

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 49

Friday, December 6, 1968

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De Gaulle vs.
French labor

—see page 12



Black students in San Francisco lead united campus strike action

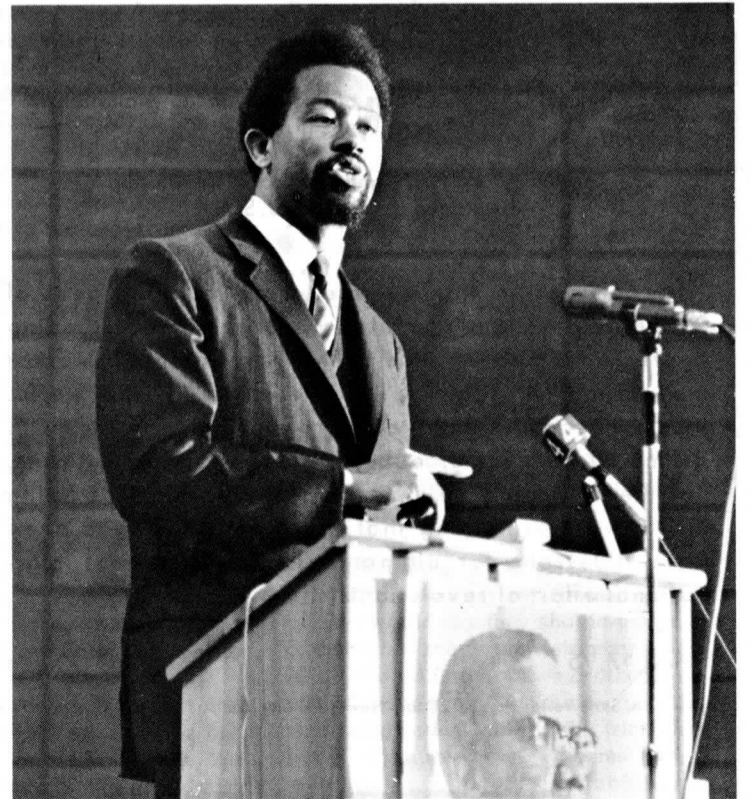
—story page 5—



Survivor of W. Va. mine blast which was ignited by pure greed. See story page 9.



STUDENT PROTESTERS JAILED. A hundred black students and several white supporters were jailed at University of Wisconsin in Oshkosh following sit-in provoked by administration's refusal to carry out agreed on black studies program. See story page 5.



VICTIM OF RACISM. As we went to press, Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther minister of information, was slated to be returned to jail in new travesty of justice. See story page 12.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 32—No. 49



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Panther-Peace & Freedom alliance

Criticism of a criticism

Los Angeles, Calif.

Derrick Morrison's call ("The Panther-Peace & Freedom alliance," *The Militant*, Sept. 20) for the Panthers to function solely as a mobilizing force for the black liberation movement may appeal to black racists. It may serve equally well the goals of white racists. In his concern for black liberation, he ignores the fact that there are many people who are neither black nor white who are also fighting for liberation.

We have been geared for too many years to responding in terms of a black-white syndrome which has been equated in American history to a slave-master syndrome. If Morrison's suggestion to the Panthers were followed to its logical conclusion, we might see a reversal of the black and white roles in American history, but we would not find any of us freed from the master-slave syndrome.

Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers candidate in New York's 20th congressional district. If the Black Panther Party had chosen to ally itself with the Socialist Workers Party rather than with the Peace and Freedom Party, would Morrison still hold to the opinion that the Panthers would do better by working towards the creation of an independent black political party? Where does the Socialist Workers Party stand in relation to Morrison's projected independent black political party? Morrison speaks out of one side of his mouth about an independent black political party and out of the other side of his mouth about using the masses of Afro-America as a tool to further the objectives of the Socialist Workers Party.

Derrick Morrison's article is another example of poor political tactics. Rather than bringing out the objectives of the Socialist Workers Party, he has attempted to "put down" his opponent in much the same way that the Humphrey forces attempt to discredit the Nixon forces. Instead, he should have sought out the positive values of the Panther-Peace and Freedom alliance.

C. P. S.

The author replies

New York, N. Y.

The point of my article on the Panther-Peace and Freedom alliance was not to negate or deny the necessity for alliances, but to elaborate and amplify on the type of alliances necessary to push the black liberation struggle forward.

The point of your letter seems to be that I am downing all alliances in general between black and white radicals, and the Black Panther - Peace and Freedom alliance in particular.

I find this conclusion very hard to reach even if the article was only read in a cursory fashion.

The article dealt with two types of alliances, strategic and tactical. Whereas a tactical or united-front alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party over the defense of Huey Newton was correct, it was not in the interests of the Panthers to establish a strategic or long-range alliance with Peace and Freedom. This strategic alliance was expressed in the electoral arena.

To quote from the article: "Many times, white radicals and black militants confuse this single-issue or united-front type of alliance with a political or long-range type of alliance."

"A case in point is the defense of Huey P. Newton. From a specific alliance to defend Newton, the Panther Party's working relationship with Peace and Freedom evolved into a political alliance that is supposed to aid in the liberation of the black nation."

"A specific alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party to defend Newton is justifiable. In fact, each and every organization that is willing to defend Newton's constitutional rights, even if they do not agree with Newton's political views, should be incorporated in a legal-defense organization. . . ."

"In my opinion, the transformation of this specific alliance into a political or electoral alliance was a mistake."

Now, concerning my SWP candidacy. I am not in an alliance with the SWP but a member of it.

The SWP is an organization uniting people around the program of socialist revolution. Its

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.

perspective is to provide the working masses with a revolutionary party that will put an end to capitalist exploitation. The working masses are made up of black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Amerindian, Oriental, and white workers. Therefore, such a party would be multinational in composition. Alongside this organization would arise revolutionary parties speaking to the question of national liberation of the oppressed nations in this country. The Black Panther Party is one such organization.

To put the capitalist exploiters out of business, both types of organizations will be needed.

For further elaboration on the subject, I suggest that you get a bulletin entitled, "On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination." It can be obtained from the Los Angeles YSA, which is located at 1702 E. 4th St., or from the national YSA office, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

Derrick Morrison

Mich. highschooler

'very interested'

Southfield, Mich.

Enclosed is a check for \$1 for a subscription to *The Militant*. I read a copy of this while I was in Detroit. This paper is both informative and truthful. I am very interested in the Young Socialist program and would like to receive more information on it.

H. S.

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 Maffet, 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.

DRUM: black unionists on the move



DRUM. Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, composed of militant black trade unionists at Dodge assembly plant in Hamtramck, Mich., was organized during wildcat strikes last spring. Group fights low wages, speed-up, and racism of bosses and union bureaucracy.

By Derrick Morrison

DETROIT— I recently had the opportunity to talk with one of the leaders of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), an organization of black workers at the Dodge assembly plant in Hamtramck, which is an internal suburb, part of the Detroit metropolitan area.

"DRUM is a revolutionary union movement," he told me, "comprised of workers in Dodge Local 3 of the United Automobile Workers, and community workers outside of the UAW. DRUM was formed to eliminate racism in the Chrysler Corporation, in the UAW and in the black community.

"In the Chrysler Corporation we are primarily concerned about the working conditions, and equal representation on management's side in relation to the number of black workers at Hamtramck Assembly, the Dodge plant. In the UAW, we are concerned about equity and representation for the black workers. In the black community we are fighting racism on all levels.

"DRUM itself is primarily a young organization in as much as its members are young. The organization itself is approximately seven months old—we have been quite successful in our seven months."

DRUM was organized during a series of wildcat strikes last spring. In May, a wildcat strike over speed-up on the assembly line was organized by black and white workers. It was during this strike that several young black workers started publishing a mimeographed newsletter, *DRUM*, defending the interests of black workers at the Hamtramck plant. Not only did management come under the fire of *DRUM*, but the UAW local and international leadership as well.

Black workers are a majority of the 10,000 workers at the plant. By July, DRUM had become organized to the point where it shut down the plant on July 12 in a strike not approved by the UAW Local 3 leadership.

"What happened after the July strike?" I asked the DRUM leader.

"After the strike," he told me, "first of all, there were no reprisals. Every man was brought back to work after we shut the plant down for three days—Friday, Saturday and Monday. Tuesday, everyone went back to work, and there were no reprisals on management's part.

"The UAW washed their hands of the case completely. The local Chrysler Corporation, from the plant manager on down, tried to retaliate, intimidate, suppress, what have you, the black workers that were involved. But due to the threat of another strike, the higher echelons called this off."

One of the issues in the July strike was the fate of seven black workers who had been fired because of the May wildcat. "Discharge," the DRUM leader said, "according to the UAW, is not a strikable issue. So we presented 170 standard grievances and strikable issues to protect the 30 workers that were disciplined and the seven that were discharged.

"But Chrysler Corporation and the leadership of Local 3 has a deal going of some type where they eliminated 135 grievances. And then, on the strikable issues, all they did was uphold the supplementary agreement of the international contract which they had stalled on, such as putting mirrors and clocks on the walls in the rest rooms. All the grievances were eliminated with the exception of the seven discharged personnel. And Chrysler and Local 3 thought that would be a nice package deal to sell the workers, to lift the strike vote by clearing up all 170 grievances, plus they agreed to take back five of the seven fired workers.

"A special meeting was called by the Local 3 leadership, about the first or second Sunday in September. And this is when the UAW tried to jam this deal down our throats so we would lift the strike vote. We refused to do so."

The majority of the people at the meeting were supporters of DRUM. "First of all," the DRUM spokesman continued, "we did not want to accept the deal. Then they called in an international representative named Art Hughes, who tried to read us the riot act from the international, and we refused to accept his rap. So then, there was a proposal put on the floor that we would lift the strike vote and accept the rehiring of the five if the union itself would put the other two on payroll.

"They really went to nutsville then and said no good. We then took over the chairmanship of the meeting and pushed our proposal through. They called a check on our proposal because they said there were people in the audience that were not a part of the UAW, so the vote was invalid, which was a trick they had never used before. So we just adjourned the meeting."

On Sept. 26, there was an election in Local 3 that DRUM participated in, putting up Ron March as its candidate. The office in contest was that of trustee for Local 3.

DRUM was well organized for the election. On election day, the DRUM leader said, "When they saw how much power DRUM had, campaigning in vehicles and mobilizing workers and what have you, the police department started a harassment campaign by ticketing our campaign cars and trucks and anything that had Ron March's picture on it. This went on all day.

"Finally, after the polls were closed at 5:30 p.m.—at around 6:15 p.m.—the election results were in and showed that March had won with 536 votes, and the second guy, who was pro-Reuther, had 521. There were 28 candidates in all, and there were approximately 3,000 votes cast in the first election.

"The police were sitting in the Local hall when the results came in, and when they

heard that March had won and would be in the run-off election, they immediately jumped up, and one of them said, using bad language, 'Oh no,' or something, and then the two of them ran to the police station.

"And then in a matter of minutes, they began to verbally attack the workers lounging behind a bar, which was across the street from the plant. When the workers retaliated verbally, the police called for the paddy wagon and brought out their axe handles.

"When the brothers saw this, they ran into the bar. But the police attacked them right in the bar. They dragged one brother out and took him back to the police station and charged him with assault and battery of a police officer.

"At this point, all of the workers and the black union stewards that were still at the Local hall moved outside to find out what the disturbance was about. And a group of approximately 25 was sent to the police station to find out why this brother had been arrested.

"But the delegation was pushed out into the street by cops with shot guns and axe handles. The cops ordered everybody across the street and told us that the mayor would come down to the Local hall and explain what happened. Approximately 50 of us went inside the Local hall.

"After we gathered inside, in walks the mayor and the police chief. And the brothers were angry because they had been axe-handled and Maced at the bar. So they were very loud. All of a sudden the police chief pulled his .38, and screamed, if anyone moves he is going to shoot.

"At about this time a pro-Reuther official locked all the doors, locking us in. He went out with a key to the police station, and led approximately 30 to 40 cops back in the door. They came in shooting gas. They just beat us and Maced us until they got tired.

"The mayor and the police chief watched. The police chief was screaming, 'They're all animals!'

"I got Maced. The only thing that saved me from being blinded was that I had my glasses on. But quite a few brothers got Maced point blank. After they would shoot the brothers with Mace, it would seem to paralyze them. They would buckle over and fall down, and they couldn't get up for about a minute. And while they were lying there, the cops would beat them with axe handles."

I asked him if there had been any protest made to the UAW about what had happened. "Not yet," he replied, "but there will be. They keep postponing the union and executive-board meetings. They had one business meeting called, which was scheduled to begin at 1:30 p.m. At 1:30, a Tom jumps up and challenges the quorum. At 1:31, the meeting was adjourned for lack of a quorum."

The run-off elections took place on Oct. 3. On that day, "the cops put on a two-man detail just to harass us. They ran us out of Hamtramck center completely. They would not let us park our campaign trucks in town.

"We used the trucks to transport the brothers up to the polls. We had our big rush hour between 3 and 5:30 p.m. We just poured our forces at the gates, just blocked traffic and went through our thing. We were not harassed by the cops at that time.

"The retirees voted in this election. They

hadn't voted in the first election because the union leadership did not anticipate DRUM being in the run-off or even coming close. As a result of the first election, the union leadership sent out letters to 3,000 retirees. And these retirees are 99 percent Polish. These are the types who are the power base for the United Caucus, Reuther's group, with 20 or 30 years seniority—that would put them in the plants during the time when a black man was not allowed in the plants.

"The letters sent to the retirees said that young militants or 'young racists'—in reference to DRUM—were trying to take over the local, and if they succeeded, retirement benefits and old age benefits would be cut off. After reading this letter, the retirees came storming down to the polls. So approximately 500 retiree votes were picked up by Reuther's man in the run-off.

"Also, it has been rumored that \$10,000 was spent to stop DRUM in this election. That was to pay for newspaper stories designed to box the black workers in, especially the older black workers. If the election had been held on Monday, March would have won by a landslide. But Tuesday the *Chronicle* [black weekly] came out and printed this front-page article that Hamtramck Assembly plant was going to move to the suburbs because of the black militants.

"And other articles said that DRUM was moving to sabotage the paint shop and blow the whole plant up.

"So it was made to seem as though if you voted for the militants, you were going to have to move to the suburbs, or the plant is going to be burned down and you will be out of work. So the old workers panicked and went down to save their jobs. A lot of the older black workers voted for Elliot, Reuther's man, in the framework of saving their jobs.

"Lynn Townsend, president of Chrysler Corporation, came out with a directive to the plant manager, a guy by the name of Kobus. Kobus then put out a letter saying that the *Chronicle* was lying. But Kobus didn't do this until the afternoon of the day of the elections, and due to the fact that a lot of black workers, in fear of more axe handles and Mace, turned out from 5:30 to 7 in the morning to vote, the 700 vote deficit [March lost by 700 votes] had already been set."

I asked him if DRUM has gotten any support from white workers. "Yes," he replied, "from an organization called CRU, Committee for Real Unionism, a group of young white workers that organized for the election and did a real good job."

DRUM is helping to organize black workers at other Detroit auto plants. "These black workers will belong to another organization internal to their own plants, and externally we will all belong to a confederation," he said.

In discussing what other auto workers around the country can do, he said, "First of all I would say they should organize. If one brother reads this interview and digs it, he should find another brother, and the two of them should organize. You should stay independent, this is the trick. Everybody organizes among themselves, and then you unite all of the organizations for a cause, like a liberation front. They can write to: DRUM, c/o Inner City Voice, 8661 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan 48204."

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Intercontinental Press, published weekly, specializes in political analysis and interpretation of world events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements.

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Black Liberation Notes

College of Malcolm X

On Nov. 22 representatives of the Black Liberation Movement in Santa Cruz, Calif., will meet with members of the University of California board of regents to present their demand for a "College of Malcolm X."

The proposed college would be set up at the University of California complex in Santa Cruz, where 20 new colleges are scheduled to be constructed. The Black Liberation Movement, supported by members of the black community in Santa Cruz, is proposing that the seventh college be devoted to the study of the "black experience."

A brochure published by the Committee for the College of Malcolm X explains that the name of the college is representative of the type of institution envisioned. "This name speaks directly to the majority and minority groups in this country, defining the ideal of the college more precisely than 'Afro-American' or 'Black Studies,' by identifying the program with the ideas of this great man," the brochure says.

Further information on the project, including copies of the brochure, can be obtained by writing to the Black Liberation Movement, P.O. Box 1502, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95060.

New alliance

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the National Black Liberators have announced the formation of a political alliance between the two organizations.

The National Black Liberators is an organization based in St. Louis which was formed last summer. According to a recent SNCC press release, the Liberators were organized around "political and economic issues, as well as the ideology of self-defense." On the local level the Black Liberators have formed coalitions with black and radical white groups in Missouri and Illinois. They have also created "deputy chapters" elsewhere in the Midwest.

Predicts "racial incidents"

A Passaic County grand jury has charged Paterson, N.J., cops with using "terrorism" and "goon squad" tactics during an outbreak in the black community last July.

A statement released by the jury said that "unimpeachable witnesses" had testified that the police had assaulted numbers of black and Puerto Rican people caught in isolated areas, beating them viciously. In other instances during the so-called "riot," police broke windows of stores owned by black people and even hurled tear gas into the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Despite the unimpeachable witnesses, no charges have been brought against the guilty cops. A number of black groups are filing suit urging that the state attorney general take over the case from the Passaic County prosecutor. They point out that the county prosecutor is a member of the local law firm in which the head of the board of fire and police commissioners is the senior partner.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

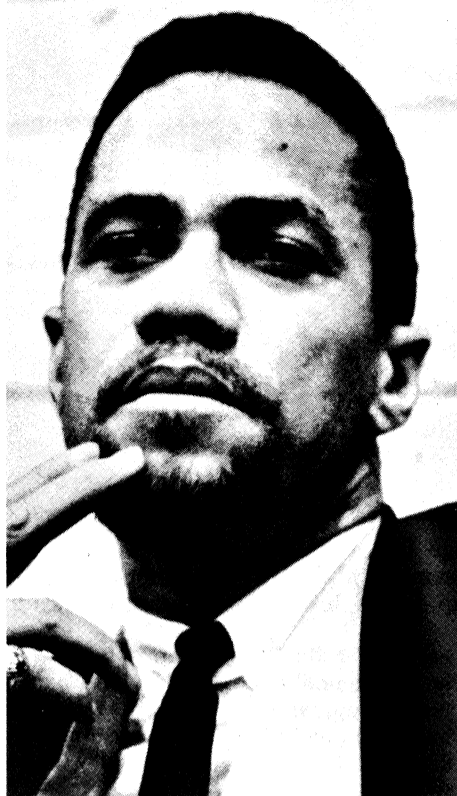
MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY, now weekly, by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Mondays, 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesdays, 10:15 a.m. KPFK (90.6-FM).

NEW YORK

MILITANT 40TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET, Sat., Dec. 14. 6:30 p.m.: **BANQUET**, delicious food and drink. 8:30 p.m.: **PROGRAM**, featuring Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Contrib. \$2.50 (\$1.75, under 18, \$1 for program only.) 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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.



Malcolm X

Dismissed

Two political-science teachers have been dismissed from their positions at Wilson Junior College in Chicago after they failed to live up to an agreement made with the Afro-American History Club last March that they use works by black authors in the course curriculum.

When the Afro-American History Club demanded that the teachers be removed, the president of the predominantly black college as well as the 118-member faculty council agreed to the demand, and on Nov. 17 the two teachers received letters informing them of their dismissal.

Paterson cops exposed

A Pentagon spokesman predicted recently that "racial incidents" are likely to increase in Vietnam. Jack Moskowitz, who bears the unlikely title of "Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights," has said that he bases this prediction on his recent investigations of "racial troubles" in Vietnam.

"The young Negro serviceman is expressing his black awareness," Moskowitz said. "He is not going to be sloughed off. He is not going to suffer indignities."

Seek funds to aid Denver Panthers

A defense fund has been set up to aid Denver Black Panther Party Captain Lauren Watson who has been framed on charges of "conspiring" with eight others to burn a cleaning establishment during a revolt in the black community in Denver last September.

All persons interested in contributing to the fund may do so by sending a donation to the Lauren Watson Defense Fund, c/o Rev. Russell Simpson, 2510 Vine St., Denver, Colo. 80205.

The frame-up of Lauren Watson is part of a general campaign in Denver to victimize militant black youth. Five days before Watson was arrested, Police Chief Seaton was quoted in the *Denver Post* as blaming the problems of the black community on "black militants." He charged Watson, who he referred to as a "self-professed Black Panther" with being part of a general plot to "take over and run things" in Denver.

When Captain Watson spoke at an anti-war rally in Denver Nov. 2, he said he thought the charges were brought against him as part of an attempt by the district attorney to win white votes.

Three days after the rally, Watson was victimized again by the Denver cops. A police car trailed Watson's car and then arrested him on 11 different traffic violations and for "resisting arrest."

Ray defense: 'leftists' murdered Dr. King?

Recent articles in the *New York Times* and *Look* magazine indicate the possibility of attempts to use the trial of James Earl Ray, accused assassin of Martin Luther King, as a vehicle for smearing the left.

It was revealed in the Nov. 10 *Times* that Arthur J. Harris, the lawyer recently fired by Ray, was planning to carry out his defense on the fantastic assumption that the assassination was plotted and financed by "black militants with foreign ties." According to the *Times*, Harris said that he had concluded that the only organizations capable of carrying out the elaborate plan which allowed the assassin to kill King and elude capture for two months was either the CIA or "black militants with Red Chinese or Cuban backing." Harris, who was elected mayor of Birmingham on a racist platform and who is a supporter of segregationist Eugene (Bull) Conner, apparently decided on the latter.

There is no way of knowing what will be the line of defense of Ray's new lawyer, Percy Foreman. When asked what he thought of Harris' theories, Foreman declined comment.

The *Times* article appeared concurrently with the publication of a sensational series of articles in *Look* magazine which quotes James Earl Ray as saying that he was involved with other conspirators in a plot to kill King. The series is written by author William Bradford Huie, and is based on a correspondence he has been having with Ray who is in jail in Memphis awaiting trial.

According to Huie, Ray wrote him that his only contact with the apparent "plotters" was through a man who identified himself as "Raoul." Raoul is described as having promised Ray, an escaped convict, travel papers and \$12,000 to go into business in a new country if he would carry out certain "activities."

Ray is quoted as saying that although he acted under the direction of the conspirators as early as eight months before the mur-

Six blacks face murder charges in Kentucky

Last Sept. 1 in Berea, Ky., five black men defended themselves against an attack by members of the racist National States Rights Party. In the resulting shootout two men were killed—one black and one white.

According to the November *Southern Patriot*, the entire black community and many of the whites are supporting the six black men who are charged with murdering Elza Rucker, the sergeant of arms of the States Rights Party. Murder charges have also been brought against the eight States Righters for the death of 36-year-old George Boggs.

The shooting occurred after five Afro-Americans who were returning from a hunting trip drove their car by a States Rights Party loudspeaker which was blaring racist speeches into the black community.

One of the five, Doug Moran, said that all they intended to do was to see what was happening. "They drew first," he said. "When we drove up, they said: 'You damned niggers, what do you want? Go away from here.' And we said, 'We aren't going anywhere. We live here.' And we hadn't finished saying that before they shot—shot right into my car. I've lived in Berea all my life, and I've never seen anything like that. Not even in Korea."

After the shootout, the police confiscated more than 20 weapons from the States Righters. Four were taken from the black men, two of which had not been fired.

The six defendants are all in their 30s and 40s. Most are married and have children. Three have lost jobs as a result of the case. One of the defendants—George Boggs' brother—was not even on the scene when the shooting occurred.

No trial date has been set, but the legal expenses of preparing the case have already begun. To contribute, send donations to the Concerned Citizens Committee, Dr. D. W. Epling and Loyal Jones, Box 228, Berea, Ky.



Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

der, "nobody told me anything about any planned murder of King or anyone else."

Ray's letters to Huie contain detailed descriptions of how he lived during the months before the assassination. He relates how he carried out a number of tasks assigned to him by "Raoul," including the smuggling of three packages by car from Windsor, Ontario, to Detroit and the smuggling of a tire, apparently containing contraband, across the Texas-Mexican border.

At the end of the second article Huie draws some conclusions about the case which he says are based on "what I know and what I have learned from Ray." Huie asserts that the King assassination was "planned, not by impulsive men who hated him personally, though they probably did hate him, but by calculating men who wanted to use his murder to trigger violent conflict between white and Negro citizens."

"He was murdered by a white man, or white men, who would be described as 'Southerners' or 'racists,'" Huie writes. "Dr. King was the secondary, not the primary target. The primary target was the United States of America."

It's hogwash, but it apparently sells magazines.

ACLU in Tenn. protests vote irregularities

The American Civil Liberties Union in Nashville, Tenn., reported a number of irregularities in the Nov. 5 presidential elections, including the last-minute, unexplained dropping of the Socialist Workers Party from the state ballot. The SWP was on the ballot in 19 states.

Other irregularities included the refusal to allow certain students to register although they had lived in Tennessee for the required year before the election; the denial of places for write-in votes; and the fact that "most of the locations authorized for registration during the two days of supplementary registration were in white, middle-class neighborhoods."

Meanwhile, the ACLU in Minnesota forced a local election board to count the votes for minority parties which it had earlier refused to do (see *The Militant*, Nov. 22).

In that case the election board in Lakeville, a town of about a thousand people, had not counted votes for minority parties and refused to do so even after the issue was made public. Action by the ACLU changed the picture.

Two votes for the Peace and Freedom Party, one vote for the Socialist Workers Party, and one write-in vote for Eugene McCarthy were subsequently recorded.

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

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 25 — The student strike at San Francisco State College initiated by the Black Student Union (BSU) enters its third week with increasing numbers of students and faculty committed to its demands. The strike is centered on demands by black and other minority students to have the right to determine their education.

These include the establishment of a black studies department and a school of ethnic studies, as well as the reinstatement of George Murray, Black Panther minister of education. Murray was suspended from his job as a teaching assistant for exercising his free-speech rights.

The massive strike support expresses a deepening solidarity with the black liberation movement by white students and faculty members. Concretely, it illustrates how a minority can perform a vanguard function, mobilizing and radicalizing the majority.

When the faculty joined the students in striking — and with continual campus presence of the tactical squads — school was officially closed on Nov. 13. The trustees, who included people like Katherine Hearst of the Hearst newspaper chain, corporation lawyer James Thatcher, and Dudley Swim of Del Monte foods, as well as Max Rafferty and Ronald Reagan, called for an immediate reopening of the campus.

The trustees have stated that discussion on the issues can occur only after "law and order" have been restored. But despite the pressure, faculty and students have refused to reopen the school.

When college president Smith called student-faculty departmental meetings, the art, psychology, sociology, drama, and social welfare students voted to continue the strike. The anthropology department refused to conduct classes on campus, and other departments passed various resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the cops and the reinstatement of George Murray.

When Smith announced that he was reopening school with massive aid of the cops, the faculty voted instead to call a campuswide convocation for the purpose of discussing demands. Smith announced that classes would reopen anyway, declaring "the faculty vote was not representative."

The majority of the faculty defied him forcing Smith himself to participate in the convocation. Minority students, the faculty and administrators participated in a panel as thousands crowded into the main auditorium and the various rooms around campus where there were closed-circuit TV hookups. The strike which shut the campus down a week before now took a new form. At the opening session of the convocation, BSU spokesmen presented eloquent statements reaffirming the need of minority people to determine the kind of education relevant to their lives. Jack Alexis of the BSU traced the history of American higher education, one that has been designed for the elite, the slavemaster's son.

Nesbitt Crutchfield, a BSU leader who had been beaten up, handcuffed, and arrested by the cops on campus the week previous, declared that minority students are fighting for their very survival. Black stu-

Students, faculty rally behind blacks in S.F. State strike



George Murray

dents comprise only three percent of the student population, a decrease of seven percent in the last seven years, yet half of the State of California is made up of minority peoples.

Elliot Goodman of the BSU, in the tradition of Malcolm X, said that the only way that a people would receive their freedom is when they show the enemy their willingness to do anything to get it. Other minority students, including Chicanos and Chinese Americans, also spoke in support of the demands.

On the second morning of the convocation, the students again set up picket lines around the building. They went into classrooms, taking pictures of those teachers who held classes, compiling lists of the classes that met, and encouraging students to respect the strike and attend the convocation.

At a massive BSU rally that noon, students were asked to go into classrooms and bring out the students and faculty who were still in classes. Close to 2,000 students poured into the buildings and dispersed classes.

Plainclothes cops, who had swarmed onto campus at the beginning of the strike, tried to arrest several students. Other students came to the aid of their fellow students and some were able to escape and slip into the crowd. One cop was trapped in the hallway and students disarmed him. Another cop Maced the students, a third drew his gun, fired two shots, and ordered a group of students to "freeze" as he nervously waved his gun around. The students scattered, and none were injured. This is the second time guns have been used on campus by the cops.

The tactical squad marched onto campus with army helicopters hovering overhead. The faculty tried to get the cops off the campus. The tac squad stood ready to

rush the crowd. They were equipped with a tear-gas gun, but the presence of so many student and faculty members forced them to reconsider.

After the tactical squad withdrew with three hostages, students discovered classes were still meeting. They went into the buildings a second time. Again the tactical squad marched onto the campus, and a helicopter kept circling overhead. As the squad withdrew, they beat those who were standing nearby.

By Nov. 22, there were massive pickets in front of every building on campus. The faculty demanded that Smith meet with them. Meanwhile, Mayor Alioto, who has launched vicious attacks on George Murray and the Panthers, came out with a proposal to have classes discuss the BSU demands for Thanksgiving week, with classes returning to subject matter the following week. In other words, get the classes into functioning units once more, and then the strike will be broken.

The faculty got Smith to agree to reestablish the convocation. The BSU-TWLF (Third World Liberation Front, a coalition of black organizations) laid down three conditions for resumption of the convocation: all classes cancelled; no cops on campus; the convocation to center around the demands. Smith is attempting to split the convocation up into smaller groups.

While the form of the convocation is still pending, students are beginning to realize

that the convocation cannot grant the 10 demands. However, the convocation itself is a tremendous pressure tool on the administration and the trustees.

Discussions springing up around campus are the real sources of education on campus. These discussions indicate a growing understanding of the black liberation movement. Leaflets continue to pour out; informal departmental caucuses are being born; more and more people are being won over to the side of the strike.

Black and white are united in the fight against racism although they are organizationally separate. Thus far, victimization has been minimal — less than 15 students have been arrested, a handful beaten, and two suspended. This is despite the presence of the tactical squad, helicopters, telescopic lenses on top of buildings, and plainclothes cops. These cops, when spotted, are photographed and followed until they are forced to leave the campus.

Solidarity rallies, demonstrations, and strikes have occurred at other state colleges, including Chico State, San Jose State, and Sacramento State colleges. L. A. students demonstrated against the trustees at their meeting last week. All state colleges have the same set of businessmen-trustees and are affected by the same repressive trustee control of students, but this is the first time that such spontaneous outbursts of sympathy demonstrations have taken place.

100 black students jailed in Oshkosh protest action

By William Clary

OSHKOSH, Wis. — A hundred black students and several white supporters were jailed here Nov. 21 as a result of the refusal of racist school administrators to carry out student demands they had agreed to.

The black students at Wisconsin State University here entered Dempsey Hall, the administration building, and demanded that school president Roger Guiles sign certain demands agreed to on Oct. 20. These demands were:

- The hiring of black instructors;
- The addition of African history and other Afro-American courses;
- Establishment of a black cultural center open to blacks and whites.

The administration had said the demands would be met, but no action was taken.

Then, on Nov. 21, when the students entered Dempsey Hall seeking the president's endorsement of the agreed-on demands and he refused to comply, tempers were lost. Some students gave vent to their anger against the racist administration, and some windows were broken and some files overturned. Students occupied Guiles'

office.

The cops were soon there and the students given two minutes to get out or be jailed. They elected to stay.

They were then herded into two Hertz rent-a-trucks. At the police station they were charged with disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly. Bail was set at \$250 each.

An appeal for bail money was sent throughout the state, and many, including the Madison Young Socialists, responded generously. The majority were released by the next morning.

The students have been suspended by the university and have 10 days to appeal. If they don't appeal in that time they are automatically expelled. On appeal, their cases will be reviewed, with the final outcome dependent on the university hierarchy.

Oshkosh has a long history of racism. Last year, area barbers refused to cut blacks' hair. Black students have always had a problem finding housing in the city.

Judge Sitter, who will be trying the students, reportedly has been known to use the word "nigger" while on the bench.

Panther frame-up in S.F. falls apart

By George Johnson

NOV. 25 — An attempted all-out war by the city of San Francisco on the Black Panther Party fell on its face last week. Charges were dropped against seven of eight Panthers after a shoot-out Nov. 19 in which three cops were wounded, two of them seriously, when they stopped a marked Panther news delivery van.

Eldridge Cleaver, Panther minister of information, charged that the shooting was the work of an agent provocateur, as was a gas-station holdup police claimed was committed by eight Panthers from the truck. The truck was marked, "Black Panther the Community News Service," and was being used to transport Panthers to a meeting across the Bay in Oakland.

According to reports, the cops who were wounded had stopped the truck after a gas-station manager allegedly informed police that such a truck had been involved in an \$80 holdup at his gas station. Cleaver also said the Panthers believe the gas-station manager was in the pay of the cops.

The day after the shoot-out, Mayor Alioto, who is a lawyer, called for a grand jury investigation of the Panther leadership for conspiracy. The grand jury, however, refused. Alioto has been in the forefront of attempts to fire Panther George Murray

from San Francisco State College. Both San Francisco daily newspapers ran scare stories, inspired by police accounts of the shooting.

But a black ex-cop, now involved in community-service projects, had doubts. He asked: "First of all, is it reasonable that a white truck, clearly marked 'Black Panther the Community News Service' would be used in a holdup by anyone? It's far too easy to spot."

"Is it reasonable that eight intelligent Black Panthers, some of them leaders of the party, would rob and risk arrest for \$80?"

"If they were involved in a robbery, at 2890 3rd St., near Army, why would they go towards the police station instead of onto the bridge?"

"Why would the Panthers force a shoot-out with the cops in a well-marked truck, in a well traveled cop neighborhood, with no good escape route?"

It was also pointed out that one of the wounded cops was the policeman who wrote the report in the slaying of a black San Franciscan by an off-duty cop last month. The report was later reported to have been falsified by the author, who is said to have been "uptight about the blacks."

Ernest Mandel: impressions of U.S. politics

Ernest Mandel, the editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche (The Left)*, recently spent two months on a lecture tour in the United States.

Upon returning to Europe, he was asked, in an interview, to give his impressions of the American political scene. This was published in the Nov. 9 issue of *La Gauche*.

The following translation of the interview is by *Intercontinental Press*.

Question: What is the most outstanding feature of American political life today?

Answer: I think that there is a striking contrast between the pessimism which prevails in the traditional, moderate left circles in the United States—which is what they call the liberal left, the left integrated into the Democratic Party, the unions, the traditional black organizations like the NAACP—a pessimism that goes so far as to predict a *police state* (the term comes from Walter Reuther, the head of the automobile workers union) in the near future, if not an American fascism . . . I think that there is a striking contrast between this pessimism and the reality which is entirely different.

And it is very difficult for foreign observers to comprehend this reality right off. To grasp this reality you have to get an insight into American society through people who are genuinely linked with what can be called the vital forces of the American nation.

The pessimism of the traditional, moderate left is easy to explain. This left believes in gradual progress. It regarded the Roosevelt coalition, the coalition of the Democratic Party with the unions and the most moderate black organizations, as eternal. It saw progress in the form of social legislation, in the form of the inte-

grationist legislation which was gaining ground in each Congress.

Obviously, this idyllic view does not correspond to what is happening in the United States today. What is occurring today is a process of polarization. And this means that the center-left forces, which were the predominant forces in American political life, are being reduced from both directions. They are losing to the right and they are losing to the left. These are the reasons in brief for their pessimism.

Q: Why doesn't this pessimism correspond to the reality?

A: Very briefly because the center-left's losses to the right which are summed up in the Wallace phenomenon, and the slight shift of the middle classes toward Nixon is a short-term development produced by complex and contradictory causes. For some, but only a small minority, this is a backlash against the gains and the radicalization of the black people. For others it is simply a protest against the prevailing kind of politics, against the "establishment," a protest which might be just as much against the war in Vietnam, against inflation, the rising cost of living, and a lot of other things that are not going right in the United States.

But what is striking about all these rightward reactions is their lack of organization and solidity. What is involved is much more a mood than an organization.

What is most conspicuous about the Wallace movement is that it is not an organization, at least not yet. What is most salient is its inability to develop a body of activists. The only Wallace activists are the members of the old ultraright organizations like the John Birch

Society and the KKK. And if you look at these organizations, you realize that they are weaker than in 1962, the time of my last visit. The number of activists there is very low. The surface manifestation of this phenomenon is that the fighting, the brawls, and the confrontations are not between the activists of the right and left but between left activists and the police.

The only considerable forces the right can lean on are not extralegal forces but the establishment, the police and part of the Army. But that's considerable.

Q: Is there an economic crisis with repercussions in the political field?

A: There is no economic crisis in the United States and there is no question of one. There is talk of a recession next year. But I don't want to say anything about that because these are minor fluctuations. The real income of the workers is starting to decline. Real wages are higher than ever in spite of the rise in the cost of living, but the tax increases have produced a slight drop in the net real family income and in wages. However, this is a minimal decline in relation to the heights attained at the end of 1965.

This might be cause for, let us say, irritation. But it is an entirely minor phenomenon. The prosperity is still such that there are no economic causes to provoke any reaction from the majority of the working class.

It is a different matter for the really poor minority strata. And these poor layers are much larger than generally believed. The poverty in the big cities is shocking. New York and Chicago have slums of the sort no longer seen in half of the cities in Europe. The Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, West Germany, Holland, and even Belgium no longer have the massive concentrations of poverty that you see in various American big cities.

Q: Does this contradiction between the haves and the disinherited masses create only irritation, or is this expressed in a deeper malaise?

A: The political crisis the United States is going through has more complex causes. They cannot be reduced simply to the problem of the antithesis between the rich and the poor. I would go back to the formula I just used. What is beginning to shake the stability of American society is a process of political polarization. For almost 35 years this celebrated Roosevelt coalition governed the United States. Even during eight years of the Eisenhower administration it remained unshaken. This coalition was a phenomenon absolutely unique in the world. And its nature, let us say, its unnatural nature, escaped most observers on the European left.

What were the components of this coalition? There were three. There was the "liberal" big bourgeoisie—liberal and imperialist of course—the New York bankers. There were the unions, with the small train they still had of liberal black organizations. And there were also the Southern Bourbons, that is the most retrograde, the most reactionary part of the American bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The pawns of this coalition were the workers, who though unionized lacked political consciousness, above all the large groups of relatively recent immigrants—particularly the masses of Italian, East European, and



Washington, D. C. April 1968—Black rebe

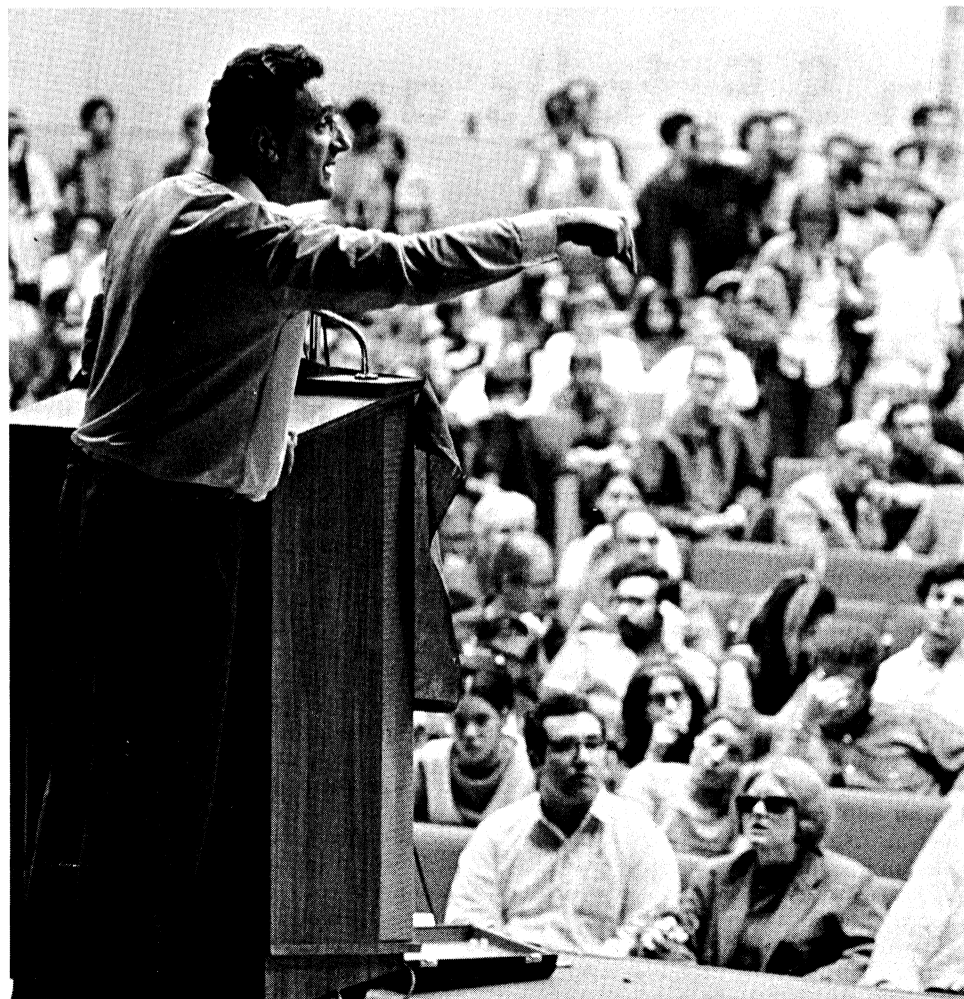
Jewish and, to a lesser extent, Irish origin, which were kept well in hand by the Democratic electoral machine.

This was a totally disparate coalition. It represented 60 percent of the American electorate. It was sustained by a certain number of totally contradictory factors. In the first place, there was the completely exceptional prosperity of American capitalism, which enjoyed a monopoly of productivity on the world market, enabling it to pay its workers wages two to three times above the level of the workers in Western Europe.

In the second place, it was maintained by the American workers' lack of political class consciousness. The American working class still has a very acute class consciousness as far as defending its wages goes, but it has no political consciousness, no tradition of independent political action. Above all, it has no socialist internationalist political traditions. And as long as its wages are maintained, it is inclined to tolerate American imperialism's foreign policy so long as it does not cause too many tremors in American society.

And in the third place, the coalition was maintained by the continuation of racial segregation in the South and the passivity of the black masses and even of the black youth, whose only desire at the time was integration into American society, thus identification with white rule and conversely nonidentification as blacks.

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Ernest Mandel addresses New York SDS meeting.



GI PRAY-IN. Antiwar protest at Ft. Jackson, South C have begun to participate in mass actions against the w



Washington, D. C. April 1968—Black rebellion in wake of assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

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And in the fourth place, the coalition was maintained by the predominance of the traditional moderate "liberal" left (they would be called radical socialists in

France) among the intellectuals and students.

These four elements have begun to break down in recent years. This began with the blacks. Blacks who, under the pressure of various factors—the mechanization of agriculture in the South, the industrialization of the South, the rural exodus, mass shift from the South to the North—blacks who were urbanized, proletarianized, and radicalized, began to reject the goal of integration pure and simple. They became aware of their identity as blacks, of the dual oppression that weighs on them both as poor people and as blacks. This has been expressed above all in the radicalization of black youth, the birth of the black power movement, etc.

Then a profound cleavage developed in the Democratic Party between the Southern Bourbons who wanted to fight any movement for faster integration, and the monopolist bourgeoisie of the North who wanted to stem the black radicalization by speeding up integration somewhat and making concessions to the black vanguard.

It can not be said yet that the broad masses of black people have broken with the Democratic Party. Analysis of the elections may show that the loyalty of the black masses to the Democratic Party was greater than that of any other strata of the American population. But this caused a split in the Democratic Party in the South, a beginning of a split with the appearance of the Wallace phenomenon and the emergence of the first black radical groupings, which were the first centers of agitation among the students.

A second factor working against the Roosevelt coalition is the Vietnam war. The war has provoked a very broad reaction among the students and intellectuals. This reaction, whose breadth is underestimated in Europe, is very important. It has completely changed the American political climate and gives the best answer to those who talk about a semi-fascist danger or police state in the United States. I would say that we have never seen in an imperialist country such a vast and radical opposition to a war in progress as that manifesting itself in the United States today.

We were privileged to see the birth of a new stage in the antiwar movement, which is basing itself more and more on the soldiers themselves. In October there were a series of demonstrations by soldiers supported by the population. In San Francisco, 500 soldiers demonstrated backed up by 15,000 persons. And similar demonstrations took place elsewhere, and even in the South.

This movement calls for democratic rights for soldiers and especially freedom of speech, organization, and freedom to demonstrate. The soldiers thus are demanding the right to protest against the war and to call for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. And it seems moreover that this movement is also spreading among the soldiers in South Vietnam.

The Vietnam war has had considerable weight in the creation of a second center of radicalization among the students and intellectuals. There has been an enormous change in comparison to 1962, when I first visited the U.S. We can say that today the American universities have in fact become centers of radicalism as never before except to some extent at the beginning of the thirties. There is no university—and I visited about thirty—where there are not radical student groups holding the center of the stage or where there are no professors of radical or advanced socialist opinions.

Still to be considered are the last two components of the split coalition. We can say that the polarization is going to have a contradictory effect on one of them—Northern big capital. Big capital in general also polarizes when it is confronted with a mass radicalization. One wing will want to go further in granting reforms, the other toward taking a harder line.

The fourth component is left, the most important one, and the most enigmatic one as well—the mass of workers. The answer to the question of what this mass will do has nothing to do with demonic formulas such as the worker masses being racist, frustrated, moving toward fascism. These factors affect only small minorities.

The future responses of these masses depend essentially on one factor, whether or not the system is able to assure that the high standard of living will be maintained and that it will continue to improve. If the answer is yes, then the outlook for the United States is not fascism but a continuation of the relative stability which this society has known over the last 30 years. If the answer to this question is no, then the outlook by far the most probable is that a third center of radicalization will emerge, a center of radicalization in the unions and among the workers.

That obviously is another question . . .



GI PRAY-IN. Antiwar protest at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, last February. Since then GIs have begun to participate in mass actions against the war.



1968—Black rebellion in wake of assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

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The fourth component is left, the most important one, and the most enigmatic one as well—the mass of workers. The answer to the question of what this mass will do has nothing to do with demonic formulas such as the worker masses being racist, frustrated, moving toward fascism. These factors affect only small minorities.

The future responses of these masses depend essentially on one factor, whether or not the system is able to assure that the high standard of living will be maintained and that it will continue to improve. If the answer is yes, then the outlook for the United States is not fascism but a continuation of the relative stability which this society has known over the last 30 years. If the answer to this question is no, then the outlook by far the most probable is that a third center of radicalization will emerge, a center of radicalization in the unions and among the workers.

That obviously is another question . . .

Okinawa vote setback for U.S.

Ruling circles in Washington and Tokyo suffered a stunning setback when the people of Okinawa and the rest of the Ryukyu island chain voted in favor of ending U.S. control and again becoming part of Japan, and in favor of getting the U.S. military bases off their islands. They registered their stand in the election for chief executive of the Ryukyu Islands.

When 94 percent of the vote had been counted, the clear victor was Chobyoy Yara, who was backed by the Socialist and Communist parties. He defeated Junji Nishime, president of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Okinawa and former mayor of Naha, the island's capital.

The central issue in the election was the popular demand for an end to the United States occupation of Okinawa, its return to Japan, and the dismantling of American military bases in the Ryukyus. Yara had campaigned for immediate reversion of the island group to Japan, while his conservative opponent had supported Sato's plan for drawn-out negotiations on the question with Washington, with an implicit guarantee that U.S. bases would remain even if formal control were restored to Tokyo.

A mass movement opposed to the American occupation has mushroomed in Okinawa. The recent election itself was a concession won by the mass mobilization of the Okinawan people. It was the first election for chief executive since the U.S. administration began.

The Japanese press described the Sato government as "shocked" by the leftist victory. Takeo Fukuda, general secretary of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, nervously expressed the hope that Yara would follow "realistic and constructive policies."

Yara announced that he would set up a committee to study the gradual closing of American bases.

Sato is not the only one who was worried by the radical victory in Okinawa. The *New York Times* pointedly commented Nov. 12 that it "may also affect the long-range planning of the United States military commanders in Asia and the Pacific, who regard Okinawa, the largest island in the Ryukyu chain, as a forward base of vital importance to the American defense posture in Asia. . . ."

"American military commanders have recently termed the big air bases in Okinawa vital to the air defense of Taiwan and of South Korea. . . ."

The "defense" the generals are talking

about includes the use of tankers from Okinawa to refuel Guam-based B-52 bombers used to rain death on Vietnam. Nuclear weapons are stockpiled on the island for possible use against China. They could be delivered via Mace-B missiles or F-105 jets.

The *Times* pointed to another concern of the Pentagon: the difficulty of finding a convenient base somewhere else in Southeast Asia if the U.S. should be forced to get out.

"In addition to Okinawa's strategic location, its value has been great because the military has had almost complete freedom of movement of American forces in and out of the islands, subject to none of the political restrictions imposed on bases on another country's soil."

Although the political will of the Okinawan people has been made clear in the election, their new chief executive will be severely limited in the effective action he can carry out. His proposals must be approved by the real ruler of the one million people on the island, the United States high commissioner.

The election represents a preliminary victory in the big battle shaping up over the renewal of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in 1970.

Guerrilla attack in Venezuela

Some 15 guerrillas attacked the police station in the small town of San Vicente in the state of Apure, the Venezuelan authorities reported Nov. 12.

The guerrillas set fire to the building in which court is held. They also staged a rally and painted the walls of the town with slogans.

Troops and police were sent to the region to track down the freedom fighters.

Two days later, the military reported that a different group of guerrillas ambushed a force of the National Guard at a place called Los Naranjos in the state of Sucre.

Three soldiers were wounded and an officer was killed.

According to the Ministry of Defense, three guerrillas were captured. The others succeeded in escaping, abandoning their arms as troops pursued them.

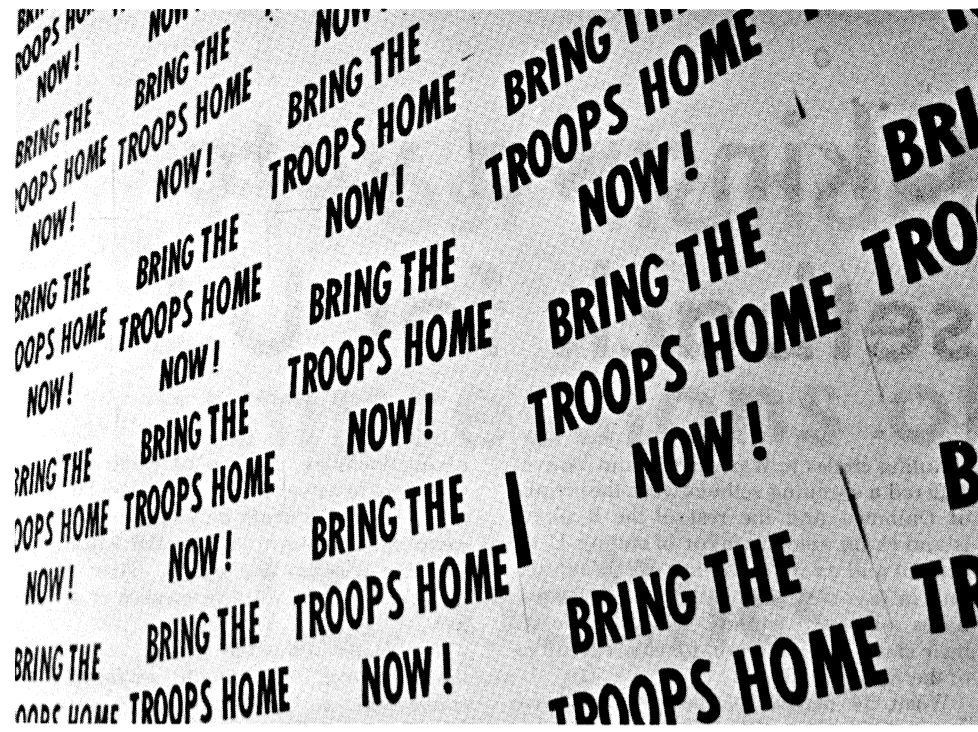


Jackson, South Carolina, last February. Since then GI's protest against the war.



Photo by Barry Sheppard

OPPOSED TO U.S. RULE. Prof. Setsurei Tsurushima, leader of Japanese-Okinawa friendship society, fighting for end of U.S. occupation, talking to Fred Halstead in Osaka last summer.



Media focuses on GI who got brass to back down

By Lillian Hopkins

NOV. 25—The brass at Ft. Benning, Ga., must be cursing the day they first heard the name of draftee Edwin Glover. More nationwide publicity has been given to their outrageous treatment of the antiwar GI and to the victory of defense campaigns mounted on his behalf.

Glover had been subjected to persecution for almost two months, until the authorities were finally forced on Nov. 7 to back down.

A front-page feature on Glover in the Nov. 18 *Atlanta Constitution* spread the story around the Southland, and made the young socialist the best known GI at Ft. Benning. To counteract the rather sympathetic *Constitution* portrayal, it was felt necessary to put forth "the other side of the story" in the local *Columbus Ledger and Inquirer*, giving the version of Capt. John Davis, Glover's company commander.

On Wednesday evening, Nov. 20, Glover returned to his barracks from his regular duty to find CBS television cameras waiting. CBS filmed an interview with him and two other Ft. Benning antiwar activists, Pvt. Don Pyle and Maury Knutson. Glover also learned that a story on his case was coming out in *Newsweek* magazine.

The Army's "private war" against their Marxist critic was getting less and less

private every day. There wasn't much the brass could do about this headache. Retaliation against Glover—at least the cruder forms which they had employed in the past—obviously would not go over very well on national television.

The Army did bust Glover from the rank of private-first-class to E-2, on the grounds that his promotion had been illegal in the first place since there was a "flagging action" on him at the time. (That is, his records were pulled for investigation, during which time no favorable action is supposed to be taken.) This petty harassment was not technically a violation of Glover's rights, however, and does not undo the brass' backdown in the case.

Glover's victory will help counter the notion that the Army can do *anything* to an antiwar GI without the world off base ever knowing about it or being able to respond. With its overwhelming force and its arsenal of regulations, the Army seems to have plenty of leeway to put a critic under intolerable pressure, ship him out, or put him out of circulation in the stockade. (This image is obviously encouraged by the military, to intimidate the swelling ranks of antiwar soldiers.)

Although it would be a mistake to underestimate the burdens which can be placed on the antiwar GI, this myth of military omnipotence and impunity is disproved by the obvious restraints under which Glover's officers are now forced to operate. Even the most isolated Army base is not a fortress impervious to the forces of legal defense, publicity, and mass pressure.

New York hospital strike

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK, Nov. 25—Mental hygiene workers at three New York state hospitals thus far have been forced out on strike since Nov. 18, because Gov. Rockefeller has denied them the right of an election to determine whether they will be represented by the Civil Service Employees Association—an "independent" organization with the qualities of a company union—or the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO (AFSCME).

Last year, Rockefeller arbitrarily recognized the CSEA as the sole representative of 150,000 state employees. He said that this recognition was for one year only, at which time the employees could vote in a representation election for whichever organization they desired.

However, instead of having an election, Rockefeller started negotiating last month with the CSEA for a two-year contract to last until 1970.

AFSCME is also demanding:

- A minimum starting salary of \$6,000 a year, with no employee receiving an increase of less than \$1,500. The average wages are currently less than \$4,000 a year.

- Retirement benefits of half pay after 20 years, with higher benefits for additional years.

- Health and life insurance for employ-

Ft. Dix GI announces servicemen's teach-in

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 23—Antiwar GI Allen Myers, a member of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement, announced today at a news conference the launching of a massive campaign to publicize the GI Teach-In to take place at the University of Pennsylvania on Dec. 7.

Featured speaker at the teach-in, which has been organized by and for active-duty GIs, is Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S.A., ret. General Hester spoke at the massive Oct. 12 antiwar march led by 500 active-duty GIs in the Bay Area. According to Myers, "The fact that Hester is speaking will make it very embarrassing for Gen. Collins [commanding general at Dix] to tell guys that they are forbidden to go to hear another general."

Other features of the teach-in include a panel of lawyers speaking on GIs' rights, a panel of recent Vietnam veterans, and an open mike for any GI to speak.

During the next two weeks, Myers said, GIs will be bombarded with leaflets about the teach-in as they get off of buses and planes in Philadelphia and New York City, at the Army-Navy football game, which will take place in Philadelphia next Saturday, at the Ft. Dix barracks, and via the U.S. mail.

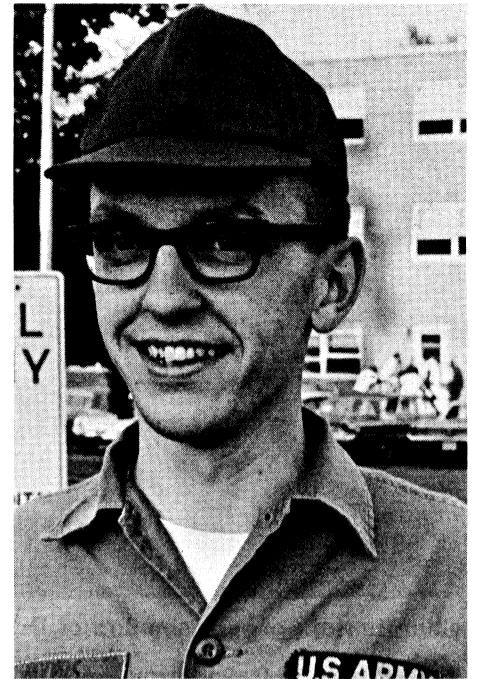
Civilian organizations sharing the job of publicizing the event include the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Philadelphia Women Strike for Peace, and the New York Student Mobilization Committee.

The attractive brochure advertising the teach-in explains to servicemen, "Our rights as citizens in uniform will last only so long as we use them. Please join us in defending and exercising the right of free speech for GIs."

This call for the teach-in notes that "in recent months, several regulations issued at Ft. Dix have restricted our right to discuss the war in Vietnam and to express our opinions to the American public. As citizens who have sworn to defend the Constitution of the United States, we wish to consider with all interested GIs the question of how best to defend our constitutional rights against such regulations."

Among the regulations forbidding free speech is one under which Myers was court-martialed on Oct. 1. This regulation forbids passing out leaflets which would be "contrary to the best interests of this command." At the court-martial, however, the brass backed down, apparently for fear that the regulation would be tested and thrown out in the courts.

Since GIs are subject to persecution for exercising their right of free speech at Ft. Dix, the civilian antiwar movement is organizing brigades of young men and wom-



Allen Myers

en to visit the barracks to get the word out. Apparently panic-stricken, the brass react by sending a dozen MPs to apprehend each leafleter, questioning each of us for several hours, searching us "to make sure that you are not members of the military," handing each of us a formal ejection notice, personally signed by Gen. Collins, explaining that we may be subject to prosecution if we ever again enter Ft. Dix, and finally giving us a military-police escort off the base.

Despite the brass, word is getting out.

Meanwhile student antiwar activists have launched an imaginative campaign of their own to get people on the campuses to join the teach-in. Among posters prominently displayed at Penn and Temple are ones with a photo of Nixon, captioned, "Would you buy a used war from this man?" and a photo of Lt. Susan Schnall and Airman Michael Locks leading the Oct. 12 demonstration in San Francisco, captioned, "The GIs say 'No.' Come to the Teach-In Dec. 7."

Peace now obscene?

For the first time, the federal government is attempting to use "antiobscenity" laws to attack the antiwar movement. This is the issue involved in the case of Lancaster, Pa., *Free Press* editor Christian Eaby, who was arrested by federal marshalls Nov. 4.

Last February, the *Free Press*, an underground paper, suggested that recipients of business-reply cards and postpaid "junk" mail write antiwar slogans on them and return them to their senders. Shortly thereafter, Eaby was called down to the Lancaster postal inspector's office to discuss "illegal misuse of business-reply cards" and asked for a sample of his handwriting.

After consulting his lawyer, who advised that there is nothing illegal about returning business-reply cards inscribed with antiwar slogans, Eaby refused to give the sample.

Then, on Nov. 4, Eaby was arrested and charged with having sent five obscene post cards to different magazines. He had been indicted secretly by a federal grand jury Sept. 10, and he has yet to be informed what "obscenities" he allegedly wrote on the cards or what sort of "evidence" the government will use against him. (The U.S. government presumably finds all antiwar slogans obscene.) But on Nov. 19, he was slated to be arraigned in Philadelphia to plead "guilty" or "not guilty" to charges the precise nature of which he does not know!

Nov. 4, the day of Eaby's arrest—almost two months after the indictment was handed down—was also the day of a high-school-student strike in Lancaster he had helped to organize. The choice of this day for his arrest quite effectively prevented his appearing at the students' rally.

This is an attack on the Lancaster *Free Press*' first amendment rights, garbed as a phony "obscenity" charge. A defense fund has been established to cover the cost of legal fees. Contributions and inquiries may be sent to the Christian Eaby Defense Fund, c/o the *Free Press*, P.O. Box 592, Lancaster, Pa. 17604.

GI defender responds to news article

New York, N. Y.

The article by Philip Gailey of the *Atlanta Constitution* which you reprinted in last week's *Militant* is an important example of the kind of public interest and attention which the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee hopes will be awarded any soldier whose rights are violated. There are, however, two points in this article on Pfc. Edwin Glover which warrant clarification.

The *Constitution* says that the Pentagon and Ft. Benning have been besieged with "angry telegrams and letters from Glover's civilian 'comrades.'" That's putting it a bit narrowly. The GI CLDC has received copies of protest telegrams from Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, clergymen of various denominations, independent students and campus groups, prominent antiwar figures, and numerous antiwar committees around the country.

The *Constitution* article also suggested that Glover is a lonely dissident surrounded by hostile GIs who are only too ready to beat him up. Our information indicates that the two physical attacks on Glover were induced by the promise of three-day passes, not by some instinctive revulsion towards his politics. In fact, what is heartening is how many of Glover's fellow GIs stood by him in spite of officers' threats that anyone seen talking to Glover or visiting him might get a share of his trouble. And a number of them have indicated interest in his political views.

Matilde Zimmerman
National Secretary, GI CLDC

Mine disaster: a toll of greed

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 25 — While the smoke was still billowing from Consol No. 9 and the families and friends of the 78 trapped miners were waiting in silent desperation, West Virginia Governor Hulett C. Smith flew into the grief-stricken mining town to make a brief speech.

Chicago Daily News correspondent William J. Eaton noted the governor's remarks and the response of at least one member of the audience:

"I wish to emphasize this is an accident," Smith said, praising the coal industry and the union for their safety accomplishments.

"We've had a tragedy . . . but it is a hazardous business. What has occurred here is one of the hazards of being a miner," the Governor said.

"Why that son of a bitch," commented one union man after hearing the Governor's appraisal."

This juxtaposition of the state governor's speech and the response of one miner captures the essence of the mine disaster.

On one side stands the voracious profit-gouging of the coal industry and its apologists at the heads of government and the coal workers' union; on the other side, the rank-and-file unionists who work in the mines.

The grim repetition of mining disasters literally blows the lid off this bitter relationship of classes: It reveals for everyone to see that capitalist industry knows utterly no respect for the life of workers, that day after day miners work under lethal conditions, and that both the federal and state governments have done next to nothing to make working conditions safe for the miners.

In such a moment of "crisis," industry, government and the top mine-union bureaucracy unite to pretend this isn't so. Governor Smith assures the nation that the mine explosion was an "accident," that miners know the "hazardous business" they face.

William Poundstone, executive vice-president of the mining company, tells reporters that precautions have been taken to prevent the methane-gas explosion: "Although technically classified as gassy," Poundstone says, Consol No. 9 "is only a moderately gassy mine, as mines in this area go."

And William A. Boyle, UMW president, piously declares: "I share the grief. I've lost relatives in a mine explosion. But as long as we mine coal, there is always the danger of explosion. . . . This happens to be one of the better companies, as far as cooperation with our union and safety is concerned."

The feelings of one miner, a brother-in-law of one of the trapped men, squeezes its way into the paragraphs of the *New York Times*: "It's been filled with gas—

'Disgruntled' next of kin

"Relatives of the 78 men trapped since Wednesday in a burning, gas-filled coal mine interrupted a news conference today by shouting out that the Consolidation Coal Company was not pressing rescue efforts aggressively enough.

"One company public relations spokesman . . . discounted the allegation as the reaction of 'disgruntled people.'" — *New York Times*, Nov. 24.

he knew it and so did everyone else. Something was bound to happen."

The mining company attempts to placate public opinion by pretending it is doing everything it can to save the miners. In this case, explosions and fires are spreading through the mine tunnels. The company claims it is allowing the fire to spread in the hope that oxygen will get through to the trapped men.

UPI reports Nov. 21, "Officials of Consolidation Coal Co. assured families of the trapped men at a 'family briefing' that the company had no intention of sealing the mine's openings 'at this time.'"

New York Times reporter Ben Franklin describes one of the explosions Nov. 22, the following day: "The biggest new detonation today was a blast of such force that it shattered and blew off a 26-ton concrete and steel temporary cap from an airshaft of Consolidation Coal Company's No. 9 mine.

"Five hundred tons of rock was to be dumped into the open shaft tonight in an attempt to reseal it."

The West Virginia coal region has been marked by mine disasters. The worst one in this country occurred not far from Consol No. 9, at Monongah, in 1909, with a death toll of 362.

There have been two explosions in Consol No. 9 since the second world war. On Nov. 13, 1954, 16 miners were killed by a gas explosion and fire that took four months to extinguish; the bodies were not recovered until March, 1955, and another explosion took place in the mine only a month after that.

It is true that the total death toll in coal mines in this country is lower today than it was several decades ago; but this fact only emphasizes the rapacity of the coal industry.

The lower death toll results simply from the reduction of the labor force by auto-

mation. One coal miner today can do the job it took five in the immediate postwar period. But the rate of fatality per worker has not changed.

The bureau of labor statistics records an average of 200 mine deaths per year today, where it was 1,000 two decades earlier—exactly corresponding to the decrease in total numbers of mine workers as a result of the introduction of "modern technology."

In fact, Consol No. 9 is owned by Consolidation Coal, the second largest coal producer in the U. S. It is one of the biggest corporations in the country, with an asset value of nearly one-half billion dollars and annual profits of about \$50 million.

While automation in the industry has not done anything to improve safety conditions, it has been considerably profitable. Last year, the mining industries marked the second-highest rate of return on investment in the country, second only to the war industry.

And there is one feature of the capitalist system that the viewer of the mine disaster does not see as he watches the politicians, industry hirelings and trade-union bureaucrats fumble around to explain away the mine explosion to the bitter families and friends of the workers: the discreetly concealed, profit-swollen capitalist owners themselves.

Consolidation Coal is 50 percent owned by three individuals—Ailsa, Paul and Richard Mellon, who own in addition virtually every corporation in the Appalachian region, stretching from mid-Pennsylvania to Eastern Kentucky. In the last analysis, it is such greed-driven profiteers who are responsible for the corpses in the coal-dust and gas-filled tunnels of Consol No. 9.

The Mannington mine tragedy exposes the criminality of capitalism most sharply, most vividly. It is little wonder that the apologists for that system are so quick to explain that it was all—an "accident."

U of Ill. students back 2 victimized activists

By Ellis Burress

CHICAGO, Nov. 23—The University of Illinois has suffered a defeat in its attempt to victimize Carl Finamore and Genaro Lara, two outspoken political leaders on the university's Chicago Circle Campus.

While the university is still pressing the case, Dr. Arnold Hartoch, chairman of the subcommittee on student discipline—the committee that is hearing the case—was forced to resign his chairmanship. He did so in response to the wide support to Finamore and Lara by students, faculty and the campus newspaper. The campus press has given the case front-page publicity and editorial support.

The defense case originated from an Oct. 15 demonstration, organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Farm Workers, to protest the purchase of table grapes by the U of I student union. Three weeks after this demonstration, Finamore and Lara, who played a major role in organizing and leading the demonstration, were presented by the university with a series of six charges ranging from "aggravated assault on a police officer" to "leading a violent and illegal demonstration."

The reason for the delay in presenting the charges was that Finamore was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois, and the university apparently felt it would be politically unwise to make such an attack on a candidate for governor.

Genaro Lara has been very active in both the antiwar movement and in pointing out the racist admissions policies of the university regarding Mexican Americans. Only 20 of the university's 10,500 students are of Mexican extraction.

Both Finamore and Lara are leading political activists on the Circle Campus, and in an editorial on Nov. 12, the campus newspaper stated, "It is an open secret that several UICC [University of Illinois Circle Campus] police officers and administrators have promised to 'get' Finamore sooner or later."

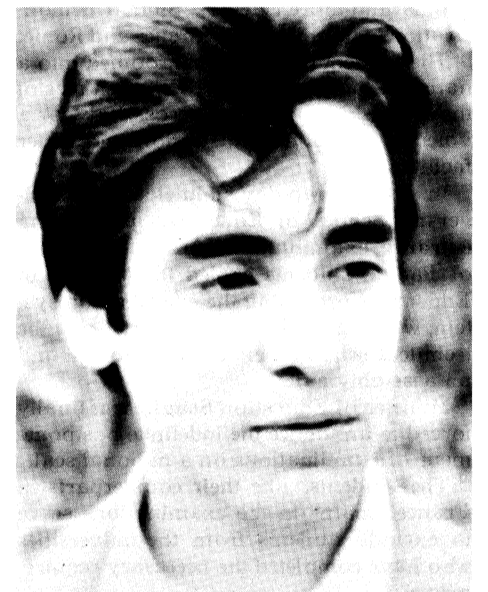
Since the charges are an attack by the university with the intent of silencing what the administration considers unpopular and embarrassing political views, the Committee to Defend Finamore and Lara was established to combat this attack on civil liberties. The committee is demanding that any hearings to be held on the case be open to the student body and that all charges against the defendants be dropped.

The committee organized a rally on Nov. 14 at the student union to publicize the case.

The committee has also been circulating petitions to gain support for the defendants and has retained a lawyer. It cooperated with the Greater Church Federation of Chicago to set up a news conference for the defendants which resulted in several radio and TV interviews.

On Thursday, Nov. 21, Finamore was talking with Hartoch on the phone, trying to change the time scheduled for the hearing to a time more convenient for himself and Lara.

Hartoch refused this request, and the conversation ended with Hartoch inviting



Carl Finamore

Finamore up to his office so that he, Hartoch, could allegedly "wipe up the floor with you [Finamore]."

After a brief rally that afternoon, Finamore, Lara and witnesses went to Hartoch's office to demand his resignation and again demand that the hearings be open. At this point Hartoch, who had two private detectives with him, ordered Finamore arrested for trespassing in his office, and Finamore pointed out that he was not in Hartoch's office, but in the hallway. Finamore then went to find a campus police officer to have Hartoch arrested for threatening him with bodily violence. Sometime during these proceedings, Hartoch resigned from his chairmanship of the discipline committee.

The next hearing is scheduled for the afternoon of Tuesday, Nov. 26. At that time there will be a demonstration to demand that the hearings be open and that the charges be dropped.

Grape growers love Saigon

NEW YORK (LNS) — The war in Vietnam has taken on another economic safety-valve function. California grapes, whose sales during the nationwide consumer boycott have slumped nearly \$14 million, are now being shipped in huge quantities to the war zone.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, grape shipments to Vietnam during the major troop build-up in 1964-66 ran around \$50,000 a year. Over \$300,000 were shipped in 1967—after the boycott began—and at present shipping rates, nearly \$500,000 will be sent in 1968.



A CONTINUING CRIME. Mine owners' contempt for safety regulations have brought a grievous toll to miners. Here rescuers are shown removing body in 1948 explosion at mine in Welch, W. Virginia. There were 13 dead and 38 wounded in that one.

MAJOR STRUGGLE IN ITALY:

Workers, students combine forces

NOV. 24—Massive strike actions by Italian workers coupled with militant student struggles brought the downfall of the Christian Democratic government of Premier Giovanni Leone.

On Nov. 14 the country was shut down by a general strike involving 12 million workers demanding major reforms of the country's social-security program. Five days later the government was hit by a strike of a million public employees.

And, to add to the explosive quality of these events, thousands of students, engaged in a struggle for university and high-school reform, joined the workers' movement.

A series of militant battles preceded the general strike and walkout of government workers.

Workers in Rome demanding wage raises clashed with police and with nonstrikers Nov. 8.

Naples was paralyzed the same day by a general strike called by all the union federations to demand government intervention to revive the economy in the area.

A thousand high-school students marched in Venice asking for more classrooms and more teachers. Similar demonstrations took place in Florence and Rome.

The student protests mushroomed into a national movement Nov. 12, when tens of thousands demonstrated across Italy for a voice in school administration and better facilities.

In Rome a two-day sit-in closed the University School of Education, postponing entrance examinations. At the University of Padua, students cabled the Minister of Education protesting the examination system, while at Bari, 1,000 students from the technical schools held a march to demand an assembly hall.

Minister of Education Scaglia was finally forced to announce the indefinite postponement of examinations on a national scale.

The students, like their counterparts in France, maintain the examinations serve to exclude students from the universities who have completed the necessary requirements.

In Pistoia, high-school students demonstrated against the arrest of two of their

fellows in a previous march. The extension of the protest movement into the high schools marked a new step forward for the student strikes.

The strikes continued and deepened as they entered their second day. Thousands of high-school students demonstrated in the streets of Rome Nov. 13. Leaders of the "Student Movement" in Florence declared their support for the workers' general strike. Their statement said, "The battles that workers carry forward against the exploitation of one class by another are the same battles that the students carry on against the class schools."

Leaflets were distributed in Milan criticizing the administration of the Catholic University. Elsewhere in the city, police were used to remove 40 students from the halls of a high school.

In Ferrara police broke up a sit-in of 800 students at one high school. A hastily called meeting of the city's high-school principals voted to grant the students'

main demand, for the right to political assemblies.

Students in Bologna and Bari demanded more departments in the high schools and technical schools, and more state scholarships.

When the massive workers' general strike began at midnight, Nov. 13, the students declared their solidarity.

Public transport was struck in many cities, usually for several hours. Workers held a rally in Milan that stopped traffic in the Piazza del Duomo for more than an hour, while in Turin police attacked demonstrators in front of the Fiat plant with tear gas.

The student struggle continued during the day of the general strike. In Bologna, 4,000 students held a march protesting the closing of a vocational school that had previously been occupied by the students. The march concluded by joining a workers' rally.



COP ATTACK: University of Rome student dragged away by police during massive student action last February and March.

How a 'responsible' paper can help perpetrate a racist hoax

By Ed Smith

NEW YORK—The *New York Times* carried a front-page story Nov. 15 that went far toward destroying the case against Ahmed Namer and his two sons—the three Yemini Arabs charged with "plotting" to assassinate Richard Nixon.

The *Times* reported that the man who had informed Brooklyn police about the alleged plot, one Mohammad Algamal, had roomed with the Namers until a week before they were arrested. At that time, Algamal quarreled with the Namers, who ousted him from their apartment.

Although the three defendants are still being held by Brooklyn police, District Attorney Elliot Golden admitted that the revelation about Algamal cast "reasonable doubt" on his "credibility."

On the surface it appears that the *New York Times* has lived up to its famous motto and come to the defense of three innocent victims of a phony police prosecution.

But the Nov. 15 *New York Times* revelation casts just as much doubt over its own role in publicizing the case as it casts doubt over the role of the Brooklyn police in prosecuting the case.

Why did the *Times* wait for five days after the Namers' arrest to reveal that the whole case against them hinged on possibly suspect testimony? At the outset neighbors were suggesting the accusations were the work of a disgruntled lodger.

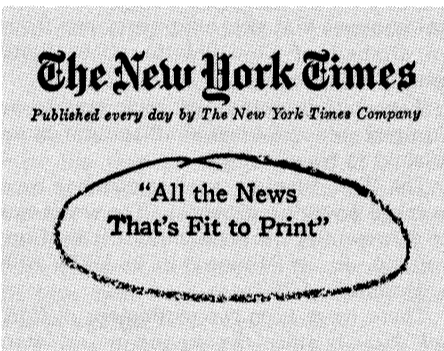
The editors of the influential newspaper might respond that they didn't know the nature of the prosecution's case. But if that is true, why did they buy the prosecution's "Arab plot" story to begin with? Why did they take the lead in publicizing this smear and in supplying whatever "evidence" they could come up with to lend it credence?

The *New York Times* went to press the night after the three men were arrested, and it ran the "plot" story on the front page. In addition to giving the Brooklyn police department's version of the arrests, the *Times* saw fit to add these bits of loaded "information":

● "There was no indication . . . of any connection [between the arrests of the Yemini Arabs] and the arrest of Edward Hotter, a 30-year-old Egyptian, five blocks from Mr. Nixon's apartment here on a charge of possessing a loaded rifle and a switchblade knife. . . ."

● "Despite Yemen's distance from Israel, some Yemini were described as feeling as strongly about the Palestine issue as do Arabs in neighboring countries. . . ."

● "During the campaign, the Nixon campaign committee published a book 'Nixon on The Issues.' On the Israeli-Arab relations, this pledged 'a policy that would give Israel a technological military mar-



gin to more than offset her hostile neighbors' numerical superiority."

In addition to this blatantly sensationalist anti-Arab article, the Nov. 11 *New York Times* carried a second article on the Namers' arrest which revealed that the *Times* did know from the outset that a very dubious "informer" was involved in the case.

This article reported on neighbors' views about the three alleged suspects. A paragraph near the end of it stated: "The Namers were not known around the Pappas Bar at 801 Franklin Avenue, where a still unidentified caller was said to have notified the police of the alleged plot against the President-elect."

This did not discourage the *New York Times* from proceeding in the following two days to blow the case up into an "international plot" and link it to the young Jordanian, Sirhan B. Sirhan, the accused slayer of Robert Kennedy.

On Nov. 12, the *Times* "disclosed" that Hussein Namer, the eldest son, "had been in California." But District Attorney Golden "could provide no date for any such trip or trips."

The third day of the case, the *New York Times* admitted that there was a "secret informant" involved in the accusations, "but the press and public," it alleged, "were prevented from seeing the informant as he entered the fourth-floor grand-jury room."

Meanwhile, the same article blandly reported, "In an Associated Press dispatch from Al Matawir, Yemen, yesterday, a cousin of Ahmed Namer was quoted as having said that Ahmed Namer was a member of the secret police in Aden. . . ."

It also tossed in the rather murky point that "thus far, there has been no indication about what side, if any, the Namers have taken in the bitter, five-year war between the Yemeni Republicans and the Royalists who oppose the regime."

On Nov. 13, the fourth day after their arrest, the Namers were indicted on four counts each, including "conspiracy in the first degree." Oddly, the indictments *did not mention Nixon* as the supposed target of the conspiracy.

The *New York Times* stated that it asked Assistant Brooklyn District Attorney Harold Rosenbaum why Nixon's name

was omitted: "I felt in a case of this gravity we didn't want to soup up the evidence," the *Times* calmly reported Rosenbaum as answering.

Rosenbaum also "said the defendants had 'strong ties abroad' and that the New York Police Department was interested in 'many, many aspects of the case.' He said the Secret Service and the office of the U. S. Attorney had also talked 'with us on other aspects of the case.' He gave no details."

The following day, with the Namers in jail facing maximum penalties of 23-years imprisonment, the *Times* finally decided it might be time to suggest to its readers that the whole thing may have been a hoax after all.

Even the most naive are not likely to be startled by the fact that the Brooklyn district attorney's office is not above grabbing some headlines by exploiting current anti-Arab bias and playing along with what is almost certainly a fake accusation.

But it is perhaps worth noting that it's not just the "gutter press" that's capable of joining in on this kind of crooked business.

Algerians release political prisoners jailed after coup

The Boumedienne regime in Algeria has recently released several political prisoners who have been jailed without trial since shortly after Ben Bella was overthrown in June 1965. Mohammed Harbi, Bachir Hadj Ali, and Hocine Zahouane, all leaders of the Organisation de la Resistance Populaire [Popular Resistance Organization], were freed Nov. 1. Their movements are still restricted, and they are banned from entering the Algerian capital.

Mohammed Harbi is a revolutionary socialist, well known as a journalist and the former editor of *Revolution Africaine*. He was a member of the central committee of the Front de Liberation Nationale, and was at one time general secretary of the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria. He went into opposition to Ben Bella in 1962, although he later supported him against more conservative elements in the Algerian government. The ORP was formed after the June coup in resistance to the Boumedienne regime.

Three of Ben Bella's close collaborators were released Nov. 17. These were Hadj Ben Alla, former president of the National Assembly; Mohamed Seghir Nekkache, former minister of health, and Abderrahman Ben Cherif, former minister in charge of the president's office. Ben Bella himself is still being held.

New attack on Mobutu regime

New evidence of opposition to Congolese dictator Mobutu was revealed by Radio Kinshasa Nov. 11. The government station said troops had been sent to deal with several thousand followers of executed rebel leader Pierre Mulele. The rebels had come out of the forest at Kilembe near Gungu in Banudngu (formerly Kwilu) province. The censored broadcast did not report any details of the action.



Pierre Mulele

L.A. banquet salutes our 40th birthday

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — James P. Cannon, founding editor of *The Militant*, was saluted with prolonged applause when introduced at a gala banquet here celebrating the paper's fortieth anniversary.

The principal speaker of the evening was George Novack, a long-time contributor to *The Militant* and a former editor. Other speakers represented a number of the paper's various constituencies.

The spirit of support for *The Militant* among those present was registered by a collection of \$1,035.

In a moving address, George Novack discussed the role of a Marxist paper as an invaluable tool in the social development of man.

Revolutionaries, he said, have "the noblest, most gratifying, and toughest assignment mankind has known, the establishment of a new social relationship, bringing out the highest of man's potential."

"Hate and envy will wither away," he continued, because there will be nothing in the social structure to sustain them.

Shermont Banks, Los Angeles leader of the Black Panther Party, told the gathering, "I feel proud to be here and to hear such a speaker as George Novack. I want to have further discussions with him on the question of Marx's theory in the black liberation struggle."

Jack Sheppard, a steelworker and long time reader of *The Militant*, said "*The Militant* carries the banner which will re-arm the workers in the struggle against the boss. I proudly salute *The Militant*

for its great contribution in the past and predict greater contributions in the future."

Eduardo Ojeda of the Mexican students' National Strike Council was given a prolonged applause by the audience as an expression of international solidarity and tribute to the striking students.

"I am happy to be here to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of your courageous newspaper," Ojeda said. "We wish we could publish such a newspaper in Mexico."

Dolores Villa, a leading activist in the Los Angeles Chicano movement and a member of the Educational Issues Committee, said, "I've read *The Militant* for 20 years and it's helped me a great deal in the struggles for my people. I'm happy and proud to celebrate the fortieth anniversary with you."

Attorney William G. Smith, active in the antiwar movement as an antidraft attorney, said, "I salute *The Militant* on its anniversary. I've read it for 10 years and I've gone to it frequently to find out about the black struggle and the Cuban Revolution."

Peter Seidman, Los Angeles Young Socialist organizer, said, "Last week we formed six new locals of the YSA. We've doubled our size in the last year, and *The Militant* is more important to us than ever before. It unites us in tenacity, discipline, combativity, and the honesty which are necessary to the revolutionary struggle."

Joel Britton, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party organizer, pointed to the paper's increasingly significant role in helping to promote the rights of GIs as citizens, including their right to oppose the war. A growing number of GIs, he said, are regarding *The Militant* as one of their best allies.

As far as the SWP is concerned, he said, "*The Militant* is the best organizer we have."

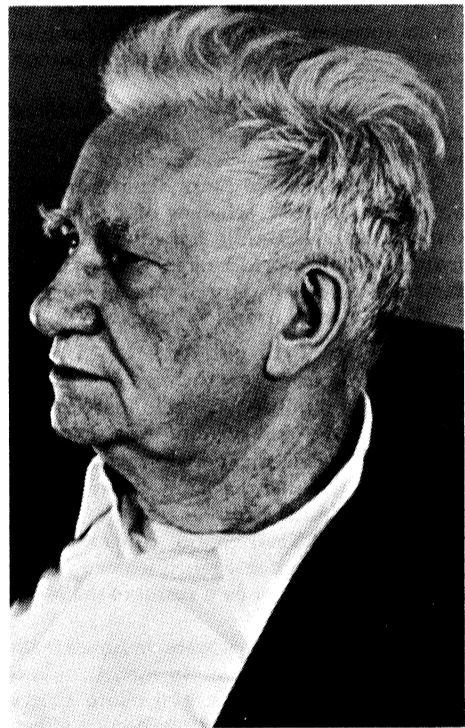
Celebration held in Minneapolis

By David Thorstad

MINNEAPOLIS — A banquet celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of *The Militant* was one of the most successful affairs of its kind in many years. More than \$300 was raised in a collection for the paper. An autographed copy of the first issue was auctioned off for \$52.

Barry Sheppard, former editor of *The Militant*, was the principal speaker. He gave a very moving and stimulating account of his recent world tour.

The dinner was excellent and the hall attractively decorated, with material about *The Militant* and the people who helped sustain it over the years the principal theme.



James P. Cannon

The MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 15, 1968

For the Russian Opposition!

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

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

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

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

3. The "discussion" of these questions conducted up till now has not been a real discussion since many of the documents—in our opinion some of the most important political documents of our time—have been suppressed and concealed from the parties of the Comintern or presented to them in garbled form. The opportunity which has come to us in the recent period to read a number of these documents, dealing with some of the most disputed problems of the Comintern in the past five years, together with the rapid confirmation of their correctness by the whole course of events, have shaped our views and convictions. We consider it our revolutionary duty to defend these views before the Party.

4. We had intended to undertake this task at the opening of the Party discussion after the election campaign. However, the arbitrary actions already taken against us (our removal from all positions on October 16) and the plain indications shown in the present hearing of the intention to take further organizational measures against us have made it impossible for us to do so.

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

6. We stand on the main line of the document entitled "The Right Danger in the American Party" (excepting certain erroneous formulations dealing with the world position and role of American imperialism), presented to the Congress of the Comintern by the Opposition, in 1923.

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

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

11. The struggle led by Trotsky since 1923 for Party democracy and against bureaucratism as the

An historic issue

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

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

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

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

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The Great Society

AFRAID OF SNOWBALLS?—President-elect Nixon will probably wear striped trousers and a formal coat, but no top hat, for the inauguration.

FAIRY PRINCESS—"Mrs. Aristotle Onassis, the former Mrs. John F. Kennedy, flew to New York last night. . . . Health, immigration and customs officials boarded the plane shortly after it had landed in the rain and fog, and they cleared the celebrated bride on the spot. . . . Mrs. Onassis was the last of the 114 passengers to disembark. Witnesses said that the rain stopped the moment she stepped out onto the boarding stairway." — Nov. 19 *New York Times*.

XMAS HINT—A Utah doctor has designed a hooded ash tray which curls the smoke through a pair of clear plastic lungs demonstrating how deposits of oil, greasy tars and nicotine are deposited in human lungs.

CAVEAT EMPTOR!—"Today, with thousands of police departments and federal and state government agencies using Chemical Mace non-lethal weapons, we're flooded with scores of success stories daily. . . . There are imitators now. But don't let

anyone sweet talk you into believing that any other product is 'the same thing.' Our unique formulation (patent pending) can't be duplicated. And this secret formulation is the thing that makes our product work so well."—From an advertisement in *Police Chief* magazine.

SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPT.—A photographic study of the legs of 1,000 girls is underway at Ashton University in England to determine whether legs reveal personality traits.

DESTROYING RESPECT FOR PARENTS—A federal jury indicted Eril Whitehorn in San Francisco Nov. 21 despite his mother's statement that he was simply following her orders in declining to register for the draft.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"I know they'd be pretty stupid not to take advantage of the bombing halt to better their positions, but it really galls me that they're sitting around up there as if they owned the place." — A high-ranking U.S. officer complaining about the North Vietnamese. — Harry Ring

De Gaulle vs. French labor

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 25—De Gaulle's decision not to devalue the French franc at this point is neither so unique nor imaginative as many of his former detractors in Washington have implied.

The wage-freeze policy de Gaulle proposes, coupled with reduction of government spending in order to increase unemployment, is the standard formula for capitalist ruling classes in times of economic difficulty.

It is the same "prices and incomes" policy the Labor government in Britain began directing against workers in 1965, two years before the devaluation of the pound.

Washington is attempting to stabilize the dollar through higher taxes—once again directed at increasing the unemployment levels of workers; Secretary of the Treasury Fowler announced plans to extend the tax "surcharge" an extra year within 24 hours of Paris' decision not to devalue the franc.

Americans should be familiar with the kind of demagogic arguments de Gaulle is now launching against French workers. Here as in France, the capitalist ruling class has made every attempt to blame price inflation on higher wages.

But the inflation of the dollar has been caused by war spending and rapid price increases; wages have barely been able to keep up with the spiraling cost of living, and for many American families they have fallen far behind it.

France is not at war, but the inflation of the franc has also been caused by a rash of price increases. French rulers are at pains to blame the problems this has caused them on the wage gains won by workers in the June general strike.

But the truth of the matter is that the present problems of the French capitalists have much longer historical roots. They stem from the half-century ambition to reverse the decline of the once-powerful French imperialist empire.

Beginning with the victory of the October revolution in 1917, the 20th century has been marked by a series of defeats for French imperialism. The triumph of soviet power deprived French capital of the vast Russian market.

It was followed by the rise of a newly powerful German imperialism which drove France out of markets both in Europe and the underdeveloped world—a process that two imperialist wars failed to halt. De Gaulle's chagrin at this moment is no doubt encouraged by the fact that French capitalism is once again pitted against a powerful Germany, despite that nation's "defeat" in the second world war.

And the aftermath of World War II saw French imperialism suffer further grave



De Gaulle and cabinet meet the press.

upsets, the most important being Indochina and Algeria.

In every respect de Gaulle's political career symbolizes this life-long losing battle of the French ruling class to make up for its succession of defeats in the imperialist world market—and to try to act as though it never happened.

The caricature of de Gaulle shielding himself from the French students last May, with his cherished nuclear bomb tells much.

The franc plays a pivotal but not decisive role in these schemes of the French imperialists. De Gaulle hoped to make the franc a stable world currency in order to facilitate the penetration of foreign markets by French capital and to undercut "dollar imperialism."

His reluctance to devalue has the character of any number of other "last stands" to defend the "glory that was France."

In any event, the decision of whether or not to devalue the franc is secondary to the immediate problems of the French ruling class. Their main concern is to take away from the French workers what they conceded them as a result of the May-June struggle.

And these measures were required with or without devaluation. In fact, devaluation itself is a means of raising prices and has an immediately inflationary effect.

The pattern is familiar. Those who followed last summer's steel contract settlement in this country will remember that the steel workers' wage increases were a pretext for price increases in steel—nearly three times the additional labor costs!

But the intensification of international competition does not give the French capitalists the same room for maneuver. (And it should not be omitted that the U.S. steel industry has subsequently been forced to back down on the summer's price in-

creases—challenged by massive imports of foreign steel.)

The French capitalists hope to salvage their position in world trade by driving down workers' wages following the model of Britain's three-year "austerity program."

But there is more than economic strategy to be learned from London's experience. Three years of "prices and incomes" policy have not accomplished the central objective of restoring Britain's economic health, as was eloquently attested to by the severe measures to restrict imports London announced in the monetary crisis last week.

That is because announcing a wage-freeze policy is not the same thing as carrying it out. In time the British workers have seen through the hoax of the promise to keep prices in line with wages; they have watched prices steadily increasing while their wages have been frozen.

More and more British workers have repudiated Wilson's economic policies and have conducted strike struggles to gain fair wages against the government's wage-strangulation program.

If that is happening across the Channel, where there has not yet been a massive mobilization of workers anything like the French workers' upsurge in June, what is going to be the response of French workers now to a policy aimed at depriving them of the gains they won, when they have just seen the immense power at their disposal?

It is no accident that the de Gaulle who announced an austerity program for France took pains to add that "necessary measures must be taken to put an end [to] all agitation and demonstrations, all tumult and parades, that prevent work and offend sound-minded people."

But this too has the ring of a General Custer at the Little Bighorn.

Young Socialist Chicago parley jars red-baiters

CHICAGO, Nov. 25—The forthcoming Young Socialist national convention, slated to be held over Thanksgiving weekend at the University of Illinois' Circle Campus in Chicago, seems to be a source of irritation to the local red-baiters.

The Nov. 20 *Chicago Tribune* carried an article, "Circle Campus Set for Red Convention." Immediately, State Senator John Lanigan shot off a letter of protest to university officials.

"Considering the treasonous activities of such groups associated with the YSA and the difficulties that took place in Chicago," Lanigan howled, "it seems to me that for the university to provide a forum to encourage possible civil disorder is derogatory to the interests of the people of this state who are paying taxes to support the university."

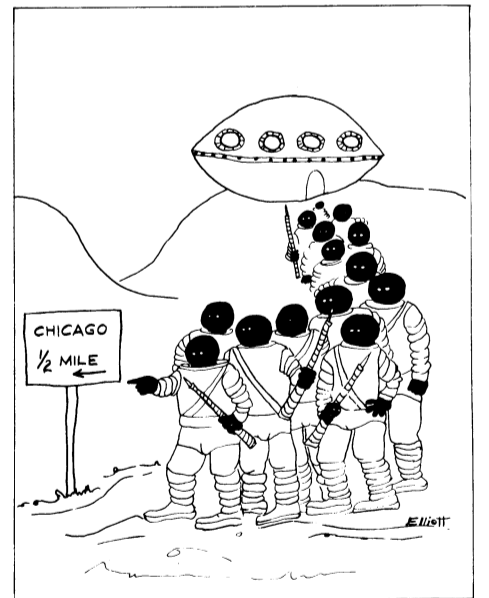
Lanigan added, "I know I speak for many of my colleagues in the general assembly when I say that we are extremely disturbed at some of the student groups operating on campus at the University of Illinois and other state-supported institutions."

In response, university officials distributed a leaflet to the entire University of Illinois student body, reaffirming the fact that the convention would be held on campus Nov. 29-Dec. 1. The leaflet proclaimed the university's dedication to a "policy of maintaining open forum for open discussion of ideas."

According to the Chicago Young Socialists, who are hosting the convention, a University of Illinois campus group known as the United Patriots International have threatened to "disrupt" the convention.

Another threat against the convention came second hand, by way of the editor of a Spanish-language paper in Chicago. He said that he had received a phone call that Cuban exiles intended to attack the convention.

That, the Young Socialists responded, would be a bit like the Bay of Pigs.



Eldridge Cleaver: victim of racism

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 26—Tomorrow Eldridge Cleaver may be in jail. The California state supreme court has refused to hear an appeal on behalf of the minister of information of the Black Panther Party and in effect has completed the job of railroading him back into jail.

Cleaver was appealing the Sept. 27 decision of the district court of appeals which said that he must return to jail as a parole violator.

The California adult authority arbitrarily decided that Cleaver was violating his parole, after he and several other Panthers were ambushed by the Oakland cops last April. In that shoot-out, the cops killed 17-year-old Bobby Hutton and wounded Cleaver.

Cleaver was ordered to surrender to his parole officer tomorrow to be returned to prison.

Not content with this, Oakland authorities are proceeding to prosecute Cleaver and the other Panthers who were attacked by the police last April. On Dec. 23, a trial date will be set for these victims, who are being charged with attempted murder and assaulting a police officer with a deadly weapon.

Ocean Hill slates Nov. 30 rally

NEW YORK, Nov. 25—At the request of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board currently under suspension by the board of education, a massive demonstration is being planned at Ocean Hill for Saturday, Nov. 30, at 12 noon.

The demonstration is being organized by the Black, Puerto Rican, Hispanic Trade Union Leadership Caucus, a newly formed group consisting of leaders and representatives of 27 trade-union locals in New York.

The union locals with representatives in the caucus include: District 65, AFL-CIO; District Council 35, State, County and Municipal Employees; Local 1199, Hospital Workers; Local 237, Teamsters; Local 445, IUE, AFL-CIO; Social Service Employees; Local 140, Furniture Workers; and others.

Support for the demonstration has also

come from the Black Caucus in the United Federation of Teachers and the New Coalition, the opposition party within the UFT, as well as the United Bronx Parents and 75 other community groups.

The governing board called for the demonstration as a massive show of support for community control of schools and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental project, as well as to protest the fact that Ocean Hill was excluded from the recent negotiations which terminated the six-week school shutdown last week.

The governing board announced today that it would not abide by some of the terms of the settlement which it considered punitive to the governing board, teachers and students.

Speakers at the demonstration will include: Rhody McCoy, unit administrator at Ocean Hill-Brownsville; C. Herbert

Oliver, chairman of the governing board; Adam Clayton Powell; and representatives of various trade unions and community organizations. Entertainment will be provided by James Brown and Tito Fuentes.

A spokesman for the Black, Puerto Rican, Hispanic Leadership Caucus stated that the organization was "committed to the organization of the disadvantaged as workers in the trade-union movement and to the development of collective action to solve the problems of black and Puerto Rican people in New York."

The caucus itself is "geared to pool the resources and talents of minority workers in the trade-union movement."

The rally and demonstration will take place on Dean and Hopkinson streets and can be reached by taking the "A" train of the Eighth Ave. line to Rockaway in Brooklyn.