

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 40

Friday, October 4, 1968

price 15c

An interview with SNCC Secretary Phil Hutchings

—see page 8—

Our 40th anniversary in the fight for socialism



Mexican students battle cops. See story page 3

Fort Dix protest rally to back 2 antiwar GIs

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—A demonstration to support the right of free speech for GIs and in defense of Sp/4 Allen Myers and Pfc. Walter Kos has been set for Saturday, Oct. 5, at Ft. Dix, New Jersey.

The demonstration is sponsored by the New York and Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committees as part of nationwide drive to defend the rights of GIs to oppose the war.

Myers and Kos face courts-martial next week for distributing antiwar material on their bases, a blatant violation of their constitutional rights. Their records of performance as soldiers have not been challenged.

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, stated today that he will attend the trial of Allen Myers at Ft. Dix, which is set for Tuesday, Oct. 1. "Allen is a supporter of my campaign," Halstead declared. "I also intend to distribute campaign leaflets to other soldiers on the base while I am there."

Walter Kos is stationed at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina. He was initially told that his court-martial would occur Sept. 28. In a last minute decision, the brass informed him that they had postponed the trial date to sometime in the following week and that they were completely revamping their case against him.

This is typical of the army's attempt to intimidate antiwar GIs. On Aug. 20, Kos received a written order not to distribute any publications not authorized by the military officials. Then on the morn-

ing of Sept. 8, as Kos stood outside the mess hall, a sergeant asked him for the copy of *Vietnam GI* he was holding. Kos handed him the antiwar newspaper.

This was construed as a violation of the totally unconstitutional order he had received a few days before—a blatant frame-up. Since Sept. 12, Kos has been confined to company area pending court-martial. No formal charges have been made against him.

Both Myers and Kos are members of the Young Socialist Alliance and were when they were drafted. They have made no secret of their opposition to the war. They have simply attempted to exercise their First Amendment right to distribute political material.

Allen Myers' "crime" was passing out an antiwar leaflet at a base theater during his off-duty hours. On Aug. 19 he was arrested for helping to distribute a leaflet put out by the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee entitled "Support Our Men in Vietnam—Not Those Who Send Them There. Bring the GIs Home Now."

Myers' and Kos' cases are being supported by the newly formed GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10011. The committee is helping to publicize the facts of the cases and to raise money for legal defense.

Michael Kennedy of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is the attorney for Allen Myers' defense. Kos' attorney is Rowland Watts of the Workers Defense League.

Plans are mapped for an expansion drive

By George Novack

This autumn marks the 40th anniversary of our paper, which is published, as the masthead proclaims, "in the interests of the working people," and which is dedicated to the goal of a socialist America.

The founding and subsequent history of *The Militant* is inseparably linked with a key historic chapter in the fight to build a mass revolutionary socialist party in the U. S. and in the world. Forty years ago, on Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were declared expelled from the Communist Party for their opposition to Stalinism and for their continuing adherence to revolutionary Marxism and workers' democracy as defended by the international Communist Left Opposition initiated by Leon Trotsky.

Nineteen days after their expulsion, these three men launched *The Militant*.

We propose to celebrate this occasion by initiating plans for an improved, expanded paper and by a financial drive to make such an improved paper possible.

A national campaign is being undertaken under the auspices of The Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee to raise \$40,000 from readers and supporters of the paper—\$1,000 for every year of *The Militant*. The campaign will extend for 11 weeks from Oct. 1 to Dec. 15.

We are appealing for contributions to this fund from all of those

(Continued on page 6)

SWP fights against move to bar it from N.Y. ballot

By Jon Britton

NEW YORK—In a patently illegal move to deprive the Socialist Workers Party of its electoral rights, the New York secretary of state, John P. Lomenzo, has ruled the SWP presidential ticket off the New York machine ballot. The SWP's challenge to this arbitrary ruling is slated to be heard by the state supreme court on Friday, Sept. 27.

The pretext used by Lomenzo to reject the Socialist Workers Party's ballot bid was the fact that the SWP nominating petition lists 10 presidential electors instead of a full slate of 43. In contradiction to his own ruling, Lomenzo acknowledged in his letter of notification that the SWP had complied with the requirements of the election law.

There is absolutely nothing in New York election law requiring that independent parties seeking ballot status name a full slate of 43 presidential electors. The SWP has filed for ballot status with a partial elector slate in New York in five previous presidential election years and never once was challenged on that account. Thomas Wallace, director of the election and law bureau, and his assistant assured the SWP campaign committee by phone on two separate occasions in late June and early July that a partial slate would be perfectly acceptable again this year.

Hoping that the SWP would accept his illegal ruling without protest, Lomenzo magnanimously offered to print the names of the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates and presidential electors on a "ballot slip" which would supposedly be available in voting booths for casting

write-in votes.

Lomenzo has, on various pretexts, ruled against candidates of the Peace and Freedom Party, the Freedom and Peace Party and a pro-McCarthy group called the Coalition of Independent Candidates. These rulings are also being challenged in court.

George Wallace and the presidential ticket of the Socialist Labor Party were certified on the New York ballot.



Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle.

THE MILITANT

Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Vol. 32—No. 40



Friday, October 4, 1968

Mexican students declare: 'We will not be intimidated'

The following statement of the National Strike Committee of Mexican students appeared on September 21 in the newspaper El Dia as a paid advertisement:

To the People and Students of Mexico.

The occupation of the university by the Army has been a very serious political error of the Mexican Government, who ordered the action. Immediately the negative character of this measure has fallen upon these authorities who have shown themselves incapable of understanding the historical significance of our movement *and that it cannot be suppressed.*

This attack upon the autonomy of the university and upon all of the students and the people of Mexico represents a real subversion of the constitution—and this attack has received immediately a democratic and energetic reply.

The students again have won the right to be in the streets. The students are very far from being intimidated by the illegal presence of the Army in their educational centers and by the brutal oppression of which they have been the victims. In the face of the presence of the Army the students have doubled their combativity, created new and higher forms of combat as well as raising their level of political consciousness. The National Strike Committee does not consist of isolated individuals, and thus it is able to understand the blindness of the bourgeoisie in power and all of those around them. Rather the Committee consists of *representatives* with special and direct power which it receives from the base of the students, whose initiative is the main driving force of the movement. Therefore, even in the case that the repression eliminates the present National Strike Committee, out of the base of the student mass there will always emerge the most adequate direction, determined by the circumstances that may occur, in order to obtain all of the demands expressed in our petition.

In the face of an ever more reactionary and discredited public power, there will be a continuous, ever more determined and popular struggle.



STUDENTS FACE TANKS. Army tanks roll into crowd of thousands of students in front of National Palace in Mexico City Aug. 27.

Mayor Daley says —

Detroit, Mich.
Heard on the Huntley-Brinkley Report at 6:30 p.m., Sept. 9:

Mayor Daley was being interrogated by the press about the role of the cops in Chicago. He was somewhat flustered and frustrated. In defending the cops he let slip with the following statement:

"The policeman isn't there to create disorder. The policeman is there to preserve disorder."

Truer words were never spoken.
H. A.

BPP and PFP — coalition or alliance?

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I am writing to comment on your article in the Sept. 20 *Militant* entitled "The Panther-Peace & Freedom alliance." Firstly, the BPP and PFP do not have an alliance, but a *coalition*.

I am going to quote several passages from a pamphlet put out by Eldridge Cleaver, the minister of information for the BPP, which will answer your questions and erase your doubts.

"The focal point of the coalition is now, and has always been, the case of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, Creator, and Leader of the Black Panther Party. Although the coalition has been narrow and limited, tentative and viewed with mutual suspicion, it has in fact unleashed political forces with explosive local impact and national implications."

"The coalition between our two fraternal parties is based upon Carmichael's dictum of specific coalitions for specific purposes. . . ."

"We believe that cooperation between revolutionary forces in the mother country and their counterpart in the black colony is absolutely and unequivocally desirable and necessary. We believe that it is suicidal and nonsensical for such potential allies to remain aloof and isolated from each other any longer."

"As our major political objective, the Black Panther Party is calling for a Black Plebiscite, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony, in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate. The plebiscite is for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny. . . ."

"The argument of those who oppose black national independence would be that blacks do not need it because they are citizens of white America. Our argument would be simply to point out the facts, the reality of the black man's status in white America. Here our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party will become functional because the members of the Peace and Freedom Party whom we will have strategically helped to elect could argue for our position within the Senate and House of Representatives, the state legislature and the city councils."

T. U.

'Immensely helpful'

Austin, Tex.

I would like to say a few words about the paper. It has been immensely helpful in our planning of antiwar activities, as well as in providing a general theoretical orientation in the morass called the American left. With respect to the Huey Newton case, for example, many left papers have reported the facts, along with heartfelt appeals; only *The Militant*, however, has underscored the *political necessity* of supporting the Black Panthers and the concept of independent political action.

Law, order and Chicago cops

Also, with respect to the French events and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, *The Militant* has combined reporting with explaining. Straight factual reporting, without taking sides and without theoretical explanation, is characteristic of the bourgeois press, from the *Austin American Statesman* to the *Daily World* (complete with racing form!).

Charles Cairns, Chairman,
Texas University Committee
to End the War in Vietnam.

Uptight Alice brews bilge for Barron's

New York, N. Y.

Herewith copy of a letter I have sent to *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*—since I doubt very much if they will print it.

As the translator of *L'Enrage*, that "vile publication in unprintable four letter words" mentioned by Alice Widener in her article, "The Detonators: A Report on the Fourth Conference of Socialist Scholars" (*Barron's*, Sept. 16), I should like to point out that your readers are being subjected to one (four-letter word) of a lot of inaccurate reporting.

To deal with only one paragraph of Miss Widener's lengthy and hysterical "report":

The mysterious Frenchwoman with the gift of prophecy ("the troubles in France will begin again this month") who, according to your author, "was in charge of a literature table" was actually in charge of nothing at all. The young lady in question is an acquaintance of mine who was spending the last few days of her U.S. summer vacation in New York and who accompanied me to the Conference. The "literature table" referred to was not a book exhibit, as the opening sentence of the paragraph would lead one to believe; it was set up by the Committee to Defend the French

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.

Students and, aside from copies of *L'Enrage* (which Miss Widener would hardly call "literature") contained informational material on the Gaullist repression as well as posters and photographs of the May-June events in France—which were being sold by the Committee to raise funds for the defense of the jailed students. Miss Helena Hermes, national secretary of this Committee, was in charge.

But to come to the most unkindest cut of all: ". . . much of the translation from French into English was done over the trans-Atlantic telephone. . . ." Honestly, Alice, I have never in my life called Paris from New York. We socialist types don't have that kind of budget. I and I alone am responsible for the translation of that "vile publication."

If one short paragraph of Miss Widener's voluminous "report" is so full of misleading statements, I shudder at the impossible job of trying to correct the whole. Perhaps some conferee with a great deal of patience will undertake this Herculean task. But I think your readers should know that from the very first sentence, about "militant young radicals . . . guarding locked meeting room doors," a ridiculously false impression has been given them.

Ruth Porter

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: YSA, P. O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. (404) 873-1368.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARYLAND: *Baltimore:* YSA, Toby Rice, 2402 Calvert St., Baltimore.

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

MICHIGAN: *Detroit:* Eugene V. Debs Hall,

3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Mike Maniscalco, 614 Michigan, Apt. 2. 351-0970.

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:* Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark 07101.

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, Roy S. Inglee, 123 Water St. N., Kent 44240. 673-7032.

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 6-6998.

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

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

UTAH: *Salt Lake City:* Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

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.

Mexican students clash with cops

SEPT. 25—On the eve of the Olympic Games, scheduled to open Oct. 12 in Mexico City, civil strife in the nation's capital has flared into street fighting in a number of neighborhoods.

A Sept. 23 police attack on a demonstration near the National Polytechnic Institute led to an all-night battle between cops and students. At least three, and possibly 15, people were killed, and dozens, including cops, were injured. Henry Giniger, writing in the Sept. 25 *New York Times* described this as "the bloodiest encounter since the wave of student agitation first swept over this capital two months ago."

According to Giniger's report, the students, most of whom were of high-school age, defended themselves against police gunfire with firearms. The battle raged for 12 hours and only ended after army detachments had been called to reinforce the police.

The cause of the current flareup was a decision by the Diaz Ordaz government to use all the military force necessary to put an end to the student movement that has been building up since the end of July around the central slogan, "Free Mexico's Political Prisoners!"

The government hopes by massive police action to repress the movement so quickly and so thoroughly as to definitively eliminate its potential threat to the success of the Olympic Games as a lucrative commercial venture for Mexican business and a boost for tourism.

Up to now, however, the police violence has served only to broaden the protest movement, to give it fresh dynamism, and thus to intensify the crisis.

The latest turn began Sept. 13 when the students staged another march to publicize the six demands they have been fighting for since the end of July. The demands are: 1) The freeing of all political prisoners. 2) Repeal of the law designating "social dissolution" as a crime. 3) Removal of the main heads of the police in the federal district. 4) Dissolution of the granaderos as a repressive police. 5) The payment of indemnities to the families of persons killed in the July 26 repression and in other assaults mounted by the police. 6) Fixing the responsibility of the public officials involved in the repression.

The government had attempted to convert the Sept. 13 march into a fizzle by dropping millions of leaflets over the city from planes and helicopters warning parents to keep their children from participating in the parade because the army intended to keep order.



BAYONETS READY. Mexican troops line up student demonstrators during July actions.

But about 120,000 students from the university level on down assembled at the Museum of Anthropology. They staged a "silent" march down the Paseo de la Reforma to the Zocalo. There they were greeted by a crowd estimated at 125,000. The demonstration was completely orderly and no violence occurred.

Three speakers at the Zocalo rally urged the huge throng to continue the movement.

This was the same day that President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz inaugurated seven sites of the 1968 Olympic Games. Two days later when he appeared at a balcony of the National Palace facing the Zocalo as part of the ritual celebrating Mexico's Independence Day, he was booed by the crowd.

Javier Barros Sierra, the rector of the National University, had appealed to the students to end the strike they had been conducting since the end of July and return to their classes by Sept. 17. The government sought to strengthen the rector's appeal through leafleting via helicopters. The leaflet said that the majority of the students wanted to go back to their classes. Furthermore, they could resume their movement, if they wanted to—but after the Olympic Games. Besides that, they ought to be grateful to the Mexican people for their great sacrifices, since they "are paying for the greater part of your education."

The leaflet was discussed at general assemblies of teachers, students, and parents at the university. It was then voted on. The outcome was overwhelmingly in favor of continuing the movement for the six demands.

Following this round of psychological warfare, Diaz Ordaz opened the next phase of counterinsurgency. On Sept. 18, thousands of troops, trucks, and armored cars moved onto the campus of the University of Mexico.

The invasion was in flagrant violation of the Mexican constitution which guarantees campus autonomy. Rector Javier Barros Sierra at once denounced the military occupation as uncalled for and as an "excessive act of force." With the judiciousness proper to his office, however, he also denounced the striking students for using university buildings for "political purposes."

Sweeping arrests were made on the campus, hundreds of students and teachers being compelled to lie down and be frisked before being hauled off to jails already overcrowded with political prisoners.

The militant assault on the campus precipitated a major political crisis in Mexico.

The first effect of the occupation was to revitalize the student movement and to give it a still more militant temper.

On the following day, student groups sought three times to retake the campus, only to be defeated by the soldiers.

At the National Polytechnic Institute, the students made preparations to resist what they were sure would be the next step—the military occupation of their campus.

By Sept. 20, the press admitted that more than 1,000 arrests had been made. Special riot police were battling students in many areas and a number of injuries were reported.

The National Strike Committee, a broad body organized by the students, said that the struggle would continue and that it was sending student groups throughout

the city to organize protest meetings. They painted dozens of buses with slogans defending their demands and denouncing the Diaz Ordaz regime. They intensified their appeals to the workers and to the peasants in the federal district.

The strife widened the following day. In one area students battled police for seven hours before troops were called in. The student replied with stones and bottles, sometimes filled with gasoline, to the tear-gas grenades used by the police.

In an exchange of gunfire in one district, a policeman was killed.

The populace sided with the students in scenes reminiscent of the night of the barricades last May in Paris. Pursued by police, students took refuge in apartments in the neighborhood. From the windows, tenants shouted imprecations at the police and hurled missiles.

A firebomb splattered a plate-glass window of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Rocks finished almost all the rest.

On Sept. 22 tension built up to a fresh high, as students staged a rally at the school near the ministry. Parents and children joined in.

Police continued to make mass arrests on an indiscriminate scale throughout the city. Being young and near the scene of a battle was considered sufficient cause for arrest on suspicion.

Strikes in solidarity with the Mexico City students were reported at schools in Monterrey, Cuernavaca, Chihuahua, Villa Hermosa, Culican and Merida. The government was said to have begun to put up road blocks to stop carloads of students on their way to make appeals for solidarity.

Meanwhile the government obstinately went ahead with the preparations for the Olympic Games. Athletic teams, sports officials and newsmen were received with pomp and ceremony. At the Olympic Stadium doves of peace were released in a dress rehearsal for the opening ceremony.

5,000 in Boston: 'Dump the Hump'

By Barbara Chis

BOSTON—Thousands of antiwar demonstrators turned out to oppose Vice President Humphrey here Sept. 18. A platform had been erected by Humphrey campaign workers the morning of the candidate's appearance on the corner of Summer and Washington streets, right in the heart of downtown Boston.

According to a Humphrey staff member the location was meant to "trap the shoppers at Filene's and Jordan's into becoming a captive audience."

As the noon hour approached when Humphrey was scheduled to appear, thousands of people began moving into the blocked-off intersection. Official police and press estimates of the total crowd were 10,000. Humphrey assessed it as the largest campaign crowd he'd drawn yet. What he didn't mention was that more than half of the audience were demonstrators.

Continual chanting drowned out most of Ted Kennedy's introduction and Humphrey's speech. The press took particular note of the fact that the angry demonstrators were no more responsive to Kennedy than they were to Humphrey. The *Boston Globe* commented that "Sen. Kennedy introduced the Vice President with the remark: 'You are among friends,' but the response of the crowd left some doubt."

As Kennedy began his introduction of Humphrey the chants were "shame, shame" and "sell-out." But before he was finished, they changed to "they're both the same, they're both the same!"

Very little of Humphrey's speech was

audible over the angry shouts of the crowd, but occasionally a phrase got through, which was then answered by the audience. When he admonished demonstrators for not allowing freedom of speech, they yelled back, "Chicago, Chicago," and "hypocrite."

As cries of "End the war" continued to drown out the Vice President, he addressed himself again to the demonstrators. "No one here has a monopoly on peace," he said, "Your actions here are going to disgust the American people and injure the cause of peace." At that point the huge crowd shouted in unison, "We are the American people!" over and over again.

Many people in the audience carried anti-Humphrey signs. One noteworthy example asked, "Why Fire the Ventriloquist and Hire the Dummy?"

The *Boston Globe* summed up afterwards, "A man who cannot be given safe conduct in Boston by a Kennedy is in trouble too deep to be contemplated."

CLEVELAND—A picket line of about 500, mostly high-school students, booed and jeered Hubert Humphrey as he arrived at the Cleveland-Sheraton Hotel here Sept. 22 to speak at a private luncheon. Chanting slogans such as "Dump the Hump," "Support our men in Vietnam, bring them home now" and "Peace now," the line marched for over an hour waiting for Humphrey.

The demonstration was organized by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a city-wide antiwar coalition; and the Cleveland Student Mobilization Committee.

WEEKLY CALENDAR

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLT. Speaker: John Barzman, young socialist just returned from France. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—CAN SOCIALISM BE DEMOCRATIC? Speaker: Kim Allen. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:00 p.m. 302 S. Canal. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE EUROPEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT—EAST AND WEST. Speaker: Gisela Mandel, founding member of the German SDS; correspondent at the barricades during the French student uprising. Thurs. Oct. 3, 8:00 p.m. Militant Labor Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. (Forum this week Thurs. Oct. 3, not Fri.)

MINNEAPOLIS

FIRST HAND REPORT ON MAY EVENTS IN FRANCE. Speaker: Diana Johnstone, recently returned from Paris. Sat., Oct. 5, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

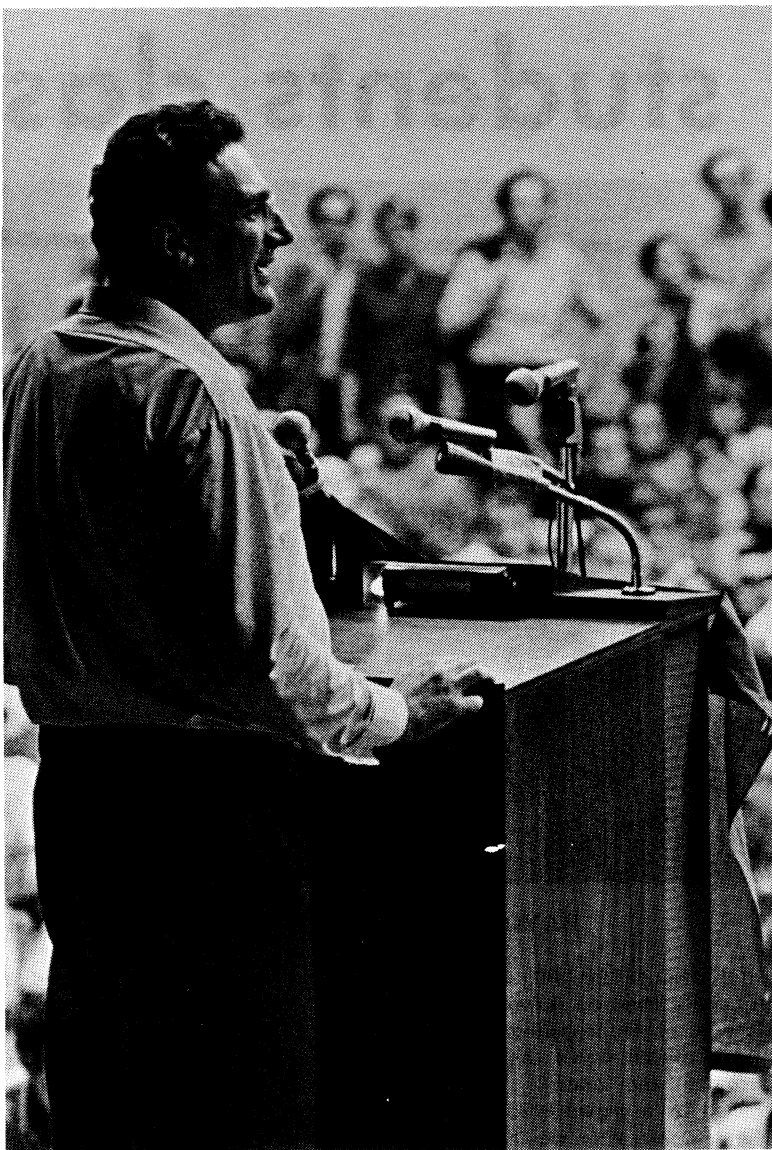
WHAT THE GIS REALLY THINK ABOUT THE WAR: A firsthand report from Vietnam. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, editor, *The Militant*; just returned from world political tour. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FALL FILM FESTIVAL Sat., Oct. 5, first of a series of four film showings. **STRIKE**—Eisenstein's rarely shown first film; the story of pre-Russian Revolution strike and its brutal suppression. **THE RAILROADER**—Buster Keaton's zany odyssey across Canada on a railroad handcar. 7:30 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. 873 Broadway, 2nd floor south, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1.25; season ticket (4 programs) \$4. Ausp. Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle.

PHILADELPHIA

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION TODAY. Speaker: Pearl Chertov, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, just returned from several weeks in Cuba. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. Donation \$1; Students, 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Ernest Mandel: the necessity for unity of theory and action



ERNEST MANDEL. A pause in the heated debate at NYU meeting of international student conference.

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 — "We must say as a general rule," Ernest Mandel declared last night, "that there are no good theoreticians if they are not capable of participating in action, and that there are no good activists if they are not capable of assimilating and producing and strengthening and building theory."

This central theme dominated a fast-moving lecture and over two hours of discussion by the noted Belgian Marxist economist. Mandel was making a special appearance at the International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, sponsored in New York this week by the Columbia University Students for a Democratic Society.

The main foreign invited speaker at the Socialist Scholars Conference in Rutgers University two weeks ago, Mandel is presently making a lecture tour of U. S. and Canadian campuses.

"I was struck during the Socialist Scholars Conference and in various other gatherings in the U. S.," Mandel told the assembly audience of over 500, "by the systematic way in which this counterposing is done — you have this kind of 'dialogue of the deaf,' in which one part of the audience will say it is only necessary to start action, immediate action, anything else is bad.

"The other part will say, no you can't start action, before you act you must know what to do, so don't act, sit down, study, write books [he was interrupted by applause] and where the obvious answer, the answer that is always given through historical experience . . . is that you cannot do one without the other."

Mandel emphasized that this was the central lesson that European student movements had learned in the course of the last six months to a year. Beginning with much the same kind of debate, and limiting themselves purely to university reform, the French, German and Italian movements had "spilled over into more general social and political problems."

They are beginning "to make a theoretical analysis of the nature of imperialism. This brought the more conscious students to the problem where Marxists start: the analysis of the world capitalist system."

A second major lesson is also being learned according to Mandel, the necessity of building a revolutionary party. He gave two reasons: the lesser, but nonetheless important, is that students are only on campus for a limited period of time.

A revolutionary organization that combines students and nonstudents is necessary to preserve revolutionary continuity. Mandel pointed out how a number of formerly militant members of the German SDS [Socialist Student Federation] had become inactive once they graduated from college and were absorbed in "liberal, reformist, intellectual milieus."

More important, however, Mandel de-

clared, "Outside of such an organization, a revolutionary party, you cannot achieve any permanent unity of action with the industrial working class in the broadest sense of the word, and I remain convinced that without the action of the working class you will not be able to overthrow bourgeois society, to really construct a socialist society."

Mandel insisted that American revolutionists pay the utmost attention to "linking up with young workers. One of the results of the technological revolution is that it does not prepare the young workers in time for the roles that even in bourgeois terms they must be prepared for."

"Any idea of reintroducing within the revolutionary movement, within the socialist movement, this basic division of labor between manual labor and intellectual labor, between the infantry which does the dirty job and the elite which does the thinking, is profoundly unsocialist and goes against one of the main, if not the main, goals of the socialist movement, which is precisely to achieve the withering away of the division of labor between manual and intellectual labor."

The Belgian Trotskyist ended his talk by stressing the importance of internationalism and making concrete proposals to "greet the courage and audacity of the Mexican students who have in a few days time fundamentally changed the political situation in that country and torn away the mask of false democracy with which the Mexican government was ready to accept millions of visitors to the Olympic Games . . .

"We must think about our comrades in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia who have led great struggles this year, who have shown that their fight for socialist democracy is a fight which is absolutely parallel to our struggle against capitalism and imperialism in the West, a fight with the same goal, and we will not let either Stalinist or imperialist reaction misrepresent this fight as one which somehow is pro-imperialist or pro-bourgeois — which it is to no extent whatsoever."

Finally, Mandel called for American support to the Oct. 21-27 international days of protest against the Vietnam war, proposed by various Japanese antiwar movements,

by the British Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation and Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, and by the Student Mobilization Committee in the U. S.

This call for international solidarity was enthusiastically applauded as had been many of Mandel's points during the lecture.

The discussion which followed covered a wide variety of questions, many of them far afield from the basic subject.

Mandel was asked whether he favored a Leninist party, and if so, why. Answering in the affirmative, Mandel pointed out that Lenin's revolutionary conceptions have nothing in common with the Stalinist model of the Soviet party and state.

Leninism does not mean "the struggle for a one-party system; it does not mean you want a new form of social organization where power rests with the party; it means power rests in the mass of the producers organized in workers' councils; it does not mean the absence of workers' democracy; it does not mean the absence of free press, of free speech and of free orga-

nization for all tendencies which rest on the basis of socialism and are against the reproduction of private property."

He pointed out that the Czech "reintroduction of the right of minorities to organize themselves is a Leninist tradition. [Leninism] means that all those who are convinced of the ideas of revolutionary socialism, instead of acting in a dispersed, disorganized, discontinuous way, should act in an organized and coherent way with the fullest possible democracy and the necessary coherence and centralization which makes their action efficient. More than that it does not mean."

A typical question, and the final one, was asked by SDS leader Steve Halliwell. Among other things, Halliwell criticized Mandel's use of Marxist "categories," arguing for more emphasis on the immediate "process" of individual experience.

"People cannot think without categories," Mandel explained. "The big problem is whether you see only a process, or whether you understand that in order to have actual changes, you must have more than gradual changes. You must have a jump . . .

"The main tendency [of bourgeois thought] is to say 'concepts, abstractions — not interesting,' to emphasize the 'living processes, day-to-day struggles.' Revolution is the opposite of the belief in process. It is the understanding that processes must be interrupted by big jumps."

The most decisive question, Mandel said in conclusion, is whether "it is possible to change capitalist society piecemeal, by individual, small-group action, by community actions, or whether you will only be able to change society if you bring to bear sufficient power to break the hold of the capitalist class over the means of production, and to break the capitalist state machine."

"I would call upon you to participate in a big worldwide movement . . . a week of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution . . . in which hundreds of thousands of students, of young workers and young revolutionaries, will fight together at the same moment on a worldwide scale . . . a common worldwide action for a concrete goal which the Vietnamese comrades tell us themselves is the most important today: Show that in the U. S. hundreds of thousands of people are for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam!"

European revolutionaries attend Columbia student conference

By Paula Reimers

NEW YORK, Sept. 23 — Students from eight European and North American countries held discussions on the international student movement at Columbia and New York universities this week. The "International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements" was sponsored by the Columbia Students for a Democratic Society.

Participants came from Italy, Germany, France, Britain, Mexico and Canada as well as this country. The high point of the conference was the appearance of Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist, at a packed meeting Sept. 21.

Mandel's talk on the necessity of the unity of theory and action in revolutionary struggle has stimulated considerable thought and debate on the Columbia campus.

The international conference offered an opportunity for representatives of different student movements to "analyze the progress which their separate movements are making and how their strengths might be joined toward the goal of international revolution," the sponsors of the meeting declared.

But with few exceptions, the lack of planning and political clarity in the discussions resulted in losing much of the opportunity. The conference proceeded in a chaotic and haphazard fashion. Rooms were not scheduled in advance and publicity was poor. Plenary sessions and small discussion

groups often gave way to random and aimless talk.

Many of the invited foreign students came away with the feeling that organizers of the conference were not on as advanced a political level as they had expected. Spokesmen for the German SDS [Socialist Student Federation] and the outlawed French JCR [Revolutionary Communist Youth] found themselves at one point attempting to teach students how to organize a demonstration.

A resolution to support French students victimized by de Gaulle's regime never got to a vote.

In spite of the chaos, much of the discussion focused on the key question of the type of program and organization needed by the revolutionary movement. It reflected a growing interest among student radicals in Marxist theories and organizational concepts.

Over 500 students took part Sept. 19 in a heated debate on "spontaneity" and "organization" in the French May events. A member of the banned JCR defended the Trotskyist concept of the need for building a disciplined combat vanguard of students and workers to lead a conscious and planned struggle against capitalist rule.

Two French anarchists propounded the antiorganizational, antidiscipline, anti-leadership, antiprogrammatic ideas current at the outset of May but, following the massive upsurge of workers, now held by only a small minority of French students.

French students plan fall actions

By Fred Halstead

Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Barry Sheppard, editor of The Militant, have just returned to the United States from a world political tour. The following account of the current stage of the French student movement was written by Fred Halstead while he was in Paris.

PARIS, Sept. 11—There are some obvious superficial changes here since the May revolt. For one thing the cobblestone streets in the Latin Quarter have been paved with asphalt, and in the same area the grates around the tree trunks have been removed, because cobblestones and grates were used on the barricades. Typical of the police mind: Remove a few material accouterments and maybe the revolution will go away.

But it hasn't. The first thing I noticed was young people on the streets selling copies of *Action*, a paper of the student revolt. The headline said: "General [meaning de Gaulle], Here We Are!"

Vacations are just coming to an end, and a few of the faculties (departments) of the University of Paris are beginning to open up. The Sorbonne, which is the faculty of letters, doesn't start until October.

The first test of whether the revolutionary temper is still present is now going on. It began over two issues—the examinations and the right of students to "trade-union and political rights." On both the authorities have had a hard time, and the students have begun to break through.

As each faculty opens, the first thing it does is to hold the examinations which were cancelled at the end of the last term because of the May revolution. But these examinations were one of the things the students were fighting to get rid of. They are old fashioned memorization tests, and they are used to keep the student population down by arbitrarily barring from school a certain percentage through the device of lopping off the bottom section of the mathematical curve of the test scores. The students have been demanding an end to this and they say that students should be passed or failed on their "dossier" or record of work throughout the school year.

Just how this confrontation unfolds is revealing of certain key aspects of the entire situation in the country. One lesson that a lot of students have pretty well absorbed is that the students can't make the revolution alone. The general approach—widely accepted among student militants—

is to avoid a showdown, all-out fight at this stage, but to mobilize the students in continuing struggle and deepen the organization and the connections with the working class.

Now as the students trickle back from vacations they are not very much in touch, and no complicated organization of massive action is really possible. But they are hit right off with the examinations question and must react. The Action Committee of the medical school met shortly before examinations began this week. They first decided to boycott the exams, but this worked only partially the first day.

The cops swarmed outside the school, discouraging pickets, and it was difficult to get the word around. If a boycott is not pretty complete, of course, it can mean the elimination from school of those who don't take the tests. So, another tactic appeared—to show the examinations to be the farce they really are. That is, to take the examinations, but with open books, sharing answers, and passing out copies of answers—obtained from sympathetic professors—in the hallways and on the streets.

The authorities have packed the examination halls and the schools generally with all sorts of plainclothesmen. Inasmuch as the regular police have not been too reliable for this sort of thing since May, a lot of these cops are special secret police or specially hired thugs recruited hastily from the seamy side of Paris life.

These "ushers" and "disguised ones" were completely thrown by the open book tactic. They didn't know just how the examinations were to be conducted anyway, and while they arbitrarily roughed up a few students, all they accomplished was to create a national scandal. After only a few days of examinations at a few faculties the newspapers are now running stories poking fun at the new "students" with "bulging muscles" and a much more intimate knowledge of judo than of academic matters.

Since May-June the authorities have also taken great pains to remove the many posters and slogans of the revolution which covered the walls of Paris, particularly in the Latin Quarter. And they succeeded. When I arrived last week hardly a slogan remained. But around the examination fight the posters have begun to appear again.

Carrying out this activity and putting up the posters is no simple task because there is still police repression and harassment. Sometimes salesmen of *Action* or poster pasters are arrested on the spot and interrogated for hours. Police can hold anyone incommunicado, without even notifying relatives, for 10 days.

So it was quite a thrill to see just last night freshly pasted posters all over the Latin Quarter advertising a mass meeting at the Mutualite. The poster had a picture of an "usher" with a big club standing over a row of students writing at their desks, their legs in balls and chains. The poster bore the names of the Action Committees at the faculties of medicine, economics and science, law, the Sorbonne and Nanterre.

The issue of political freedom on campus—which is really more essential than that of the examinations—began to come to the fore around a meeting called for Sept. 8 by the Action Committee of the faculty of law to discuss the radio and television industry. To this meeting were invited a number of radio and TV personalities and journalists who have been fired by the ORTF (the government radio and TV system) for sympathizing with the May revolution.

The dean of the law faculty announced that the hall was not available for this meeting because "outside speakers" had been invited. The promises for political freedom were thus revealed to be farcical. The students explained that precisely what they meant by "trade-union and political rights" is the right to use the university as part of the political and trade-union life of the country, to actually participate in political movements and processes through the university, and to invite trade unionists and workers there for discussions, common action and so on.

When the time for the meeting came, the police occupied the hall; the meeting had to be held in an open square nearby, where some 600 students attended. There, tactics for dealing with the police and plainclothesmen's occupation of the universities were



Photo by Barry Sheppard

LONDON MEETING. Fred Halstead addressed public meeting in London's Caxton Hall Sept. 18. Meeting was sponsored by the International Marxist group.

discussed and the concept of the "red university" was discussed and adopted after being outlined by student leaders who had been members of the now outlawed Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) during the May events.

When I heard the "red university" discussed, it struck me as remarkably similar to some of the ideas of student strike leaders I met in Japan last month.

In brief, the idea is as follows. The student revolutionaries recognize the distorted and reactionary role that the university is forced to play under the present system. They aspire to a true university of knowledge, training and culture for the mass of the people. But they also recognize that a socialist university is impossible in a capitalist society. The university, then, must become a training ground for revolution to change the society.

The students recognize that the university is still a place where academic subjects must be learned, and they encourage that and have no intention of interfering with it. But the facilities of the university, and considerable class time, must be available for direct revolutionary political activity, for political discussion and training and organization, not only of and by students, but of and by workers, both manual and intellectual.

Political freedom in the university is not to be confined to a kind of debating-society affair, but must be real, active participation in the political and trade-union life of the country and in the process of creating a revolution in the entire society. The university must be a revolutionary training center and a center of agitation.

This concept is now taking hold among the French students.

Halstead speaks about GIs at German SDS meeting

By Barry Sheppard

FRANKFURT, West Germany, Sept. 15—Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, addressed the national conference of the German Socialist Student Federation (SDS) yesterday. The SDS conference is being held at Goethe University here this weekend.

Halstead explained to the conference that the central purpose of our world trip was to go to Saigon to talk to the U.S. soldiers there about the Socialist Workers antiwar campaign. He pointed to the importance of spreading revolutionary and antiwar ideas within the U.S. Army, and called upon the German socialist students to aid in this effort among the U.S. troops stationed in Germany.

Strong applause greeted Halstead's appeal to the students to help promote antiwar sentiment within the U.S. Army rather than simply urging individual soldiers to desert, indicating a shift in opinion among many of the German students, who have been engaged in the desertion campaign.

The socialist students also discussed work within the West German Army, where opposition is developing among soldiers who do not want to be used against strikers and demonstrators under West Germany's new police-state "Emergency Laws."

Yesterday, a group of U.S. soldiers came to Goethe University seeking to make contact with German students, whom, they hoped, would agree to meet GIs stationed in Frankfurt and talk to them about the Vietnam war and other political problems. We happened to meet these GIs and were able to put them in touch with the German students. They also told us of a rock and roll concert to be held in Frankfurt last night, which would attract many GIs. They suggested that we leaflet the GIs there, and so I accompanied them to the concert.

They helped pass out 500 of Fred Halstead's "Letter to American GIs," a pamphlet that explains Halstead's antiwar position. The "Letter" was well received by the GIs, and we told them they could meet Fred that night. After the concert, a group came over to Goethe University to discuss with Halstead.

Of major concern at the SDS conference itself was the case of a group of pro-Mos-

cow Stalinists who were members of SDS.

At the Moscow-dominated youth festival held in Sofia this summer, SDS decided to initiate a demonstration against the Vietnam war at the U.S. embassy. The Bulgarian cops massed to "protect" the embassy, and attacked the SDS demonstration. They were aided in this suppression of the antiwar demonstration by pro-Moscow delegates to the festival, including five members of the German SDS itself.

The Frankfurt conference, after a long discussion, voted to expell the five from the organization. This action led to a discussion of what kind of organization SDS is or should be. This discussion reached no conclusion. The Stalinists, arguing in their defense, said that since the SDS has no discipline, they could not be held accountable for their actions in Sofia.

Some delegates objected to the manner in which the five were expelled, feeling that the underlying political differences with the Stalinists should have been discussed and a political struggle mounted against Stalinism. Such discussion tended to be submerged in simply discussing the five.

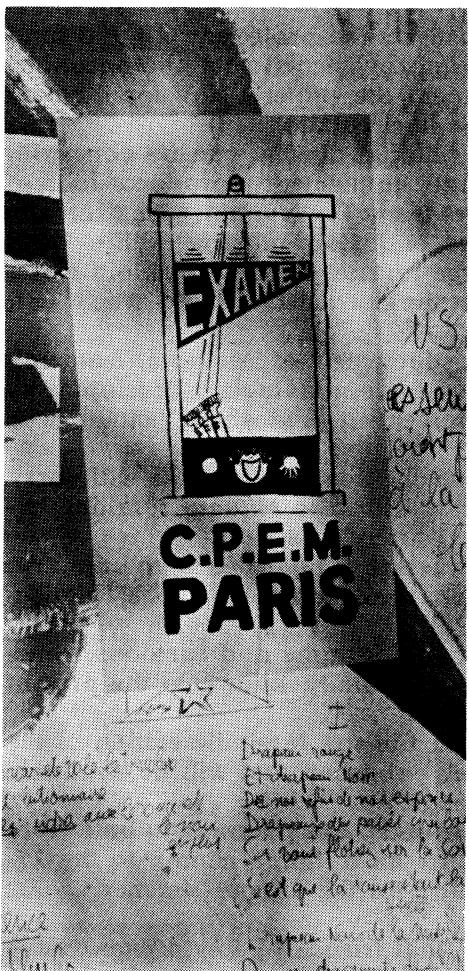


Photo by Barry Sheppard

IN LATIN QUARTER. Poster shows student with head in guillotine and releasing blade labeled "examinations."

Revolt in France

May-June 1968

168 pages, with photographs

Compiled from

Intercontinental Press

and

The Militant

\$1.95

New York State residents, add 2% tax;
New York City, 5%.

Order from

MERIT PUBLISHERS

873 Broadway

New York, N. Y. 10003

Semi-Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The

MILITANT

VOL. I, No. 1NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 15, 1928PRICE 5 CENTS

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 whole future of the Party and the Comintern 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 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

Trotsky and Radek Seriously Ill

The most alarming reports have reached us concerning the condition of health of Leon Trotsky and Karl Radek, leaders of the Russian Opposition who were formerly called to Turkestan and Western Siberia respectively. Both of them are severely stricken with malaria and unless they are given the most careful medical attention grave concern is felt for their lives.

We have just received a message from Moscow, from unquestionably reliable and authentic sources, which tells of the repercussions among the Russian workers. Despite the utmost official vigilance to hush-up the story of Trotsky's and Radek's illness, the entire city of Moscow woke up this morning (i.e., the day this letter was written) with appeals by the Opposition workers to the Moscow proletariat to protest against the scandalous treatment accorded the exiled Bolsheviks in their illness.

The *Volskoye*, organ of the German Opposition, reports a letter written by L. Sosnovski to the Moscow *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet Government, in which the accusations of Trotsky's illness is confirmed by information received directly from Alina Ata, Trotsky's daughter has been rendered more serious by other complications. Sosnovski bitterly protests against the cold-blooded cynicism of the present chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, Voroshilov, who made himself infamous with his sycophantic reply at a meeting when a worker asked about the declining reports regarding Trotsky's health.

The life of Lenin's co-workers, one of the geniuses of the revolution, lion-hearted Trotsky, is in imminent danger. The condition of Comrade Radek is also serious. Should the official neglect that is being substituted for comradely aid prove fatal to these revolutionary giants their blood will be upon the heads of those who persecute them and those who do not protest.

Communist workers of America:
Defend the lives of Trotsky and Radek!
Demand their return to Moscow and the provision of the best medical aid in their illness!
An end to the persecution of the fighters for Bolshevism!

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.

Their founding program is outlined in Vol. I, Number 1 of *The Militant*. It's fascinating reading and very relevant for today.

Send your dollar for a copy to:

THE MILITANT
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

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

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

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

N.Y.C. high-school group backs community control

By Roland Lagares

NEW YORK—The High School Coalition held a press conference outside the office of the board of education here on Sept. 19 to express their solidarity with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board and the struggle for community control of the schools in New York City. The following are a few of the points the High School Coalition feels should be instituted into the public-education system:

1) We support the demand that a high school be built in Harlem instead of the State Building.

2) We demand that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board be reinstated.

3) We want programs that are relevant to the students' needs.

Antiwar pickets greet Dean Rusk in Philadelphia

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25—Tonight Dean Rusk was greeted at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel by perhaps the noisiest and most enthusiastic antiwar demonstration yet to be assembled in Philadelphia.

On only one week's notice, nearly 1,000 pickets showed up. Chanting "Bring the troops home now," "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" and "Hell no, we won't go" the pickets mobilized by the Penn Vietnam Week Committee, the Temple Vietnam Committee, Vets for Peace, Philadelphia Resistance, Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee, and the Philadelphia Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle was the youngest group of antiwar activists ever to demonstrate here.

The militant mood, youthfulness and newness to such activity of those present led veteran antiwar fighters to predict a really mammoth showing for the Oct. 21-27 week of solidarity with the GIs.

4) We demand students have a greater voice in the school administration.

5) We demand that the board of education hire more black and Puerto Rican teachers.

6) We demand that every student be guaranteed a decent job or a college education upon graduation from high school.

Nassoun Jimai, a spokesman for the group, told me that the coalition was formed during the April 26 student strike against the war. They consider themselves a citywide organization. Jimai also stated that the coalition is an interracial organization, but that black and Puerto Rican students identify more readily with the goals of the coalition.

Jimai would not give any figures on the number of Black Panthers in the coalition. But he did say the following: "The average age of the Black Panther Party members ranges from 17 to 24; and 14 to 18 is the average age in the Coalition." On some points the Black Panthers' program is similar to that of the High School Coalition. An unidentified member of the Coalition shouted out from the crowd, "If we don't get community control we're gonna strike matches."

For further information contact High School Coalition, 602 Columbus Ave., 874-4595; or 183 Lenox Ave., 865-1052.

Socialists gain place on Colorado ballot

DENVER, Colo.—The Colorado secretary of state has announced that the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will appear on the state ballot in November. The Colorado Halstead and Boutelle Campaign Committee filed 669 signatures or registered voters; only 300 are required. Election laws require that each signer sign a statement, witnessed by a notary, that he did not vote in the primary elections.

...Militant's 40th anniversary drive

(Continued from page 1)

readers who value the work our paper has done and is doing in truthfully reporting the facts about, and helping to organize, the revolutionary struggles of our times.

The Militant has just increased its regular size to 12 pages in order to give more effective coverage to the current election campaign, the campus revolts, the black liberation movement, the labor movement and the rising international struggles.

The sturdier financial base provided by the projected \$40,000 fund will enable the editors to make greater improvements in its photographic, art and field coverage and to augment the paper's staff for the next planned phase of expansion of its size and circulation.

This special 16-page issue offers a glimpse of what can be done with a larger format. The added four-page supplement reproduces four of the more memorable earlier front pages from *The Militant* with dramatic headlines that were forged in the fire of history-making events. Even though reduced by half from the large format of our pretabloid days, we think they offer enough to indicate the character of these events and how our paper related to them.

In a coming issue we plan another supplement of this kind, featuring four pages highlighting contributions we have made to such developments as the black-liberation struggle, the movement against the Vietnam war and defense of the Cuban Revolution.

In addition, subsequent issues during the next two months will carry articles by veteran socialists associated with *The Militant* recalling experiences that should illuminate many of today's issues.

Also there will be reprints of major articles by the exiled revolutionary, Leon Trotsky, which *The Militant* alone made available to the English-speaking world during his lifetime.

Other features will include stories, photographs and cartoons which record stirring episodes of the past only dimly known to the present generation of radicals.

As a memento of the anniversary, a full-size facsimile edition of the first issue of *The Militant* is now being published and will be available at \$1 a copy. (For details see ad this page.)

Militant supporters throughout the country are planning to hold 40th anniversary banquets around Nov. 15 as a fitting climax to the 11-week fund drive in their localities. Watch for the announcement in your city.

This is the largest single fund goal that friends of *The Militant* have ever set for themselves. No smaller sum would measure up to the importance of the event. It is indispensable to keep the paper moving ahead as the clearest and most uncompromising journalistic voice of socialism and black liberation in this country.

We are confident the full \$40,000 can be secured by Dec. 15. With your help it will be raised. Be one of the first boosters of the fund. Use the coupon on this page for doing so.

Halstead blasts witch-hunt of Chicago demonstrators

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Fred Halstead sharply attacked today the House Un-American Activities Committee decision to subpoena five organizers of last month's demonstrations at the Democratic Party national convention and stage a typical HUAC witch-hunt.

"It is a case of making the victim into a criminal and the criminal into a victim," the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate declared.

"Those who were beaten up by Chicago police on Johnson and Humphrey's orders are blamed. The real criminals, the ruling capitalist politicians, serve as judge and jury." Halstead pointed out that not one prominent Democrat or Republican has

criticized the HUAC "investigation."

"Some of them were weeping crocodile tears at the time of the brutal attack. Now that the government has gone into action to witch-hunt Mayor Daley's victims, they sit back in silence. It shows you that in reality the Chicago attacks were not a departure from Democratic Party policies."

HUAC issued subpoenas to David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Rennie Davis.

They will be called to testify in Washington beginning Oct. 3. Legal counsel is being provided by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild and the Law Center for Constitutional Rights. A number of groups plan demonstrations against the witch-hunt.

Film on Halstead speech available

By Brian Shannon

On April 27, 1968, Fred Halstead was one of the main speakers at the antiwar rally of 30,000 in San Francisco. His speech was well received. He was interrupted several times by applause and was given a standing ovation at the end. Subsequently printed, the speech has been one of the most successful Socialist Workers Party campaign items.

Now a 15-minute, 16mm sound movie, "Fred Halstead in San Francisco—April 27, 1968," has been produced. Combined in an effective presentation are the voice of actress Vanessa Redgrave (who sent a taped message from England), shots of the march through San Francisco, and the rally at the Civic Center plaza. It features the Socialist Workers presidential candidate talking to a massive audience of young, militant antiwar demonstrators—presenting the revolutionary socialist view on how to build the antiwar movement and on its relationship to the GIs.

Halstead insists that the antiwar movement must "stay in the streets . . . and keep building that pressure" in order to stop the war, "not by trusting some other liberal Democratic or Republican politician." He

points out that it is the antiwar movement that supports the GIs, not capitalist politicians in Congress who say "support our GIs by sending more of them to die over there."

Also appearing briefly in the film are Muhammad Ali, Bobby Seale of the California Black Panther Party, Paul Jacobs of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Rear Admiral Arnold True, Ret.

The film's general content, Halstead's presentation, and its convenient length all go to make this film a big addition to the Socialist Workers campaign. It can be shown at house parties, fund-raising parties, on local TV, before community groups, antiwar committees, etc. Since nearly all colleges and universities have 16mm facilities and projectors easily available for no more than a nominal fee, it will be especially useful for student supporters of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket.

The movie can be rented from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, for \$5.00 plus postage for a 3-day period.

To purchase a copy of the film send \$25.50 to Jim Kendrick, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114.

Ohio socialists in active campaign

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND—The Socialist Workers Party of Ohio is conducting a vigorous campaign to reach the thousands of Ohioans who want an alternative to the capitalist war parties and their police-state policies for dealing with social problems.

For the first time since the Socialist Workers Party began running presidential candidates in 1948, write-in votes will be counted this year. Ohioans will be able to express their opposition to the war, the racism, the police brutality, the antilabor and antidemocratic policies of the capitalist parties by writing in the names of the Socialist Workers Party candidates:

Fred Halstead for President,
Paul Boutelle for Vice President,
Eric J. Reinthaler for U.S. Senate, and
David G. Wulp for Congress from the 22nd district.

In addition to speaking engagements by Wulp and Reinthaler, active campaigning by Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle is reaching out to all sections of the state.

Highlight of the fall campaign will be the visit of presidential candidate Fred Halstead Oct. 11-13. He will speak at a campaign rally and dinner Friday night, Oct. 11, at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Ave., and a state conference of Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle at Case Western Reserve University the next day.

The Ohio candidates on the SWP ticket, who announced their nomination last December, have both been active campaigners for the socialist alternative before, during and after presidential elections.

Eric Reinthaler, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, is a native Ohioan. For a number of years he was active in the steelworkers' and electrical workers' unions and has served as a shop steward, executive-board member, and editor of trade-union publications.

Born in Salem, Ohio, Jan. 7, 1924, he attended Bethany College in West Virginia and Western Reserve University in Cleveland. He was a combat infantryman in the 8th Division in World War II and holds a Purple Heart for wounds received in action in Europe.

Reinthaler was one of the first political prisoners under the Taft-Hartley slave-labor act during the McCarthy witch-hunt period. The section of the law under which he was convicted was repealed and subsequent convictions of other trade unionists were reversed by the courts.

He has been an activist in the civil-rights movement since his high-school days in 1938, participating in both the NAACP and CORE. In the 1950s he was active in the Cleveland Council on World Affairs. He is on the technical staff of the school of medicine of Case Western Reserve University and is a member of the University Circle Teach-in Committee.

Eric Reinthaler joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1963, has served as Cleveland organizer, and is a frequent contributor to *The Militant*.

David G. Wulp, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 22nd district, was born in Kingston, N.Y., in 1939, and graduated with honors in 1961 from Carleton College, in Minnesota, where he majored in psychology.

It was at Carleton that Wulp began his political activity. From the Woolworth demonstrations in 1960, to support of the demand for black control of the black communities, Wulp has been a consistent partisan of the most progressive, militant tendencies in the Afro-American freedom struggle.

His support of the colonial revolutions also goes back to his college days, with activities in defense of the Cuban revolution and membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

He has represented the Socialist Workers



Dave Wulp

Party in the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, which has played a leading role in antiwar activities in Northern Ohio. He is also a member of the University Circle Teach-in Committee at Case Western Reserve University, where he is employed as a computer programmer.

Formerly active in the Young Socialist Alliance, Wulp is now Cleveland organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

Recently Wulp and Reinthaler issued statements demanding withdrawal of white police and National Guardsmen from the black community during the Glenville disturbances and condemning the violation of the right of self-determination by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

'Socialist' Party gives backhanded support to Hustling Hubert

NEW YORK—The nearly moribund Socialist Party is in effect supporting Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency this year. While the party's national committee in a recent meeting here refrained from "officially endorsing" Humphrey because of "his continued defense of the horrible war in Vietnam" and because "he falls short of what the times require," they stated that there is no realistic alternative to his candidacy.

"Humphrey's victory is preferable to any other realistic possibility, and no strategy of protest voting will seriously forward the progressive political trends," the NC resolution stated.

The decision to support Humphrey is another step in the steady political degeneration of the party of Eugene V. Debs. The SP has not nominated its own presidential candidate since 1956, when Darlington Hoopes was its standard bearer. Since then, it has consistently supported the Democratic presidential nominees. In 1964 Norman Thomas, the party's best-known spokesman, stumped the country for Lyndon Johnson. Now, commenting on its support of Humphrey, the party's chairman, well-known poverty-expert Michael Harrington, stated, "While we did not endorse President Johnson in 1964, we were more enthusiastic about him than we are about Mr. Humphrey."

According to the Sept. 16 *New York Times*, Harrington said that whether or not SP leaders will actively campaign for Humphrey "would probably depend on whether he changed his stance on Vietnam and domestic issues in the remaining days before the presidential election."

It is small wonder that a "socialist" party that was "enthusiastic" about Johnson, and would eagerly give public support to Humphrey in exchange for a few phony last-minute campaign promises, is in a state of drastic decline. In a period of deepening radicalization, the Socialist Party as an organization has played virtually no role. Nevertheless, Michael Harrington was able to tell reporters with a straight face that the SP now has "under 10,000" members.

Halstead, Boutelle on national TV

Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, will appear on a national television program soon. In New York, the show will be televised at 9 p.m. on Oct. 6.

The show is a lively debate with prominent conservative William F. Buckley on Buckley's regular television program, "Firing Line." It was taped some months ago.

The program has already been shown in some cities. A Massachusetts viewer wrote the SWP campaign office: "Last evening I watched the interview between Wm. Buckley and Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle. I was quite impressed with the way Mr. Boutelle's enthusiasm and Mr. Halstead's self-assurance broke the points off Wm. Buckley's usual barbs."

The following is the schedule of the Halstead and Boutelle vs. Buckley debate across the country:

Sept. 30	Sacramento, Calif. KVIE/KIXE
Oct. 6-10	New Orleans WYES
Oct. 6	Washington, D.C. WTTG
Oct. 6	New York City WOR-TV
Oct. 13	Ft. Wayne, Ind. WANE
Oct. 13	Charlotte, N.C. WBTV
Oct. 20	Cincinnati, WCPO
Oct. 23	Tallahassee, Fla. WFSU
Oct. 27	Columbia, S.C. WRK
Oct. 31	Denver, Colo. KRMA
Nov. 5-10	Dallas, Tex. KERA
Nov. 9	Univ. Park, Pa. WPSX
Nov. 9	Hershey, Pa. WTP
Nov. 15	Erie, Pa. WQLN
Nov. 17	Fargo, N.D. KFME
Nov. 22	Jacksonville, Fla. WJCT
Nov. 24-30	Springfield, Ohio WSWO
Nov. 25	Spokane, Wash. KSPS
Nov. 29	Pullman, Wash. KWSC
Dec. 3-8	Miami, Fla. WTHS
Dec. 10	Milwaukee, Wis. WMVS
Dec. 12	Youngstown, Ohio WYTV
Dec. 17-22	Tampa, Fla. WEDU
Dec. 22-28	Des Moines, Iowa KDPS

For free copies of SWP campaign literature or additional information, write:

John McCann, Campaign Director, Socialist Workers Party of Ohio, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106.

or call:

(216) 791-1669 or 932-6313

INTERVIEW WITH PHIL HUTCHINGS OF SNCC:

'For a mass black revolution

By Derrick Morrison

The following interview with Phil Hutchings, national program secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was obtained in New York in the second week of September.

Morrison: SNCC has called for the formation of a mass black revolutionary party. Would you outline your perspective on this?

Hutchings: Our idea in calling for a mass black revolutionary political party is that we think black people need some kind of mechanism to fit into what will be a very long struggle for liberation in this country. It is important that black people have some kind of instrument which has 1) an ideology, 2) some type of methodology, 3) an analysis of who is the enemy and what has to be done to overthrow this enemy, and 4) a membership that is built using day to day struggles which begin to bring people to see an alternative to what exists now.

We think it is very important that people see what change can do for them. People fear change, especially when they cannot understand what the change will be, even though they may need it very badly. One of the things that a political party does is that it gives people something to do in the here and now while at the same time presenting a picture of what the future can be.

The political party that we envision does not fit into the conception of mainstream political parties in that it does not run in elections—or, at best, it displays a very cavalier attitude toward elections. It is our position that the majority of things having to do with power and that deal with people's lives are never up for electoral vote.

For instance, it is never possible to vote for who runs General Motors, or who runs AT&T, or on how the whole economic portion of the country is run. People on the very lower level never have a chance to vote on who is in the police force, or how to get rid of the merchants who are oppressing them, or to vote on their welfare case

workers, or other little things which have a lot to do with their lives.

So we're saying from the very outset that the primary focus of this black revolutionary party has got to be beyond electoral politics, that electoral politics plays a very small role in this mass party. It's our idea that politics is not who you vote for in this election or that election, but politics is a collection of the forces which determine how you live your life.

One of the things that we in SNCC have found in organizing black people over the past eight years is that people never fight unless it is necessary. They have to be forced to fight, feeling that there is something in it for them and that they can win. Having an organization that has the kind of philosophy that can bind people together for a long struggle is one of the ways that the people will be able to bear any kind of repression that the white power structure can put upon them.

Q: How does the Black Panther Party fit into SNCC's view of the development of a black party?

A: We think the development of the Black Panther Party of California is one of the strongest developments in the movement to date. The philosophy of Defense Minister Huey P. Newton of picking up the gun and beginning to organize in a very aggressive manner against the white power structure around basic needs—such as the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party—is a definite intensification of the struggle for black liberation.

At present we see the Black Panther Party in the many communities where it is beginning to organize as serving to be a kind of very necessary militia, in an educational sense, that begins to raise issues, that begins to talk about the whole philosophy of violence and begins to show in many ways what the real ills of the present society are and how black people as a group will never fit into the mainstream of American political life.

We see the Black Panthers as the begin-

ning of the kind of political party we're talking about. They are beginning to set up what are some of the necessary types of organization, especially around the question of self-defense. This is what the black community has to be able to understand before they can move to form a genuine revolutionary political party. We don't think the Black Panthers are the last stage.

Q: What role will united fronts, such as the one in Washington, D.C., the Black Congress in Los Angeles, and united fronts that exist elsewhere, play in the building of a black party?

A: It is our position that if the united fronts are organized in a correct political way that they can be the forerunners of the black political party. We think that a black political party in order to have a mass base has got to have elements from the entire black community.

United fronts contain people who represent different interests within the black community, different economic strata, and at the same time these fronts form a kind of communications network among different organizations. This enables them to work among each other and to defend each other against repression. The united front, if nothing more, is simply an umbrella to bring the black community together against the hostile white outside world.

We think that as the repression begins to intensify in the black community, there will be more and more attacks against black liberation fighters and black liberation organizations. What will happen is that the attacks will not be directed simply at these organizations, but, invariably, at everything black. And as these attacks begin, the united fronts will become, not so much middle-class bourgeois fronts, but they will become more revolutionary and more political in their ideology. And from the best elements of the united fronts you will have the nucleus for the formation of a black political party.

Q: What analysis is SNCC developing

to deal with exploitation and racism?

A: We have always maintained that black people in this country have two problems. One is the question of color. Black people in America have been oppressed because of the color of their skins. This results from something called racism, which is a psychological manifestation of some disease that has been brought to this country by white Europeans and people principally of the West. These people have never been able to relate honestly and in a humane way to people of color, whether you are talking about black, yellow, brown, or whatever.

But at the same time that black people have been discriminated against because of their color, they have also been discriminated against by capitalism because of their economic weakness. Capitalism is basically a system which is beyond color and will discriminate against everyone, white people as well as black people.

It is very much in the interest of black people in this country to realize that they have to fight two struggles. The first is on the question of color, of cultural integrity—which is the first part of the question of black power that addresses itself to being black. At the same time, they have to fight against the power system in this country, which is tied into the economic system.

If you are talking about really going for power, and not simply some kind of cultural fadism, you have to talk about overturning the capitalistic power system. It is our position in SNCC that capitalism is simply an "updatation" of feudalism, and that feudalism, with its concern for property like capitalism, is only an "updatation" of something called slavery, and that therefore black people are by and large slaves. Black power in its truly revolutionary sense can never mean black capitalism because the two are inherently contradictory.

Q: Is it possible to develop black control of the black community under this system?

A: The white power structure has learned the lesson of Africa, where you give people visible political control, but you do not give them real control in terms of the economy. The same thing is true here. There can be no such thing as a black power mayor or a black power leader within the present American system, it simply cannot be done. There will be black administrators, and people who will be projecting so-called blackness, but at the same time they will be serving the demands of the American political system, whether they realize that or not.

So we say that as long as you have a country like the United States, which has an industrial and technological development which spans the whole world, in other words, as long as there is international monopoly capitalism headquartered in the United States of America, it is impossible to talk about black control of the black community in this country.

Q: What kind of struggle will be needed to bring about black control of the black community?

A: We think that black control of the black community is a very good slogan to get people into action, and we think that it is a very good, radical demand to make in the true sense of getting to the root of the problem. It's important to fight for that demand because it is intensely logical, very rational, and very democratic. The problem is that this country is neither logical, rational, nor democratic. In the fight to get black control of the black community you will bring out all of the ills of the system in regard to black people.

Therefore, you must begin to fight not in one black community, such as a county, or a city, or an area—but you have to begin to move on a nationwide scale to begin to control the whole country. As America becomes more technological and the whole economic system becomes more immense, it also becomes more interdependent. So it is impossible to have an

BOOK REVIEW:

Polish student rebels

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST STUDENTS IN POLAND SPEAK OUT (1964-1968). Edited by George Lavan Weissman. Merit Publishers, 1968. 96 pp. \$1.25.

The body of this pamphlet consists of a new English translation of Jacek Kuron's and Karol Modzelewski's "Open Letter to Communist Party Members," one of the most important Marxist theoretical and programmatic statements to appear in the workers states since the silencing of the Russian Left Opposition in the late 1920s. To it are appended Antoni Zambrowski's brief "Reply to the Party Control Commission" and Isaac Deutscher's "Protest Letter to Gomulka."

Kuron, Modzelewski and Zambrowski are three of many young, oppositional Communists in Poland whose brave advocacy of their views has brought upon them the wrath of the governing bureaucrats. Kuron and Modzelewski were imprisoned from 1965 to 1967, and Zambrowski was fired from his teaching position at the University of Warsaw in 1966. All three are reported to have been arrested during this year's Polish student demonstrations.

The most interesting feature of Zambrowski's letter is his reference to the existence of "opposition groups" within the Polish CP, and his forthright defense of their right to present their ideas within the party. His own position is one of reform; he calls for the "controlled devel-

opment of socialist democracy," beginning with the reestablishment of democratic centralism in the Communist Party and ultimately—"in a more distant future"—establishing the right to form a legal opposition in the parliament.

Deutscher's letter is a powerful appeal for support of the persecuted Polish oppositionists. He contrasts brilliantly their dignity and integrity to the servility of the time-servers staffing the highest positions in the Polish state and party.

Kuron and Modzelewski state their central thesis simply: "The economic and social crisis cannot be overcome within the limits of the bureaucratic system. Revolution is inevitable." To assure the victory of the antibureaucratic forces and to provide guidelines for the subsequent social reconstruction, they propose following a genuinely revolutionary program.

Their proposed program can be summarized under three general points. First, they call for the establishment of workers' democracy, in which all power—political, economic and military—is lodged in workers' councils. Secondly, they call for the internationalization of the revolution; they recognize that the antibureaucratic struggle in Poland and the other "bureaucratic states" is an integral part of the worldwide socialist revolution. Finally, they recognize the necessity of building a revolutionary party to carry the working-class struggle through to the end.

This revolutionary program is elab-

orated in connection with an analysis of the existing postcapitalist societies that, while very penetrating, is defective in some important respects.

Kuron and Modzelewski regard the bureaucracy as a ruling class that, like other ruling classes, once played a progressive historical role. During the initial phase of industrialization of a backward country, in their view, it made possible an immense expansion of productive forces. However, after this initial phase is completed, the bureaucracy becomes a brake on the further unfolding of productive forces. Kuron and Modzelewski see the roots of the general crisis of the "bureaucratic system" in this contradiction.

In an introductory essay on the "Open Letter," Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International, critically assesses these views. He stresses that "history has never provided an example of a ruling class becoming a brake or an obstacle to the development of the productive forces within a few years. What is involved is a social layer brought to power under exceptional circumstances and exercising because of this an economic and political dictatorship that has no historical legitimacy and whose temporary 'utility' is very questionable." In spite of this, Frank concludes that "the difference between them [Kuron and Modzelewski] and the Trotskyist movement is terminological rather than political in nature."

onary party'

enclave of freedom or of liberation in one part of the country, unless you begin to talk seriously about taking on the whole power structure of the country.

The lies which hold this country together can be smashed by the revolutionary consciousness that can be organized around the whole question of black control of the black community.

Q: There is another question which is related to this, and that is, are there other potentially revolutionary forces in this country besides blacks?

A: It is our position that revolution has very little to do with the color of a person's skin. We feel that revolution has a lot to do with environment, with the position that people or groups of people are forced into, given the system or country that they live in.

In this country black people are the most prone to be revolutionaries, but there are people outside of black people who are thrown into a very revolutionary posture. I think of the developing revolutionary consciousness among Mexican-Americans, in places like Los Angeles and the Southwest under groups like the Brown Berets, and people such as Reis Tijerina and Corky Gonzales.

I think of the developing awareness among Puerto Ricans, like in Chicago where they have a Latin American defense organization, and in East Harlem where the Gut Theater has begun to do very political and very radical things. There is a great deal of revolutionary consciousness, or potential, that can be developed in all of these communities.

We have the question of what is the role of white people. SNCC maintains that we are not fighting against white skins but against white supremacy, and that there is a role for radical whites. We have said, since 1966 and even before that, that whites should begin to organize in the white community, to begin to split the white community so that when the eventual confrontation comes, it will not be a question of simply white versus black, but a question of power.

We think that because of the unique role of black people in this country, they will always be in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle. But that does not necessarily mean that they have to be the only group that is revolutionary.

Q: Could you comment on the United Brothers campaign in Newark where they are running two people for city council?

A: The campaign and the whole program is not necessarily a revolutionary program. It is a program around the whole concept, once again, of black control of black communities, or self-determination of Newark by 1970. The campaign of the two candidates, Ted Pinckney and Donald Tucker for city council, is an attempt to get some type of black solidarity within a city which has had a very tough time in getting black solidarity. This is in spite of the fact that black people in Newark are at least 57 percent of the population, and perhaps even more. What is happening is that the campaign of the two candidates is an attempt to begin to bring to the surface the problems of Newark, New Jersey.

It is very important I think to add that the two candidates were nominated at a black convention in Newark. The black convention developed a whole opposition platform for what should be done in Newark. It was the first time in the history of Newark that black people have come together as a very large group to decide how that city should operate. If we say that white power has messed up Newark, what will black power do? How do we begin to plan on the level of housing, in the field of education, in the field of welfare, in city finance and tax finance, and how do we begin to move to get real power and real control in Newark?

As I said before, it is the position of SNCC that this basically cannot be done within the workings of the American poli-

tical system. But it is only in the attempt to find that out that black people will begin to develop revolutionary consciousness in Newark or any place else.

People do not become instant militants. It is a process that unfolds through action, hard work, and an analysis that is gained by failure to do what seems to be something very simple, something that should very easily happen in a so-called democratic country. Once we see those so-called simple things cannot happen, the pathway to revolutionary activity becomes possible.

Q: Could you comment on the various defense cases of SNCC militants, especially Cleveland Sellers' case and Rap Brown's case? Also, what can people do to support these cases?

A: Well, SNCC is getting just as much repression as ever. At present we have over 40 people who are in jail in the state of Texas. While Governor Connally was trying to fight for the unit rule at the Democratic Party convention, the people in Texas were putting 40 SNCC people in jail. Basically, those 40 people come from four cities — Dallas, Houston, Austin, and Killean.

Lee Otis Johnson, a SNCC organizer from Houston, received a 30-year sentence for supposed or alleged possession of marijuana. In Dallas, Ernest Stephens was given a 20-year sentence for supposedly throwing a rock through somebody's window and for "malicious destruction of property." All of these are trumped-up charges in an attempt to keep SNCC people from organizing in the state and to smash the whole organization.

In the case of H. Rap Brown, he is very concerned about his trial, which comes up in Cambridge, Md., this year, probably sometime in October. He feels that with Maryland's Governor Spiro Agnew on the ticket with Richard Nixon, the Republicans will try to get a conviction in his case. This would enable the Republicans to go around and say that while Hubert Humphrey simply talks about "law and order," Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew can "take care of the agitators."

And so it will be necessary for SNCC, various black militants, and concerned white radicals around the country to mount a huge campaign to defend the brother,



Phil Hutchings

and not simply around the question of defending H. Rap Brown but around the political program that SNCC is trying to institute.

Cleve Sellers is momentarily out of jail. He was given bond on the charge concerning draft evasion. But he still has to face charges and the possibility of a 70-year sentence for his activities in Orangeburg, South Carolina, stemming from events around the Orangeburg Massacre, which was perpetrated by the white police power structure in South Carolina.

Various other SNCC people, such as Willie Ricks, Bob Moore in Baltimore, and Bob Smith in Atlanta, also face the possibility of jailings because of their political activity. I am up on a charge of unlawful assembly in St. Louis, Missouri—resulting from a trip I just made there.

I was put into jail and then the city workhouse for five days on a so-called charge of trying to incite a riot.

Because there are so many cases involving SNCC people we have set up a SNCC Defense Fund. And that address is 360 Nelson St. SW, Atlanta, Georgia, c/o of the SNCC National Office. People can write there and send contributions in care of the deputy chairman of SNCC, Bob Smith.

We feel it is important to link all of these cases together and to begin to see these cases for what they really are, as not simply a question of a legal defense, but a part and parcel of the white power structure's attempt to use the judicial system as a way to harass, to limit political activity, and to crack down on dissent in this country.

Nisqually Indians stage protest fish-in

By Christina Burks

SEATTLE, Wash. — A week-long fish-in was conducted here by the Nisqually Indian Tribe in defiance of the State of Washington and the U.S. Supreme Court. The government is illegally attempting to deny the Nisqually Indians rights granted them under the 1854 Treaty of Medicine Creek.

Nets were set at four "usual and accustomed" places in the Nisqually River around Frank's Landing, with a 24-hour guard to prevent theft of the gear by state fisheries wardens. These guards were manned by supporters of the Indians from a number of groups in the Puget Sound area including the Young Socialist Alliance, Black Panther Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Students for a Democratic Society and the Socialist Workers Party.

The week of protest has also included a rally on the State Capitol steps Sept. 5 and several attempts to fish at Capitol Lake in Olympia. A number of Indians and their supporters were arrested in the Olympia fish-ins, including Suzette Bridges, Robert Stern, John Vigil, Dan Hauser, Lawrence Seide and Floyd Turner.

While there has been no action by the department of fisheries at the Frank's Landing fish-in, it has been under the surveillance of state fisheries wardens and the nets have been frequently buzzed by a state helicopter.

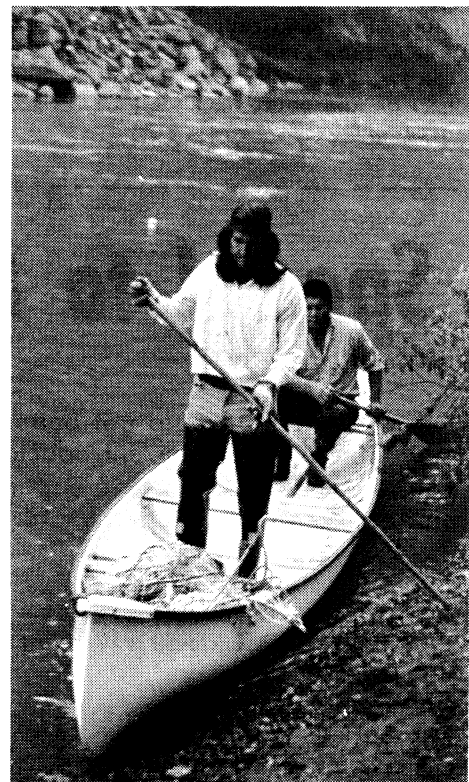
This series of events is the latest in a long history of attempts by Washington State Indians to maintain their established human and treaty rights in the face of continued harassment and encroachment by the State of Washington and the U.S. government.

Over the past five years the state has stolen and sold over \$500,000 worth of fishing gear belonging to the Nisqually and other tribes. A number of Indians have been jailed and fined for the exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed treaty rights, on which the economic survival of their families depends.

State agents have invaded the reservation and have destroyed gear and beaten Indian fishermen, including old women and children.

At the Sept. 5 rally there were 80 demonstrators, about 60 onlookers and a large contingent of newsmen. A number of Indian speakers decried the condition of Indians in Washington State; speakers from non-Indian groups pledged their support.

Suzette Bridges declared, "Let Mr. Daniel J. Evans [Washington governor] know that we are going to keep right on fishing no matter what he does . . . Nobody's going to kill my people without everybody knowing about it." Debbie Leonard, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate was among the non-Indian speakers emphasizing their support.



NETS READY. Nisqually Indians defy government ban on their traditional fishing rights in Washington State.

Teamsters propose N.Y. family subsidy

Something new has been added to union demands. On Sept. 23, Barry Feinstein, president of Teamsters Local 237, announced that one of the demands for 3,500 New York City Housing Authority employees was a government-financed \$5-a-week per child allowance.

Feinstein based the new demand on words right out of the horses' mouths—Mayor Lindsay, who as vice-chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders supported such family subsidies; Social Service Commissioner Jack R. Goldberg; and Mitchell I. Ginsberg, Human Resources Administrator, who has "long advocated wage subsidies based on need rather than market place values."

Sixty-two other nations, including, to name but a few, England, Sweden, Canada, France and West Germany, do grant such family supplemental payments.

"Fun City"—which isn't fun for most of its inhabitants—faces three major union contract expirations on Sept. 30. As this is being written, on Sept. 25, round-the-clock negotiations are going on between the New York authorities and city police, firemen and sanitation workers.

The Policemen's Benevolent Association has pledged not to strike. All it wants, in addition to higher pay and better working conditions, is that city hall "take off the handcuffs" it alleges the cops have been shackled with and allow the police to "enforce law and order." This is a racist demand to give cops a go-ahead to crack down on the legitimate rights of black people.

The Uniformed Firefighters, now supported by their officers' association, are asking for more money, shorter work turns, better pensions and more adequate support for their survivors. Five firemen have died

Students in Phila. march to protest FBI harassment

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 25 — A rally and march of 400 students today demanded an end to FBI harassment of the antiwar movement and the student newspaper at the University of Pennsylvania. The action was spurred by the invasion of the offices of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* by FBI agents demanding the name of the person who placed a "We Won't Go" ad in the paper last year. The editors refused to give this information to the FBI and were backed by the more than 2,400 students who signed petitions circulated by Students for a Democratic Society. The Resistance, Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle, and the Penn Vietnam Week Committee. These organizations, together with the Coalition of Democratic and Independent Voters, sponsored today's demonstration. The speakers at the rally demanded that the FBI and police agents not be allowed on campus.

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

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

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

NAME

STREET

CITY STATE ZIP

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

New York painters strike wins significant concessions

By Bernie Stanton

The first strike in almost a quarter of a century of the Painters Union of New York City has ended with a decisive victory for the union. After five and a half weeks on the picket line, the rank and file by a two-to-one majority, voted to ratify a new contract.

The major issues in the strike were wages and working conditions which had deteriorated to the point where the painters were far below the rest of the building-trades unions, including the laborers. On the question of wages the new settlement provides for a package increase of \$1.40 an hour over a three-year period, averaging about 47 cents per hour each year. This contrasts with the 14 cents an hour the union had won in the previous six years.

On working conditions, the union won some important concessions. Perhaps most important of all was the right to select its own shop stewards without being subject to approval of the employers. In the past the boss had the right of veto power over a steward he didn't like. This meant that the steward had to be the boss's man in order to stay on the job. Under the new settlement the boss no longer has this veto power.

What may prove of even greater significance in the long run is the fact that for the first time in the building-trades unions a grievance committee is being set up which puts in question the right of the boss to hire and fire freely. A man can now protest if he is unjustly fired and have a hearing. In this respect the Painters Union is ahead of other building-trades unions.

A number of other concessions were won including some fringe benefits. The union calculates that a total package of \$59-a-week increase was won over a three-year period.

This victory was noteworthy because of the militancy that was developed and the solidarity displayed by the men throughout the strike. It was even more remarkable because the union was functioning under a new leadership; the deadweight of the old, corrupt leadership had only recently been removed after a bureaucratic dictatorship lasting two decades. Moreover, the new leadership, while personally honest, did not provide a clear-cut program

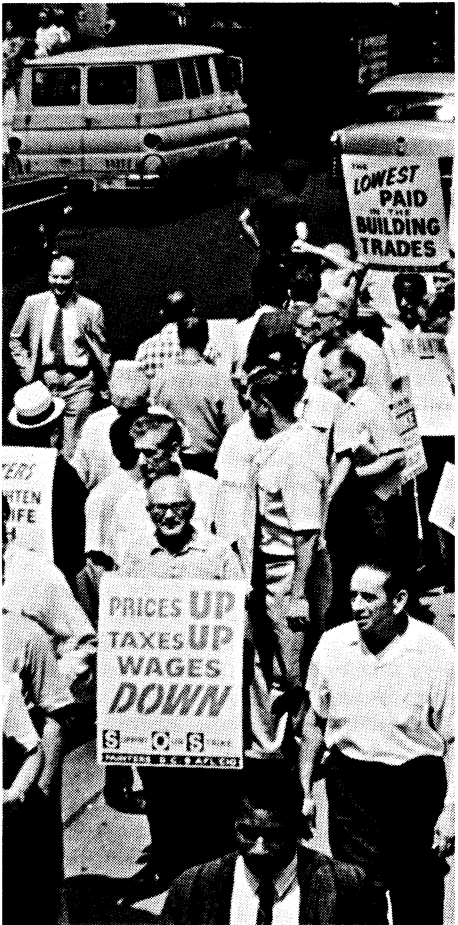


Photo by Shannon

ON THE LINE. Painters manned picketline during five-and-a-half week strike.

around which the men could rally. Despite the lack of proper preparation and organization for the strike, the membership showed such solidarity in action that the bosses cracked and signed on terms that represented a big step forward for the union.

The main task confronting the union in the next period is *enforcing* the new agreement. This means militant stewards to police the jobs and a union administration to back them up. It means developing a program to educate the membership and give them a perspective for the future. And, finally, it means the building of a left-wing leadership to carry the struggle through.

The Great Society

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS—Faced with a threatened march on the presidential palace, the Peruvian government decreed that titles should be issued to the slum plots occupied by squatters who ring the city of Lima. Reporting on this, Juan de Onis of the *New York Times* said some people see these slum encampments as "social sores" to be eradicated. But, he added, a growing number of "urban specialists" now see them as a "practical and financially sound response to the need for low-cost housing. . ." Why not just have them dig caves? That's an even better deal.

OBVIOUSLY—Desertions from the Saigon army passed the 50,000 mark during the first six months of this year, as compared to 40,000 in the same period last year. Pentagon specialists said this in no way suggested a drop in morale.

THE WAY WE LIVED THEN—Mrs. Etienne Boegner of Old Westbury, L. I., recalled for a society reporter what it was like in the old days: "We had seven houses (Palm Beach, Tallahassee, Cape Cod, Virginia, Old Westbury, New York, and a salmon fishing camp in Canada), and everything was perfectly organized. There were two chauffeurs, 14 servants, a secretary, handyman, and I don't know how many gardeners. Every summer we'd jump on a boat to England with three cars, a chauffeur, maids, governesses and a valet. It was the way everyone lived in those days, if they were lucky."

SEXLESS CENTER? —"LOS ANGELES—Childhood sexual conflicts might be related to the development of extremist right-and-left-wing political behavior, according to the tentative conclusions of

a study done recently by two political scientists."—News item in the *New York Post*.

TRAINED BY CIA?—One gang of Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Miami bombed the headquarters of another and issued a press release so announcing. They were apparently unaware that the target group had been evicted from the bombed building some weeks previously.

FOR THE UNDERGROUND? —"Soviets to build Prague subway."—Headline in the *Daily World*.

IT FIGURES—Robert Ehrler, accused of slaying a 12-year-old girl in Florida, gave himself up to police in Phoenix, Arizona. Arizona authorities said he was heavily armed with guns, tear gas and hand grenades he had obtained as a member of the Green Berets in Vietnam and of two different Florida police forces.

YOU CAN HEAR A CHECK DROP—A midtown Manhattan restaurant will feature serve-yourself-in-silence breakfasts. Juice, coffee and rolls. \$3.

HIS THING—Mainbocher, a fashion designer whose items never go below \$1,000, refuses to discuss price on the assumption that any woman who appreciates his designs can afford them. "I must do what I believe," he says. "It's my responsibility."

NO CONTEST—There was no need for computers to tally the vote in Little Rock and Glyndon townships, Minnesota, during recent state primaries. In both townships not a single person bothered to cast a ballot.

— Harry Ring

Cuba Today (IV): Escalante and foreign policy

By Harry Ring

This is the last of four articles on Cuba today. The author spent three months in Cuba at the beginning of this year.

Ultraleft and Stalinist opponents of Cuba in various countries have joined in assailing the Escalante prosecution as a new "Moscow Trial." This charge that Escalante and his associates are victims of a political frame-up similar to the monstrous show trials staged by Stalin in the 1930s is a bit ironical when voiced by such organs as *l' Humanite*. This is the organ of the French Communist Party, which is notorious for its consistent, unblushing refusal to reconsider its shameful defense of Stalin's crimes.

There is no objective basis for lumping together the Moscow Trials and the Escalante case. In the Moscow Trials, forcibly extracted "confessions" were used to frame-up revolutionary Marxists who had played a central role in the October Revolution. These revolutionaries were painted as counterrevolutionary "agents of fascism."

In the Escalante case it was charged that a group of Stalinist reformists, with a long public record of the worst kind of bureaucratism and blind support to the Kremlin, had acted in a manner completely consistent with their whole political past. They had asked that economic pressure be exerted to compel Cuba to abandon its revolutionary line and bow down to the Moscow hierarchy.

There is, however, an aspect of the Escalante prosecution which, in my opinion, does warrant criticism—a legitimate criticism consistent with full support to the Cuban Revolution, a criticism that would evoke little sympathy from the editors of *l' Humanite*.

The resolution concerning Escalante's "microfaction" adopted by the central committee of the Cuban party and elaborated in Raul Castro's report and in the presentation of the prosecutor contained three general points as the basis for the trial.

The first was seeking Soviet-bloc intervention to force a change in Cuban policy. The second was that state and party documents, which Escalante had no right to have, were transmitted to him by members of his group. The third charge was that of "proselytizing and furthering of ideological divergences . . ."

It was charged that the Escalante group had conducted itself as a faction, that it had reproduced and circulated literature from the USSR and elsewhere that contradicted and opposed various Cuban positions, and that members of the group had utilized various educational discussions to advance their views.

Incorrect action

In my opinion the Cuban leadership was wrong to include these points as a basis for criminal prosecution. Regardless of intent, it can only be construed as making the promotion of ideas a criminal offense. This is a concept that is totally alien to the principles of socialist democracy.

The Cuban party and state certainly have the right to protect themselves from the counterrevolutionary efforts of the Moscow bureaucracy as implemented through such a formation as the Escalante grouping. And to declare that such a grouping would not be permitted to function within the Cuban Communist Party would be an entirely justifiable stand, particularly in the context of Cuba's acutely difficult situation.

But it is a violation of Leninist norms to proscribe minority views and legitimate



Photo by Harry Ring

"THE LORD." Section of stained glass ceiling, a la Michelangelo, at Third World exhibit in Havana last January. Exhibit was indictment of role of imperialism in colonial world and powerful appeal for revolutionary struggle against it.

political factions. The error is compounded when it is suggested that factional activity within the Communist Party is not only the subject for action by the party, but is also the basis for criminal prosecution by the state.

A revolutionary party has the full right to defend itself against a formation which is not seeking to win the party to its ideas but is acting as a tool of an outside force dedicated to thwarting the party's revolutionary objectives.

But among revolutionary adherents to a revolutionary party, the right to dissent and to try to change the party's political position on any and all questions must be assured if the democratic aspect of the Leninist concept of democratic centralism is to have any substance.

And the right of those with minority views to form factions within the party to promote their particular views is one that was guaranteed in the era of Lenin.

Throughout the history of the Bolshevik party, from its inception, through the period of the struggle for power and after, this right was assured and was used by a whole variety of factions.

True, during the moments of extreme peril for the revolution, at the end of the exhausting civil-war period, the right to form factions within the party was *temporarily* suspended. And Lenin made it absolutely clear that this was a strictly temporary measure dictated by the extreme gravity of the situation.

Stalinist dogma

It was only when Stalin came to power and began the process of destroying the socialist democracy established under Lenin and Trotsky that factions were declared permanently abolished. A standing ban on factions within a party is a Stalinist dogma—not a Leninist norm.

The right of those with differing views to form factions is not only consistent with democracy. It is also, politically, an eminently practical concept.

If members of a revolutionary party are in serious political disagreement with the majority view on one or another issue, yet are denied the right to promote their view within the party in a regulated way, they will inevitably find other means of doing so. Just as ideas cannot be successfully suppressed in society at large, so they cannot be within the ruling party either. For that reason alone, it is far better to establish regularized norms to assure the systematic, organized presentation of minority views.

This enables the entire membership of the party to consider differing views in an open, honest way and then arrive at a democratic decision for or against. It's more educational, more beneficial to the party, and, in the long run, far less costly than any futile attempt to proscribe dissident ideas or their expression. And it is the free interchange of ideas that is the only long-range assurance of maintaining a correct, revolutionary policy.

Again, this does not mean that a party or state does not have the right to protect itself against the counterrevolutionary, genuinely conspiratorial efforts of a grouping like Escalante's.

I think the Escalante trial was justified in that it served sharp notice on the Kremlin that interference in Cuba's internal affairs will not go unchallenged. I also think, however, that the issue would have been more clearly defined and its international impact greater, with most doubts removed, if the issue of promoting dissident views had not been brought into the prosecution.

Politically consistent

It is perfectly plain that Escalante and his cohorts were guilty of the actual criminal charge. The charges, as I have indicated, are consistent with the public political record of the group. No one has seriously argued that their admissions of guilt were forcibly extracted fabrications.

Moreover, a whole number of East German, Czech and Soviet figures were specifically named in Raul Castro's report. All of them are outside Cuba. To my knowledge, none of them has denied the charges, nor have the governments involved.

But, some might argue, is it really a criminal offense for people in one noncapitalist country to seek support for their views in other noncapitalist countries?

If that were all that was involved, the answer, clearly, would be, no. It might, at one point or another, even be a necessity and a duty.

But the incriminated individuals were not simply seeking ideological support for their particular views. They sought—and apparently not without success as indicated by Moscow's refusal to sell Cuba needed oil—to have the Kremlin use its economic power to bring the Cubans to their knees—to compel them by crude economic force to abandon their policies. This is certainly a crime, on national-democratic grounds as well as from the viewpoint of revolutionary socialist principles.

And the crime is particularly odious in that they were trying to blackmail Cuba into abandoning one of the most significant and positive aspects of its policies—its commitment to the support of revolutionary struggle against U. S. imperialism.

The Cuban leadership, in my opinion, made a serious mistake in endorsing—even very critically—the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia. But the fact remains that up to this point, Cuba has made a big contribution to the world liberation struggle by its persistent opposition to the counterrevolutionary policies of the pro-Moscow CPs.

Anti-Stalinism

In the struggle for a revolutionary policy in Latin America, Cuba has dealt devastating blows to Stalinist reformism and opportunism. It has aided greatly in deepening the revolutionary understanding of the movements in Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, Venezuela and other countries.

In the process of learning from each other and from the Cubans, these movements are acquiring a deepened understanding of the nature of Stalinism. They are learning the crucial lesson that the failure of their own CPs to support armed struggle is not a localized aberration but the concrete expression of a continentally and, indeed, worldwide counterrevolutionary policy of the parties committed to applying the Kremlin's treacherous, class-collaborationist policy of "peaceful co-existence."

These experiences, in turn, are helping to deepen the revolutionary consciousness of the Cuban people. Che Guevara is a genuine hero in Cuba. His picture is to be seen everywhere on the island. And along with it, most frequently, his declaration, ". . . make two, three, many Vietnams!"

Nor is the slogan repeated as mere rhetoric. There is genuine popular support among the people for the Cuban regime's revolutionary policy for Latin America, and there is a deep, passionate sense of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

An example: At the height of the milk shortage in Cuba last March a rumor swept Havana that longshoremen had refused to load milk for Vietnam. A friend commented that what was interesting about this particular rumor was that each person that passed it on expressed shock.

A few days later Fidel dispelled the rumor in a speech. He said no such incident occurred, that in fact Vietnam had never requested milk from Cuba.

However, he added, if Vietnam should request it, Cuba, despite its own needs, would send that milk.

From everything I saw during my three months in Cuba, I am convinced that such an action would have the full support of a big majority of the Cuban people.

To me that is one of the most inspiring aspects of the Cuban Revolution.

(End of a series)

3 KEY SPEECHES BY FIDEL CASTRO

Fidel Castro denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism .50 cents

(1962 speech against Escalante)

The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought .20 cents

(1962 attack on falsification of history)

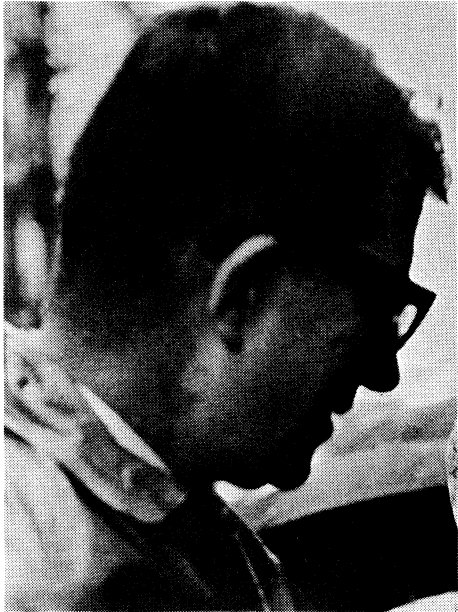
Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists .50 cents

(1967 polemic against leaders of Venezuelan Communist Party)

NY State residents please add 2% tax; New York City 5%

MERIT PUBLISHERS 873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

5,000 protest N.Y. school shutdown



ALBERT SHANKER. New York teachers' union head has led UFT into reactionary strike against black and Puerto Rican communities.

NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Nearly 5,000 angry people, overwhelmingly black and Puerto Rican, jammed Manhattan Center last night for a meeting protesting the United Federation of Teachers' strike, now in its third week. The teachers' strike, while painted by UFT president Albert Shanker as an action in defense of "due process" and against "mob rule" in the schools, is in reality an attack on the right of the black and Puerto Rican communities to control their own schools. Shanker refers to black and Puerto Rican parents as a "mob."

The morning of the rally the city board of education had ordered the local governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn, a predominantly black district, to accept the return of 110 teachers who had been transferred out of the area by the local board because of their reported opposition to community control of the schools. These teachers have become a symbolic issue in the dispute.

The crowd at Manhattan Center gave a standing ovation to Rhody McCoy, the black administrator of the embattled Brooklyn district, when he declared, "Shanker wants to humiliate the black community, he wants us to crawl. But we will never crawl! We will not be humiliated!"

The rally had been sponsored by the city's Council Against Poverty and the New Coalition, an opposition group within the UFT that has opposed the strike and supported the demand for black and Puerto Rican community control. Virtually every local community group in the city took part in the rally, including the Black Panther Party—which was cheered by the crowd.

More than 30 speakers denounced the racist character of the UFT strike action. Especially warmly received were Rhody McCoy; the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board; Luis Fuentes, a principal of one of the Brooklyn schools; Herman Ferguson, victim of a racist frame-up in Queens last year on a phony charge of plotting to assassinate "civil rights leaders"; and Milton Galamison, a black spokesman who was recently appointed to the city board of education.

Galamison said he would "not be used by Shanker to sell-out black people."

A speaker for the teachers opposing the strike, Jeff Mackler of the New Coalition, declared, "The UFT claim that it is fighting for due process is fraudulent. More than 2,800 teachers were 'excessed' last June, not rehired, and the UFT never said a word. The UFT spent \$500,000 opposing all proposals for decentralization of the schools. It is clear that the real issue is black and Puerto Rican control of the schools."

Mackler urged that no trust be placed in any city or state officials to protect the rights of black people. It would be a mistake, he said, to call for the use of the strike-breaking Taylor law against the UFT as had been suggested by members of the Council Against Poverty, as it would set the precedent for the government stepping in to smash strikes and also the actions of the black community.

The meeting strongly supported the demand for the immediate opening of all city schools and cheered descriptions by administrators and students of the smooth functioning of schools in ghetto areas, where the strike has had little effect. New programs are being introduced in these schools to adapt them to the needs of the community, such as bilingual classes in Spanish-speaking areas.

A high consciousness of unity and purpose gave an exuberant air to the standing-room-only meeting. Telegrams of support were read to the applause of the audience. These included a message from a field representative of the Washington, D.C., Federation of Teachers. Luis Fuentes received a standing ovation when he read a moving quote from Malcolm X.

Anti-Humphrey protest planned for N.Y., Oct. 9



NEW YORK—A massive turnout of antiwar demonstrators is expected to greet Hubert Humphrey when he comes here Oct. 9. He will be the principal speaker at a Liberal Party dinner that evening at the Americana Hotel at 7th Ave. and 52nd St.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee is organizing to mobilize its constituent organizations and their supporters for the demonstration.

The New York Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced an extensive campaign of leafleting and other publicity on the city's campuses to assure a maximum student turnout for the action.

Humphrey has already been effectively hit by the antiwar demonstrators who greeted him in Boston, Cleveland and elsewhere. The turnout in New York is expected to be the largest yet.

The Student Mobilization Committee at its national conference in Chicago Labor Day weekend decided it would organize actions against Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace in the various cities where they appeared. A similar decision was made by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and by the New York Parade Committee.

In anticipation that some of the appearances here of the three candidates will come on little or no notice, the Parade Committee has asked antiwar activists to check regularly by phoning the committee's Dial-A-Demonstration service. The number is 924-6315.

Berkeley students demand Cleaver lecture series

BERKELEY, Sept. 24—Over 2,000 University of California students at a packed meeting here tonight unanimously voted to demand that Eldridge Cleaver be allowed to teach a full series of classes this fall. The meeting was called in response to a Sept. 20 decision by the university's board of regents limiting Cleaver to one class.

The issue, which raises the same basic questions as the 1964 Free Speech Movement, arose when the university invited Eldridge Cleaver to give a 10-lecture series in a sociology course on "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order."

The state senate passed a resolution sponsored by the Birchites to censure the university. Reagan demanded that the university regents terminate Cleaver's appointment before classes start. The regents responded with the Sept. 20 decision limiting Cleaver to one appearance.

The meeting tonight was called by the Associated Student Body, the university's student government.

Boutelle opens nationwide tour in Pacific Northwest

By David Herman

PORTLAND, Ore., Sept. 25—Although state universities here are not yet in session, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential nominee Paul Boutelle spoke to almost 1,000 people at four campuses in the Portland area during his three-day tour that ended yesterday.

Boutelle's first appearance was in the Albina ghetto district. The meeting was chaired by Tom Wilson, a prominent black political figure here who is currently a presidential elector of the pro-McCarthy Fourth Party, and it received extensive coverage in Portland's major newspaper, the *Oregonian*.

More than 200 students heard Boutelle at Pacific University. Pacific U's Black Student Union sponsored his visit there, and the meeting was chaired by the Union's president, Howard Storey.

Boutelle next addressed more than 300 students, including some 60 high-school students, at Oregon State University in the Portland suburb of Corvallis. The meeting was sponsored by the Student and Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam, with Floyd McFarlen, professor of economics and chairman of the Student and Faculty Committee, presiding.

At Reed College, 150 people came to hear the socialist candidate, and at the University of Portland, a Roman Catholic school, Boutelle spoke to more than 200 students.

In addition to the story in the *Oregonian*, the tour received extensive coverage in the

campus press and on local TV and radio stations. In addition, Boutelle was a guest on the most popular radio "talk show" in Portland.

During the tour, SWP campaigners enrolled 20 Portlanders as endorsers of the socialist campaign.

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Paul Boutelle, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, completed a successful three-day tour here Sept. 21. Boutelle addressed meetings of 600 students at Simon Fraser University and 400 students at the University of British Columbia.

Friday evening, Boutelle spoke to more than 100 people at the Vanguard Forum. The audience included members of the Native Alliance for Red Power, an organization of Canadian Indians. (The Alliance's *Newsletter* may be obtained for \$1 for 6 issues from Native Alliance for Red Power, Box 6152, Vancouver 8, B. C., Canada.)

Threats by brass spur GIs to build S.F. peace march

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 25—GIs are responding to threats by the brass to crack down on the Oct. 12 GI and Vet's March for Peace by helping to build the march. Each weekly organizational meeting at Sacred Heart Catholic Church here sees more servicemen than the last.

The GIs were attracted by leaflets and other publicity which used a message from General Estes, chief of the Military Air-lift Command, to General McConnell, Air Force chief of staff, asking that McConnell "quash" the march.

The servicemen also said they came to help build the action because of threats by the brass to transfer three of the GI organizers of the march. Transfers to Utah had been ordered for Michael Locks and John Bright, but the Air Force backed down after march organizers and lawyers took legal steps. Lieut. Hugh Smith, another organizer of the march, is under orders for Taiwan.

One of the GIs at last week's meeting said, "If the brass is all that worried, we must be on to a good thing." So far, GIs from the Presidio of San Francisco, Fort Ord, Knoll Naval Hospital, Travis Air Force Base, Treasure Island, Presidio of

Monterey, Hamilton Air Force Base, and other West Coast bases are planning to join the march.

Servicemen on their way to Vietnam have stopped in to take leaflets and stickers with them. Several have said they would organize groups of GIs in Vietnam (and other military bases overseas) to support the march.

This weekend *Task Force* and *The Ally*, GI antiwar newspapers, will publish editions carrying major articles on the Oct. 12 march. Both papers will be distributed around the country by the Student Mobilization Committee and other antiwar groups in connection with publicity for the Oct. 21-27 days of protest.

Endorsements and financial support continue to arrive. Robert McAfee Brown, Stanford theologian, has agreed to speak at the rally after the march, along with Gen. Hugh Hester, Ret., and former Green Beret sergeant Donald Duncan. The Bay Area Labor Assembly for Peace and Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace have endorsed the march.

Michael Locks, one of the GI organizers of the march, is flying to Washington this week to seek congressional support of GIs' right to free speech.



IN BERKELEY. Paul Boutelle speaks on Telegraph Ave. last July 4.