hour to 39, laying off 500 workers.

Then the time standards department ("efficiency" speedup artists) hands down its job make-up charts. The full impact of super-exploitation is driven home.

The motor line where I work previously had 43 workers and was cut down by eight. The assembly operations of these eight eliminated workers

was then distributed among the remaining 35.

This story is repeated on all the lines, body shop, hard trim, soft trim, frame, chassis, bumper line, cushion room, and main line.

The material department, although not on production, is also affected because stock chasers and forklift operators are given bigger areas to service.

Dock workers who unload box cars had their gangs cut from four to three. Crash wagons and maintenance crews were cut and given bigger areas to service.

No elite or privileged group is left untouched by this speedup. It even permeates into the white collar or salary strata. Specification clerks have their work load doubled. Coffee privileges are taken away from foremen who are hard pressed to stop or turn off the avalanche of repair work coming down

## Commandos assert control of Lebanese refugee camps

By ROBERT LANGSTON

It is still too early to estimate the consequences of the two-week war between the Lebanese government and both the Palestinian fedayeen and their Lebanese supporters. But it is clear that some significant shifts in the relationship of forces have occurred.

According to Dana Adams Schimdt in the Nov. 13 New York Times, 14 out of the 15 refugee camps located in Lebanon are now under Palestinian control. Schmidt described as typical the situation in the Bourj el Brajneh settlement:

"The Lebanese and Palestinian flags fly side by side. But the guard at the gate with a Kalashnikov automatic rifle is a Palestinian commando, and inside the camp, authority is entirely in the hands of the commandos.

"Within the limitations of space, military training is in progress in and around the camp, which is on the outskirts of Beirut.

"The Lebanese police station and the army intelligence office at the edge of the camp are vacant. The furniture in the army post has been smashed."

Schmidt goes on to describe the terrible squalor of the camp, and the valiant if pathetic efforts of the refugees to do something about it—planting a bush or a vine wherever there is space and covering every ledge with cans of flowers.

"It has been like this," he writes, "for more than two decades, or rather has been growing steadily worse. But now there is something new. The atmosphere



UE News

the assembly line as a result of the speedup.

### The foreman's job

Foremen jobs used to be secure, prestigious, authoritative, and ego gratifying for ambitious opportunists willing to submit and conform to the corporate dictates.

Now they soon find out that corporate success is a carefully created illusion to establish a divisive caste system among the workers. Along with the white-shirt status symbol comes the constant brainwashing sessions they must endure—after working hours, without pay.

These foremen are used as pawns by the corporation to impose speedup and enforce discipline upon a not too passive work force. Consequently, the foremen are caught between the two grinding, contradictory and antagonistic class forces; the workers on the one side, the corporation on the other. And as the struggle heats up the foreman's position becomes less tenable, less secure.

### They crack up

The lowly foremen are assailed, loudly insulted, and abused by their "superiors" when things don't go right. Usually this happens right on the line in front of the workers who in general have little respect for foremen anyway. He gets bawled out for not stopping the flood of repair work.

When the foreman then angrily tries to bring pressure on the workers, he often gets only broken tools, grievances, and more repair work.

Many foremen crack up under the strain, quit, go back to the line as workers.

The "foreman trainee program" is a constant reminder that foremen can always be replaced. This does not serve their peace of mind, nor give them a sense of security.

The trend towards centralization and specialization removes all decision-making powers and authority from the foremen. They are always held responsible for what goes wrong, reduced to the role of troubleshooters and patch-up men. In fact, even with their white shirts, they are "proletarianized," as are most salary personnel who find that their interests lie closer with the working class than with the upper management class.

One thing these low ranking salary employees come to realize is that whatever "benefits" they enjoy all derive from the hard-won benefits the workers fought for on the picket lines.

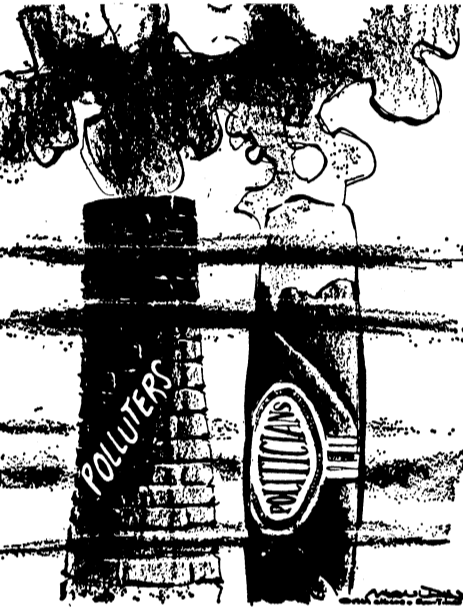
This is enough about the sorry plight of the lowly line foreman. In another article I will describe what the speedup system does to the workers, a more important side of factory life.

# The Great Society

**Souperisors** — In the olden days when someone didn't speak plainly they would be advised to take the marbles out of their mouth. Now a group of law students calling themselves SOUP (Students Opposed to Unfair Practices) are seeking court sanctions against Campbell's which had been caught putting marbles in its soup for TV commercials. The marbles served to keep the edible solids up top, suggesting there was a generous amount in the soup.

**Xmas cheer**—Among the toys available this year is a child's stove that produces a temperature of 660 degrees in the oven and 300 on the top. Or there's the bazooka gun that produces a noise loud enough to permanently affect a child's hearing.

**Style with safety** — Children's toys may not all be safe, but we've found a nice adult gift with an unusual safety feature. It's a \$45 "caviar cooler" made of lead and silver plate. The lead, we assume, reduces the danger of the caviar absorbing radiation fallout.



Silent Partners

**Shaggy dog story**—Long partial to frankfurters, we were a bit dismayed by recent revelations on the somewhat elastic federal definition of what constitutes "meat" in frankfurters. And we were definitely reminded of the old Russian proverb about not speaking of the rope in the home of the condemned man when we learned a patent has been issued for a hot dog shaped like a dog.

**Fashion note (I)**—When it was disclosed in 1952 that the then vice presidential aspirant, Richard Nixon, was taking monthly handouts from west coast oil magnates, he went on TV to explain that his wife was still wearing the same cloth coat they were married in. Apparently still thrift-conscious, Mrs. Nixon recently denied that she spent \$19,000 on clothing during her husband's first year in office. But maybe she couldn't be sure. One supplier said, "She never asked the cost. She's very ladylike."

**Fashion note (II)** — Mrs. John Mitchell, crusading wife of the attorney general, who has a particularly sharp eye out for the "liberal communists," has a blond mink coat to match her hair.

**The politicians speak**—New Yorkers laughed heartily when Democratic mayoral aspirant Mario Procaccino said fondly of a fellow politico, "He grows on you like cancer." But Nixon really did much better when he visited a veterans hospital and greeted some inmates wearing eye patches with the jocular observation, "All you need is one. You see too much anyway."

**Thought for the week**—"It comes as a surprise that judges own stocks. Under the American system we had thought it was all owned by widows and orphans." —Bill Vaughan in the *Long Island Press*.

— HARRY RING

## Reading for revolutionaries

# Basics of Marxism

**THE TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX.** By V. I. Lenin. 62 pages. 65 cents.

This is an excellent summary of the principal ideas of Karl Marx as seen by one of his greatest followers.

Lenin begins with a brief biography of Marx. He then takes up philosophic materialism in order to show how Marx's ideas were different from those of other materialists, such as Feuerbach, as well as the theories of the idealists.

This is followed by a discussion of dialectical materialism. Lenin shows how Marx adopted the dialectic method worked out by Hegel but stripped it of its idealism and injected into it his own materialist foundation. This greatly explains the methodological basis of Marxism.

The author next deals with the materialist conception of history. In this section Lenin included a quotation from Marx's preface to "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" that sums up briefly but eloquently the whole of this discovery which is so important an element in scientific socialism.

Lenin then goes on to discuss class struggles and their relation to political struggles. Of course Marx was not the first to observe that society was divided into classes and that these classes were in conflict with one another. What he did establish was where classes came from, why they conducted perpetual warfare, and what the roles of modern classes really were.

This is followed by a section on Marx's economic doctrine in which Lenin takes up some of the important categories that go to make up capitalist political economy, such as labor, value, and surplus value.

Lenin then proceeds to explain how the capitalist system will necessarily be superseded by socialism. He believes that the entire motion of modern capitalist society leads to this conclusion.

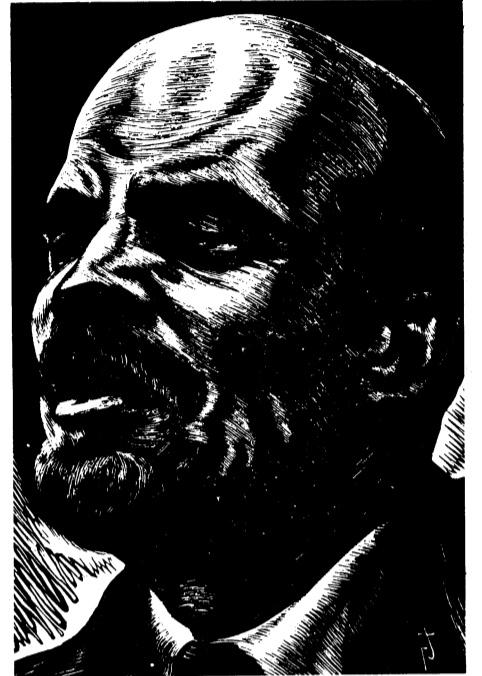
Finally Lenin deals with the tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat. In this section the role of unions is explained. What the relations of the workers' organizations should be with capitalist organizations is explained. It is interesting and instructive to note that in politics Marx, Engels and Lenin never advocated subordinating the workers to the capitalists. They always and under all circumstances fought for the independence of the workers' political movement from bourgeois ideology and independence of workers' organizations from those of the capitalists.

This is in marked contrast to the roles played for so many years by the various Communist and Social-Democratic parties. These reformist currents in the labor movement spend 90 percent or more of their time hustling votes for liberal capitalist candidates,

looking for "lesser-evil" candidates or other fakers who operate in the political sphere of every country.

A reading of Lenin's pamphlet should convince even the most skeptical that Marxist politics is solidly based and that the ideas associated with his name and that of Engels and Lenin are completely applicable in their broad outline in our own times.

—MILTON ALVIN



Lenin

## New pamphlets from Merit

**NEW YORK**—Merit Publishers announced publication of three new pamphlets: *Pioneers of Women's Liberation* by Joyce Cowley (16 pp., 25c); *Israel and the Arabs* (24 pp., 40c); *The Marxist Theory of the State* by Ernest Mandel (32 pp., 50c).

*Pioneers of Women's Liberation* is a brief, vivid history of the women's emancipation movement in the 19th and 20th centuries. It offers an insight into the personalities of the men and women who were leaders in the struggle.

*Israel and the Arabs* consists of readers' letters over the last three years to the editor of *The Militant*. This collection gives the varied and divergent views on the Mideast conflict, Zionism, the Arab revolution, and related matters.

*The Marxist Theory of the State* is an important analysis of the evolution and essence of state power by the noted scholar Ernest Mandel (author of *Marxist Economic Theory*). This pamphlet sharply defines the organic relationship between state force and the property system of the state, and demonstrates how the coercive power of the state is used to defend the interests of the ruling class.

## Meet Socialists in Your Area

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Hayward: YSA, Caryl Towner, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541. Tel: (415) 537-3653.

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

DeKalb: YSA and bookstore, 317 Wood St., Apt. B, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. (815) 758-1511.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Tel: (913) 843-2073.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

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## 40,000 in Puerto Rico stage antidraft march

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—Despite heavy rains and a government-created atmosphere of repression, some 40,000 *independistas* participated in the first national antidraft march held in Puerto Rico. The march, held Nov. 23, was sponsored by all pro-independence groups.

Puerto Rico, a U. S. colony since 1898, has suffered compulsory military service in the yankee armed forces since 1917, when U. S. citizenship was imposed on all Puerto Ricans, one month before the U. S. entered World War I.

Puerto Rican opposition to the draft started during World War II, continued during the Korean conflict, but really gained momentum with the Vietnam War. Hundreds of Puerto Rican youths have refused induction; a hundred of them have been indicted; and one has been sentenced to a one-year prison term and his case is being appealed.

The Nov. 23 march is viewed by *independista* leaders as a major step forward in Puerto Rico's antidraft movement; it is the first time that all seven *independista* organizations have battled jointly against a specific form of imperialist oppression.

Addressing the demonstrators at the end of the march, Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Pro-Independence

Movement (MPI), stressed that all groups must join to end the draft in Puerto Rico. He invited the other organizations to join MPI in organizing militant antidraft activities next February, specifically workers' and students' strikes, and open induction refusals.

The last words in Mari Bras' proposal were drowned out by prolonged applause by the crowd.

Puerto Rico's independence struggle has grown steadily during the last ten years and recently has been accelerated by the actions of a reactionary pro-statehood government, voted in a year ago.

Last Sept. 26, University of Puerto Rico students attacked the ROTC building on the Rio Piedras campus and partially burnt it. Then, on Nov. 7, in reaction to anti-ROTC student activities, right wing pro-statehood adults unsuccessfully attacked the university and, abetted by the police, partially burned MPI headquarters.

Forty MPI leaders and members were inside the headquarters during the attack; two of the leaders were shot. Outside, tens of pro-independence students who were demanding protection for MPI's headquarters were clubbed by police.



Photo by Claridad, San Juan

Antidraft march in San Juan

## Native Americans occupy Alcatraz Island

By BOB DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 3—Native Americans have reclaimed Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. On Nov. 20 a scouting party of 14 landed on the island at night, then left the next day to return with about a hundred young men and women, determined to stay on the island until their five demands were met.

The gist of the demands is a stand for self-determination, with the return of Alcatraz to the Indian people, to be controlled and administered solely by the Indian people. The government is further asked to fund the building of a cultural center and university on the island.

Support for the Indians' cause rapidly

developed in many sections of the community, reaching a peak on Thanksgiving day with hundreds of people contributing money and sending gifts of food to the island. This event was immensely popular and received widespread news coverage. But more significantly, support and solidarity developed among Native American communities throughout the country.

Indians came from reservations as far away as Washington and Oklahoma, including Chippewa, Sioux, Mohawk, Seminole, Cheyenne, Cree, and other nations. A democratic government which represents a united front of all the Indian nations was set up on the island.

One elderly Chumash expressed the

meaning of the action for Native Americans by telling the young people who had initiated the reclamation, "I want to thank you for making it possible in my lifetime, to see a rebirth of our culture, our religion, and our ways."

The boldness of this action has literally given the government a pain in the neck. Secretary of the Interior Hickel has deferred coming to Alcatraz, where the Indians say an open meeting must be held, because he says he has "a pinched nerve" in his neck.

Senator Geroge Murphy (R—Calif.) has fumed that "the take-over is illegal." He is worried that the thing might spread. "I would hope we wouldn't get a whole rash of these," he said, "because if you come right down to it some-

body's liable to claim the whole United States of America."

Local Government Administration Services chief, Thomas Hannon, claims the Indians are "trespassing . . . and ultimately we will have to take them off [the island]." But as of this writing the government was reluctant to act, and had removed the Coast Guard blockade of supplies.

On the other hand some members of the Board of Supervisors were responding favorably to the Indians' claim. There was speculation that this claim would get the supervisors off the hook, as the board is now being besieged by various entrepreneurial schemes for Alcatraz, now that it is no longer being used as a federal prison.

At a press conference held here Nov. 28, Richard Oakes, a 27-year-old Mohawk, and a member of the island government's central committee, announced that nearly 400 Indians were now on Alcatraz. Adam Nordwall, president of the United Council of American Indians, called the project a grand-scale attack on "the whole system that has foisted injustice on the American Indian. Alcatraz has become a symbol."

In response to a question about living conditions on 'the rock' Richard Oakes drew out the symbolism, stating that actually conditions there compare favorably with conditions on most reservations. "The island is isolated, has no fresh water, inadequate sanitation facilities, no oil or mineral rights, no industry, a high rate of unemployment, no health or educational facilities, the population exceeds the land base, the soil is nonproductive, and the population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others."

The Native Americans offer a treaty, whereby they "will purchase said Alcatraz Island for \$24 in glass beads and red cloth. . . . Our offer of \$1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white man is now paying California Indians for their land."

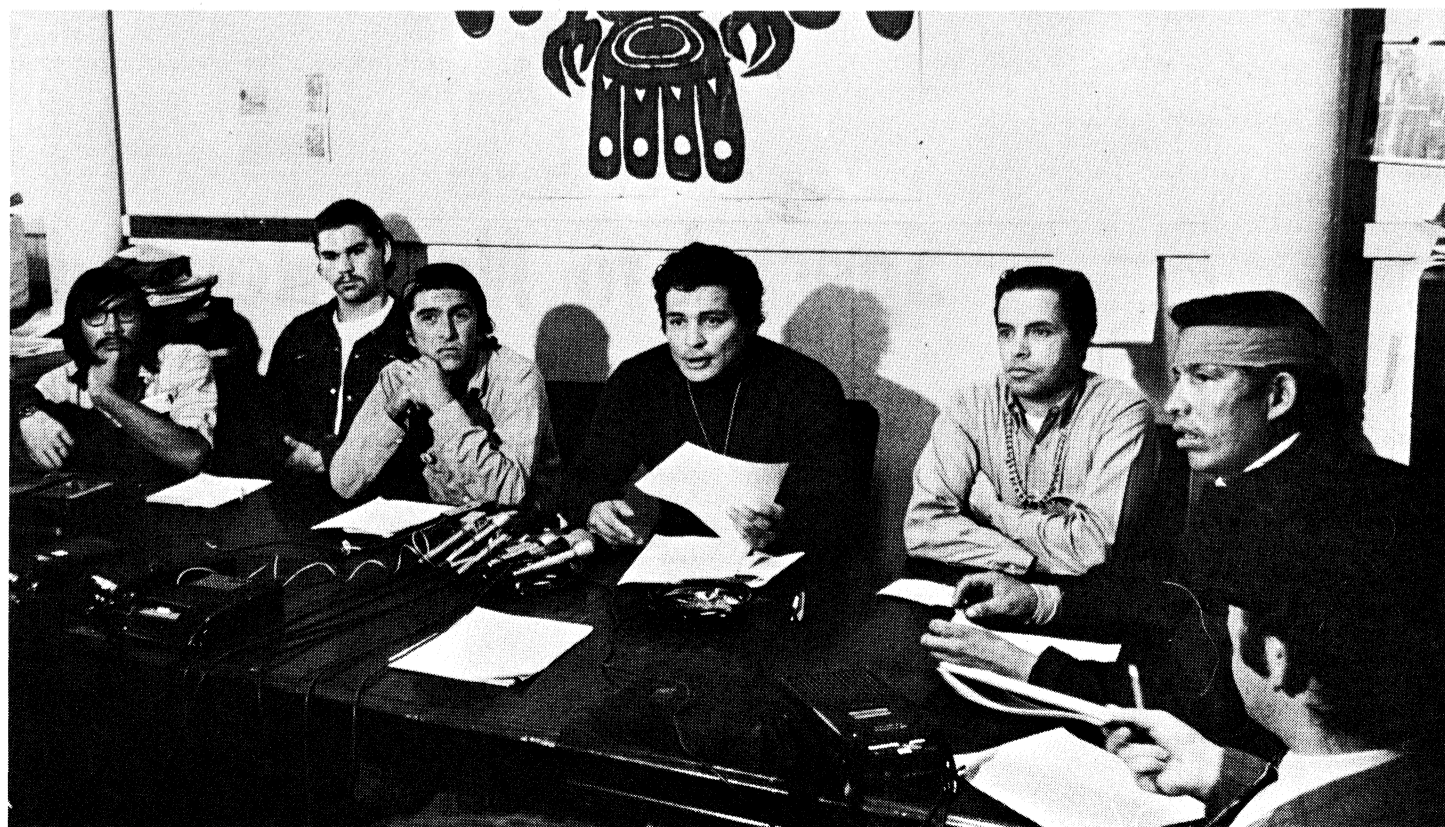


Photo by Ron Payne

Native Americans explain occupation to press in S. F.