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Socialist GI fights brass' harassment

By Doug Jenness

FORT BENNING, Ga., Nov. 3—"I've been restricted to my company area for the past 43 days with the exception of one day," Pfc. Ed Glover told me. We were sitting at a picnic table behind the battalion orderly building. It was dark, and we could hear the occasional laughs and shouts of GIs relaxing on a Sunday evening.

It had not been easy to get a chance to talk to Ed. When I arrived at Fort Benning about 2 p.m. today with three

For late developments in Glover case, see story page 12.

friends, we first looked for him in his barracks. A soldier there told us that we could find him over at the battalion orderly building. As we approached it, we saw Ed shoveling dirt into a wheelbarrow and wheeling it over to a bank where he was dumping it.

He told us that he was on an extra work detail for the rest of the afternoon. So we asked the soldier that was in charge of watching him if we could talk to him and he said he had orders "to keep Glover busy at least until dark."

My friends had to go back to Atlanta, but I stayed and waited until Ed was free, which was about 6:15. The first sergeant wouldn't permit me to go into Ed's barracks and talk to him there, so we sat down at a picnic table behind the orderly building.

Ed, who is a socialist and opponent of the war, began to tell me about the harassment that he has been suffering from the military brass. "For the first period of restriction from Sept. 21 to Oct. 24, I was required to sign in at the company orderly room once every hour. I was also ordered to sleep in the orderly room for seven days. There were no formal charges brought against me during this entire period."

After Ed's civilian attorney, Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, sent a telegram on Oct. 23 to the Adjutant General of the Army in the Pentagon, the restrictions were removed on Oct. 25.

However, on Oct. 26 he was ordered out on an extra work detail, and his weekend pass as well as the passes of some of his friends were pulled and are still pulled. Since this date there hasn't been a day that he hasn't been on restriction or had extra work details.

He was restricted Oct. 30 for allegedly

not filling out an inspection form, after returning a faulty jeep to the motor pool where he normally works.

For this, Ed was offered the choice of an Article 15 (nonjudicial punishment) or judicial proceedings. "If I had accepted the Article 15," he told me, "it would have indicated guilt, so I refused it. The matter has now been referred to the battalion commander." His first sergeant informally told him that he can expect to be court-martialed, but he hasn't received any formal notification yet.

The second charge for which Ed has also been threatened with court-martial was for wearing an "improper uniform." Ed had been wearing a friend's shirt because the restrictions on him made it impossible to get to the laundry.

I asked Ed what kind of work his extra hours of duty involved. He pointed to a pile of rocks and told me that on Friday, Nov. 1, he was ordered to carry them to one location and on Saturday, Nov. 2, was ordered to move them back to their original location.

A normal workday for Ed is 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on weekdays. With the extra work he has been working until 8 p.m. on many days and was forced to work six hours today, a day he would normally have off.

Most of the extra work involves strenuous shoveling and moving dirt and rocks. This had been particularly difficult for Ed, who has a bad back. "I have a curved spine due to weak ligaments. I am taking medication and doing exercises as prescribed by the physical-therapy department at the base hospital but have had little result at all."

He is also the only person in his company who is forced to stand at parade rest while waiting to see his first sergeant. On one occasion he stood at the position for 45 minutes, which was very painful to his back. Although he has complained

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Black youths framed in Ind.

By Robin Maisel

EVANSVILLE, Ind., Nov. 2 — The Evansville police are launching an all-out offensive against militant black youth in this southern Indiana town with a series of arrests of at least nine, and perhaps as many as 20, black youths on frame-up charges ranging from robbery and arson to assault and battery with intent to kill.

One of those arrested is Wayne Crowe, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a freshman at the University of Evansville. He is charged with second-degree arson for allegedly burning a lumber yard during a ghetto rebellion here last August.

Crowe has been released on \$500 bond pending a hearing Nov. 7.

The arrested youths range in age from 16 to 18 and are being held in the county jail if they are juveniles or in the city jail if they are 18. The eighteen-year-olds are being held under bonds of \$5,000 to \$10,000.

EVANSVILLE, Ind. Nov. 7 (BULLETIN) — At a preliminary hearing today, Wayne Crowe was charged with second-degree arson. New bond was set at \$2,000 and arraignment is set for Nov. 13. Further arrests are expected as the police prepare their frame-up against militant black youth. It still cannot be determined how many more will be arrested in this wave of police roundups.

The police have been grilling the prisoners in an attempt to force them to make statements which would allow the cops to arrest other Afro-Americans whom they want to railroad to jail. More arrests are expected.

Of those arrested so far, only Wayne Crowe is affiliated with an organization. In addition to being a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, he is a member of "BLACK"—the Black Liberation Action Committee of Kinsmen. BLACK is an organization of young Afro-Americans whose purpose is to promote ideas of black liberation and black identity.

On Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 30, detectives from the Evansville police went to Crowe's home. When Crowe returned from classes that evening, he received the message that the police had come looking for him. He went to the police station to



Wayne Crowe

find out what they wanted and was immediately arrested and charged with arson.

The next morning when bond was set, the city prosecutor demanded bond of \$2,000. Crowe's lawyer demanded a reduction to \$1,000, and the judge set bond at \$500, an indication of the flimsiness of the frame-up charges.

The police sweep of black youth has the aim of pinning as many unsolved cases as possible on the arrested youths, thereby solving two problems for the cops in one blow—clearing the black community of young militants and "cleaning up" a backlog of unsolved cases on the police blotter.

It is not yet clear how far the cops will try to go in their frame-up attempt against Crowe and the others. In trying to force statements from their captives to implicate more people in the alleged crimes, the cops are trying to arouse public support for a series of railroading trials against Afro-American youth aimed at pushing back the liberation struggle in Evansville.

With a population of nearly 150,000, Evansville is in the southernmost part of Indiana, just across the border from Kentucky.

Racism has long been virulent in the area. At one time it was regarded as a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan.

An all-out national battle will be needed to smash this frame-up of these young black liberation fighters.

Young Socialists set nat'l parley

By Kipp Dawson

Tariq Ali, principal organizer of the 100,000-strong London demonstration of Oct. 27, will be a featured speaker at the Young Socialist national convention in Chicago Thanksgiving weekend.

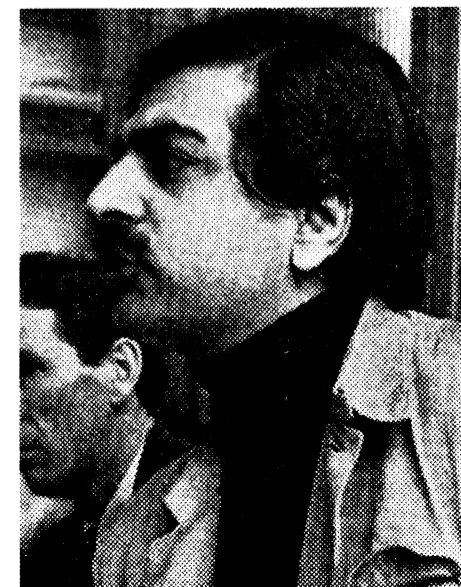
Ali is the widely known spokesman for the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which initiated the Oct. 27 action, and a leader of the revolutionary socialist youth movement in Britain. Born in Pakistan, he has been the target of furious red-baiting by the British government and press.

At the Young Socialist convention, Ali will participate in an international panel, along with a leader of the Mexican student strike, a former leader of the banned French JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth), and leaders of the German SDS (Socialist Student Federation) and the Canadian Young Socialist League-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The international panel will be one highlight of what promises to be the largest convention in the history of the young-socialist movement in this country. Letters and inquiries coming into the YSA national office indicate that hundreds of young socialists from around the country will attend.

The convention will culminate a year

of rapid growth and expansion of the young socialist movement in the U.S. Young socialists in more than 30 states have been the most active builders of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party election campaign, as well as activists and leaders in the antiwar movement, the black-liberation struggle,



Tariq Ali

and high-school and college student actions across the country.

During a 14-month election campaign the Young Socialist Alliance has doubled its size. An indication of the recent growth is the fact that 12 new locals were formed within the last few months.

The convention will review the current political situation in the United States and the world, and will set the course for the young-socialist movement for the coming months. Discussion will center around reports on "The New International Youth Radicalization," "The '68 Campaign and Beyond," "Socialist Youth Politics in America," "The Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination," and "Young Socialists and the Fight Against the War."

Local young-socialist conferences have been held all over the country in recent weeks, and discussion meetings around the draft resolutions being presented to the convention are being held in cities and on campuses from coast to coast. Young socialists from several cities are traveling now to new areas in surrounding states to build participation in the convention. Two Young Socialist Alliance national field secretaries, Dan Rosenshine and Carol Lipman, are

(Continued on page 8)



FOUR YEARS OF HIM. Cashing in on popular revulsion with the Democratic administration, Nixon squeaked in. More on this next week.

Socialist campaign mailbag

During the presidential election, the Socialist Workers nominees were able to bring their point of view to large numbers of people on radio and television. The following is a sampling of the letters received at the Socialist Workers national campaign headquarters on Nov. 4. Many were in response to Fred Halstead's Oct. 30 appearance on the widely viewed Joey Bishop Show. Paul Boutelle was on the same show Nov. 4, and a wide response to that appearance is anticipated.

Los Angeles, Calif.

The two major parties in this country have never presented all facets of the political scene and it seems that your organization could fill the gap and possibly provide a means of political expression for people like myself who are unsatisfied with the traditional choices.

While I have a myriad of questions for you, I feel that your party literature will answer most of them and make the answers to the others more meaningful to me.

I am in the Air Force, stationed at Lowry Air Force Base in Denver, Colorado, and I would be interested in finding out just how I can have a hand in the government I'll be serving for four years. I would appreciate it if you would send all the information you can about your party and the principles it is founded upon.

Columbus, Ga.

I voted Socialist Worker in this year's election. My acquaintance with the philosophy of the party and its position on issues domestic and foreign is, however, rather second hand. Consequently, I'd appreciate any literature, platforms and bibliographies you may be able to supply. You might also add me to any mailing list you have.

My vote was by absentee ballot this year since I'm a soldier stationed at Fort Benning here in Columbus. With every kind regard.

Little Rock, Ark.

I'm a seventeen-year-old high-school senior. My nationality is Negro.

On Oct. 30 I saw you on the Joey Bishop Show. I'm very interested in your party movement.

Judging from your interview with Mr. Bishop, you sound like a great thinker who isn't afraid to express his views and opinions. I admire you a great deal for that.

You also said your partner for Vice President was Negro. I would like to have information about both of you and your involvement in the party.

I don't have anything to contribute to your party. But I'm very interested in it. And I agree wholeheartedly on most of the issues you and Mr. Bishop discussed.

I know you're too busy to answer all your fan mail, but please try and reply to this letter.

New Iberia, La.

This morning I saw Mr. Paul Boutelle on the TV. He said all in five minutes that I have been trying to realize in 39 years.

This is a world of confusion and illusions. However I do feel that your organization has some solution to offer, so please send me any literature that might help to open my mind and eyes.

Minneapolis, Minn.

I'm interested in your party. I'm tired of hearing nothing but "Democrats" and "Republicans." I'm 23 years old, a veteran of Vietnam, and going to the University of Minnesota (first year). If your party offers someone and issues better than the major parties, you'll get my vote and support. But as it stands, I'm not voting at all.

I saw Mr. Paul Boutelle on the Dick Cavett Show and I really enjoyed what he put across. Also I'd be happy to distribute any literature you may wish to send, or campaign buttons. Please hurry the information I've requested, because



Halstead and Boutelle discuss with reporter at ill-fated New Politics conference last fall.

this country of ours is going down the drain, and it needs strong leaders—someone who'll do something for a change. Someone who's interested in the people more than their own salaries.

Batavia, Ill.

Saw Joey Bishop Show and Dick Cavett Show.

Dig.

Agree.

Enlighten, please.

Johnstown, Pa.

Heard you on television and agreed with a lot of your ideas. Especially on Vietnam. My boy was drafted against my protest. Please send me all reading material available on your party.

Arlington, Tex.

I would like to know if I could join or in any way assist your party. I feel that even though you're white, you're not the "ofay," as the blacks would put it. I'm not black, I'm brown or whichever color the Mexicans are. I would like to know how I could help the socialist movement, not because I'm a socialist or communist but because I feel that Mexican Americans are being exploited, and I feel that your movement could help me and help my people. Any suggestions you might have will be appreciated. I'm 17 and am a psychology major at the U of Texas at Arlington. Please refer me if you can to anyone in the Dallas-Fort Worth area who could assist me and other Mexicans. If, however, I misjudged you and you feel as the rest of the whites do, then I guess all that's been lost is one 10-cent stamp, and all I want to do is find the enemy.

Austin, Tex.

Can't afford much, but here's a fin for Halstead and Boutelle. Paul came over real good on an hour taped interview, 8-9 p.m. Oct. 31, on Houston CBS radio outlet KTRH. This is a 50,000-watt station that gets way down into the Lower Rio Grande Valley ("bracero" and produce-worker—read: serf—country).

Stony Brook, N. Y.

I saw you speak on the Joey Bishop Show Wednesday evening and found your remarks to be most truthful and accurate. I was truly elated to find a man so devoted to the cause which is the only solution to the garbage that confronts us today. The ignorant abuse you sustained from the studio audience proved beyond a doubt the desperate problem which faces society today. I will not bore you with any more of these statements. I would like to learn more about your cause. Please send me as much information as you can on the Socialist Workers Party so I may become involved in your movement.

Long Island City, N. Y.

May I have additional information about your organization? I would like to read your paper, *The Militant*. I believe strongly in your program, which is the best there is to offer. After listening to your candidate, there was little doubt in my mind of your sincerity in solving this nation's problems.

I am not old enough to vote, but if I were I'd vote for the Socialist Workers Party. By the time I'm 21—which will be in two years—I hope your party is

strong in gaining support and, above all, understanding of your program. I wish there were some way I could contribute, but I'm at the present moment in a cast and not able to get out of doors.

Rutland, Vt.

On October 30, when I viewed your appearance on the Joey Bishop Show, I was very much impressed by what you said. If the country's people would listen to what you and your party have to say instead of becoming insanely terrified of simply the words "communism" and "socialism," then progress toward a great country could be made rapidly. I would appreciate it very much if you could send me any or all literature you have on the work and aims of your party. Momentarily I'm sorry I can't help you since my husband, my son, and I are on welfare. However I morally support you, your party, and anyone else who patriotically and nonviolently strives to pull this country back to its feet.

Opelousas, La.

I want you to send me some information concerning the Socialist Workers Party. My reasons are some friends told me about Mr. Boutelle's speech at Louisiana State

University. I also had an opportunity to hear and see him on the Dick Cavett Show. I am a student at Southern University in Baton Rouge.

Sierra Vista, Ariz.

I am a GI and therefore realize that the statements you made concerning GIs on the Joey Bishop Show were true. I doubt very seriously if the private in the studio audience who gave you some lip had been anywhere (like Nam) or even knew anything more about it than what the lifers had fed him.

Hitchcock, Tex.

I would appreciate any information you can send me on the views of your party. I am interested in a change in America, and I believe your party can do this. Any information will be greatly appreciated.

Thomasville, N. C.

I have just seen Mr. Paul Boutelle on the Dick Cavett Show and after hearing all he said, and finding myself in complete agreement with him, I am interested in learning more about the Socialist Workers Party.

Enthusiastic wind-up rally in New York

NEW YORK—A crowd of 250 campaign supporters filled the Empire ballroom Nov. 3 for a wind-up rally of the Socialist Workers campaign in New York.

SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle and New York senatorial candidate Hedda Garza were enthusiastically applauded as they described the success of the campaign in building the revolutionary socialist movement in this country.

There was a collection of \$968.28 to help launch the on-going activities of the SWP.

Fred Halstead pointed to two movements in particular which supporters of the campaign must continue to build and participate in after Nov. 5: the growing antiwar movement among GIs and the struggle for black control of the schools in the black community, recently dramatized by the walk-out of 30,000 high-school students in Chicago.

Jack Rothschild, a spokesman for the Independents for Halstead and Boutelle, addressed himself to fellow independents in the audience. As socialists, he pointed out, their political responsibility did not end on election day. The problem, he said, is to determine how to continue to function and carry on meaningful activity on behalf of socialist goals.

The election experience, he asserted, demonstrated the opportunity for this. Universally, he said, he had found expressions of respect for the SWP among radical-minded intellectuals and others.

Like himself, he continued, many of the independents might not be in agreement with the SWP on every programmatic point and, because of their personal situations,

might not be able to assume membership in the party. But nevertheless, he said, they could make a significant contribution if they explored concrete activities to undertake. One such activity which he pointed to, was to marshal support for the GIs who are helping to surface antiwar sentiment in the Army.

Ralph Schoenman, secretary-general of the International War Crimes Tribunal, and secretary of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation also spoke. He began his speech with the comment that he was happy to take the platform because "if you want to participate in the world struggle for revolutionary socialism, there is no better organization than the Socialist Workers Party."

Other speakers included Young Socialist leader Larry Seigle and Bill O'Kain, a representative of the newly formed YSA local in Albany, N. Y., one of the 14 Young Socialist chapters formed as a result of the campaign.

Preceding the rally, a regional Young Socialist conference was held at Columbia University. The conference featured a panel on "GI Rights and the Fight Against the War," with Workers Defense League attorney Rowland Watts, who has been active in the defense of antiwar GIs, and Allen Myers, the socialist antiwar GI who was the victor in a recent Army case against him.

Participants in another panel on "Black Political Power and Action" included Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the SWP, Constance Hicks of the Black Caucus, and Muhammad Hunt of Brooklyn SNCC.

Similar conferences and rallies were held throughout the country during the final weeks of the campaign.

Czech occupation assailed by War Crimes Tribunal

Leading members issue statement

The declaration below has been issued by leading members of the International War Crimes Tribunal in relation to the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The tribunal, it will be recalled, carried out an extensive investigation of the actions of the U.S. government in Vietnam and laid its findings before the world in hearings held in Stockholm and Copenhagen last year. The verdict of the tribunal was that the U.S. was guilty of a series of war crimes, ranging from aggression to genocide.

The declaration on the events in Czechoslovakia was published in Paris on October 28. The members signing it were: Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Wolfgang Abendroth, Gunther Anders, Mehmet Ali Aybar, Simone de Beauvoir, Lawrence Daly, Wladimir Didijer, Dave Dellinger, Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Carl Oglesby, and Laurent Schwartz. Besides these twelve, James Baldwin, who could not attend the tribunal sessions in Stockholm and Copenhagen, associated himself with the statement.

This Tribunal was formed because great crimes were taking place against a small nation. The hearings of our Tribunal brought forth exhaustive evidence establishing that the United States had committed war crimes in Vietnam, including the crime of aggression.

The United States Government violated

Viet solidarity week is held at Wisconsin U

By Mike Welte

MADISON, Wis. — A wide range of activity marked the Oct. 21-27 International Vietnam Solidarity Week here. On Oct. 18, the first anniversary of a bloody police attack on students peacefully protesting the Dow Chemical Corporation recruitment on the University of Wisconsin campus here, the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam greeted the Boeing Aircraft Corporation with an antiwar literature table and "recruiting" center.

The next morning, a picket line met John Root, a state department apologist for U.S. foreign policy. Root declined a challenge to debate U.S. policy in Vietnam. At a political rally addressed by Sen. Eugene McCarthy, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam distributed an open letter to McCarthy demanding an explanation of his failure to support a "yes" vote on an antiwar referendum held here last April and of his failure to support immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and asking if he supported the right of U.S. servicemen to organize and march against the war.

Other events included a speech by Dick Gregory before a meeting of 650 students sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

At the end of the week, army reservists were leafleted with antiwar literature. The response was friendly, and the activists passing out the material talked to the soldiers about the war.

Especially significant this year was the breadth of support the actions received. The Wisconsin Student Association, the university's student government, made sure that every campus resident received a copy of the activity schedule. Sponsoring organizations included Associated Women Students, Black Peoples Alliance, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, High School Students for Social Justice, Independent Socialist Club, SDS Student Labor Committee, Teachers for a Peaceful Alternative, Young Socialists for Halstead and Boultelle, and Young Socialist Alliance.



Jean-Paul Sartre

the territory and sovereignty of the people of Vietnam to prevent them from effecting a social transformation which would remove U.S. control of Vietnamese political and economic life. When the people resisted, the United States' rulers despatched vast numbers of troops and began to employ experimental weapons, which proved to be genocidal in effect and by design.

Our Tribunal has its historic justification in the insistence that justice entails partiality to victims of crime and that the truth is partial when the evidence reveals an aggressor and a victim. We identified the victim, the aggressor and the social systems to which they adhered.

Now the leaders of a state which claims to oppose such aggression and to embody a social system which is the result of liberation from a criminal economic and political imperialism, have committed the crime of aggression against a small nation.

How can socialism liberate men from the capitalism which has kept them enslaved, if this socialism is without the free and full control by the people of their institutions? This would be to retreat to the deceit where in the form and content are at variance.

Our Tribunal showed that the form of representative institutions and of sovereign leadership in Saigon was an empty one. Our Tribunal exposed the reality of oppression imposed by puppets. It is because we regard capitalism as a system which committed genocide in order to preserve control that we can never accept criminal acts by those who call dictatorship and military aggression socialist democracy and popular will.

In its session in Copenhagen, the Tribunal decided that it would "limit its activities to the war in Vietnam as long as the aggression and the genocide against Vietnam did not cease."

But, as individuals, the following members of the Tribunal declare that the leaders of the Soviet Union violated the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak nation, disgraced themselves, aided by this act of aggression the cause of United States imperialism and exposed their own fear of a socialism in which the people control their political institutions to determine their policies and representatives.

We accuse the leaders of the Soviet Union of the war crime of aggression. We call on all democrats and socialists to support the right of the Czechoslovak people to pursue socialist goals by democratic means. This declaration includes, therefore, a demand for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops and a full restoration of Czechoslovak sovereignty.

We state our conviction that the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people is the same cause as that of the Czechoslovak people. The one struggles against world imperialism; the other for the fullest development of genuine socialist norms of democratic self-expression.

In acting to destroy this democratic movement, the Soviet leaders hinder the advance of the peoples of the world to socialism and that hindrance can only strengthen the very imperialism whose crimes we came together to denounce.

Puerto Rican victims backed at N.Y. meet

By Arthur Maglin

NEW YORK — A solidarity meeting with the 110 victims of U.S. colonial repression in Puerto Rico was held Nov. 1 at the Militant Labor Forum. The principal speaker was Florencio Merced of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI). He is a defendant in the mass trials scheduled to begin Nov. 12.

Twenty-five of the defendants are facing five charges stemming from a demonstration organized by FUPI at the University of Puerto Rico in Sept., 1967. The demonstration was attacked by police, and a taxi driver was killed and four students wounded when the police opened fire on the students. In another case, the other 85 are charged with refusing induction into the U.S. Army.

Florencio Merced outlined the way U.S. imperialism exploits Puerto Rico economically and how the direct colonial relationship proves to be more lucrative for U.S. business interests than the more indirect neocolonial relationship U.S. imperialism maintains with other sectors of Latin America.

Merced, who is a defendant in both the trial of the 85 and of the 25, denounced the drafting of Puerto Rican youth for the U.S. military machine, pointing out that the people of Puerto Rico have no say about whether they want their young men drafted for a foreign army. He said that resistance to the colonial draft is one of the biggest struggles of the revolutionary independence movement.

The solidarity meeting was sponsored by several groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), Students for a Democratic Society, High School Coalition, Iranian Students Association, Socialist Workers Party, Frente Unido de Liberacion Dominicana and Casa de las Americas.

Short statements expressing solidarity

Set firsthand Czech report by Schoenman

NEW YORK — An eyewitness report on recent events in Czechoslovakia will be given by Ralph Schoenman at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum here on Friday evening, Nov. 15.

Schoenman is secretary to Bertrand Russell and secretary-general of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which probed U.S. war crimes in Vietnam. He has witnessed revolutionary developments in many parts of the world.

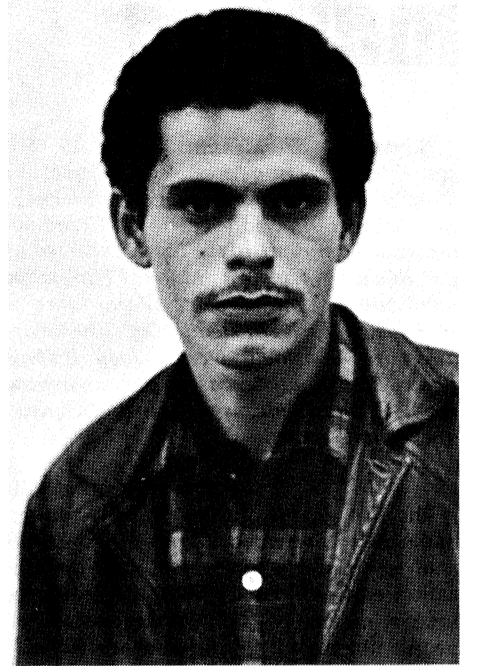
Schoenman was in Prague at the height of the recent demonstrations against Soviet occupation, demonstrations that were only partially reported in the press.

In addition he has had extensive conversations with leading Czech political personalities and has gained considerable knowledge of present political thinking in that country. He has also had discussions with numerous European political figures about the Czech issue, including leading individuals in the various European Communist parties.

The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m., Nov. 15, at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, at 18th St.



Ralph Schoenman



Florencio Merced

with the 110 defendants were made by speakers from several organizations. Juan Santana of the Frente Unido de Liberacion Dominicano related the repression now going on in Puerto Rico to the concurrent repression going on in the Dominican Republic.

A speaker from the Iranian Students Association pointed out that the imperialist repression is international, so the defense of its victims must be international also.

Derrick Morrison of the Young Socialist Alliance stressed the defense of political prisoners in the colonial world is not just a ritualistic exercise. He gave the example of Hugo Blanco, the revolutionary Peruvian peasant leader, who has been saved from death by an international campaign of defense.

Dixie Bayo of the New York MPI, the sister organization of the FUPI in Puerto Rico, announced a solidarity demonstration for the 110 defendants to be held at the Puerto Rico Commonwealth office, 322 West 45th St., on Tuesday, Nov. 12, from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

Expressions of solidarity were also presented by "Che" of the High School Coalition, a citywide coalition of black and Puerto Rican high-school students, and Steve Figueroa of the Young Puerto Ricans Confrontation Committee, a community organization in the Bronx.

SAN JUAN, P.R. — The trials of over 100 Puerto Rican induction refusers will begin on Nov. 12, with the trial of Jose del Carmen Garcia Miranda. Trial dates have been set in November and December for at least 15 resisters. It is expected that the trials will continue into February.

Trial dates were set after Judge Hiram Cancio, chief judge, U.S. District Court for Puerto Rico, issued a lengthy opinion denying all motions for dismissal and ruling that the Selective Service Act is applicable in Puerto Rico and that the grand jury is valid.

He ruled that the only evidence which can be submitted at the trials is whether the accused deliberately refused to submit to the draft, knowing it was required, or whether he unknowingly failed to submit.

The number of resisters indicted for induction refusal has just about doubled in the past four months. During the months ahead it is expected that many more will refuse to be inducted.

It is hoped that demonstrations in the United States will take notice of the season of draft trials. A suitable slogan might be: "End the blood tax in Puerto Rico."

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Why Johnson stopped bombing the North

By Joseph Hansen

(*Intercontinental Press*) — Lyndon Johnson's announcement Thursday, Oct. 31, that he had issued orders "that all air, naval and artillery bombardment of North Vietnam cease as of 8 a.m., Washington time, Friday morning," was intended primarily to affect the outcome of the presi-



Lyndon Johnson

dential election on the following Tuesday, Nov. 5.

The objective was to help give Humphrey the aura of a "peace" candidate and thus make him appear as a "lesser evil". . .

According to the press, Johnson made his speech after a secret agreement had been reached with the Paris representatives of the North Vietnamese government. The exact nature of the agreement was not disclosed.

Spokesmen of the Johnson administration said that Hanoi had agreed not to "abuse" the demilitarized zone or to launch a new offensive or serious attacks on the cities of South Vietnam. In return Johnson agreed to order a complete halt to bombing of North Vietnam. Besides this, delegations from both the National Liberation Front and the Saigon puppet regime would be admitted to the talks in Paris. According to this version, the mutual "concessions" now made it possible to engage in serious negotiations for a "peace" settlement.

It was to be noted, however, that the Pentagon was of the opinion that Johnson's order made little real change in the situation.

"Most American military men feel that the allies scored a slight edge in the bombing halt agreement," Douglas Robinson reported from Saigon in the Nov. 2 *New York Times*. "Hardly any think there has been an allied loss.

"It's the same old war only under new

Mexican student leader opens U.S. college tour

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK — Ricardo de la Luz, a member of the National Strike Committee of the students in Mexico City, announced a tour of colleges on the East Coast at a press conference here Nov. 4. De la Luz said he hoped to gain American student support and to break down the blanket press censorship surrounding the struggle in Mexico.

Also present at the press conference were two eyewitnesses of the notorious Oct. 2 Tlatelolco massacre, where Mexican police opened machine-gun fire on a peaceful demonstration, killing as many as 300. The witnesses, who narrowly escaped the crossfire, are French reporters for the Belgian magazine *Le Point*, Dominique Izoard and Jean-Claude Leveque.

They gave a vivid account of the evening surprise attack, fully substantiating the horrible atrocities previously reported in *The Militant*. (See *The Militant*, Oct. 25.)

Leveque was forced to lie trapped on a balcony directly beneath the machine gunners for one hour of continuous fire. He was grazed by a bullet; the well-known Italian correspondent Oriana Fallaci, lying right next to Leveque, was severely wounded.

De la Luz' tour is being sponsored by the

United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. In Mexico alone, de la Luz calculated, there are over 4,500 political prisoners.

He estimated that about 1,500 students are still being held from the massive repression and arrests of September and October. Other prisoners have been held for one and two years without trial; some have been jailed for over a decade, long beyond the end of their "legal" sentences.

Won concessions

De la Luz said that under the pressure of near-unanimous outrage of the Mexican people at the Tlatelolco attack, the government had been forced to make some concessions, releasing some of the prisoners.

He said, however, that none of the arrested student leaders have been released. They are being charged with as many as 15 federal and civil crimes each, facing cumulative imprisonments of up to 140 years. Lawyers have not been allowed to talk to their clients.

De la Luz said that the popular support for the 150,000 striking students in Mexico City could be gauged by the massive turnout of the Aug. 27 demonstration. There were 700,000 in that gigantic march, including peasant and worker delegations.

In addition to six demands which the National Strike Committee put to the Mexican government at the start of its protests, de la Luz said that three new demands had been made which the government must meet before the students would enter negotiations.

The three new demands were: cessation of all repressions; removal of all troops occupying schools; and the release of those imprisoned since Sept. 18. De la Luz reported that the government had already responded by withdrawing troops from all but one vocational high school.

The students put first and foremost the demand of freedom for all political prisoners and the repeal of laws which allow the government to make political arrests with no trials and to hold prisoners indefinitely. De la Luz believed that the anti-democratic regime could not grant these democratic rights.

Further information on de la Luz' tour and the USLA Justice Committee can be obtained by writing to *USLA Reporter*, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y., 10001.

Peruvian prisoners endangered

The recent coup in Peru has renewed fears for the lives of the political prisoners there as well as for the safety of the students and workers who are continuing the resistance. Their precarious position is indicated by the following message from the Peruvian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, the nonpartisan defense group which has played a key role in mobilizing support for Hugo Blanco and many other Peruvian political prisoners.

We hope that *Militant* readers will respond to this call.

* * *

Lima, Peru

URGENT:

The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, Lima, Peru, calls on everyone to send immediate cables, messages and petitions demanding guarantees for the life and security of the political prisoners, the inviolability of the universities, the free functioning of unions and workers' organizations, and respect for the human rights of the Peruvian people.

The communications should be sent to General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio de Gobierno, Lima, Peru, and to Supreme Court of Military Justice, Lima, Peru, with copies to the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

rules,' one high-ranking officer said."

William Beecher reported from Washington in the same issue of the *Times*:

"The United States intends to triple the level of bombing along the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos in an effort to compensate for the effects of the cessation of air strikes against North Vietnam, high Administration officials disclosed today.

"This is understood to be one of the principal reasons behind the willingness of top American military commanders to endorse President Johnson's decision to cease all raids against the north."

The truth is that a considerable sector of the American capitalist class have long held that the policy of bombing North Vietnam was a mistake to begin with and that it has become increasingly unproductive. By causing resistance in North Vietnam to stiffen, the bombing policy stood in the way of neutralizing Hanoi, making it virtually impossible to isolate and crush the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam. The bombing of North Vietnam, according to this view, made it especially difficult for Moscow to employ its "good offices" in maintaining the status quo against the growing strength of the Vietnamese revolution and the international antiwar movement.

Because of the secrecy surrounding the agreement it is necessary to reserve judgment on its nature. The Kremlin's role is disquieting. Peter Grose hints in the Nov. 3 *New York Times* that Johnson welcomed the intervention of Moscow. "Nor can it [the administration] detail the diplomatic

maneuvering involved, say, by the Soviet Union, whose Ambassador was making frequent unannounced visits to Rusk during the last crucial days when the Administration says Hanoi was balking at the final agreement."

Brezhnev-Kosygin, through their control of material aid to North Vietnam, were, of course, in position to bring heavy pressure to bear against Hanoi.

Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky of the puppet Saigon government have indicated their opposition to stopping the bombing. Thieu told the National Assembly Nov. 2 that he would boycott the Paris talks. Cao Ky was reported to have followed up by saying that "we can trust the Americans no longer—they are just a band of crooks." While Kyspoke, Thieu was reported to have "just laughed and said nothing."

Thieu's speech put the Johnson administration in an "embarrassing position," according to unnamed "officials." No great obstacles, however, stand in the way of prompt relief for this kind of embarrassment. Grease on the palms does it.

As for the American people and the American soldiers, who want an end to the war now, they will hardly be put off by a maneuver intended to lull and deceive them and to make it possible to escalate the conflict in South Vietnam while reducing the military pressure in the north.

It is more likely that Johnson's order to halt the bombing will add fresh imperiousness to the universal demand: "Withdraw the U. S. troops now!"

Zionist stand refuted by Arab student

In recent issues we have published various letters disagreeing with our stand in support of the Arab revolution and our opposition to the Israeli government and its pro-imperialist policies.

We are happy to publish here an Arab view of the Mideast situation.

Chicago, Ill.

The recent publicity given to the Palestine Arab Liberation movement in your columns and the irate response from two of your readers underline a very interesting phenomenon: the dilemma of Jewish socialists when faced with the Herculean task of defending the fascist policies of Israel.

Your readers are undoubtedly aware of the forceful dispossession of 1.5 million Arabs from their homes by the Israeli blitzkrieg in 1948 and again in 1967. But they may not know that discrimination is enshrined in Israel's very constitution, which stipulates that any Jew anywhere can become an Israeli as soon as he sets foot on the soil of the state but Palestinian Arabs who have lived there for almost two millenia are not allowed to be repatriated. It is to achieve this elemental right of self-determination that the Arabs of Palestine are now organizing their movement of liberation.

Socialists throughout the world, Jews and

non-Jews alike, must make common cause with the Palestine Arabs to fight a state which: 1) denies the basic right of self-determination; 2) supports American intervention in Vietnam and sent a leading Israeli fascist, Gen. Dayan, in 1966 to study the antiguerrilla tactics of the American Army in Vietnam; 3) has supported South Africa in the United Nations and dealt in South African diamonds; 4) used Napalm supplied by Dow Chemical against civilian Arab populations in the 1967 war; 5) joined with Britain and France in attacking Egypt in 1956; 6) vigorously opposed movements of liberation in Algeria and Cuba; and 7) recently entertained a conference of Jewish millionaires to study ways and means of western capitalist investment in its expansionist policies. The ties binding Israel to western capitalism and imperialism are openly expressed by Israeli leaders themselves.

Your paper's espousal of the Palestine Arab cause was an outstanding example of courage and perspicacity. Palestine must be created anew, and socialists throughout the world must help to reshape this fascist enclave in the heart of the Arab world.

Yours truly,
Tarif Khalidi

President, Organization of Arab Students,
Greater Chicago Chapter

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Where Guardian went wrong on elect

By Barry Sheppard

The position of the "independent radical newsweekly," the *Guardian*, on the 1968 elections was expressed in a front-page editorial Oct. 26. "The *Guardian* does not support any candidate for President of the United States," the editors say. "And, even though there are a number of radicals running for this and lesser office Nov. 5 as protest candidates, we find it impossible to support anyone for any elected office within the government of International Murder Incorporated."

The editorial goes on to present arguments against radicals or revolutionaries participating in the 1968 elections. It is somewhat difficult to discuss the *Guardian* position, because a careful reading of the editorial leaves the reader somewhat confused.

For example, the phrase quoted above about "International Murder Incorporated" seems to indicate that it is wrong to support anyone for any elected office because of the reactionary nature of the U. S. government. Logically, this would apply not only in this election, but as long as the present government exists.

But the *Guardian* editors do not follow their reasoning to that conclusion. They immediately add that they agree with Lenin on combining electoral or parliamentary activity with extraparliamentary action. But they add, "we also agree with Lenin that 'it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms.' This is one of those times." While distorting Lenin's views, the *Guardian* concedes that at some point it might be useful to engage in electoral activity. When? Under what circumstances?

"A charade"

Not this year, the *Guardian* tells us, and adds, "1968 is the left's year to expose electoral politics as a charade conducted by the ruling class to perpetuate the facade of democratic participation in the governing process. If we are ever to reach the American people with our radical politics, this stultifying facade must first be broken."

ISR features Mandel talk on workers

After the Socialist Scholars Conference this fall, *Guardian* correspondent Carl Davidson voiced the feelings of many who attended when he wrote that it was the contribution of Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel which made the gathering worthwhile.

Now, for the first time, the text of the paper on "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism" presented by Mandel at the conference is available in the November-December issue of the *International Socialist Review*.

In this paper Mandel answers the question, "Is it true that capitalism in the post-second-world-war period differs fundamentally from the capitalism Marx analyzed in the 19th century?" Mandel discusses the role of the working class in bringing about revolutionary change and analyzes the changes occurring within the working class in the context of modern imperialism.

Other articles in the current issue of the *International Socialist Review* also deal with some of the fundamental questions being raised in the radical movement today. There is an article by Dick Roberts on "The Need For a Leninist Party," which takes up several new-left discussions of the Leninist party, in particular the recent *Guardian* series by Greg Calvert and Carol Neiman.

An article on "Herbert Marcuse and Marxism" by Robert Langston discusses Marcuse's methodology and suggests that his pessimistic prognosis about the potential of the working-class revolution reflects a fundamental departure from Marxist methodology.

Transitional societies in the development of man from the pleistocene age to the 20th century are discussed in another article by Marxist scholar George Novack.

The *International Socialist Review* may be obtained for 50 cents by writing to International Socialist Review, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.



V. I. Lenin

We fail to understand how this is possible if the left sanctifies the elections by its participation."

Later the editorial says, "This is not to say we reject parliamentary forms at all times. At some stage it may well be advantageous for the left to engage in elections as one of its activities. But such a happenstance presupposes that the left can gain something by its participation. This in turn presupposes a broad-based radical party which combines electoral work with other forms of struggle . . ."

We are left with this advice: Revolutionists shouldn't participate in electoral activity until we have built a "broad-based radical party." It would seem logical that in order to build a broad-based party, we would have to first reach at least a significant minority of the American people, and convince quite a number of those. But, we can't hope to even reach the American people until we "break the stultifying facade of electoral politics." The way to break this facade is to not participate in the elections.

In other words, after the illusions of the American people in electoral politics have been dispelled, we will then be able to reach them, and then we can build a broad-based party—and then we will participate in the elections!

Clearly, the *Guardian* editorial is not a serious analysis or thought-out position, but a conglomeration of phrases and arguments light-mindedly thrown together. But since their position of not voting was the same as that officially taken by the national leaders of SDS and others, it is useful to discuss their main arguments on their own merits, even though the *Guardian* has combined them into an incomprehensible whole.

To begin with, the *Guardian* editors imply that their stand is consistent with Lenin's views. This is a gross distortion. Lenin viewed mass actions such as strikes and demonstrations as more important than electoral activity, but he believed that it was also essential that revolutionaries participate in the capitalist elections, especially to counter the illusions of the masses about capitalism and the capitalist electoral system.

Lenin's view

Lenin devoted a whole chapter of his work, *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, to refuting the ultralefts of his day who were opposed in principle to revolutionaries participating in capitalist elections or in capitalist legislatures if elected.

In arguing with some German Communists who held that parliamentarism had been "bypassed," Lenin pointed out: "Parliamentarism, of course, is 'politically obsolete' for the Communists in Germany; but—and that is the whole point—we must not regard what is obsolete for us as being obsolete for the masses . . . Even if not 'millions' and 'legions' but only a fairly large minority of industrial workers follow the Catholic priests and rural workers the landlords and kulaks [Lenin is referring to specific conditions in Germany at the time]—it undoubtedly follows that parli-

amentarism in Germany is *not yet* politically obsolete, that participation in parliamentary elections and in the struggle on the platform of parliament is *obligatory* for the party of the revolutionary proletariat *precisely* for the purpose of educating the backward strata of *its own class* . . . As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you *must* work inside them, *precisely* because there you will still find workers who are stupefied. . . . Otherwise you risk becoming mere babblers."

Wrong in '06

In the same chapter, Lenin explains that the Russian Bolsheviks were *wrong* to have boycotted the 1906 elections for the reactionary Czarist pseudoparliament. He explained that the Bolsheviks correctly used the boycott tactic during the 1905 revolution, when the boycott "succeeded in preventing the convocation of a reactionary parliament by a reactionary government in a situation in which extraparliamentary, revolutionary mass action (strikes in particular) was growing with exceptional rapidity, when not a single stratum of the proletariat and the peasantry could support the reactionary government in any way, when the revolutionary proletariat was acquiring influence over the broad, backward masses by means of the strike struggle and the agrarian movement. It is quite obvious that *this* experience is not applicable to present-day European conditions." Nor to present-day American conditions, it might be added. Not even the *Guardian* editors, we assume, believe their abstention from the elections succeeded in preventing the convocation of the next Congress.

Lenin's essential idea here is completely applicable to the situation in the U.S. today. The *Guardian's* main reason for abstaining from the elections, they say, is to "expose electoral politics as a charade."

Real illusion

Certainly it is true that the masses of American people do have deep illusions about the electoral system, capitalist politics and capitalism itself. But it is *just because* of those illusions that revolutionaries *should* participate in the elections, to *take advantage* of the facade of democracy to reach many people who would not otherwise be reached with an alternative to the capitalist system and to the capitalist fraud being perpetrated upon them.

The Socialist Workers Party presented just such an electoral alternative in 1968 and as a result was heard by hundreds of thousands of people it could never have talked to if it had sat on the sidelines without presenting any candidates.

Because the illusions of *almost all* people in this country run so deep, they tend to dismiss movements which do not participate in the elections as not being serious, as not seriously intending to win political power. That's a bad image for revolutionists to cultivate.

For most people, election time means

Withdrawal poll carries in Dearborn

There has been scant mention in the press of one of the most significant returns to come in on election day. This was the referendum vote of the majority of the citizens of Dearborn, Mich., in favor of a resolution for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The vote was 19,557 for withdrawal and 14,676 against.

The referendum proposition stated: "Are you in favor of an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam so that the people of Vietnam can settle their own problems?"

Just two years ago a similar resolution in Dearborn was defeated 20,626 to 14,134.

The Dearborn vote reflected clearly the broad antiwar sentiment which went unrecorded in an election where all the major candidates were prowar.

a heightened interest in politics. It is a good time for revolutionaries to reach people, but this can be done on a large scale only if the revolutionaries enter the electoral arena, where the attention of the masses is focused.

The *Guardian* asserts that for the left to participate in the elections would "sanctify" them. This is absurd. (It also contradicts the *Guardian's* stand that it's OK to participate in some elections, since revolutionaries don't want to "sanctify" any capitalist elections.)

"Desanctify"

But how does sitting on the sidelines, where the people don't even know what you think, help "desanctify" the elections? Revolutionary participants in the elections can use that forum to expose the essentially fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and to oppose and expose the capitalist parties and their candidates.

What is decisive is *how* you participate in elections. The *Guardian's* whole approach is to separate and counterpose electoral activity and extraparliamentary action. But, for revolutionaries, electoral activity is not a substitute for mass action. The two forms of struggle must be combined.

For example, in this election Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle utilized the campaign platforms provided them to defend, support and build the antiwar and black-power movements.

On a national and local level, the SWP candidates used their campaign to help build the recent October demonstrations that succeeded in bringing about a thousand antiwar GIs into the antiwar actions.

Another of numerous examples has been the leadership role played in Berkeley campus actions by Peter Camejo while campaigning for the U.S. Senate on the SWP ticket.

The SWP also used the electoral platform to educate about the nature of the capitalist parties, the imperialist nature of the Vietnam war, the just and progressive character of the demand that black people control their own communities, and about many other issues, including the nature of the fraud the capitalist elections actually are.

Revolutionists enter the electoral arena to raise demands that expose capitalism and organize people in struggle against it. Two such demands raised by the SWP in this campaign were for immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and for black control of the black community.

An abdication

By refusing to enter the capitalist elections out of fear of "sanctifying" them, you simply turn the whole electoral field over to the capitalists, so they can that much more easily perpetrate their con game and fool the people into thinking that capitalist rule is really democratic. It is much better for revolutionists to enter the electoral field in order to expose capitalist misrule and bring the revolutionary alternative to as many people as possible.

There is another problem involved here. The key question in American politics at this point is not the illusion that the "ruling class can be voted out of power," which the *Guardian* editorial intimates. There are much deeper and more immediate illusions which must be dispelled before we struggle with that one among the mass of American people.

(Of course, insofar as that illusion exists among those who consider themselves socialists or revolutionaries, it must be fought. And it is a fact that many radical-minded people are influenced by the reformist proposition that there is a "parliamentary road" to socialism. But simple abstention from the electoral process doesn't educate such people. It only leaves them more vulnerable to those, like the Communist Party, who promote the "lesser evil" game. If the genuine left doesn't provide an electoral alternative, such people are far more likely to go along with such a sorry substitute.)

But among the mass of the American people—among the workers and black people—the key illusion that must be combated is not that the ruling class can be voted out of power, but the illusion that their problems can be solved within the framework of the present system and through one or another of the capitalist parties.

elections

Educational vehicle

The SWP used its campaign as an educational vehicle to explain that both major parties serve the interests of the ruling rich and that black people and working people should break from them and form their own independent parties. At the same time, the Socialist Workers ticket served as a concrete pole of attraction on the electoral arena for those who have already come to understand this need.

Too small?

Another argument raised by the *Guardian* is that campaigns like the SWP campaign are too small. "What can electoral action demonstrate about the left, but its weakness?" they ask. (This theme of weakness, hopelessness and a certain lack of optimism runs through the whole *Guardian* editorial, which itself is entitled, "The election will come and go—will we?")

If radicals entered the 1968 elections with any pretense or claim that they would get big votes, then indeed they would demonstrate their weakness—political as well as numerical. This is what the Peace and Freedom polyglot of organizations and tendencies expected. Consequently, they watered down their program and failed to carry out a *revolutionary* election campaign, especially on the crucial issues of the nature of capitalism and the capitalist parties.

The SWP understood its limited resources and set itself a different aim. While using every opportunity afforded by the campaign, such as free TV time, to reach as wide an audience as possible, the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance concentrated on convincing mainly radicalizing young people. For the facts are, *most radicals* have illusions about capitalist politics.

It's in this context that the *Guardian* position itself must actually be measured. Obviously, the *Guardian* was not seriously suggesting that its proposal to its readers—that they don't vote—was a real campaign to tear the mask of illusion in electoral politics from the eyes of the American people. They weren't actually proposing the utopian idea of organizing a mass boycott of the elections. Their editorial was directed to *radicals*.

Ducks issue

The hard fact is, that regardless of intent the *Guardian's* abstention position only served the purpose of dodging the real issue—whom to support in the elections, the revolutionists or the reformists? By ducking that issue, by trying to put the revolutionists and the reformists in the same bag, the *Guardian* only gave aid and comfort to the reformists.

What it comes down to is that those who reject all forms of electoral opposition to the capitalist parties simply open the door for the acceptance of one or another of them. The *Guardian* stand needlessly gave ammunition to those within the movement who do essentially cover up the fraud of the elections.

For example, CP hack Mike Davidow immediately seized on the obvious weaknesses in the *Guardian* stand to bolster his treacherous arguments for supporting Democrat Paul O'Dwyer.

The SWP campaign was a first-class example of how revolutionaries can participate in capitalist elections to further their principles and activities.

It certainly did far more than the abstentionist *Guardian* in dispelling illusions among many young people about the capitalist system and its parties.

It was particularly effective, for example, in exposing the truth about the McCarthy campaign, which was tailored precisely to suck young people into capitalist politics.

As a result of the SWP campaign, thousands of young radicals have been exposed to revolutionary arguments, and hundreds have joined the Young Socialist Alliance. The revolutionary socialist movement won new members in many new cities and regions, and 12 new chapters of the YSA were formed. The final tabulation of these important gains for socialism will come not at the polls but on Thanksgiving weekend, when the national convention of the YSA takes stock of the much more powerful movement it has become through its support of the SWP election campaign.



AT RALLY OF 30,000. Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speaking at antiwar demonstration in San Francisco last April 27. SWP campaign helped both to build antiwar actions and to win antiwar activists to socialist politics.

O'Dwyer finishes off with LBJ on Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

New York senatorial candidate Paul O'Dwyer's eleventh hour support for Hubert Humphrey revealed just how seriously one should take such a politician's contention that he is "opening a new path" in the Democratic Party.

O'Dwyer won significant support for his campaign among people opposed to the war by refusing to endorse Humphrey because of the administration's prowar policies. Johnson's order to halt the bombing provided the pretext for O'Dwyer's turnabout.

"I believe," O'Dwyer stated, "the President's announcement last night indicates the administration has finally chosen to alter its discredited policies in Vietnam and to seek a genuine political settlement of the war."

This is simply not true. Johnson's bombing halt was an attempt to manipulate the opposition to the war; it was a last-ditch attempt to save Humphrey's campaign, and it almost worked.

By asserting that it meant the administration had changed its basic policy and was now seeking "a genuine political settlement" in Vietnam, O'Dwyer was deliberate-

ly and cynically joining in the move to gull the antiwar forces into believing a tactical war move was really a genuine peace move. He was helping to paint the Democratic hawk as a dove. And, it was hoped, more people would take his word for it than they would Johnson's or Humphrey's.

But the bipartisan aim in Vietnam remains today exactly what it was when John Kennedy sent the first GIs to aid Ngo Dinh Diem seven years ago. That is to impose a procapitalist regime on the South Vietnamese people by military means.

Anyone who doubts this need only be reminded that the same day bombing of North Vietnam was stopped, bombing of South Vietnam and Laos was increased. A U.S. Air Force pilot was quoted last week as saying "there isn't anything more to bomb up there."

Such facts apparently didn't bother O'Dwyer. The point of his campaign was to dupe young people into believing they can achieve peace in Vietnam by working in the Democratic Party. He seems to think it worked.

Edward Burks wrote in the *New York Times* Nov. 2, "Asked whether his youthful supporters were disillusioned by his decision, Mr. O'Dwyer said, 'I was deeply concerned about this.'

"But he said that checks with his young staff people and with others showed that the young people were understanding, realistic 'and much more mature than we gave them credit for.'"

We suspect it didn't work. Many former campaigners for Eugene McCarthy have joined the ranks of young socialists around the nation just in the last month. There is every reason to believe former O'Dwyer supporters will soon follow.

CP backs O'Dwyer down to end

Throughout the New York election campaign, the Communist Party was officially endorsing Herman Ferguson, black Freedom and Peace candidate for U.S. senator. But the *Daily World*, voice of the CP, did little to cover over the fact that this was a cynical piece of fiction, and the party's heart was really with the Democrat Paul O'Dwyer.

Thus, on Nov. 2, after O'Dwyer endorsed Humphrey, Mike Davidow polemicized against the *Guardian's* no-vote stand because "it would include independent peace and freedom candidates like Dick Gregory, and Democrats like Paul O'Dwyer . . ."



SUPPORT FOR GIs. Ron Wolin of Veterans of Peace in Vietnam addresses Nov. 2 New York rally against the war and Humphrey-Nixon-Wallace prowar ticket. Rally and demonstration were sponsored by Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. Vets for Peace played a major role in building action and found considerable support for their pro-GI orientation.

N.Y. school shutdown stalemate continues

The situation in the New York City United Federation of Teachers' strike against decentralization remains stalemated. So far Albert Shanker and his UFT executive board stand pat in their demand for complete and total destruction of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental community-controlled school system.

On Nov. 5 Gov. Rockefeller turned down Shanker's demand that he call a special session of the lame-duck state legislature to "restructure" the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. Rockefeller said he wanted to give Mayor Lindsay, the city's central school board, and state education commissioner James Allen more time to settle the dispute.

Late last week two events took place. The state commissioner offered a proposal which would have put the disputed district under a trusteeship, and kept district administrator Rhody McCoy and the seven principals at their jobs if they agreed to submit to discipline from the trustees. McCoy immediately announced that his people would accept such a trusteeship. Shanker was even quicker with his rejection of the proposition.

Ousted UFT vice president John O'Neil, relieved from his paid staff job for supporting decentralization, appealed to the national president of the American Federation of Teachers, David Selden, to remove Albert Shanker from his post as New York UFT president. Selden rejected the O'Neil appeal.

Meanwhile irate parents are organizing themselves into "concerned parents" groups and opening schools themselves, by means considered "illegal" by most city officials. Since the school custodians went out on strike on Oct. 25, those schools which had been operating with nonstriking teachers and parent aides have been closed. I heard the other day that the parents in our neighborhood had paid a locksmith \$60 to pick the lock on the grade-school door and change the tumblers. Other parents are sleeping in, to make sure the schools will open in the morning.

Still other parents are transferring their children to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district. Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district board, said 150 children from outside the area have already been enrolled, most of them black or Puerto Rican, but a few of them white.

Children come from as far away as Staten Island. The parents have chartered a bus to bring the children in. So do the parents of 50 children from the Sea Gate section of Brooklyn. One woman drives her daughter in from Kew Gardens, Queens, each day.

One couple from Coney Island send their three children in by chartered bus, along with 50 other children. They pay \$60 a day for the bus, paid for by contributions. The kids like the school and one mother, a former English teacher, said, "It's the first time I saw a school I was happy about."

The new educational methods being introduced by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board — coupled with genuine teacher interest — are proving that children of

The National Picketline



Albert Shanker

the poor can learn, that they want to, and that their parents are interested in their children's education.

Yet it becomes increasingly clear that Shanker and company are little interested in the more than one million school children in this city. They are using the union in a political fight to destroy decentralization and with it, the prospects for raising scholastic standards in this anything-but-fun city.

* * *

A reader from the West Virginia coal fields, a member of the recently expelled United Mine Workers District 50, wrote regarding the column on the settlement of the coal strike: "The Militant did not mention that the miners went out on strike again, objecting to the contract provisions and the fact that they were not adequately covered by workmen's compensation for the deadly occupational disease known as "black lung." This strike lasted about a week. I will try to obtain further information as to the dates and outcome of this issue and report the same to The Militant . . ."

We look forward to this contribution and thank the reader. No word of the rejection of the contract, or the strike which followed, appeared in either the New York press or the most recent issues of the mine union's paper — which doesn't come in too regularly or contain too much news when it does.

— Marvel Scholl

...Young socialists

(Continued from Page 1) on national speaking tours publicizing the convention and encouraging people to attend. Response to these meetings and tours has indicated that many new activists will attend the convention and become a part of the young-socialist movement.

Other features at the convention will include a panel of active-duty antiwar and socialist GIs, who will discuss their activities and experiences in the armed forces. In addition, George Novack, a Marxist author and lecturer, will speak on "Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution?" Films of the revolutionary upsurge in France of May and June, 1968, will be shown.

The convention will take place Nov. 28-Dec. 1 in Chicago. The first session will be held Thursday afternoon, Nov. 28, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St., at 3:00 p.m. The next three days' sessions will be held at the University of Chicago, Circle Campus, in the Illinois Room at the Chicago Circle Center.

For information about attending the convention write to the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N. Y. 10003.

Black students stage L.A. sit-in

By Lola Jacobs and Bruce Friedman

LOS ANGELES — Sixty members of the Black Student Union at San Fernando Valley State College, a predominantly white campus of 18,000 students, succeeded in seizing the Administration Building here Nov. 4.

The occupation occurred after several complaints about racial intimidation of black athletes committed by a coach and by the athletic chairman were continually ignored by the administration.

The BSU presented three demands to President Blomgren, who along with several other administrators was in the building at the time of the occupation. The BSU demanded first, that the coach and athletic chairman be dismissed and legal action be taken against them; second, that the Economic Opportunity Program, which had brought 200 blacks to this previously all-white campus, be expanded; and third, that the administration take a stand against the Title V revision which would give the college's trustees dictatorial power over all student-organization finances and lead to the suppression of student radical activities on the campus.

After the BSU had seized the fifth floor of the building, SDS joined in the seizure along with a few members of United Mexican American Students. In the meantime, 1,500 students gathered outside the building. Most were there to show their solidarity; others to criticize the action. By 2:30 p.m. about 200 cops had gathered at the campus, preparing for a confrontation with the students. During this time, BSU chairman Archie Chapman was negotiating with Blomgren. At 3:30 he asked the students to clear the building because the administration had agreed to the three BSU demands. Within 15 minutes, the area was cleared without violence.

On Nov. 5, Blomgren broke his agreement on the grounds it had been made under "duress and coercion." He further stated at a press conference that arrests and suspensions would be made against the students who could be identified as having sat-in.

Archie Chapman, BSU chairman, issued a statement on the BSU's strategy. "White people do not set the policies for Blacks. They don't have the authority. We will continue the struggle. Our court is the

world. The United States is on trial. The world is the jury. There will be no compromises; this word is not in the vocabulary of revolutionaries."

L.A. young socialists hold political conference

LOS ANGELES — On the eve of the Nov. 5 elections, young socialists from the Los Angeles area gathered at the University of California, Los Angeles, for a conference on revolutionary socialist politics. The conference was called by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and the Young Socialist Alliance to evaluate 14 months activity in campaigning in support of the 1968 Socialist Workers Party candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. Discussion centered around how best to continue socialist activity in the coming months.

Keynote speaker of the conference was Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant*, who reported on his recent trip around the world with presidential candidate Fred Halstead. Both Sheppard and a GI panel held Saturday morning pointed to rising antiwar sentiment in the armed forces, and emphasized the need for antiwar activists and revolutionary youth to find ways of encouraging expression of this sentiment.

On Saturday morning discussion evolved around "Mexico and the Latin American Revolution" and was initiated by an address by Professor Timothy Harding of Cal. State L. A.

There was a panel presentation on "The Need for an Independent Black Political Party" led by Shermont Banks, deputy chairman of the Southern California branch of the Black Panther Party, and George Davis of the Socialist Workers Party.

After the final session of the conference, which featured an address by Peter Camejo, several young socialists at the conference, including a former head of the now defunct Cal Tech Pomona Peace and Freedom Club, decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT

ATTEND THE YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

Panels with:

Revolutionary Youth Leaders from France, Germany, England, Latin America . . .

Antiwar and Socialist GIs

Discuss Their Experiences in the Army

The convention will chart the course for the young socialist movement for the coming year, discussing such developments as the international youth radicalization, the black liberation struggle, the antiwar movement, and the student movement in the U.S.

CHICAGO, NOV. 28-DEC. 1
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (CIRCLE CAMPUS)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
P. O. BOX 471 COOPER STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003
212-989-7570

- I want to attend the convention. Please send me details on housing, transportation, etc.
- Enclosed is \$1.00 for convention discussion bulletins.
- Please send more information.

Name

Address

City State Zip

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. A banquet celebration. Speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist scholar; former editor, *The Militant*. Sat., Nov. 16, dinner 7 p.m., program 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. A banquet celebration. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor, *The Militant*. Sat., Nov. 16, 6:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: Ralph Schoenman, secretary to Bertrand Russell and secretary-general of the International War Crimes Tribunal. Fri., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.) Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Pro-GI demonstrations around the country

Our last issue featured reports from a number of cities about the actions held as part of the Oct. 21-27 Week of International Solidarity with Vietnam, organized in this country by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. These and other actions are summarized in the Oct. 31 National Action Bulletin of the SMC. Below are reports from that bulletin on actions we did not report last week.

To receive the SMC's Action Bulletin, write to the committee at 9 S. Clinton, Rm. 225, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

Korea

About 35 GIs participated in a solidarity demonstration with the Oct. 12 San Francisco demonstration.

Minneapolis, Minn.

On Oct. 26 there was a march of 350 to 400 through the downtown area for a rally in Pioneer Square. Later that evening there was a rally in St. Paul attended by 250. The closest military base is Grand Forks Air Force Base, which is a five-hour drive from Minneapolis. Yet GIs watching the demonstration from the sidewalk returned the "V" sign as the march was passing. Students from small private colleges in the area participated in the demonstration for the first time.

Already plans are beginning to be formulated for demonstrations on Dec. 7. In this demonstration, more effort will be made to bring GIs into active participation.

Cleveland, Ohio

On Friday evening, Oct. 25, a panel with GIs and recently discharged veterans discussed the widespread sentiment against the war within the military and the importance of linking it up with the civilian antiwar movement. Members of the panel were Steve Gilbert, Fort Knox; former Pfc. Howard Petrick, who was discharged from the army for his antiwar views and is now on the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee; former sergeant Dave Braum, who spent two years in Vietnam; and former Marine sergeant Ted Willis. Over 150 people attended the forum.

The next day, there was an outdoor rally

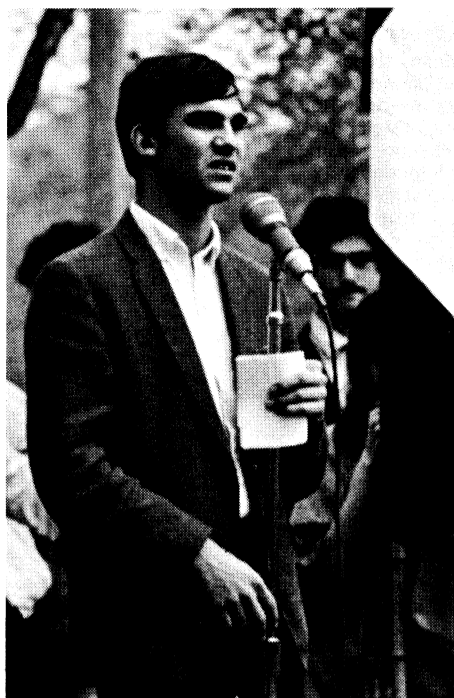


Photo by Leonard Gordon

Howard Petrick

with about 150 people. Three active-duty GIs spoke. The campus committees are continuing to leaflet GIs and distribute the GI paper, *Task Force*, as widely as possible.

Washington, D.C.

Washington Student Mobilization Committee and Black Student Mobilization sponsored a rally of over 500 at the foot of the Washington Monument on Oct. 26. Two GIs spoke at the rally.

Omaha, Neb.

About 125 people demonstrated against the war on Oct. 27. The demonstration took place in downtown Omaha and was sponsored by Omaha SDS, Omahans for Peace in Vietnam, Creighton Students for Peace, Vietnam Summer, and the War Resisters League.

Albany, N. Y.

Six vets, including two Vietnam vets, spoke at a rally on Oct. 23. The following day, there were in-class discussions on the war, turning the whole school (the State University of New York at Albany) into a forum for antiwar ideas.

STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND CITIZENS OF AUSTIN
YOU ARE WELCOME TO ATTEND A:

"BRING THE GI'S HOME" PARADE!

A MARCH IN SOLIDARITY WITH GI'S
AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1968. MARCHERS SHOULD
ASSEMBLE AT FIRST & CONGRESS AT 2: P. M.

Speakers on the Capital Grounds at 3:00 p.m. will include:

- ★ Paul Boutelle, Vice Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party
- ★ Howard Petrick, Ex-GI, Now With the Student Mobilization Committee
- ★ Dr. Charles E. Cairns, UCEWV

"SUPPORT OUR MEN IN VIETNAM
NOT THOSE WHO SEND THEM THERE
BRING THE TROOPS HOME, NOW!"

SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
P.O. BOX 7392 AUSTIN, TEXAS 78712 OFFICES AT 2200 GUADALUPE ROOM 24

(THANKS TO OUR FRIENDS WHO MADE THIS AD POSSIBLE)

IN AUSTIN DAILY. This ad in Austin, Texas, daily paper helped draw nearly a thousand people, including several dozen GIs, to Oct. 27 demonstration. Then GI teach-in was slated for Nov. 2. See story below.

GI Teach-in held in Austin, Texas

By Charles E. Cairns

AUSTIN, Tex. — A GI Teach-in was held Nov. 1 in Rosewood Park here. About 150 civilians and 50 GIs participated, with six GIs from Fort Hood, Fort Sam Houston, and Laredo Air Force Base speaking.

The key note speaker was ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan. Ex-GI Howard Petrick, now with the Student Mobilization Committee, also spoke. Entertainment was provided by a local singer, Dave Mahler. Duncan said that he had recently returned from a trip to Vietnam, where he found that antiwar sentiment among GIs was deeper than he had expected. He observed GIs openly criticize the war in front of their immediately superior officers. Duncan placed emphasis on the importance of GIs being involved in antiwar activities such as the San Francisco demonstration on Oct. 12.

Sp/4 Bill Donnenberg, editor of the Fort Hood underground newspaper, *Fatigue Press*, described the harassment the military has been giving him about the paper and other antiwar activities at Fort Hood.

Sp/4 Dan Scott, a Vietnam returnee presently stationed at Fort Hood, spoke about the racism in the Army he observed while in Vietnam.

Airman Collin Ramsey described the harassment he had been subjected to from Air Force officials and Air Police at Laredo Air Force base for having antiwar stickers on his car. Airman Ramsey said that even though the civilian population in Laredo is quite reactionary, many of the GIs associated with him plan to continue antiwar activities at Laredo Air Force Base with no local civilian help.

Sp/4 Sandy Duncan, a WAC at Fort Hood, told how she thought the army recruiters had misrepresented what her duties and opportunities would be as a WAC. She advised all young girls who were considering going into the military to visit an Army post and find out what WAC life was really like before enlisting and making the same mistake she made.

Howard Petrick emphasized the importance of civilians defending GIs and their rights to speak out against the war.

The microphone was then open to any GIs who wanted to speak. A number of GIs from Fort Hood and Fort Sam Houston took the mike and explained their opposition to the war.

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please
notify our business office of your
new address, including ZIP.

LONDON LETTER:

Revolutionary socialists did the job

LONDON — It was fitting that the great London demonstration against the Vietnam war and for the National Liberation Front on Sunday, Oct. 27 — estimated at more than 100,000 marchers, with many more supporting spectators along the route — should be led by internationalist revolutionary socialists hailing from Britain's greatest and oldest colonies: Tariq Ali, whose forefathers served the British Raj and whose parents were Indian Congress Socialists in the time of Gandhi and Nehru, and Ernest Tate, an Irishman from Ulster in the tradition of James Connolly.

They handed in a letter at 10 Downing Street [the Prime Minister's residence], which was hastily scribbled at the last minute on the best paper they could get their hands on. It said simply: "Dear Harold [Prime Minister Harold Wilson], In the name of 75,000 workers and students, we demand that you stop supporting American imperialism and start supporting the NLF in Vietnam. (Signed), Tariq, etc."

Both Tate and Ali are members of the International Marxist Group, affiliated to the Fourth International, as are Pat Jordan, Connie Kirkby, Mike Martin, Allen Harris and other march leaders.

The greatest bulk of the marchers were young people, but they were not all students by any means. This can be seen by the young workmen among those seized by the police and given vicious sentences by the judges. As the march came to Aldwych there was repeated applause for the London School of Economics, the Sorbonne of this revolutionary London and also, incidentally, the alma mater of the late President Kennedy.

Young printers

There were, too, many young printing workers who either joined or applauded

from the sidelines in Fleet Street [London's newspaper district]. It is said that on more than one chapel bulletin board revolutionary literature was tacked up among the trade-union notices.

By far the largest political contingent seemed to be those carrying the banners of International Socialism, a group called Trotskyist by the press. It is distinguished from other Trotskyists principally by its theory that degenerated and deformed workers states are state capitalist. It therefore does not regard Cuba, for instance,



Prime Minister Wilson

as socialist. Its paper is called *Socialist Worker*.

There were also various factions of Maoists, who organized a break-away bloc that left the demonstration at Trafalgar Square and headed for Grosvenor Square (site of the U.S. embassy) instead of remaining with the main march that went on past Whitehall, the wide street housing the government departments and Scotland Yard, and Westminster, where the Parliament Building and the Abbey are located.

Heavy casualties

This break-away demonstration was the one which suffered heavy casualties in injuries and arrests during unequal combat with the main concentration of the police. Several were given vicious three-month sentences; a few of these were young workers.

A relatively small body of U.S. citizens marched under a banner saying "Americans want withdrawal from Vietnam NOW," and some shouted, "Bring our boys back alive" and joined the youngsters in "Hell no, we won't go!"

This last item did not catch the eagle eye of the whole battery of pressmen and TV commentators, apparently; or else it was edited out of their reports, although clearly seen on the little screen. All the media preferred to concentrate on what punch-ups there were — natch, as *old-time* GIs used to say.

The main march wound up in Hyde Park, with several very large meetings at the traditional spot for free speech in the British capital. Speakers from the various tendencies gave a rousing account of themselves. Tariq Ali aptly said: "This is only a beginning . . ." Britain certainly will not be the same again.

— Tom O'Flaherty

Indo-Chinese Battle Imperialist Despots

Hands Off Indo-China!



By Joseph Hans

American troops are being used against the Chinese movement for independence. Sent in by they broke up a demonstration on September 12 name Nationalists in noi. They ordered Ann leaders to release all local representatives of French despots. In recent fighting, American troops inflicted casualties among the fighters for independence. An American officer in turn was and others wounded.

Saigon continues "under actual state of siege, with missiles firing from places of concealment at French, British, Americans," according to reports. The "American transport personnel was moved from an airfield to "guard" a hotel held by troops.

The American forces are fighting in Indo-China, because are committed," as CBS correspondent Bill Downs puts returning the old French regime to Indo-China.

MARTIAL LAW

On September 20, the I Army declared martial

1945-1954: The Militant campaigns for Vietnam's freedom

LIBERATION STRUGGLE BEGINS. In wake of Japanese defeat, Indochinese people rise up to fight for freedom from colonial rule. Allied armies, including U. S. troops, join to crush rebellion. Cartoon by famed Militant cartoonist Laura Gray. *The Militant*, Oct. 6, 1945.

By Dick Roberts

The Militant's reports and analyses of the developments in the Vietnam war are well known to antiwar activists throughout this country and the world.

From the first hint of U. S. intervention to support the tottering regime of Ngo Dinh Diem down to the present massive U. S. aggression against the Vietnam revolution, *The Militant* has offered consistent and thorough coverage of the war and the struggle against it.

What may not be so well known to younger activists in the fight against Washington's invasion is that this fight began over two decades ago, at the end of the second world war.

It was quite a different period. At first, masses of people throughout the world hoped and believed that the horrible slaughter of the world war had brought an end to wars for a long time.

Then the cold war and witch-hunting of American radicals created in many a fear and reluctance to express open opposition

"It is now recognized on all sides that the French face a long and costly war. A French Foreign Legion officer gloomily figured in an interview that it would take half a million men to subdue Indochina, and that France would suffer an economic disaster if it sent that many. The present French force is 100,000 men, equipped mostly with U. S. arms and supplies." — *The Militant*, Jan. 25, 1947.

to the imperialist system. In 1950 the Truman administration launched its devastating attack on Korea; even before that war ended in a cease-fire, McCarthyism was on the rise, and in 1953-54 its hysterical red-baiting swept the nation.

All of this served largely to obscure the fact that from the last months of World War II down to mid-1954, not just Indochina but the entire Asian area was engulfed by revolutionary struggle and counterrevolutionary attack.

That decade saw revolution in India, China, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, as well as Korea and Vietnam. There was not a single month of peace.

The Militant campaigned to rip off the mask of a "peaceful" imperialism, to demand the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from all lands, and to support the worldwide colonial revolution.

Here is a brief review of its coverage of the 10-year Indochinese struggle against French imperialist rule:

● **August, 1945.** Reporting the dropping of atom bombs and the Japanese surrender in World War II, *The Militant* warns Aug. 18 that French imperialism "fears that Indochina will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist 'liberators' or, worse still, the Indochinese people."

● **October, 1945.** The Indochinese revolt has been surging since early September. The Oct. 6 *Militant* reports, "American troops are being used against the movement for independence. Sent in by air, they broke up a demonstration of Annamese nationalists in Hanoi." A protest rally is called for New York City.

● **March, 1946.** After eight months of battle, the Viet Minh reaches a truce agreement in Paris. U. S. troops have been withdrawn, but the French armies have been supplied by Washington under wartime and postwar agreements. *The Militant* warns against continued French occupation.

● **December, 1946.** Paris has broken the accords. "French Drive Aims at Crushing Indo-China's Fight for Freedom," *The Militant* reports Jan. 4, 1947. "French imperialism is throwing everything it has into the suppression of the Indochinese struggle: crack troops, including members of Hitler's army who have been recruited into the Foreign Legion; air, naval and armored forces collected from all parts of the empire; and first-class fighting equipment, most of it lend-lease in origin and American in manufacture."

The long and bitter war is in full swing. The Viet Minh soon establishes control of the countryside; Paris retaliates by horrible atrocities directed at individual villages.

● **December, 1949.** Washington admits that secret agreements have been made to arm and finance the faltering French forces. *The Militant* launches a front-page campaign to expose Washington's role: "Without American aid, the French and their native puppets would have long ago been driven out of Indochina" (May 8, 1950).

Throughout the Korean war, *The Militant* returns again and again to this theme. It reports news of the revolutionary victories whenever it becomes available. In the midst of the Korean war, Paris' situation has become hopeless.

● **May, 1953.** The Eisenhower administration begins direct preparation for U. S. intervention. May 11, *The Militant* asks, "Will thousands of American boys die in the fever-ridden, insect-infested, trackless swamps of Indochina as they have been dying on the bleak, sub-zero crests of the Korean mountains?" In February, 1954, Washington sends U. S. "technicians" to "advise" the French forces.

● **April, 1954.** Vice President Nixon makes "trial balloon" speech threatening full

U. S. support. Public outcry is historic; includes opposition from every major newspaper; within four days Dulles officially disclaims speech.

Now that Washington cannot mobilize support for an invasion, the focus of attention shifts to the Geneva conference. Here Paris and Washington hope to line up Moscow and Peking in pressuring the Viet Minh to make big concessions.

● **April-July, 1954.** *The Militant* publishes weekly articles attacking the Geneva conference as a secret power meeting which excludes the voice of the Indochinese people; it warns over and over again that Moscow and Peking are not on the side of the revolutionaries, but instead are yielding to the imperialist demand for partition of the nation: "If it goes through, then the French would remain in Indochina . . . not trying to do much more than hold the lid down while the U. S. step by step moved in deeper and deeper."

Dienbienphu fell on May 7, 1954, and the Geneva agreement was reached July 21. *The Militant* had no illusion that this would bring permanent peace to the country; it warned of further imperialist buildup in the occupied sector, inevitably leading to a new outbreak of war.

The U. S. invasion of Indochina was post-

poned for seven years. When it began in 1961, *The Militant* once again put the campaign for Vietnamese freedom on the front page. Marking the day the first GI was killed—Dec. 22, 1961—*The Militant* made its main point in a photo and a photo caption.

The photo was of a mother weeping over the coffin of her son killed in the Korean war; the caption stated: "It's beginning again . . . Now Kennedy is committing U. S. troops to combat without consent of Congress or the American people. This time it is in South Vietnam."

"The artificial division of Indochina . . . puts a new trouble spot on the map that will invite continual intervention. The Indochinese people themselves will continue to seek unity, Paris and Washington will both seek to recoup losses and bolster their positions in this area. Each new flare-up will threaten to precipitate a worldwide conflict." — *The Militant*, July 26, 1954.

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM "Independence—Freedom—Happiness"

Dr. PHAM-NGOC-THACH,
Under Secretary of State
Near Hanoi, Feb. 15, 1947

Chairman, Socialist Workers Party
New York

Dear Sir:

We were deeply moved by your big demonstration in New York in favor of the struggle for Viet-Nam's independence. On behalf of President HO-CHI-MINH and the Government of Viet-Nam's Republic, I convey to you and your organization our gratitude.

On the other hand the Viet-Nam's Labor Federation asks me to send you and your organization their warmest greetings and thanks.

It was the first time American people openly supported our present fight. We hope through your activities American progressive organizations would send us arms, ammunitions and medicines in order to help us wipe out the French imperialism.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) P. N. THACH

INDOCHINA WELCOMES HELP. Opponents of imperialist aggression in Vietnam staged demonstration at French consulate in New York, Jan. 25, 1947. Letter of thanks from Hanoi reprinted in *The Militant*, April 12.

How to voice your protest against the new President

By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

Nineteen sixty-eight has been the costliest of all presidential campaigns. I'm not referring to the price the American people will have to pay whether a Republican or Democrat occupies the White House for the next four years. I'm talking about the money the ruling rich spent to put them there.

It's estimated that the Nixon forces raised \$20 million. The Democrats could get only half as much for Humphrey. Wallace spent \$6 million.

Now the winners look forward to cashing in on their investment. The banking and corporation interests can't lose either way, because they work both sides of the street. The Chemical Bank, for example, one of New York's biggest, gave equal amounts to the national Republican and Democratic organizations, although it favored Republicans over the Democrats on the state and local levels.

The food processors and large restaurant owners distributed \$41,000 to present members of the House and Senate who serve on the tax-writing and labor committees. These congressmen have jurisdiction over minimum-wage, social-security and unemployment-compensation legislation, as well as tax matters which could increase the payroll costs of the low-wage food industry.

Stockbrokers, coal owners, oil and gas tycoons, and military contractors have done the same. They not only want to influence government policy but to ensure that they get a sizable slice of the billions in goods and services the U.S. government buys every year.

The Militant, with your help, will keep on exposing and combating this corrupt system of capitalist politics. The \$40,000 we are seeking on our 40th anniversary is less than the sum spent by the food processors to control key congressional committees. Neither the big business of politics nor the politics of big business can be cleaned up. It has to be cleaned out—from top to bottom. It has to be replaced by a nonprofiteering system of economy and government under the democratic control of the working people.

If this socialist program appeals to you, isn't it time you responded to our appeal? Register your protest against the Nov. 5 winner by using the coupon below.

* * *

Two noteworthy advances are shown at opposite ends of the scoreboard this week. Portland, Oregon, has jumped to the head of the procession and now leads with 83 percent. The areas outside the big cities have exceeded their \$500 quota and promise to go much higher in the weeks ahead.

Fund Scoreboard

Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Portland	\$ 150	\$ 125	83
Los Angeles	4,400	2,980	68
Twin Cities	2,200	1,320	60
St. Louis	100	58	58
Chicago	1,950	1,100	56
New York	7,200	3,240	45
San Francisco	2,300	975	42
Boston	1,200	501	42
Allentown	150	60	40
Philadelphia	1,300	450	35
Cleveland	1,800	600	33
Detroit	2,000	380	19
San Diego	300	22	7
Newark	150	0	0
Oakland-Berkeley	2,000	0	0
Seattle	300	0	0
Other Areas	500	550	110
	\$28,000	\$12,361	43
Lifetime Militants	\$12,000	\$ 6,000	50
Totals	\$40,000	\$18,361	46

clip and mail

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory four-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- Enclosed is \$1 for a 4 month introductory subscription.
- Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.

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Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Los Angeles groups unite against bomb terrorists

LOS ANGELES — Responding to a recent wave of right-wing terrorism in the Los Angeles area (see *The Militant*, Oct. 25 and Nov. 1), groups and publications that have been threatened or attacked have formed the United Defense Committee of Los Angeles. They include the Socialist Workers and Communist parties.

In an open letter addressed to Los Angeles' mayor, city council, and county board of supervisors, and released at a news conference here Oct. 27, individuals affiliated to the associated organizations explained that the committee is "instituting a mutual joint aid pact between threatened organizations. This will ensure that any organization or publication whose facilities or meeting halls have been destroyed will obtain the use of meeting halls and facilities from other participating organizations. By this cooperation, the United Defense Committee hopes to discourage right-wing violence. This joint aid will make it immediately apparent that terrorism will not accomplish the end of curtailing or stopping the activities of organizations."

The letter points out that the committee is already aiding the threatened organizations "in the procurement of security guards and equipment to protect their buildings —

and, more importantly, their personnel." It also disclosed plans "to provide a coordinated and centralized source of information for the public on right-wing terrorist activities in Los Angeles."

Stressing the responsibility of local government in stopping such terrorism and in apprehending its perpetrators, the letter asserts that thus far Los Angeles area law-enforcement agencies have shown little zeal in fulfilling this duty. It calls on the city council and board of supervisors to hold public hearings on the present wave of terrorist violence.

The letter was signed by Art Kunkin, editor and publisher of the *Los Angeles Free Press*; Della Rossa, Los Angeles correspondent of *The Militant*; Joel Britton of the Socialist Workers Party; William C. Taylor of the Communist Party; John Huggins of the Black Panther Party; Ed Pearl of the Peace and Freedom Party; Phil Passen of the Young Socialist Alliance; Janice Culberson of the Black Survival Alliance; Pat Arnold of the Valley Peace Center; Morris Kight of the Dow Action Committee; Frederick Rosenberg of the Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights; and Shirley Grant of the Unitarian-Universalist Project.

The Great Society

ILLEGAL TO BE LEGALLY UNITED—Mrs. Celeste Landsdale has taken legal action against United Airlines after being fired as a stewardess. She was fired after the company learned that the man she was living with was really her husband. To skirt the marriage ban, she said, hundreds of stewardesses are compelled to pretend their husbands are really their lovers.

REAL WHITE OF HIM—A St. Louis businessman who employs 20 white workers in his shop has decided to "integrate" the place. He was overcome with the fit of brotherhood, he said, after seeing Olympic boxer George Foreman wave an American flag after defeating his Soviet opponent.

SKI GREASE?—One of the unique qualities of the dollar is its thoroughly democratic lack of concern as to the company it keeps, as indicated by the increasingly mixed nature of our economy. A reader sends this item: "The Hart Ski Company is now the property of Beatrice Foods. Among Beatrice's many other properties is Dannon Yogurt. Does that make Hart the more cultured ski?" No. But it might help make Dannon go down easier.

REVERSE AUTOMATION—A Baltimore paperboard company invested in a goat to replace a man who mowed the grass around the plant. Next thing, a union steward observed, they'll be staffing the plant with chimps. Which should not be totally rejected. We hear they make good foremen.

FINAL SOLUTION—James Bowling, vice-president of Philip Morris, admonished the government not to be hasty in linking cigarettes to lung cancer and heart disease. He said the smoking habit might merely

be a symptom of some condition which also brings on these other ailments. Meanwhile, a proposal came from Dr. Paul De Camp of the Ochsner Clinic in New Orleans, whose studies show that the lung-cancer death rate will almost double by 1975 unless there is a significant change in smoking habits. He said it might be effective to appeal to the conscience of the tobacco industry.

THE MAN HAD HAD IT—It paid \$40,000 a year, but some might think that Dan Price, the Chicago newscaster who lost his job, just might feel it was worth it. Price tendered his resignation to Station WBBM. The station had just finished one news feature on Nixon, and Price noted another was coming up. Not realizing the studio was live, Price reportedly commented, "Haven't we had enough of that son of a bitch this morning?"

HANGING JURY?—A New Yorker received a notice of jury duty in an envelope stamped: "Jury Service Supports Law & Order and the American Way of Life."

SLIP OF THE PEN—San Francisco's Mayor Alioto (you remember, he's the one they found to nominate Hubert) had to cough up \$239 in household taxes after a local real-estate operator, perusing the records, found the good mayor was paying about \$2 a year. The city assessor explained it was a "typographical error."

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"The revolt of the young people is a natural outgrowth of our society . . . What kind of a society can we build when a mother asks her two-year-old what he wants for breakfast?"—Mrs. George Romney.

— Harry Ring

George Novack, Chairman,
Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

I want to help expand and improve The Militant.
Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Street _____

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5 Berkeley students hit with fake charges

The district attorney in Berkeley, Calif., is moving harshly against five radical campus leaders at the University of California. They face trumped-up "conspiracy" charges—a felony—and a possible five-year prison sentence.

The five are Peter Camejo of the Young Socialist Alliance; Jack Bloom, Independent Socialist Club; Stew Albert of the Youth International Party; Paul Glusman, Students for a Democratic Society and Halket Allen of the YSA.

The charges stem from a student seizure of Moses Hall on campus, Oct. 24. The protest was part of a campus struggle which has been going on since the fall term began, concerning a course on racism taught by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver.

Cleaver's course was to be part of a student-controlled program called the



Peter Camejo

Army brass says Glover charges being dropped

NEW YORK, Nov. 7—The immediate threat of a court-martial against Pfc. Ed Glover, stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., was removed today when his attorney, Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, demanded that a date be set for the court-martial. Under this pressure the brass dropped two trumped-up charges against Glover.

However, Glover is still restricted to his company area and continues to suffer severe harassment from the brass. The danger of further trumped-up charges being brought against him is still great.

In a telephone conversation on Nov. 6, Watts learned from the Judge Advocate's office in the Pentagon that charges were pending against Glover for failing to fill out a proper motor-pool inspection form for a malfunctioning jeep and for wearing an "improper uniform."

Watts is continuing to press the military brass for an end to the illegal harassment of Glover. The GIs Civil Liberties Defense Committee is spearheading the effort to gain national support in Glover's case. The committee received a telegram from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in Los Angeles condemning the attacks on Glover.

Ten students from Emory University in Atlanta, Ga., sent a telegram to the commanding officer at Fort Benning demanding the harassment be stopped.

Wayne Glover, Ed's brother, sent a letter to Stanley Resor, Secretary of the Army, urging him to investigate the situation and put an end to the discriminatory conditions his brother is suffering.

Telegrams should be sent to the Commanding Officer, Fort Benning, Ga. Copies should be sent to GIs Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Center for Participant Education, which was set up as a result of the 1964 Free Speech Movement. The course was to be given for credit, as are all such courses. In September, the state senate voted to censure the university unless the course was cancelled. The board of regents ruled against the course. With large-scale student action threatening, the university administration agreed to allow the course to be given, but without credit. The latest demonstrations demanded that the course be given for credit, as it should have been.

On Oct. 22, 150 students were arrested when they sat-in at the administration building. Outside, 3,000 students gathered in support. On Oct. 24, another group seized Moses Hall for 16 hours.

Police were called in and arrested 76 who took part in the seizure. Most have been charged with trespassing, disturbing the peace and malicious mischief. The five campus leaders are facing the manufactured charge of "conspiring" to commit these misdemeanors. The misdemeanor charges carry a maximum penalty of six months, while the conspiracy charges can result in five-year sentences. It is commonly known that the authorities are especially out to "get" Peter Camejo and Jack Bloom for their part in leading the massive struggles in Berkeley in June and August.

The university is also planning to sue the 76 students for \$28,000 "damages." They claim that \$6,000 is to cover the cost of hiring cops, \$1,500 is for "time lost" by employees, and the remainder is for alleged physical damage.

GIs at Ft. Dix slate teach-in for servicemen

PHILADELPHIA—Ilona Stanton, secretary of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee, announced here Nov. 4 that an organization of active-duty military men and women, the Fort Dix Free Speech Movement, is calling a "GI Teach In" to be held at 3 p.m. Saturday, Dec. 7, at Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., on the University of Pennsylvania campus here.

The meeting is sponsored solely by the Fort Dix Free Speech Movement at the New Jersey Army base. The only speakers at the teach-in will be active-duty GIs. Topics will include the war in Vietnam, the rights of citizens in uniform, and any other topics of interest to the participants. There will be an open mike for any GI to speak his mind on any side of these issues. Civilians are invited.

Mrs. Stanton said, "This meeting was called and organized by soldiers. All the SMC is doing is helping out with publicity and mimeographing."

... GI fighting harassment

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to the Inspector General nothing has been done about this.

One of the most vicious aspects of the harassment is that on two occasions other soldiers have physically attacked him without any provocation on his part.

"I was called to the orderly room one morning and waited there for a long time, and then the first sergeant went to the picnic area behind the orderly building where there was a detail working. He then came back and told me to go over and help on the detail. As soon as I joined the detail there was a person that started calling me a 'communist' and then asked me what I was going to do about it. I said, 'Not a thing. I'm working.'

"He tried further to provoke a fight and finally grabbed my glasses and started swinging. Knowing all the time that my company commander and the first sergeant would want me to swing back I simply tried my best to defend myself until I was able to grab his arms around me and he could no longer swing. The sergeant in charge of the detail then broke it up. No action was taken against this person and I went to sick bay for a bump



AGAINST RACIST SHUTDOWN. Teachers and students mass at United Federation of Teachers headquarters in New York to protest racist shutdown of schools. Several thousand jammed the area for mass picketing and rally.

High school students and community control

By Laurie Perkus

NEW YORK—As of Nov. 3, 300 of the New York City public and secondary schools were opened and have been kept open by students, the community and teachers who are opposed to Albert Shanker's racist strike.

In fact, Junior High School 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville has been functioning daily since the beginning of the school crisis. As a high-school student and a supporter of community control, I would like to discuss the role that high-school students can play during the strike—and after.

The upsurge of nationalism among black high-school students, as expressed in their demands to have courses taught in their schools which are relevant to them, and to have competent teachers in their schools, is not just confined to New York.

In Chicago, the Black Students for Defense have called three consecutive strikes against Chicago's racist school system and have presented a list of demands. Until met by the school administration, the black students intend to continue the boycott of classes.

Among the demands are that Afro-American history classes be taught. *The Militant* has reported that black students in Philadelphia and Boston and other cities are organizing independently to fight for similar demands.

And in New York, where the officialdom of the United Federation of Teachers has lined itself up with the most oppressive forces in the city, Mayor Lindsay and his cops, against the black community, the struggle for community control will not end when the strike is "settled."

on my head." A similar incident occurred on the same evening.

"On the next day several people told me that there was a rumor around that anyone who could beat me up would get a three-day pass. I know for certain that one of the two that attacked me received a three-day pass right afterwards."

Ed has been isolated from most of his friends, and a number of them have been harassed.

But Ed told me that antiwar literature is very popular on the base, especially *Vietnam GI, Task Force*, and other GI newspapers.

It was transparently clear to me that the harassment and provocations against Ed are clearly aimed at suppressing his constitutional right to express his antiwar and socialist views. The brass is deliberately attempting to provoke him into making some kind of mistake for which he can be court-martialed regardless of how well he does his work or attempts to carry out orders.

I told him that once we got the facts out about his situation, a lot of people will rally to his defense and help get the brass off his back.

A demonstration of 20,000 students, teachers and people from the black community in front of City Hall, and a demonstration of over 2,000 teachers and students called by the Black Caucus of the UFT, testify to the solidarity and the sentiment in the community opposing the racist strike.

In predominantly white schools, where it has been largely students who have opened the schools—which in itself is an act of solidarity with the struggle for community control—students are in a position to go one step further and demand that their schools become centers of political discussion and revolutionary action.

As an example of this, the Bronx High School of Science has been opened during the strike and the students are attending classes in their "regular" curriculum. In this highly political situation, where students are solidarizing with the struggle of the black community, there is almost no discussion of the strike or what it means.

Students in these schools can set up classes or forums during the school day, or after school, as a "club" to discuss the black struggle, Vietnam, the colonial revolution, the draft, the antiwar movement and the GIs, and revolutionary student movements around the world.

Such a demand should be part of the fight for having a curriculum which suits the needs of students today. If teachers refuse to be part of such classes or discussions, they will let high-school students know exactly which side they are on in the fight for a decent and relevant education.

Over Thanksgiving weekend, the Young Socialist Alliance will be having its eleventh national convention in Chicago. All revolutionary-minded youth are invited to attend.

In preparation for the convention, bulletins are issued for discussion and analysis by young socialists. These documents can be ordered from the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Young socialists around the country can initiate classes for the purpose of discussing these bulletins in their schools. If you are interested in setting up such classes, or attending the convention, contact your local chapter (see directory on page 2). Discussions like these do not have to end with the convention, but can continue as a part of regular classes during or after school.

Boston students out

Eighteen black students at all-girls Jeremiah Burke High School in Dorchester, Mass., were suspended for taking part in a sit-in in the school corridor. They were protesting the rejection of their request that there be an all-school assembly held to discuss student grievances.