

THE MILITANT

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Friday, November 29, 1968

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Set major GI-civilian antiwar conference

—see page 12

Socialist GI wins a halt to harassment by Army

—see page 8



WHY EVANSVILLE AUTHORITIES ARE UPTIGHT. Black high-school students in Evansville, Ind., turned out in mass when George Wallace came in Oc-

tober. A few months previous there had been a ghetto outbreak, and militancy has been on rise. Now the cops are trying to frame young blacks. See page 7.

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THE MILITANT

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Friday, November 29, 1968

A revolutionary voice is heard in the USSR

The dramatic public denunciation of Stalinist bureaucratism by a former Soviet army general at a Moscow funeral is an event of historical import. It is, to our knowledge, the first reported public declaration of this kind in the USSR since Stalin succeeded in repressing the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the late 1920s.

The pro-Leninist declaration by former Major General Grigorenko (see report page 4) was certainly an example of magnificent courage and devotion to principle. But his action represents even more.

All of the events surrounding the Czech movement for socialist democracy and the Kremlin efforts to crush that movement make it increasingly apparent that the popular demand for an end to bureaucratic rule runs deep and wide in that country and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. It would be a political mistake to assume the same progressive tendency is not in the process of development within the Soviet Union itself.

It is not possible, of course, to estimate from afar how extensive a social phenomenon was expressed in General Grigorenko's remarkable action. The same thing applies to the group of courageous intellectuals who invited prison terms with their public demonstration in Moscow's Red Square against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In either case it would be unrealistic to believe that nothing more was represented than a small, isolated minority.

Almost invariably, the first expression of progressive mass developments are the seemingly isolated acts of vanguard elements—often of intellectuals, who display a sensitivity to the first stirrings of new trends and who are encouraged to speak out because of this. It was that way with the presently unfolding radicalization in the U.S. and also in the revolutionary democratic upsurge in Czechoslovakia.

It is also well to recall that popular pressure for democratization within the Soviet bloc began in the USSR itself. It was this pressure that brought Khrushchev's sensational 1956 denunciation of the crimes of Stalin and a certain easing of repressive rule within the Soviet Union.

The repudiation of the Stalin cult was also a bid to placate the peoples of East Europe already pressing for an end to the trampling on their sovereignty. The Kremlin made peace with the dissident Yugoslavs, granted concessions to the Polish movement for independence and then smashed the Hungarian struggle for socialist democracy. Since then it has continued to veer between concessions and repressions. But it becomes ever more plain that the revolutionary process is irrepressible.

Bravery and integrity certainly are the marks of a man like Pyotr Grigorenko. But we can also be confident that his inspiring act is but a portent of things to come. The magnificent Czech fighters for socialist democracy will in good time find they have a powerful ally within the USSR itself.

But socialist GI gets no pass on GI Day

On Oct. 27, some 50 active-duty servicemen participated in the GI Day March and Rally in Atlanta, Ga. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 8.) Other GIs in the area, however, were prevented by the brass from getting to the demonstration. The writer of the following letter, a Young Socialist and opponent of the war, describes how he was kept from attending.

Fort McClellan, Ala.

The circumstances of my transfer were rather unusual. On Thursday, Oct. 24, I was given notice to pick up clearance papers and be in the new company the same day! This is usually a three-to-five-day process. They waived some of the paper work and had me over here that afternoon. The next morning (Friday), after being shuffled around for a while with no one knowing where in the battalion I was to be assigned, I was sent to see a captain who said I would be in his company. After the captain talked to me and told me he was aware of my views and that I would be treated like everyone else, he sent me to the colonel of the battalion.

The colonel was very polite. He told me that my "reputation" had preceded me there, but he welcomed me to the battalion. Then he said he knew I was planning to go to Atlanta for the demonstration, but that there was a rule that all new personnel were restricted to the unit for 72 hours to "facilitate in processing." For me, this included the GI Day Sunday. He also made it a direct order.

The next day a clerk came up to me at dinner and told me he knew what had happened to me. The rule about the 72-hour restriction was made the day I arrived in the unit. He said he was going to Atlanta for GI Day.

As I found out the next week, the rule was not applied to anyone else. In fact, when I saw it in writing, it was predated, and someone else who had come into the unit a few days before me said he was told nothing about it.

They had people checking on me all weekend to see that I was there. A very frustrating experience!

'The Colonel was very polite'

It was only this past weekend that I made it to Atlanta. While there I attended a session of a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference. Another GI from Fort Benning told about Ed Glover's situation, and we got a lot of signatures for letters of support to Ed. We were invited to a SSOC meeting to be held in Nashville this Saturday, where SSOC plans to start a GI committee.

Pfc. Thomas Hathcock

'Dropping out'

New York, N. Y.

Regretfully, I will be unable to renew my subscription. I have found *The Militant* to be very worthwhile, presenting a point of view that is most important and insights that are seldom found elsewhere in today's press.

I plan to move and may be leaving the country. At any rate, I will be having no forwarding address for quite some time. Dropping out.

Keep up the good work!

J. W.

'Let Vietnamese rule'

Flushing, N. Y.

The imperialist capitalist powers call for an immediate cessation of all fighting in Vietnam, and let's all make friends.

The imperialist powers think that the slate can be wiped clean, and all is forgiven.

What an amazing attitude! The imperialist powers injected themselves into a civil war which had been on the verge of being settled.

The imperialist powers ship over hundreds of thousands of soldiers, tons of artillery and ammunition, thousands of aircraft and bombs, and tons of Napalm bombs to burn out the people and the countryside if the military couldn't blow the people and the country apart.

Six-million-dollar aircraft were sent over to teach the Vietnamese a lesson: that we are the most powerful nation.

The most powerful battleship was put into service to blow the country along the shore apart with two-ton shells.

Villages and towns were wiped out, leveled to the ground for their "own good."

Men, women and children killed indiscriminately by the thousands each week, by our own figures. No mercy given them, because they have dark skins.

So now the imperialist powers say, "Sit down. Forget all about the fighting, and we'll be your boss."

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

How stupid do the ruling powers and the military think the people can get?

End the war and withdraw all military forces from Vietnam. That is the answer.

Let the Vietnamese rule and control their own country.

O. T.

And it simplifies

Xmas shopping

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Would that I were in a position financially to aid your 40th Anniversary Fund Drive!

Since this is not the case, I must request you to use the enclosed check to increase your circulation. Please send a year's subscription to the enclosed addresses.

J. E. P.

War and U.S. society

San Francisco, Calif.

It was 22 years from the end of World War I to the beginning of World War II. Five years elapsed between the second world war and the war in Korea, and, in aiding the French in Vietnam, we became entangled in the war in that small country even before the Korean war was ended. Now our military forces are already spilling over into Laos, Thailand and Cambodia.

Let's face it: War is to our national economy what liquor is to an alcoholic. He knows it is killing him, but his system demands it; his need for it is greater than his desire for life.

As the war in Southeast Asia continues, violence in high places and low increases and intensifies here at home. What we refer to as "the American way of life" is disintegrating before our very eyes. The nearer we come to the destruction of Vietnam, the closer we are to our own death.

D. R.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: YSA, 187 14th St.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

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

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

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

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

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N. J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French,

194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

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

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

Kent: YSA, P. O. Box 116, Kent.

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6 998.

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

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2 236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-35 37.

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

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

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

"Hands Off Aaron Dixon"

The story of Seattle Black Panther Party Captain Aaron Dixon who faces 10-15 years on a frame-up charge of grand larceny.

25c

Order From: Aaron Dixon Defense Fund
P. O. Box 15460
Wedgewood Station
Seattle, Washington 98115

The strike at S.F. State: a major action

By Paul McKnight

Paul McKnight is a participant in the student strike at San Francisco State College.

SAN FRANCISCO—The student strike at San Francisco State College is in many ways an historic action. The combined mass actions of black and white students forced the closure Nov. 13 of one of the major colleges in the country. There are many lessons that can be drawn from this strike that will be valuable for the student movement in other areas.

For over two years black students at SF State went through all the "proper channels" and administrative red tape in their efforts to get a black studies department established here.



BLACK STUDENT UNION SPOKESMEN. At press conference, BSU program is explained by (left to right) Jerry Varnado, Ben Stewart, Dr. Nathan Hare and Joe White.

In the process of endlessly running from committee to committee and having their proposals amended, changed, delayed, tabled, and rejected, the Black Students Union learned that universities in capitalist America can be very resistant to change, especially when the changes involve getting relevant education for the black community.

The BSU saw that if any changes were to be made, they would have to be made

outside the "proper channels," so it began compiling a list of demands to present to the administration.

About this time the administration suspended George Murray, a Black Panther Party leader, from his job as an English instructor, allegedly because he had advocated armed self-defense by black students.

The BSU added the reinstatement of Murray to its list of demands and called for a student strike to back up the demands. The white students who supported the demands got together and established a united-front strike committee.

The first strike-committee meeting drew about 200 students. A communications committee was elected to confer with the BSU central committee and bring recommendations back to mass meetings for decisions.

The strike began on Nov. 6 and was about 80 percent effective the first day. Pickets from the strike committee stood at the doors of all classroom buildings. At noon, while the strike committee was holding a rally, the BSU sent squads around to the classes that were still meeting to ask them to join the strike.

A few scuffles broke out between BSU members and strike-breaking white students in the classrooms, and the administration called cops onto the campus to clear all the buildings. The campus was closed for the rest of the day.

The racist Bay Area press began screaming about "black terrorism" and "campus guerrilla warfare." To counteract this attempt to break the strike by whipping up a racist hysteria in the white community, it was agreed that henceforth the "classroom education" would be done by teams from the strike committee.

Classroom education teams were assigned every day to each building on campus. Their job was to enter the classes that were meeting and hold a discussion of the issues in the strike. These teams rarely received a hostile reaction from the students in the classrooms, but many professors were quite unhappy about the interruption of their classes.

This classroom education served two purposes. First, it convinced many students to join the strike after they had learned what it was all about. Secondly, it virtually halted "normal" functioning while the strike was on.

During the second and third days of the strike, class attendance leveled off at about 50 percent. On Nov. 8, the black students began joining the picket lines, and at noon the BSU held a rally to explain its demands. Almost 5,000 students attended the rally. It was one of the largest and most militant rallies ever held at SF State.

Up to this point, the professors had done nothing about the fact that George Murray had been suspended from his teaching position because of his political beliefs. But under the pressure of the independent mass action of the students, they began to stir.

Over 50 professors agreed to stop work if Murray were not reinstated by Nov. 12. The next morning these professors, joined by 400 students, set up a picket line at the entrance to the college. An hour and a half later a general faculty meeting was convened to discuss the crisis.

Since almost all classes were canceled because of the faculty meeting, the strike committee organized discussion groups so

that the students could discuss the strike.

About a dozen of the groups, each involving up to 50 students, dotted the lawn at noon. Suddenly about eight cops from the tactical squad came out of the gymnasium basement, where they had been stationed since the beginning of the strike, and began marching across the campus toward the BSU headquarters.

The cry "Pigs off campus!" arose immediately, and hundreds of students raced across the grass and surrounded the cops, who had lined up in front of the door to the BSU office.

Rocks began flying through the air and after a few minutes the cops began marching away. Suddenly they turned around and ran back into the students, using their clubs freely as they went.

They grabbed Nesbitt Crutchfield, a BSU leader, and arrested him. They also arrested Koshro Kalantari, a leader of the Iranian Student Association. A couple of cops had their revolvers pointed at the crowd. They threatened to shoot any student that moved. The cops then trotted away under a hail of rocks.

The angry students had begun a protest rally when 20 more tactical squad cops were found on another part of the campus. These cops were soon facing 3,000 furious students yelling "Pigs off campus!" and tossing rocks.

For a few tense minutes each side would alternately charge and retreat. Then the 50 striking professors marched out of the faculty meeting and surrounded the cops with a picket line.

Not wanting to take on the professors as well as the black and white students, the cops gave a few disgruntled oinks and retreated. In all, eight students were arrested and 15 cops injured.

The students then resumed the rally and decided to march into the administration building to demand an explanation for the presence of gun-waving cops on campus.

They found the door to the president's office guarded by plainclothesmen. The president agreed to talk to the students if they would leave the building. The students agreed and filed out. The president then came out and muttered a few sentences over a police bullhorn.

The students went back to the cafeteria, where the strike committee held a meeting of over 1,000 students. The faculty went back to its meeting and agreed to suspend all teaching indefinitely.

The faculty has since demanded that Murray be rehired and has agreed to establish a black studies department by next semester.

The administration will probably attempt to reopen the school within a week or two, but the BSU and the strike committee will not call off the strike until all the demands are met. The demands are considered non-negotiable.

Meanwhile, the strike committee is sending agit-prop theatre squads and speakers to the other campuses in the state college system. Leaflets about the strike are being distributed at factories and high schools. A strike headquarters has been established.

The strike committee held a demonstration at the *Examiner-Chronicle* building to protest the slanted media coverage of the strike.

The strike at SF State is an excellent example of how white student support can be organized for black demands, of how black-white alliances can be built in action against a common enemy.

Black Liberation Notes

Cops in "Orangeburg Massacre" freed

A federal jury in Columbia, S. C., has refused to bring charges against any of the South Carolina highway patrolmen who were involved in the infamous "Orangeburg Massacre." Three black students were killed and 30 others wounded in the massacre last Feb. 8, when cops fired into a crowd of unarmed student protesters from South Carolina State College. Many of the students were shot in the back.

The parents of two of the deceased students are planning to file suit in federal court against the jury's decision to free the cops.

Revolt in Jamaica

Hundreds of Jamaican students joined in a protest at the Jamaica branch of the University of the West Indies last month when the government deported Dr. Walter Rodney, a Guyanese-born professor of African history at the university.

Dr. Rodney was ordered back to Canada when he attempted to reenter Jamaica Oct. 15 after attending a black writers' conference in Montreal.

When a peaceful student march protesting the deportation was attacked by police,

many citizens joined in the defense of the students, and confrontations between the cops and the people broke out in various parts of Kingston.

Newton essays available

A pamphlet of "Essays from the Minister of Defense" is now available, containing reprints from a column in *The Black Panther* newspaper by the imprisoned Black Panther Party minister of defense, Huey P. Newton.

According to *The Black Panther*, copies may be ordered for one dollar by writing to the Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Calif. 94126. (California residents may receive the pamphlet for 75 cents plus 10 cents postage.)

Toward a black university

The black student movement on the college campuses has continued to gain in size and strength since the opening of school this fall. Over 2,000 students took part in a five-day "Toward a Black University" conference held at Howard University this month. One of the main topics of discussion was how to make the universities serve the needs of the black community and the black revolution.

At a number of colleges, students are carrying on struggles to concretize the demand for a black curriculum, with demands for the formation of independent black studies programs staffed by black professors.

At Wayne State University in Detroit, the Association of Black Students is negotiating with the school administration for a "W. E. B. DuBois Institute of Black Studies" to open in 1969.

For two years the Black Students Union at San Francisco State College has been fighting for the establishment of a department of black studies.

Some half-hearted steps were taken in this direction by the college administration when they established a black studies department on a nominal basis, but the department was given no faculty, courses or finances.

One of the 10 demands being put forward by the Black Students Union in the present protests at San Francisco State is for full departmental status for the black studies program, with all black studies placed under its jurisdiction. The students are also asking that the department grant a B. A. degree in black studies.

— Elizabeth Barnes



A RACIST CRIME. State highway police stand over wounded black students shot down during outbreak at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, S. C., last February.

'He tirelessly repeated Lenin's words'

More than 300 people braved official disapproval in Moscow Nov. 14 to pay a last tribute to Soviet writer Aleksei Y. Kosterin, member of the Communist Party since 1916, veteran of 17 years in Stalinist labor camps and an opponent of bureaucratism until his death.

The funeral ceremony made front-page news around the world when a former major general of the Soviet army, in eulogizing his comrade's fight against Stalin and his heirs, bitterly denounced the "bureaucratic machine" and called for a return to "Leninist democracy."

Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko called for an end to the "totalitarianism that hides behind the mask of so-called Soviet democracy." According to reports in the Western press, Grigorenko told the crowd of mourners, "In farewells, it is usually said, 'Sleep quietly, Dear Comrade.' We shall not say this. In the first place, he will not listen to me. He will continue to fight anyway.

"In the second place, it is impossible for me without you, Alyoshka. You sit inside me and you will stay there. Without you, I do not live. Therefore do not sleep, Alyoshka! Fight, Alyoshka!

"Burn all the abominable meanness with which they want to keep turning eternally that damned machine against which you fought all your life. We, your friends, will not be far behind you. Freedom will come! Democracy will come!"

Officials of the Moscow crematorium, where the funeral was held, twice interrupted General Grigorenko's ten-minute speech by demanding over the loudspeaker that he hurry and finish. In the middle of the ceremony officials intervened to seal the coffin and consign it to the flames. The lights were turned out to force the mourners to leave quickly.

Grigorenko declared his solidarity with the victims of recent trials of political

opponents of the bureaucracy, such as Yuri Galanskov, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Vladimir Bukhovsky, and many more "whom for understandable reasons I cannot name."

The dead writer whom Grigorenko was eulogizing had been an impassioned defender of the rights of national minorities, particularly the Crimean Tartars, who were fiercely persecuted by Stalin. Many of the mourners were representatives of national minorities.

Major General Grigorenko, now 61, was formerly a lecturer at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow. He became an open critic of the bureaucracy in 1961. He was dismissed from the academy, and in 1964 he was imprisoned in a mental hospital for eight months, a common way of dealing with dissident political views in the Soviet Union. While detained he was reduced to the rank of private and discharged from the army.

The former major general said he believed official harassment had hastened his friend's death. Reprisals had been aimed at Kosterin even after his release from the labor camps in 1953 because of his defense of socialist democracy:

"For this he was terribly hated," Grigorenko said, "by those who believe that people exist to create a backdrop for 'leaders,' to applaud and shout 'hurrah' for them, to believe in them blindly, to pray for them, to endure without murmur all scorn of themselves and to quack with pleasure when into his trough they pour more fodder and richer fodder than into the other troughs. . . .

"He hated not only them but also the order they had created. He tirelessly repeated Lenin's words, 'There is nothing harsher and more soulless than a bureaucratic machine.' Therefore he believed that a Communist had no higher task than to destroy this machine."



LENIN AND TROTSKY, during 1918-21 civil war. Lenin (on stand) warned early of danger of bureaucracy in new soviet state; Trotsky led battle against Stalinist bureaucratism in USSR after Lenin's death.

A Soviet Bolshevik writer who fought bureaucratism

Aleksie Kosterin, the Soviet writer at whose funeral Pyotr Grigorenko denounced bureaucratism, had resigned from the Communist Party last October in protest against what he called the party's return to Stalinism.

He was secretly expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers for this on Oct. 30, and his death was not reported in the Soviet press.

Kosterin resigned from the party after he learned that expulsion proceedings had been initiated against him for his anti-Stalinist views.

In July he signed a letter with four other writers protesting the then impending Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He was also among the 12 Communist intellectuals who sent a letter to the Budapest meeting of the pro-Moscow Communist parties in February protesting "the trampling on man in our country."

In returning his party card after 52 years, Kosterin wrote:

"As in Stalin's time, freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, demonstrations and street processions only exist in the form of declarations written in the Constitution.

"In practice, those who try to use their constitutional rights are arrested, and anyone who protests against this arbitrariness is expelled from the party, dismissed from

work, followed everywhere by agents of the KGB (secret police) and have their mouths closed in other, including the most revolting, ways."

Kosterin said the Soviet party had become a kind of a job trust for people who carried out orders without thinking. "In our party at the present time one is forbidden to argue, and one is not permitted to think," he declared.

He condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia as an example of Stalinism in foreign policy.

Kosterin was not told he had been expelled from the Union of Writers. After his death a notice of his expulsion was shown to his family and friends by a functionary of the Union. Kosterin's friends denounced the expulsion as illegal because he had not been present to defend himself, was not even notified of the proceedings, and the action was not voted upon by the branch of which he was a member, as prescribed in the Union's statutes.

General Grigorenko had harsh words for the Writers Union officials in his funeral speech:

"Did it ever occur to them that they were not capable of removing someone from the ranks of writers? They forget that neither Pushkin nor Tolstoy was a member of the Union of Soviet Writers, and Pasternak was expelled."

Czech workers and students continue struggle

NOV. 20—Student strikes, mass meetings of workers, and protests by intellectuals swept Czechoslovakia during the Nov. 14-16 meeting of the Communist Party's central committee in Prague. First reports on the decisions taken by the central committee seemed to indicate a shift to the right in the composition of the leadership and a drawing back from the measures of socialist democratization begun in January.

Student sit-ins began Nov. 15 at the agricultural college at Olomouc, in Moravia. The following day students occupied the agricultural college of Prague University in the suburb of Suchdol. By Sunday the strike had spread to Charles University in Prague and to the Moravian capital of Brno.

The students adopted a 10-point program demanding that press censorship, imposed by the Soviet occupation, not exceed six months; that guarantees be made for freedom of speech, assembly, education, science and art; and that freedom to travel abroad not be restricted.

Workers at the Skoda automobile plant in Pilsen held a weekend meeting to set up a council to "implement the political and organizational democratization process."

Delegates representing 22,000 workers at the Kladno steel mill demanded that pro-Moscow conservatives be removed from the leadership of the party. Prague television interviewed some of these workers while the central-committee meeting was in progress. One called for expulsion from the central committee of conservatives "who long ago lost their mandates. What right have they to sit there? How long are we going to play this funny game?"

Plants in Bratislava passed similar resolutions. In many cities workers threatened to join the students in sit-in strikes if the democratization were reversed.

There were widespread demands that the meeting of the central committee be public so that the Czech masses would know what plans were being made for their future behind the closed doors of Hradcany Castle. One worker interviewed on television summed up the popular sentiment when he said, "We want to know the truth."

The central committee announced a reorganization of its leadership Nov. 17. The day-to-day functioning of the 190-member committee was previously governed by the 21-man presidium. A new eight-member executive committee will now act as a "temporary" steering committee of the presidium.

Although no hard-line pro-Moscow members are included on the executive committee, its composition is to the right of the Dubcek group.

By the time excerpts from the central-committee resolution were published Nov. 18, more than 100,000 students were occupying school buildings throughout the country for a three-day strike.

More than 1,000 Czech journalists passed a resolution demanding a meeting with the government "to discuss how to face together the efforts to liquidate the socialist freedom of the press, which is the right of every citizen."

The central-committee statement made no reference to freedom of the press. It declared only that the mass media are "above all instruments for enforcing the policy of the party and the state."

The resolution suggested that censorship would be tightened:

"All the workers in the communications media, regardless of their party membership, have the responsibility for the protection of state interests, the fulfillment of the political program and are responsible for the communications media acting in a strictly socialist spirit." This seemed to be an endorsement of the suspension of Communist papers in recent weeks for their lack of "socialist spirit."

A significant concession to the Stalinists' claim that there was a danger of "counter-revolution" in Czechoslovakia appeared in the section on foreign policy. "As of late," the central committee said, "our re-

public has been one of the exposed areas in this struggle [between socialism and capitalism] and one under a strong imperialist impact."



Alexander Dubcek

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The protest at S.F.'s Poly High

By Laura Dertz

SAN FRANCISCO—Polytechnic High School, which I attend, has all the features seen in most ghetto schools. It is overcrowded and understaffed. There are not enough materials to supply the student body adequately, and the building itself is dilapidated. The majority of the students are black, with a large minority of Chicano and Oriental students.

Student protest at Poly began a year ago. A teacher who was very popular with the students played a tape of a speech by Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party leader, in his class. When the administration found out about the tape, they threatened to fire him. The threat brought about a "riot" by the students, and police were brought on campus to deal with it. The revolt by the students caused a big shake-up. A new principal and dean of girls were appointed, both black. Also a handful of new black teachers were hired.

Over the past year several student groups were organized to improve the conditions at Poly; however they didn't really take hold, and the rotten conditions at Poly persisted.



Students at San Francisco Polytechnic High march on City Hall

Finally the school erupted again. What triggered the explosion was a letter signed by 20 faculty members in which students were described as "pimps, whores, and drug addicts." The letter, addressed to higher-ups in the education establishment, somehow was "leaked" to the daily papers.

When the students read or heard about the letter, they were immediately enraged. An assembly was called to discuss what had happened. Sensing the explosive nature of the situation, the board of education sent a representative to the meeting. Also, Willie Brown, the black Democratic Party representative for the district, was there. Proposals from these notables got nowhere

with the students. Finally, Gregory Burrell, the black student-body president, got up and said he was walking out. He was followed by 1,500 students.

The students then marched on the board of education, located three or four miles from Poly. When the students—in very high, militant spirits—reached the board of education building, they picketed for a short time and then went into the auditorium. The meeting that followed was brief and emotional. The students demanded that the teachers be fired and that they be given better education instead of being called "whores and pimps."

The board and the Poly High administration agreed to discuss the problems.

A negotiations team of students, administrators and teachers was set up. Students met and formulated their demands, which ranged from soul food in the cafeteria, open campus for girls, new choir robes, and classes in black history for both students and teachers, to board of education inspection of the school conditions.

The negotiations team is scheduled to meet until all the demands are satisfied. In the course of the protest, a Black Students Union has been formed at Poly. Although it is difficult to predict the future at Poly, one thing is clear. The students will continue to revolt and demonstrate until they win a school which will give them a good education.

Panthers in Indianapolis map black liberation fight

By Richard Congress

INDIANAPOLIS—In a recent interview, Indianapolis Black Panther Party leader Richard Crawford elaborated on the plans and ideas of the local Panther chapter, which has been in operation for about two months.

Crawford said that the Indianapolis Panthers were founded after he took a trip to Oakland, Calif., where he saw the Bay Area Panthers in action. He returned home determined to form a chapter in his home town. Crawford is convinced that the Black Panther Party is the only effective militant black organization, because the Panthers have a political program for liberation opposed to the racist power structure and its political arms, the Republican and Democratic parties. The Black Panther Party, he said, is an organization for black liberation, not for the reform of a corrupt, racist society.

Right now the prime activity of the Indianapolis Black Panther Party is the defense of three imprisoned black militants who have been charged with conspiracy to steal arms and assassinate the Indianapolis police chief.

Omar Shabazz, Leon Gomillia and Melvin Johnson are being held on \$45,000 bond and are being prosecuted on the testimony of an agent from the prosecutor's office, who was admitted to the police force immediately after the three were arrested. This case represents the classic frame-up by infiltration of a police agent that has

characterized the victimization of black militants around the country.

Two hundred and fifty people turned out for a rally organized by the Panthers in defense of the three militants at the Universal Methodist Church on Nov. 10. Lauren Watson, the captain of the Colorado Black Panther Party, and the minister of religion of the Colorado Panthers, Russ Simpson, were guest speakers at the rally. Messages of solidarity were given by representatives of the Black Radical Action Project, the Indianapolis Draft Project, Dignity Unlimited, Indiana Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

While the prime activities of the Indianapolis Panthers is the defense of the three framed blacks, Richard Crawford told this reporter that the Panthers will be running candidates in future elections.

In discussion about the Vietnamese struggle for liberation and the international revolutionary movement, Crawford stated that the Panthers were against the occupation of other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America by the racist imperialist system. He declared that they were in solidarity with the liberation struggles around the world, that "these struggles are the same struggles as our own."

Newark Panthers sue cops

By Andy Brode

NEWARK, Nov. 8—The Newark Black Panther Party has announced plans to file suit against the Newark police department for "gross brutality" during an antiwar, antiracist demonstration held here Election Day. The demonstration of 500 was sponsored by a number of New Jersey student peace groups as well as the Newark Black Panthers.

According to Newark Panther Captain Carl Nichols, the police did nothing to stop right-wing racists who attacked the demonstrators and even intervened on the side of the attackers.

Captain Nichols told this reporter that the cops chased the demonstrators down the street, beating them with nightsticks and running horses into the crowd. Four or five Panthers were hit with nightsticks, and one received wounds requiring stitches. Ten members of SDS were injured and three were hospitalized. A member of the YSA required stitches in his head as a result of the work of a police club.

The suit which is being filed by the

Kent students hit cop recruiting

Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, has been the scene of student protests ever since police recruiters from the notoriously racist Oakland, Calif., police force turned up on campus. Charging university complicity with police oppression of the black community in Oakland, over 200 students protested the presence of the recruiters with a sit-in on Nov. 13 in front of the university placement office.

The students, many of them members of the Black United Students and the Students for a Democratic Society, demanded that open hearings be held on campus to investigate their charges of racism in the Oakland police department.

At least one, and possibly more students are being charged with violating Kent State's special "riot act." In face of demands that he grant amnesty, the president of the university has replied that he couldn't drop the charges because "students did disrupt normal university functions."

About 200 members of the Black United Students met in a closed session to formulate demands in response to the university's charges. They decided to threaten a mass walkout of black students if the following demands were not met: 1) No charges should be brought against any students. 2) If charges are filed, hearings should be held before their peers, that is, students of the same social and economic

background and race. 3) All those involved in the demonstration should get the same punishment because there were no leaders, contrary to charges by KSU officials. 4) Complete amnesty should be granted, with no sanctions against BUS.

On Nov. 18, when the university president rejected the demands, hundreds of black students marched off campus.

2,000 at L.A. rally for Newton-Cleaver

By Walter Lippman

LOS ANGELES—An estimated 2,000 people gathered in Trade Technical College auditorium here to protest the conviction of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party, and the threat by the California adult authority to revoke the parole of minister of information Eldridge Cleaver.

The rally was sponsored by the newly formed Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee, a united-front organization.

Over \$3,300 was collected in cash and \$3,400 in pledges during the rally. Speakers at the rally included Panther Minister of Finance Elvin Newton; Panther Chairman Bobby Seale; law professor Richard Wasserstrom of the University of California at Los Angeles; Oscar Acosta, who is attorney for the "Chicano 13" and the Brown Berets; and Charles Garry, attorney for Cleaver and Newton.



Photo by Richard Congress
Fred Crawford



Huey P. Newton

Nixon's victory: shift to the right

By Barry Sheppard

One of the important features of the 1968 presidential elections was illustrated by a conversation between two poll watchers in New York.

A young Socialist Workers Party supporter had gone into the voting booth and quickly flipped the levers for the socialist ticket. "Boy, she voted fast," said one of the poll watchers as she emerged from the booth.

"Yeah, she probably voted for one of the minority parties," said the other.

"How do you know?" asked the first.

"Because she was smiling when she came out," was the reply.

It certainly was true that most voters didn't feel much like smiling after casting their ballot for one of the three major candidates. There was a widespread feeling of disgust with all of them. A Harris poll taken during the campaign showed a majority favoring "someone else" over Humphrey, Nixon or Wallace.

Faced with a situation where the political positions of the various candidates differed only by nuances, voters tried to express their desires by picking and choosing as best they could. This often meant ticket-splitting, sometimes with unusual results. (In Arkansas, Wallace won the plurality for President, Winthrop Rockefeller, considered a moderate on the race question, was reelected governor, and J.W. Fulbright, both a "dove" on Vietnam and a segregationist, was reelected to the Senate.)

Another symptom of the general disgust with the major candidates was the fact, reflected in the polls, that large numbers of people had a hard time making up their minds which one of the three to vote for. Large shifts of opinion occurred in the last weeks of the campaign. None of the three candidates generated any real enthusiasm among the great mass of Americans.

Wallace vote

The vote for Wallace was not as great as many in the radical movement and in the capitalist press had feared.

The predicted large Wallace vote among blue-collar workers outside the deep South failed to materialize. The polls showed that those white workers who had earlier said they would vote for Wallace generally shifted back to Humphrey in the end, indicating that other issues became more important to these workers than giving expression to their racial prejudice.

The Wallace vote nationally was some 13-1/2 percent of the total vote. Over half of this vote was in the South, where the Dixiecrat machine that backed Wallace is based. The major part of his Southern vote was in the five Deep South states Wallace carried. Outside the South, his share of the vote was around nine percent, but it varied considerably from state to state.

Wallace was able to get on the ballot in all 50 states, and did receive some four to five million votes outside the South, and nine to ten million votes total. This vote should not be dismissed as inconsequential, but neither should hasty conclusions be drawn that this vote for the segregationist swine from Alabama represents an increase in ultraright strength or a mass shift to the right.

Goldwater corralled the ultrarightist vote in 1964, but that vote was mixed in with regular Republican votes, and it is impossible to make comparisons. We can say that there is little evidence outside the electoral arena—as manifested in demonstrations, rallies, etc.—that ultrarightist forces have grown considerably in the past few years. Quite the contrary, except for the crowds at the Wallace cam-



Nixon can be sure of seeing antiwar demonstration like this one in New York's Central Park last April 27.

paigned rallies, the open face of the ultraright and their public activity have declined since the early 1960s.

Wallace's primary appeal was racism and opposition to the "anarchists"—that is, to the black power, antiwar and student movements. What the Wallace vote indicates is that the antiblack and anti-communist policies and propaganda of the capitalist ruling class over a period of decades has created a reservoir of racist, reactionary prejudices in a section of the population which can be tapped by a demagogue like Wallace.

Shift to right?

The vote for Nixon and Wallace together was 57 percent of the total vote. Should this fact be viewed as indicating a general shift to the right by the majority of Americans? I don't think so.

Elections in capitalist countries under the best of circumstances give only a distorted picture of the real relation of class forces. For example, many young people, who may be playing a very important role in political and social struggles, are not allowed to vote. But in the United States, the picture of social reality presented by election results is especially distorted, as an examination of key facts will show.

Before turning to that subject, it is important to note that in evaluating election results, we have to be careful not to make hasty generalizations. We have to place the elections in the context of the general class struggle as expressed outside the electoral process in demonstrations, strikes, etc.

We also have to make a distinction between the policies of the capitalist parties and what is occurring among the mass of people.

Capitalist policy

Contrary to 1964, when Johnson was promising to build the "great society," which supposedly was to help the poor and improve conditions in the black community, this year's campaign was marked by the absence of even such phony electioneering rhetoric.

Johnson himself began cutbacks on "great society" programs like the pogon "war on poverty," while the real war in Vietnam took precedence over the needs of the people. Inflation and higher taxes have been the methods used to make the American people pay for this war, in addition to giving the lives of their sons.

The demands of black people for complete freedom and equality, for jobs and decent housing and decent education, have either been sidestepped, or, when black anger has exploded in the streets, been met with troops and massive deployment of police.

These policies are rotated in the nature and needs of the capitalist system itself. Take the question of war for example. The war in Vietnam is currently the most important and acute expression of the fact that the U.S. imperialists are ready to attempt to suppress by force any revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist world. In this epoch of rising colonial and socialist revolutions, this policy presents a permanent war danger.

This basic outlook, which underlies U.S. foreign policy, is supported by both major parties and all the capitalist politicians, whatever tactical differences may arise among them from time to time. In all

the major areas of domestic policy, it is the same. Either Humphrey or Nixon would have carried out these policies—for example, Nixon has already indicated that he intends to maintain a bipartisan foreign policy. In other words, we can expect more of what Johnson has given us from Nixon.

Mass response

That's on the side of the capitalist politicians. But the mass of Americans have not sat back and simply acquiesced to the policies represented by Johnson and Nixon. As the war in Vietnam was escalated, it became increasingly unpopular. For the first time in this century, a large movement in active opposition to a shooting war has taken to the streets.

The development of the antiwar movement has been a key component in the general radicalization among students, who have begun to question the whole nature of a society that could prosecute a dirty war like the one in Vietnam and denies freedom to black people at home.

The black people have certainly demonstrated no acceptance of the status quo. On the contrary, they have exhibited increasing determination and capacity to fight on all fronts for their freedom and a better life.

While the trade-union movement is not yet at the point of radicalization reached by black people and students, workers have not just gone along with capitalist policies. In the recent period we have seen increased pressure from union ranks for more effective use of union power in contract negotiations to defend the workers' living standards, which are being cut into by war-caused inflation and higher taxes. Any suggestion that workers should sacrifice for the Vietnam war has been rejected out of hand. Sporadic oppositional movements against the ruling union bureaucracy have appeared, a process that will be given further impetus by the black caucuses which have begun to develop in some unions.

Lack of a political instrument

But the massive opposition to the war, the rising militancy in the black communities and on the campuses and the general dissatisfaction with the policies of the capitalist class had no mass political instrument through which they could be directly expressed in the elections. There is yet to be created either a mass labor or black party which could have served to give electoral expression to the growing opposition to the policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

(At the present stage of political development, minority parties like the Socialist Workers Party have an appeal primarily to people who are becoming consciously anticapitalist in their thinking. Besides that, the capitalist election laws are rigged to make it an insuperable task for such parties to get on the ballot in many states, and the prohibitive costs prevent them from receiving anywhere near the kind of mass exposure the major candidates get. Where they do get on the ballot, their votes are often not counted. As yet, almost a month after the election, votes for minor parties have not been publicly recorded.)

The fact that the three major electoral machines—those of Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace—held a virtual monopoly on the electoral arena, means that the real desires

of the voters could only be expressed in highly distorted form, if at all.

How, for example, could antiwar sentiment be expressed in a choice between Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace? They presented a virtual united front on the issue.

Nixon angled for antiwar votes, saying that since he was not part of the present administration, he would find some (undisclosed) way to bring peace. Undoubtedly many people voted for him out of disgust with the war record of the Democrats.

Humphrey tried to look a little more dovish than Johnson. The bombing halt and Eugene McCarthy's endorsement probably helped swing some antiwar votes in his direction, especially among liberals who were also frightened of a Nixon victory.

Even Wallace played it cool on the war question, although he had trouble keeping LeMay under wraps, with his trigger-happy, nuclear-bomb policy.

The only vehicle available for direct expression of antiwar sentiment, a sharply worded referendum held in Dearborn, Mich., calling for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, won by a vote of 19,557 to 14,676. A similar referendum in 1966 was defeated by a vote of 14,134 to 20,626. The Dearborn referendum reflects the growth of antiwar sentiment, but in the general elections this sentiment had no chance to be clearly expressed.

Black people gave 90 percent of their votes to Humphrey—who they simply considered the lesser evil among the three "law and order" candidates. And union workers apparently took the advice of the union bureaucrats to vote for Humphrey as a supposed "friend of labor" compared to the other two candidates.

What happened to the Democrats

For over 30 years, the electoral base of the Democratic Party has been a coalition of the black, labor, liberal and Dixiecrat votes. In general, this coalition held together in 1968, though somewhat shakily, with the exception of the Dixiecrats. (Both the Wallace breakaway and the Republicans made gains in the South. Most of the Southern and border states that didn't go to Wallace went to Nixon.)

Democratic strategy is to hold the black-labor-liberal coalition together. For example, concessions were made to keep a hold on the black vote. Black delegates



CALENDAR

CHICAGO

YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION. See story, page 8. For more information call Chicago YSA, 939-5044.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE STUDENT STRUGGLE IN MEXICO. Speaker: Santiago Ramirez, Mexican student. Documentary films of recent student struggles. Fri., Dec. 6, 8:00 p.m. 2338 Market St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Nixon's victory: shift to the right?

By Barry Sheppard

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Faced with a situation where the political positions of the various candidates differed only by nuances voters tried to



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Photo by Shannon

...right?



...rk last April 27.

Photo by Shannon

from Georgia and Mississippi were allowed into the Democratic convention, and there were many more black Democratic candidates this year than before, many of whom won.

Those who have been looking for a "realignment" in the Democratic Party took heart at the rather sizable McCarthy challenge, the Democratic "dove" and black candidates, and the defection of the Dixiecrats. The Communist Party, for example, is beginning to hammer the line that this was the significant development in the elections, and we can expect that such forces will use this argument to back their false and damaging line of working within the Democratic Party.

Repression?

Some in the movement have raised the specter of "repression" under Nixon. First, it should be noted, the Democrats shouldn't be slighted when it comes to repression—witness Humphrey's men in action at the Democratic Party convention.

The capitalists generally rule with a combination of concessions and repression. In the final analysis, when they feel their very rule threatened, they will go to any lengths of repression to defend that rule, and will, when in deep enough crisis, attempt to impose fascism on the American people. But we are not yet at the point where this is an immediate danger.

What we can expect is that the pattern of increasing repression symbolized by the massive use of cops and troops against black people will continue under Nixon. As the antiwar, black-power and labor movements develop further courses of struggle, they are going to experience more attempts at repression.

But the question is, what is going to be the reaction of those under attack? All indications are that there will be an even deeper response to any such attempts at repression, and far from crushing the black community or the antiwar movement, these attempts will serve to further radicalize them. This is what happened at Columbia University last spring. When the cops were used in an assault on students, the assault galvanized student support for the demonstrators. A similar result can be expected in the union movement if the ruling class attempts to solve its economic problems by further cutting into the workers' wages and conditions.

Viewed in the context of the developing social struggles outside the electoral process, the elections do not indicate any acceptance of the capitalist status quo.

The fact that black people voted for Humphrey, and that antiwar sentiment could find no clear expression in either Humphrey, Nixon or Wallace, in no way indicates that the black-power or antiwar movements have become reconciled to the war and racism of the ruling class parties.

Far from expecting any general reversal of the new radicalization that has begun to develop in the country, indications are that it will continue to rise, with of course, episodic ups and downs. As the basic dissatisfaction with capitalist policies—which could not find adequate expression in the election—deepens and becomes more widespread, we can expect intensified extraparliamentary struggles in the period ahead. Nixon, it can safely be predicted, won't have any easier time of it than LBJ.

A 'SOUND' SYSTEM?

Franc crisis rocks int'l money market

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 21—The single fact that the world financial press agrees on as it attempts to explain and unravel the latest and third world capitalist monetary crisis of 1968, is that the German mark, not the U. S. dollar has become—if only temporarily—the most stable capitalist currency.

That fact would have been disbelieved, as even a remote possibility for the future, when the capitalist bankers of the world constructed the present international monetary system at the end of the second world war.

The system rested on an abiding faith in the permanent power of U. S. imperialism and consequent prestige of its currency.

But today the capitalist powers are again locked in intense competition for each other's markets, and the once all-powerful monopolies of the United States are being challenged in the struggle to dominate these markets.

At the same time, U. S. imperialism is locked in a war which is becoming increasingly expensive to fight, let alone win, and this has resulted in an inflation of the dollar far outpacing the rates of inflation of other capitalist currencies—particularly the German mark.

The combination of these factors—intensified international competition and dollar inflation—has shaken at its foundation the international monetary system—which was precisely "permanent" dollar stability.

To make matters worse, two other capitalist powers, France and Britain, have been thrown into mutually reinforcing

economic crises. In both nations the capitalists have resorted to frontal attacks on workers' wages in the hope of salvaging their competitive position in the world market. Their success, so far, is minimal.

French capitalism retaliated against the pay increases won by workers in the historical June general strike by raising prices. But higher prices for French products have made them less competitive in world trade.



De Gaulle

A year ago French bankers chortled when Britain devalued the pound. Today they are faced with the necessity of implementing the same kind of "austerity program" London undertook beginning in 1965—slashing wages and cutting government spending with resultant layoffs.

The temporary gainer for the headaches in New York, Paris and London appears to be Bonn. As higher prices undercut the competitive position of U. S., British and French products, German products have found easier access to foreign markets. And the foreign reserves gained through sale of these products have strengthened the mark.

In such a situation, one can hardly quibble with money speculators who have been trading pounds, francs and to a lesser extent dollars for marks at the historic volume of nearly \$2 billion a week. And it is easy to understand why world bankers got together in Bonn and decided as a first step to close up shop for a few days.

What is not so easy to guess is what else they will do. The most likely variant—revaluing the mark—has the short-term value that it alleviates speculation.

But revaluation of the mark, like last year's devaluation of the pound, is a patchwork solution to the fundamental problem for world capitalism of reconciling national economic problems with international competition.

That was temporarily resolved by the agreement at Bretton Woods in 1944 to trust the dollar. But that trust is falling apart and no mutually agreeable alternative scheme is in sight.

Behind the Evansville frame-up

By Gus Horowitz

EVANSVILLE, Ind.—Black youth in this city are convinced that the white racist city administration has launched an attack on the black community. In the past few weeks, 16 black youths have been arrested on trumped-up charges ranging from robbery and arson to assault and battery with intent to kill.

The charges are the city's response to the August uprising and a press-manufactured "crime wave" allegedly taking place in recent months.

Numerous events preceded the arrests. There have been intensified protests by black people against the conditions they are forced to live under, and increasing opposition to the black community on the part of the city administration.

One incident is cited by some of the black youth here as an example. When George Wallace came to Evansville for a campaign rally on Oct. 10, he faced a mixed reception. Several thousand whites applauded, but that was to be expected, for Evansville lies in the far southwest region of the state, just across the Ohio River from Kentucky.

George Wallace's brand of racism struck a responsive chord among many of the

local whites. But among the contingent of "anarchists" opposing Wallace was a new element for Evansville, who took the white racists by surprise. They were black high-school students, most of them freshmen and sophomores.

These weren't kids who "knew their place." They were politically-minded people. They were militant, and they gave the racists a hot time.

Fistfights broke out, initiated by white students whipped up by their racist leader. The black students held their own, however, and some of the whites paid a visit to the hospital.

Naturally, when the cops moved in to break it up, they arrested some of the black students, and not their attackers. After all, they're just cops, and know what they are supposed to do to maintain "law and order" in that kind of situation.

After the incident, some of the whites in Evansville weren't satisfied. They demanded stronger action by the city administration, accusing the city of coddling the black students.

An article in the Oct. 14 *Evansville Press* points to the thinking going on in the city administration: "Residents of

Evansville's most politically sensitive area are critical of local officials' handling of a Central High School racial incident touched off Thursday by a speech of George C. Wallace, third party candidate for President. That was apparent this weekend after a house-to-house survey in the Fourth Ward's 22nd and 23rd precincts."

The survey contacted 152 people. "All of them," the paper went on, "are white residents, living in a section of the city which has no Negro residents. Their importance as a cross-section of the city and county, however, has been proven in elections dating back to 1952 which show they are in the mainstream of public opinion."

Of the 152 whites in the survey, only 28 approved of the way the city handled the incident. The rest were critical and demanded more repressive action. "Aside from these opinions," the paper noted, "47 residents felt sure that the Democrats have lost votes in the Nov. 5 election because of the incidents." Evansville has had a Democratic city administration for the last nine years. This year a Republican sweep was in the offing.

The roundup of the 16 black youths made big headlines when it began five days before the election.



Photo courtesy Evansville Press

March on Evansville City Hall Oct. 10 to protest inaction on black community's grievances.

The New York school settlement

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK, Nov. 21 — This city's five-week school shutdown came to an end Nov. 18, when the United Federation of Teachers agreed to a settlement which fell short of its previous position demanding the complete destruction of the experimental, local-school-control project in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn.

At the time of the settlement, more than 12,000 teachers — a fifth of the city's teaching staff — had already returned to work, refusing to support UFT President Albert Shanker's racist attempt to crush the experiment in community control at Ocean Hill.

The UFT bureaucracy had previously insisted that the strike would not end until the experimental district was dissolved, its governing board and unit administrator, Rhody McCoy, removed, and the seven principals in the district ousted.

These demands were not realized, largely because of the militant opposition of New York's black and Puerto Rican communities to the racist shutdown, as well as the mounting opposition within the ranks of the trade-union movement and the UFT itself.

Literally every black organization in the city opposed the union's action, including the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, SNCC, and the Black Panther Party. Opposition also came from District 65, RWDSU; District Council 37 of the state, county and municipal employees, Local 1199 of the drug and hospital workers, as well as several other unions with predominantly black and Puerto Rican memberships.

Last week, the leaderships of these unions conducted a sit-in at the office of Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York Central Labor Council. They demanded that the council end its support of the UFT and argued that the strike was making it difficult to recruit and hold black and Puerto Rican workers in their unions. They even threatened to form their own labor organization.

Almost every black and Puerto Rican teacher in the city taught during the shutdown.

The actual settlement was based on a proposal, previously rejected by the union, made by the state commissioner of education, James Allen. The version finally accepted by a six-to-one vote of the UFT membership includes clauses which:

- Provide that involuntary transfer of teachers be subject to contract grievance procedures, including arbitration.
- Establish a three-man state commis-

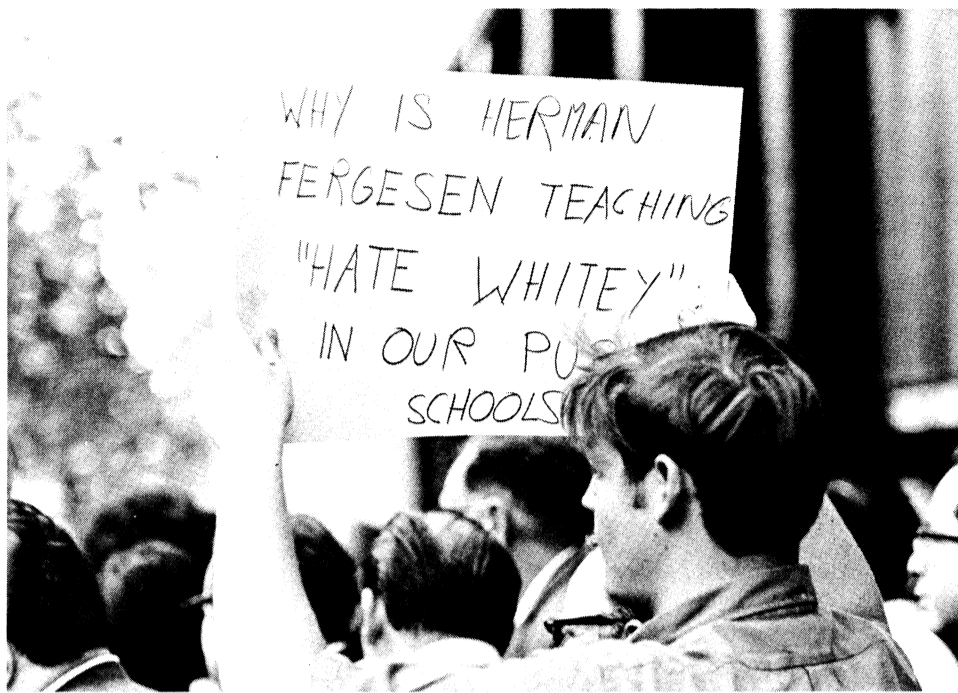


Photo by Shannon

AT PRO-SHANKER RALLY. Sign carried at Sept. 16 New York City Hall demonstration backing UFT shutdown. The Herman "Fergesen" referred to is apparently Herman Ferguson, former assistant school principal now facing prison as the result of a racist frame-up in which he was convicted on the trumped-up charge of "conspiring" to kill Roy Wilkins.

sion, to be appointed by Commissioner Allen, with jurisdiction throughout New York City to investigate violations of the agreement. The commission has power to order disciplinary action.

c) Create a trusteeship in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to oversee operations in the district. It remains to be seen how much they will actually try to intervene.

The agreement also provides that Ocean Hill Unit Administrator Rhody McCoy be reinstated upon giving assurances to Allen that he will comply with the directives of the trustee. Mr. McCoy has been reinstated, and provisions are also included for the reinstatement of the governing board. It also remains to be seen to what degree McCoy will cooperate with the trustee.

The worst aspect of the settlement was the stipulation that three principals at Ocean Hill schools were to be "temporarily" assigned to the district office, pending the outcome of litigation concerning the validity of their original appointments. Last week the appellate division of the state supreme court upheld a lower court decision which held that these principals had been appointed in violation of civil-service provisions. How soon they will

be returned to their rightful posts is basically a matter of how strong a community struggle is waged in their behalf.

Principals in New York are currently chosen from a civil-service list which has systematically discriminated against minority groups. When the governing board at Ocean Hill appointed its eight principals last year, it chose to ignore this discriminatory list and proceeded to appoint principals who, while lacking civil-service eligibility, met all state qualifications. (At that point, UFT members quit the governing board.)

Among those appointees was Luis Fuentes, the one and only Puerto Rican principal in the entire city, and a number of black educators. At present there are 900 principals in the public-school system; about five are nonwhite.

This list has been consistently defended by the UFT brass and its partner, the Council of Supervisory Organizations, the association of school administrators' groups.

Few observers believed any settlement arrived at between the board of education and the UFT would favor the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community. The union had hoped to resolve the issue by getting it relegated to a special session of the state legislature, a notorious enemy of decentralization. This is the same legislature that a few months ago passed the Marchi Bill, supported by the UFT leaders. The Marchi Bill postponed decentralization of the schools, and the UFT officialdom committed almost \$500,000 in lobbying for it.

UFT President Albert Shanker later proposed at a delegate-assembly meeting of the UFT that the union "support all those state legislators who supported our decentralization (!) legislation and oppose all those who opposed it." Thus, after this motion was passed last June, the union became committed to electoral support of all those "friends of the UFT" in Albany. It was noted at that time by the opposition party within the UFT, the New Coalition, that of the 93 legislators the union was mandated to support, 70 had previously voted in favor of the strike-busting Taylor Law.

The board of education and the mayor, on the other hand, were more clever in their resistance to community control of schools. They sat back while the racist leadership of the UFT deepened the breach with the black and Puerto Rican communities, hoping to weaken the union and the black community at the same time, while appearing to be a friend of decentralization.

Community control of schools was, of course, the real issue in the shutdown. The black and Puerto Rican communities mobilized and organized to an unprecedented degree during the past six weeks. Massive demonstrations were held, and hundreds of schools were opened by militant parents and teachers and occupied and operated for the duration of the shutdown.

"Illegal" school boards were elected throughout the city to supervise the opening and operation of the schools as well as to serve as centers for future activity. Thus, what the UFT leaders had hoped to isolate

and destroy at Ocean Hill has spread to every borough in New York! They have helped spark a new movement of major political significance — the movement of black and Puerto Rican people for control of their communities.

Although Shanker and Co. struck certain blows at the Ocean Hill district, the structure there can be saved if the community fights hard. And throughout the city, the fight for community control is really only beginning. Furthermore, many black and Puerto Rican people have begun to discard previous illusions as to the benevolent role of the mayor and the city administration in the decentralization and community-control controversy. They are realizing it is up to them to do the job, and many have enlisted in the fight.

Meanwhile, the opposition within the UFT has grown considerably. The New Coalition caucus, organized last May, has the support of several thousand teachers and played a major role in opening the schools during the shutdown. It has organized chapters in districts throughout New York and has developed strong ties to community groups fighting for community control of schools. A few weeks ago, the New Coalition cosponsored a demonstration at UFT headquarters which was attended by some 3,000 people on one day's notice.

An indication of the lack of "finality" of the UFT settlement came a few days ago when the governing board of another experimental district announced that it had hired an additional 28 teachers without the approval of the board of education. The governing board argued that the additional teachers would reduce class size and consequently improve the quality of education.

Other schools taken over during the strike by militant parents announced that they would not permit certain racist teachers to return to work when the schools reopened.

Shanker's lockout of the city's school children was a blow at the necessary struggle of the city's teachers for adequate wages and decent conditions. To reverse that situation, they will have to repudiate his leadership and racist, "law and order" program for the schools. A powerful movement for community control is developing among the city's black and Puerto Rican people. From the viewpoint of their self-interest, the teachers will do well to align themselves with these profoundly progressive forces.

Paul Boutelle helping build YSA parley

By Tony Thomas

NEW YORK — Paul Boutelle, former SWP candidate for Vice-President, made a special postelection speaking tour of the New York area to build the Young Socialist convention.

Among the schools he visited were the New York City colleges, Columbia University, C. W. Post in Greenvale, New York, and Paterson State College in Paterson, N.J. At each meeting, he gave a brief talk on the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist movement, with special emphasis on the black liberation struggle, before opening the meeting up for extended questioning.

The meetings ranged from small, informal discussions with Afro-American student groups at Brooklyn College and C. W. Post, to an appearance at a massive teach-in at Paterson State, where he addressed hundreds of students on the revolutionary struggle for black liberation. At C. W. Post, Boutelle was able to address an Afro-American history class on the real roots of racism in America.

Boutelle's meeting at Columbia University was centered around discussion of the Young Socialist discussion bulletin, "On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination." The bulletin will be the basis of discussion of the black liberation struggle at the Thanksgiving Young Socialist convention. A number of black students at the meetings bought the bulletin and expressed a desire to attend the convention.

Welfare clients, workers hit New York cutbacks

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK — Fifteen hundred welfare clients and members of the Social Service Employees Union demonstrated Nov. 14 outside of Gracie Mansion, Mayor Lindsay's residence, to protest budget-cutting attacks by the city against welfare clients and welfare workers.

During the last year, the amount of money paid to welfare recipients for furniture and clothing had quadrupled from \$3 million to \$13 million. Client organizations had informed clients that special grants for clothing and furniture were legal and available, and thousands of clients had received special grants for these purposes.

The city, in response to this, initiated on Sept. 1, 1968, the "flat grant" system. This policy eliminated completely special grants for clothing and furniture based on need, and instead provided for quarterly checks of \$25 to be issued to every client for clothing and furniture combined. Thus it is now impossible for a client on welfare to receive more than \$100 a year for clothing and furniture.

This sparked protest demonstrations at almost every welfare center during the last two months. The city has sought to ignore the protests.

On top of this, the city a year ago instituted a "case aide" program. Case aides are assistant caseworkers who do paperwork, act as interpreters, and help make visits to clients. The city hired welfare recipients as well as members of the black and Puerto Rican communities for this job, loudly claiming they were helping to provide "upward mobility." Those hired were told their salaries would be \$4,800 a year.

However, when they saw their paychecks, they found that they were being paid \$4,250 a year instead, and the city denied they had ever promised \$4,800. One city official suggested they go on welfare if they weren't making enough money.

In addition, welfare workers, whose contract with the city provides for a maximum of 60 cases per worker, have had an average of 80 cases during the last few months. The city maintains that discussion of this subject is not a proper matter for collective bargaining. Union officials and delegates have been harassed, and in some cases, suspended.

The union's contract with the city expires Dec. 31, and it has become clear that the union and the clients have a hard fight ahead of them if they are going to succeed in combatting these new attacks by the city.

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

ATLANTA, GA., 30302, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1968



Staff Photo—Bob Dendy

PFC. EDWIN GLOVER STANDS OUT LIKE "A SORE THUMB," ARMY SAYS
Marxist Says Army Doesn't Understand His Views; Army Agrees

A MARXIST

Pfc. Glover's Private War

By PHILIP GAILEY
Constitution Staff Writer

FT. BENNING — Few would expect an outspoken Marxist to hit it off with the U.S. Army.

Each has ways of making the other's existence more miserable. The Army can be picayunish about enforcing its myriad of rules and regulations. The Marxist can express his political philosophy. The result is a strained relationship.

It is difficult to say who suffers more.

That appears to be the case with the Army and Pfc. Edwin Glover, 21, an avowed Marxist and outspoken Vietnam war critic from Minneapolis, Minn., stationed at Ft. Benning, Co. C, 4th Battalion, 69th Armory, 197th Infantry brigade.

Pfc. Glover, a small, bespectacled young GI with chopped blond hair, has spent the last 50 days on restriction in his company area. He has been physically attacked twice by GIs who objected to his political views and has spent most of his time on restriction on details ranging from sweeping floors to moving rock piles from one place to another. He has missed several copies of his anti-war newspapers in the mail and his old copies have been confiscated by Army Intelligence. Some of his friends have been told not to associate with him because he would get them into trouble.

"I think the Army is picking on me," said Pfc. Glover, who speaks with a polite abruptness.

On the other hand, the Army, which admits giving Glover more attention than most soldiers, is upset because Glover

has been distributing militant anti-war publications and "throwing" his Marxist philosophy around in the presence of other soldiers. A colonel was outraged when he found a blunt memo on his desk from Glover demanding an investigation of his mail privileges. "Privates don't usually leave a note on the colonel's desk after cleaning his office," one captain explained. "He should have gone through channels."

In addition, Ft. Benning and the Pentagon almost daily receive angry telegrams and letters from Glover's civilian "comrades" and his attorney complaining about his treatment and "illegal harassment."

Apparently, the only thing the Army and Pfc. Glover agree on is that each would be better off without the other.

Pfc. Glover, who was active in anti-war demonstrations and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in civilian life before being drafted, insists that he salutes and tries to get along with the Army. He has, however, recently concluded that it is impossible.

Glover said his problem with the Army came to a head after he was transferred to his present unit at Ft. Benning, where he is a radio repairman.

It all began after his first leave. Some of his friends at Ft. Benning asked him to bring them some issues of "Vietnam Gi," "The Bond" and other anti-war publications when he returned from leave. He did.

Private Glover also expressed

his political views around the barracks, holding informal sessions with Negroes and Puerto Ricans on why the U.S. should not be in Vietnam.

"Glover began to stand out like a sore thumb," explained Captain John E. Davis, his commanding officer.

Glover agrees.

For example, he said he was required to stand at parade rest while waiting to see his first sergeant and other GIs were asking him to remove his glasses. He refused, but two soldiers, one a former coal miner, tangled with him anyway.

He was offered an Article 15 (company commander's punishment) for failing to fill out the proper form on a malfunctioning jeep he drove, and when he refused to accept it, he was told to expect a court martial.

During his first period of restriction, from Sept. 21 to Oct. 24, Glover was required to sign in at his company's orderly room every hour during weekends from 6 a.m. to 12 midnight.

The restriction was removed for two days when his attorney, Rowland Watts of New York, complained to the Pentagon.

Two days later, however, he was back on restriction and offered another Article 15 for wearing an "improper uniform." Glover said he borrowed a friend's uniform and removed the name tag because he had been unable to wash his uniforms during the five days he was ordered to sleep in the orderly room. "I didn't have a needle and thread to sew my name tag on with," Glover explained.

Capt. Davis, who said he had Glover sleep in the orderly room for "his own protection" because some Vietnam veterans were itching to get a chance at him, said Glover could have washed his clothes in the latrine sink.

When Military Intelligence decided to investigate Glover for security reasons, Capt. Davis said he told them he would keep him on restriction to facilitate keeping up with him.

Victory for Pfc. Glover

By Lillian Hopkins

NOV. 20—Pfc. Edwin Glover has won his "private war" with the Fort Benning authorities. On Nov. 12 the orders came down to Glover's company commander to lift restrictions on the antiwar GI, drop all charges against him, and cease punitive action and extra work assignments. The hard-won victory is a tribute to the stamina and courage of this young GI as well as to the nationwide defense campaign mounted on his behalf.

The brass' effort to break Ed Glover was a prolonged and determined one. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 8, 15 and 22.) For over seven weeks, with the exception of a single day, they confined him to a restricted area. During this time they twice provoked physical attacks on the Marxist soldier, held up and "lost" his mail, assigned him a variety of strenuous and painful extra jobs, threatened him with no fewer than three court-martials on petty, contrived charges, and made a sustained attempt to isolate him from friends and allies on and off base.

Two interventions by Glover's civilian counsel, Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League, brought temporary tactical retreats on the part of the Army. A telegram to the Pentagon on Oct. 24 induced a brief lifting of restrictions; a series of telephone calls to Fort Benning officers on Nov. 7 was cut off with the news that all charges were being "dropped." But in each case Glover was soon hit with vindictive extra assignments and restraining orders.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee mobilized a campaign on Glover's behalf that was proportional to the brass' attack on his rights. The Fort Benning commander began to receive protest telegrams and letters from antiwar groups and supporters of civil liberties all over the United States. A number of concerned visitors, including some sympathetic reporters, showed up at the base to see Glover. The authorities displayed a growing nervousness. Obviously, they did not like the national publicity which their unconstitutional action against Glover was receiving. Finally, on Nov. 12, they backed down.

There is, of course, no real guarantee against a new cycle of harassment. Whatever happens, however, the victory at Fort Benning is an achievement of major importance, one that will be hailed as a great triumph by all those who came so dramatically to Glover's defense.

His total restriction, before it was lifted last week, amounted to 50 days, and his attorney complained that it was illegal because the Army never filed specific charges against him.

The Army decided to drop court martial proceedings against him rather than "keep things stirred up."

Glover was given an extra week of training here "to acquire added skills" in his area of work. Glover said he moved rocks from one place to another and did housecleaning work around the company area during the extra week.

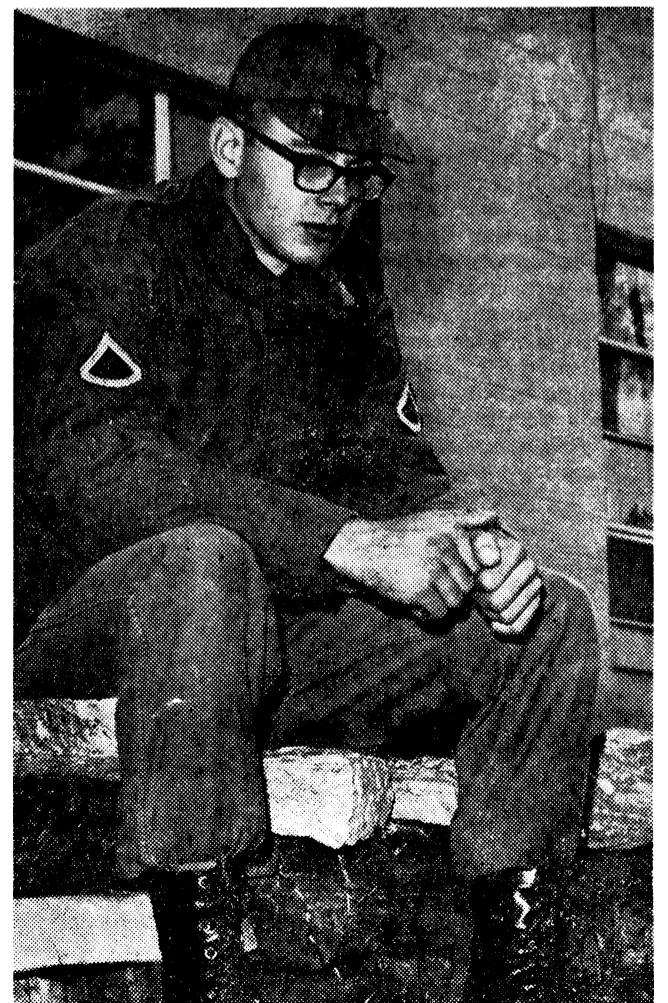
"The first sergeant told me if I didn't like the Army I should pack my bags and leave,"

Glover said. "But that's all they would have wanted. It would have been the stockade then."

Capt. Davis said 1st Sgt. Jesse Davis "is a veteran of three wars and fought communism in two of them. You'd expect him to get a little upset with somebody like Glover."

"I notice Glover more than the average private," Capt. Davis said. "Army-wise, these things may happen a lot, but we run a strict outfit around here."

The captain added: "Glover is costing the Army three men who have to look after him. I don't think the taxpayers would appreciate this. It would be to Glover's interest to be out of the Army."



Staff Photo—Bob Dendy

PFC. GLOVER RESTRICTED FOR 50 DAYS
"The Army's Picking on Me," He Complains

An appeal: Join the ranks of good coupon clippers

By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

The following letter has just been sent to the list of Militant subscribers. However the weekly readership of the paper is three or four times that of its subscription list. We're featuring it in our column this issue so that every one of our readers will get the message—and more will respond to it. Here it is.

Dear Militant Reader:

There are two kinds of coupon clippers. One is the class of parasitic plutocrats who live off the labor of others and rule this country. The Militant is against everything they represent.

Quite different are those who give instead of get. The Militant depends on them. This letter is addressed to that kind of coupon clipper.

The enclosed coupon has appeared in the last five issues of our paper. Some of you have already used it to send in a donation to The Militant 40th Anniversary Fund which has a goal of \$40,000 by December 15. Here are five reasons why you should be among them.

1. The Militant has been fighting for the interests of the working people for four decades. It was one of the first journals to oppose the Vietnam war, support black control of the black communities, defend the colonial and Cuban revolutions and a host of other progressive causes.
2. Its circulation and influence are expanding week by week, especially among the young black and white rebels.
3. We are seeking to raise \$1,000 for each year of its efforts.
4. The purpose of the \$40,000 Anniversary Fund is not to reward the paper for its past performance but make it a bigger, brighter, better campaigner for a socialist America.
5. We can't carry out our plans for improvement without your help. So — obey that impulse and fill out the coupon NOW! Thank you in advance for a hard-working editorial staff whose motto is: "Forward From Forty."

Fraternally,

George Novack

BOOK REVIEW:

Marxism and black liberation

MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE, articles by Harold Cruse, George Breitman and Clifton DeBerry. Merit Publishers, 1968, 48 pp., 50 cents.

This collection, originally published in 1965 and now in its second printing, presents a critique of Marxism by an advocate of cultural black nationalism and replies to that critique by two members of the Socialist Workers Party. The central question examined is the relevance of Marxism to the needs of black radicals in the United States.

The articles were first printed in 1964 — Harold Cruse's and Clifton DeBerry's in *Liberator*, and George Breitman's in *The Militant*—and they reflect the political events of that year, when the Freedom Now Party was being organized and DeBerry was the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for President. But the issues they discussed are as timely now as they were then.

The nature of Marxism and its development as a theory and a program by 20th century revolutionists; the Russian Revolution; the Afro-Americanization of Marxism; the relation of the colonial revolution to struggles in the industrialized capitalist countries; the dual character of the black-liberation struggle in the U.S.; the conservatism of white workers and the forces leading to their radicalization; the significance of independence for the black freedom movement; Trotsky's predictions on the vanguard role of black people;

relations between white and black radicals; the "color" of Marxism; pragmatism, empiricism and dialectics; "pure-and-simple" black nationalism; reform versus the dynamic of permanent revolution—these are only some of the questions under debate.

Harold Cruse has never replied publicly to the arguments of Breitman and De Berry, although he has reprinted his own article in his second book, *Rebellion or Revolution*. In his first book, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967), he said about the writing of that article, and speaking about himself in the third person:

"... the *Liberator* writer who grabbed at the chance of knocking Marxism did so with full knowledge that it was extremely unfair to use the Trotskyists as the whipping boys when the real historical culprits since the 1920s have been the Communists. This is not to say that the Trotskyists are the innocents of the white Left, but rather that they have never been influential enough to do any extensive political damage."

But he did not think it unfair to call the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party "twin branches of the same withering tree trunk of western Marxism."

At any rate, the reader here has the chance to compare the knocking of Marxism and the defense and exposition of Marxism—as they relate to the black struggle—in a single pamphlet.

— H. B.

The Great Society

OFFICIAL HINT?—In what may be the first trial balloon of the Nixon administration, it was announced that Vice President Agnew was sent to his Puerto Rican vacation in an Air Force plane because it was feared that if he was on a commercial liner it might have been hijacked to Cuba.

IN CHICAGO WEATHER?—We were a bit startled on reading a *Chicago Tribune* headline declaring: "Bare Student Recruiting by Trotskyites." But it really wasn't about unclad youth. Merely an old-fashioned red-baiting smear job on the Chicago Young Socialists for being active among high-school students.

WHAT GIs ARE DYING FOR—The freedom-loving Saigon regime shut down 11 papers in 20 days. One got hit for reporting U.S. Defense Secretary Clifford's criticism of the Saigon balk on the Paris talks. Another was suspended for publishing a photo of Ho Chi Minh.

PENSIONER'S MITE — In case you've been wondering what's going to happen to Hubert now that he's been separated from public service, he's going to have to eke it out on a \$19,000-a-year federal pension, plus whatever he's managed to put aside over the years, plus whatever he may now pick up.

FORWARD LOOKING U.S. POLICY — One of former Defense Secretary McNamara's first acts as head of the world bank was to reverse a personnel ban on short skirts.

PLANNED SUBVERSION — The National Retail Merchants Association blames the Pill for a 19-percent drop in the sales of maternity clothes.

UNEVEN AND COMBINED DEVELOPMENT—A letter from Time Pattern Research Institute advises: "Today the miracle of the high-speed computer has been successfully merged with the ancient knowledge of astrology to provide substantial guidelines to your future possibilities . . . Your Time Pattern Report . . . is cast from precise astronomical data stored by the IBM/360 computer—18 million pieces of data to be exact—and charted on the year of your birth, the month of your birth, and the day and hour of your birth as well as the longitude and latitude of the place of your birth."

NEXT, COMPUTERIZED POKER AND SEX—A new computerized automatic bartender will mix any of a thousand drinks in four seconds. Maybe they'll include taped backgrounds of the invigorating chatter of a briskly shaken whiskey sour in the making, or the relaxing tinkle of martini mix being swirled in a frosty pitcher of ice.

SHOP EARLY FOR XMAS — Neiman-Marcus, the Texas department store, is offering his and hers jaguars. For him, a \$5,559 Jaguar car, for her a \$5,975 jaguar fur. If that doesn't grab you, how about a gold and enamel chess set mounted with diamonds? \$25,000 plus postage.

— Harry Ring

Fund Scoreboard

| Area | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|--------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Boston | \$1,200 | \$1,980 | 165 |
| St. Louis | 100 | 85 | 85 |
| Portland | 150 | 125 | 83 |
| Los Angeles | 4,400 | 3,316 | 75 |
| Chicago | 1,950 | 1,375 | 71 |
| Twin Cities | 2,200 | 1,445 | 66 |
| San Francisco | 2,300 | 1,385 | 60 |
| New York | 7,200 | 4,060 | 56 |
| Philadelphia | 1,300 | 600 | 46 |
| Allentown | 150 | 65 | 43 |
| Cleveland | 1,800 | 600 | 33 |
| Oakland-Berkeley | 2,000 | 662 | 33 |
| San Diego | 300 | 89 | 30 |
| Detroit | 2,000 | 570 | 29 |
| Seattle | 300 | 50 | 17 |
| Other Areas | 650 | 916 | 141 |
| | \$28,000 | \$17,323 | 62 |
| Lifetime Militants | \$12,000 | \$ 6,000 | 50 |
| Totals | \$40,000 | \$23,323 | 58 |

clip and mail

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Student Mobilization to convene national GI-civilian parley

CHICAGO, Nov. 21—A "National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference" has been called for Chicago, Dec. 28. It will be part of a weekend of civilian and soldier meetings to plan mass antiwar actions for the spring. The conference was initiated by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The weekend will include a GI teach-in on Friday evening, Dec. 27, and a conference of the Student Mobilization Committee on Sunday, Dec. 29.

The Christmas holidays were chosen for the conference because many GIs will be on leave and able to attend. Already 10 active GI and antiwar veteran organizations, and six GI newspapers, have announced sponsorship of the meeting.

The "underground" GI papers calling the Chicago conference include: *Short Times*, Ft. Jackson, S.C.; *Fun, Travel and Adventure*, Ft. Knox, Ky.; *Flag in Action*, Ft. Campbell, Ky.; *Last Harass*, Ft. Gordon, Ga.; *Task Force*, San Francisco; and *Logistic*, Ft. Sheridan, Ill.

A number of active-duty servicemen who planned the nationwide soldier-led demonstrations in October are also sponsors of the Chicago conference. They include Lt. J.G. Susan Schnall, EN-3 Jerry Dunham, Mike Parissi and Sgt. Ralph Lewis, who helped build the Oct. 12 San Francisco march which brought out more than 500 active-duty GIs.

The teach-in will center around an open mike for servicemen. Leading authorities on the war, legal authorities and specialists on GI rights will also be present.

Howard Petrick, the GI discharged from Ft. Hood last year because of his antiwar activity, now a staff member of SMC, said the Sunday meeting would review SMC activities this year, discuss plans to

promote the spring demonstrations, and elect new officers.

A leaflet calling for the Chicago weekend conference is available from the new New York office of the SMC, at 857 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Headed, "GIs: This leaflet is your personal property. It cannot legally be taken away from you," the leaflet describes the weekend meeting and lists many sponsors who are already helping to plan it.

In addition to groups and individuals already mentioned, the sponsors of the Dec. 28 conference include: Veterans for Peace, Chicago; Seattle GI Civilian Alliance for Peace; Oleo Strut coffee house, Ft. Hood, Tex.; Southern Legal Assistance Project; Ft. Hood Five Defense Committee;

LINK, New York; UFO coffee house, Columbia, S.C.; Shelter Half coffee house, Tacoma, Wash.; San Francisco State Student Soldier Action Committee; Free Speech Movement, Ft. Dix, N.J.; Columbia University Committee to Aid Antiwar GIs; and Chicago High School Students Against the War.

Individual sponsors include: Prof. Howard Zinn; Prof. Noam Chomsky; Nettie Bell, a mother of one of the Ft. Hood 43; Clark Kissinger of the *Guardian*; Donald Duncan of *Ramparts*; Leroy Wollins of the Chicago Vets for Peace;

Prof. Maxwell Primack; Jim Boggio, chairman of the LA GIs and Vietnam Vets Against the War; Ron Wolin and Orion Mehus, steering committee, Vets for Peace in Vietnam, New York; Elinor Ferry; Otto Nathan; Ruth Gage-Colby; and Dalton James, of the N.Y. Vietnam Vets Against the War.

U.S. defense committee smeared by antistudent Mexico City daily

NOV. 20—A tour sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners in which two representatives of the Mexican Student National Strike Council have been speaking on U.S. campuses was attacked by the Mexico City daily *La Prensa*. In a Nov. 10 column by "Sembrador" Ricardo de la Luz and Enrique Estrada were accused of lying about the repression in Mexico and the massacre on Oct. 2 at the Plaza of the Three Cultures. In addition, they were compared to those Mexicans who asked Napoleon III to intervene in Mexico in the 19th century, and they were charged with trying to get the U.S. government to intervene in the current student crisis in Mexico.

La Prensa and its columnist "Sembrador"—a pen name that means "Sower"—have been in the forefront of the defense of the Mexican government's repressive policies and the attempt to shift blame from the army and police for the shameful massacre onto the students.

The massacre on Oct. 2 was widely covered by the world press, which was in Mexico at the time to report on the Olympic Games. Many stories described the brutal shooting by the army and secret service of unarmed civilians who had assembled at the plaza to hear the striking students. The reports led to a vigorous condemnation of the Mexican government by such notables as Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, and to an on-the-spot investigation by the USLA Justice Committee.

The committee arranged with the strike council to tour representatives of the student organization in the U.S. who would talk to students about their demands and about the repression going on in their country.

Despite the attempted smear of the Mexican students, the USLA Justice Committee stated that it would continue to tour the representatives of the National Strike Council (CNH) so that they could tell the full story of the massacre. The committee refused to be intimidated by the attack, and the students are anxious to make the point of view of the CNH known to students in the U.S. Information about the tour can be obtained by writing to the USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

LOS ANGELES — Eduardo Ojeda, a member of the students' National Strike Council in Mexico City, told a packed meeting of the Black Panther Party here Nov. 6 that the struggle of the Mexican students, the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the blacks in the United States is the same struggle.

Ojeda is making a tour of U.S. campuses, under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners, to discuss the Mexican movement and government repression.

In the Los Angeles area, Ojeda also addressed meetings sponsored by the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) at California State College in Los Angeles; LUCHA (Struggle) and the Educational Issues Committee, militant Chicano groups; the Brown Berets' organization, La Junta, at Los Angeles City College; the Young Socialist Alliance at UCLA; the UMAS at UCLA; and SDS at East Los Angeles College.

In addition, Ojeda appeared on the La Raza Unida program on radio station KPFF.



GIs FOR PEACE. Scene at Oct. 12 San Francisco rally where 500 GIs joined with 15,000 civilians in demanding an end to Vietnam war. Action proved a big stimulus to antiwar efforts by GIs nationally.

GI panel to be a highlight of Young Socialist parley

By Kipp Dawson

GIs from several bases around the country are preparing to come to Chicago for the Thanksgiving-weekend Young Socialist national convention. Antiwar and socialist GIs will participate in a special panel there on Thursday evening, Nov. 28.

The GI panelists will describe their activities and experiences in the armed forces. All have been carrying the message of the antiwar movement to their fellow GIs, and many have helped build GI antiwar newspapers and demonstrations.

One GI from Ft. Jackson, S.C., Pvt. Joe Cole, said in a recent letter: "We are excited about the convention and are saving leave time so that we can make it to Chicago." He expects several GIs from his base to attend.

A GI from Ft. Bragg wrote, "I am especially glad to hear about the upcoming convention! It really sounds like the young socialist movement in this country is on the road and charging along 'full steam ahead.' It is good to know that the only people capable of saving America are growing stronger literally by the day."

Along with the GI panel, the report and discussion on "Young Socialists and the Fight Against the Vietnam War" will help the convention review a year of antiwar activity which has been increasingly highlighted by organizing and demonstrations

of GIs. The discussions will help the convention set plans for the young socialist movement to continue to help GIs organize, to campaign in support of GIs' rights, and to build the antiwar movement as a whole.

The GI panel is expected to be a major feature of the four-day convention. It will be a meeting of young socialists from more than 30 states around the country and will review the current political situation in the United States and around the world. The purpose is to set the course for the young socialist movement for the coming months.

Another convention highlight will be a panel of revolutionary youth leaders from around the world, including Tariq Ali, antiwar and socialist organizer from England.

George Novack, well-known Marxist theorist, will speak to the convention on the issue, "Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution—A Marxist Answer to New Left Critics."

The convention will begin at 3 p.m., Thursday, Nov. 28, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St., Chicago. The Friday, Saturday and Sunday sessions will be held at the University of Chicago, Circle Campus, in the Illinois Room at the Chicago Circle Center. For more information, contact the YSA, 302 South Canal, Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Call (312) 939-5044 or, in New York, (212) 989-7570.

New Mobe move to self-isolation

By Harry Ring

What purported to be a meeting of the administrative committee of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held in Washington, D.C. Nov. 17. The totally unrepresentative character of the meeting and the outlandish sectarian decisions made underlined that the Mobe has ceased to function as an antiwar coalition.

After a period of dormancy following the October 1967 mass confrontation at the Pentagon, Mobe chairman Dave Dellinger installed Rennie Davis, a graduate SDSer, to run the Democratic-Party-convention action. It was organized in disregard of the coalition and drew only a small segment of the movement to Chicago.

Then they proceeded to put together the pre-election "National GI Week" and election "strike." Again, the coalition was simply ignored and the actions were a thoroughgoing fiasco.

The Nov. 17 D.C. meeting was called to plan an Inaugural Day action. Normally some 50-60 committee members attend such a meeting. (The committee is supposed to consist of one representative

from each national organization plus agreed-on representative individuals.)

There were about a hundred people at this meeting, but it was disclosed that only 17 were members of the committee. Almost all the rest were Washington-Baltimore-area SDSers who had been brought to the meeting.

After an 11-3 vote, it was arbitrarily decided that everyone present would be permitted to vote. The SDSers then proceeded to set policy for the antiwar coalition which the Mobe is supposed to represent.

They decided—in the name of the National Mobilization—to convene a "movement conference" in D.C. the weekend of the inauguration to adopt a "state of the union" social and political program for the entire movement—plus deciding on "a new life style!"

Apparently assuming they would not draw many to Washington, they decided to hold a demonstration not on Inauguration Day, but the day previous. They showed not an iota of interest in helping to develop and organize antiwar sentiment among GIs.