

THE MILITANT

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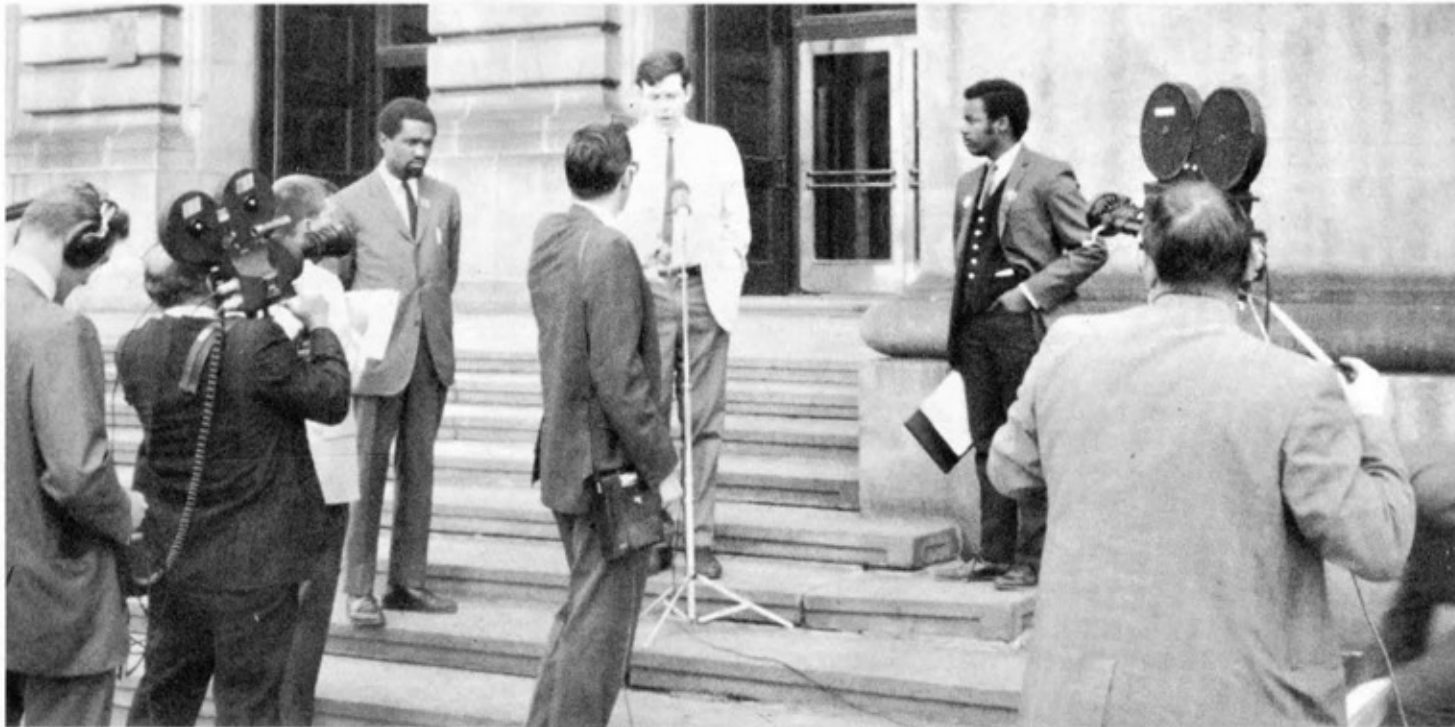
Friday, May 23, 1969

Price 15c

Revolutionary leader joins
French presidential race

— See page 6 —

Cleveland court condemns black man to electric chair



DEMAND FREEDOM FOR RACIST VICTIM. Syd Stapleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, at May 15 press conference on City Hall steps, demands governor release Ahmed Evans, convicted of

murder by an all-white jury. With Stapleton is James Harris (right) his running mate in election, and, at left, Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor of New York.

Socialists urge action to save Ahmed Evans

Ahmed Evans, militant black nationalist leader, was sentenced to death by an all-white jury in Cleveland on May 13. Evans was arrested after a police attack on the black community last summer, during which four people were killed, including three cops. The most reactionary and racist sentiments of the jury were whipped up by the prosecutor, judge and press. The judge, refusing to even grant a stay of execution for an appeal, sentenced Evans to the chair on September 22.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Cleveland, Syd Stapleton, at a press conference on May 15, denounced the conviction and death sentence and demanded that Mayor Stokes of Cleveland use his influence on Gov. Rhodes to free Evans. See stories page 12.



Monday, May 19, marks the birthday of Malcolm X, who was born in Omaha in 1925. The day is increasingly being celebrated by revolutionaries the world over. Malcolm X's unchallenged place as the mentor of the black youth revolt he predicted but did not live to see has been recognized in one high school and university struggle after the next, where occupied buildings have invariably been renamed after him. May 19 has been declared a legal school holiday in Berkeley, Calif., after a petition of the secondary schools revealed a vote of 3,520 to 397 in four of the five schools polled, favoring such a holiday. The decision was unanimously approved by the Berkeley board of education. The student action sets a precedent well worth fighting for around the country.



Ahmed Evans

Berkeley cops shoot students

BULLETIN

BERKELEY— Police used shotguns and pistols against unarmed civilians May 15 to disperse several thousand people protesting the closing of the newly erected People's Park. Hundreds were injured, 50 seriously, many by buckshot wounds.

One police unit fired shots at onlookers on balconies above the Young Socialist Alliance headquarters. As a result, one youth was blinded and a Los Angeles Times reporter was wounded in the leg. Radio station KPFA reported that one youth suffered a severed spine as a result of being shot by a .38 caliber police revolver.

The tyrannies of high school life

"de-brainwashing" demanded

Letters from our readers

Chicago, Ill. St. Phillip Servite High School is located on the west side of Chicago in the black community. There are presently about 750 students enrolled here, and nearly half are black.

The faculty is creating problems for the students here at St. Phillip. They insist that we solve our problems through use of "due process" only. Whenever we ask them for some changes, they ignore us.

The students here want an immediate end to physical punishment. There have been numerous complaints from students of disciplinary abuses inflicted by half-crazed teachers.

There must be an end to the practice of pressuring students into bringing in money for St. Phillip's annual fund drive campaigns.

There must be an end to the practice of taking black literature away from students. The schools have whitewashed our minds and brainwashed white students, giving the illusion that there is a "democracy" here in America. Now they don't want us to become de-brainwashed.

The Free Breakfast for School Children program was initiated by the Black Panther Party. It has been set up in Chicago, and we asked for a food drive to support it, but they rejected it. We tried to circulate petitions asking for a food drive, but they were repressed. They took the petitions away before we could present them to the student council. They will go out of their way to keep us from improving the conditions of our community.

It is wrong for us to expect our enemy, the power structure, the very people who created the problem to resolve it for us. The oppressed peoples of the world must depend on themselves only and take action on their own.

Student

A criticism

Bronx, N.Y.

Your reporter Joel Aber in his report about the Columbia teach-in [*The Militant*, May 9] accused Youth Against War and Fascism of "initiating fist fights" at the meeting. This is wrong. They protected the meeting. The Arab students by themselves would not have been able to go through with the meeting.

The Israelis came well-organized, so as to break up the meeting and then have a meeting of their own. When they entered, they sang, "How sweet for brethren to dwell in unity." They wanted to read in the next day's newspaper that they had convinced the Arab students that whatever Israel does is good for the Arabs.

The Zionist plan did not work. The steadfastness of the membership of Youth Against War and Fascism ruined the Zionists' plans.

I believe that your newspaper should praise the membership of Youth Against War and Fascism for their idealism in defending free speech in New York.

D. B.

And a reply

New York, N.Y.

The issue is not whether the meeting should have been defended against Zionist disrupters. The Young Socialist Alliance, for instance, was one of the organizers of the defense guards for the meeting.

My criticism of YAWF was that instead of participating in a dis-

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.

ciplined, effective way in dealing with the disrupters, they chose to display their "militancy" by provoking fistfights and shouting matches with hecklers. This behavior served only to intensify rather than to quell disturbances at the teach-in.

Joel Aber

From an Arab revolutionary

Madison, Wis.

I take pleasure in notifying you that I am conducting a campaign among Arabs and the rest of the students of the third world on the Madison campus to subscribe to *The Militant* because it is simply the committed revolutionary platform of the masses in this country and across the world. Keep up the good work.

Arab Student

On Bernadette Devlin

Seattle, Wash.

When will you have a big picture of Bernadette Devlin? Devlin calls for a United Socialist Ireland. She helped build barricades against British troops and Irish Tom cops. Her attacks on English liberals as "white liberals" show she's an internationalist—and only 21 and a woman in a country where old men have been the spokesmen for the status quo. Terrific. The Irish Revolution is reborn! Immediate withdrawal of English troops from Ireland!

Bill Massey

Takes dim view

of mass movements

Worcester, Mass.

I do not wish to renew my subscription to *The Militant* for the following reasons:

The essence of your principle seems to be a compromise to "mobilize" "massive" and "activist" "confrontations"—"demonstrations"—group actions which generally reflect the lowest level of political consciousness above that of "praying for peace" or "writing your congressman." But a socialist party worthy of the working class should offer the slogan, "No peace under capitalism." While such a slogan might not draw 10,000 high school students into the streets, ultimately the contribution to the cause of socialism would be greater. The demands of liberal-radical leftists are doomed to frustration precisely for the reason stated above: indeed, there is no peace under capitalism, and this point should be made now, exposing for the benefit of the working class the pretensions of the "radical" student activist left.

A party must be willing to forsake immediate popularity. The SWP's idolatry of every fast-talking member of a minority follows this essential delusion. Despite all the verbiage expended in the defense of black nationalism, black nationalism is dividing the

working class, just as white racism has done in the past.

While black nationalist movements have reached a peak of popularity unmatched, unfortunately, by the socialist movement, and while this movement has doubtless raised the political consciousness of many blacks, ultimately a nationalist movement in a highly developed country like the U.S. does not inevitably evolve into a class movement, the political goal toward which all socialists should strive.

Frankly, many of the activities mentioned in *The Militant* are absurd and disgusting in their stupidity and I do not wish to continue supporting coverage of these follies.

—W. B.

Progressive Labor opportunism hit

Providence, R. I.

In the May 2 issue of *The Militant* an article on the Progressive Labor Party stated that PLP attacked Che Guevara. When I read this and the article by Mary-Alice Waters, I was shocked and disgusted with PL's opportunism. It seems to me that PL attacks all great socialist revolutionaries but their hero and patron saint Chairman Mao.

From attacking Che to condemning black nationalism, PL has proven that they are opportunists!

R. M.

Disagrees on population problem

San Francisco, Calif.

The article on population control relative to control of resources seemed to lack knowledge of the world's resources and population growth and the ecological balance.

Please consider the following: At present growth rates the world's population will top six billion by the turn of the century—double what it is now. With complete international and political cooperation, world food production could also double by the year 2,000. According to Stanford Population and Environment Forum, "The world will still be undernourished. To industrialize the nearly two billion people in the underdeveloped nations requires massive quantities of natural resources—300 million tons of copper, 300 million tons of lead, 200 million tons of zinc, 30 million tons of tin and many other structural materials and energy sources. According to the most optimistic geological estimates the world does not possess these resource reserves. The demand presently—right now—exceeds the supply."

"Since the world does not contain enough raw material to industrialize two billion people, it obviously cannot do so for five billion in the year 2,000."

Joan Jordan

[See article on this question elsewhere in this issue. — Editor]

We're an inspiration says Canadian

Toronto, Ont.

We comrades in Canada follow *The Militant* very closely, for its value is nearly unequaled as a tool of revolutionary action and thought. We have just expanded the *Workers Vanguard* to eight pages and improved its layout. To say that *The Militant* has inspired the expansion would be saying a truth. Keep up the good work.

P. K.

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Friday, May 23, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was May 16.

A new revelation on how close we live to the nuclear brink

Writing in the May 6 *New York Times*, Washington correspondent William Beecher reported that "according to top administration officials, military retaliation was President Nixon's first inclination as he considered his response to the shooting down April 15 of an unarmed Navy reconnaissance plane by North Korea."

Nixon's intentions were learned, Beecher states, from "consistent reports in several agencies of government." In fact, "the planning had gone as far as the selection of two specific targets [air bases] in North Korea, and, according to one source, a speech had been prepared to explain the retaliation to the American people."

These revelations are one more reminder of just how close we live to the brink of another major war, possibly even a nuclear one. The madmen in power in Washington know no bounds in their contemptuous disregard for either the views or the lives of the American people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese, or anyone else who dares interfere with their self-proclaimed right to police the world. So long as they hold power, the threat of more and even bigger wars remains all too real.

What stayed Nixon's hand? Neither rationality nor a change of heart—of that we can be sure. Washington was simply unprepared militarily to back up the air strikes against the Koreans. As one government official told Beecher: "Had sufficient force been available to stage the raids within 12 to 18 hours after the president tentatively made up his mind to respond, I believe the attacks would have been ordered."

An additional restraining factor, Beecher says, was Nixon's conclusion that "the American people might consider bombing raids against North Korea as hauntingly similar to the Gulf of Tonkin air strikes of August, 1964, which led to a broader American involvement in the Vietnam war . . . There was growing apprehension within the administration that once the initial shock had passed, many Americans would feel, in the words of one official, 'Here we go again.'"

Such a conclusion by Nixon is testimony to the power and importance of the American antiwar movement, not only as a major factor in limiting American imperialism's ability to wage the war in Vietnam, but also its ability to contemplate future wars like it. But the deterrent, we must realize, is not absolute.

Washington now has a task force of 40 warships off Korean waters, in addition to nearby land and air bases. "If there is another incident," one high government official told Beecher, "there will be no delay in our response."

All of which calls for a redoubling of effort by the antiwar movement. Our demand, "Get Out of Vietnam" is also implicitly a demand for "Hands Off Korea." It also underlines the need for intensifying the fight to eliminate a system which confronts humanity with such suicidal insanity.

If you support:

The antiwar movement

Black power

The Cuban Revolution

Revolutionary socialist candidates



JOIN THE YSA

clip and mail
Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.
I would like more information I want to join the YSA
Name
Address
City State Zip

Behind decline of Columbia SDS (II)

How lack of program leads to crisis

By Paula Reimers

(This is the second part of a two-installment article. The author is a student at Barnard, Columbia's women's college.)

The founders of SDS aspired to create an organization free from the ideological factional struggles which they saw as largely responsible for the decline of the "old left." To escape a similar fate they deliberately refrained from developing a comprehensive political analysis and even structured their organization so as to assure one would not be developed or "imposed" on the organization. Local autonomy for each chapter and for each individual within each chapter was the rule. Every member of SDS was to have the right to do whatever he wished, regardless of national or local chapter decisions.

But revolutionary developments in the world—China, Cuba, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, the U. S. itself—pose crucial questions for the revolutionary movement. Serious revolutionaries are compelled to consider and analyze events, to draw the lessons and to apply them in action.

In the midst of swirling, complex political developments, ideological conflict is almost inevitable in any developing organization that seeks to respond to events. Nor is this necessarily destructive. A confrontation of differing political views, in democratic debate, can enable a movement to respond more effectively to the changes in political reality.

SDS, however, because of its completely heterogeneous political character and its anarchistic principles of organization, has found itself incapable of coping with the internal struggles which have beset it, nor does it derive benefit from them.

With the situation exacerbated by the organized, disruptive intervention of Progressive Labor, the SDS internal struggles have divided the organization into permanent warring factions, engaged in destructive struggles on almost all and any issues.

Perhaps the most debilitating factor has been the absence of division along lines of clear-cut political principle. This has often caused these struggles to degenerate into clique power fights. Instead of political discussion resulting in education and clarification for the membership, SDS battles have tended to disorient and demoralize.

Participatory democracy

For one thing, the whole concept of participatory democracy has proven in practice to be quite undemocratic. The do-your-own-thing principle has prevented the members of SDS chapters from arriving at democratic majority decisions, or even calling a halt to debate of which the great majority may have already made clear they have had enough. And then, at the breaking point, efforts to cope with

May Day rally held at U of C in Irvine, Cal.

By Bill Wingfield

IRVINE, Calif. — Two hundred attended the first May Day celebration to be held at the University of California, Irvine, April 30. It was sponsored by the Irvine YSA and SDS and called a day before May Day in order to promote the May Day Free Huey Newton demonstration in Los Angeles.

As a result, 60 UCI students went to the Free Huey demonstration in L. A., forming the largest out-of-town contingent.

Speakers at the UC rally included Vance Fort of the UCI Black Students Union; Leslie Lincoln, UCI Friends of AFT; Rosa Linda Mendez, United Mexican-American Students; David Heskett, SDS; and myself for the YSA.

The backdrop of the speakers' stand included posters, of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Malcolm X and Huey P. Newton. There were flags of the workers' states.

the abuse of the no-discipline policy often results in attempts at bureaucratic rather than democratic solutions.

Columbia SDS has been wracked for at least two years by the intervention of a very small but extremely vocal group of PLers. Last year they organized the SDS Labor Committee, which attempted to promote their factional program, the "worker-student alliance." During the summer of 1968, after the Strike, the PLers in the Labor Committee were expelled from PL. Then PL brought in a number of their people from Boston to replace the expelled SDS Labor Committee as PL's faction in Columbia SDS.

During the teachers' strike last fall, serious differences arose within Columbia SDS. The Labor Committee supported the racist Shanker bureaucracy while the majority of SDS supported the black community's demand for control of its schools. The Labor Committee, as part of SDS, published its position as that of SDS. The majority, after warning the Labor Committee several times that this was intolerable, finally decided to act. In a move spearheaded by PL, the SDS General Assembly voted to disband the Labor Committee for misrepresenting the SDS position. Members of the supposedly-disbanded Labor Committee, however, remained members of SDS.

Nor did this end the factional conflict within SDS. At every meeting, under every point on the agenda, PL insisted on arguing for its particular views.

In a further factional move, PL and its sympathizers organized an "Expansion Committee" for the announced purpose of fighting Columbia's expansion into the Harlem community. This gave PL a "left" cover for its policy of opposing black nationalism.

Most of the factional conflict then centered around the question of support to the black liberation struggle. The faction fight became especially heated after the Students Afro-American Society and the Barnard Organization of Soul Sisters presented their demands to the Columbia and Barnard Administrations.

PL's stand

PL maintained that nationalist struggles in general are reactionary (although one PLer qualified this with the thought that "Chinese nationalism is the highest form of internationalism!") Black nationalism, they argued, is particularly reactionary because it "divides the working class." PL criticized the SAS and BOSS demands as "petty-bourgeois," and "elitist," and smeared the black students with the charge of "get-aheadism" at the expense of black working people. PL leveled its most vicious attacks at the BOSS demands, which included the demand for separate living facilities for black women students who requested them, as "segregation" and "racism in reverse".

The majority of SDSers supported the demands of the black students, but were politically unclear why they did. Only a very few could explain support for self-determination of peoples as a principle of Marxism. In some cases, SDSers were reduced to red-baiting because they had no thought-out political orientation to counter PL's false line.

This destructive conflict continued for many months, until finally the PL-dominated Expansion Committee occupied Hamilton Hall to press for its demands. The previous SDS General Assembly had voted not to take this action, but the Expansion Committee disregarded that decision and took the action.

At the same time, the majority of SDS was carrying out another action. This led to the rather ludicrous situation of the SDS Expansion Committee and the SDS majority standing at opposite ends of the campus, hurling epithets at one another over megaphones!

A few days later, an SDS General Assembly voted to disband the Expansion Committee after six-hours of bitter debate. The vote was very close, 150-147. PL and the former Labor Committee (!) had

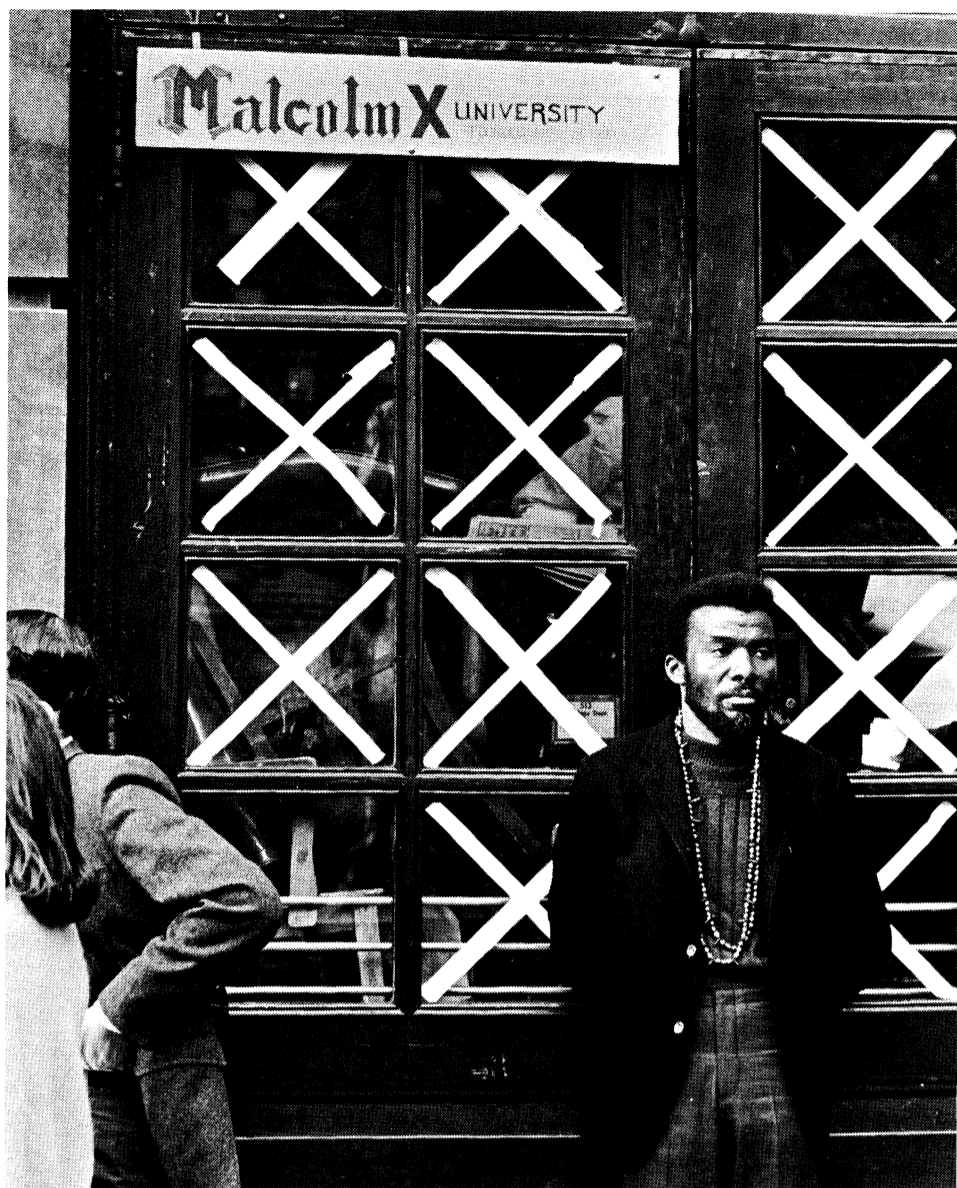


Photo by Shannon

INITIATED ACTION. Black students at Columbia last spring. They occupied Hamilton Hall while white students took over Low Library in what proved to be major campus action. This year black students showed reluctance to get involved with SDS and took dim view of SDS's sectarian efforts to undercut them.

mobilized every member and sympathizer from Boston to Philadelphia to pack the meeting. But even though the motion to disband squeaked through, members of the former Expansion Committee remain members of SDS, which simply means that the whole struggle will be repeated.

The "Spring Offensive"

The effects of the general malaise in Columbia SDS have been made very clear this spring. Politically confused and organizationally divided as it was, SDS undertook a "Spring Offensive."

Columbia SDS has been obsessed all year with the necessity of rebuilding the mass movement which existed last spring, under SDS leadership. It seems to feel, however, that the only way to accomplish this is by "sparking" the campus into struggle. Time and time again, these "spark" tactics have failed, because they have been a substitute for educating broad layers of students on the issues and convincing them politically of the need to act.

The crucial role of education in political struggle cannot be underestimated. The majority or at least a sizeable minority, of campus opinion must be won to support of the demands to make any political struggle effective. Unfortunately, however, at Columbia the issues which presumably motivated the protest seemed to be secondary to the protest itself. The result has been disastrous.

SDS rushed headlong into the buildings this year, only to find that no one was following them.

At 8:30 on Wednesday morning, April 29, about 40 SDSers entered Mathematics Hall. They promptly barricaded all the doors. At noon, SDS held a sundial rally and, with a little over 100 people, occupied Fayerweather Hall.

Inside Fayerweather, the factional struggles began between members of the disbanded Expansion Committee and the other SDSers. The situation created was not exactly conducive to "staying until our demands are met." It was more like "Here we are, let's quarrel for a while about why we're here, and then decide what to do if there's a bust."

Meanwhile, the mood on campus varied from boredom to indignation and anger. One indication of this is that many students who had classes in Mathematics Hall climbed through first floor windows to attend classes as usual. It was obvious that SDS had totally lost touch with the rest of the campus.

On Thursday, hearing that they were about to be arrested, the protesters left the buildings, their faces covered to prevent recognition.

Arrest warrants have now been issued for 30 students who allegedly joined the

sit-in. They face possible prison terms and heavy fines.

While it is a necessity to examine the causes of the setback at Columbia, it is equally the duty of revolutionaries to rally to the defense of these students. Whatever disagreements we may have among ourselves, we must stand united behind them. Any attack on any section of the movement must be understood as an attack on the movement as a whole.

The experience of SDS demonstrates that it is utopian to try to build a revolutionary organization without a political program. Without one, a group is tossed, shaken, and torn by every change in the political scene.

Socialist perspective

Large numbers of SDS members, along with a great many others of our generation, have come to recognize that it will take a socialist revolution to achieve a genuinely democratic society and that it will take the building of a powerful movement to achieve that revolution.

Experience has shown that it is quite unrealistic to expect that SDS will be the movement to accomplish that revolutionary transformation.

Socialist revolution will be accomplished in the United States by the building of a revolutionary party based on a program of scientific Marxism, which recruits members on the basis of general agreement with such a program. There is no room for bureaucratic monolithism in a genuine revolutionary organization. But it will take a disciplined combat organization to make the socialist revolution in the heartland of imperialism.

Part of the process of building such a revolutionary party is the building of a mass, revolutionary socialist youth movement which establishes a fraternal political relationship with the party.

SDS has no real national perspective. Aside from the rather amorphous Movement for a Democratic Society, it doesn't even have a place to direct young revolutionaries after they leave the campus. In short it lacks both a program and a party.

I believe that the Young Socialist Alliance, with its fraternal relationship with the Socialist Workers Party, offers a meaningful alternative for those who have come to recognize that, whatever its other accomplishments, SDS is not the vehicle for the overthrow of American capitalism. I would urge those who wish to give further consideration to the Young Socialist Alliance to visit its offices at 873 Broadway in New York, or write for information, including a free copy of **Introducing the YSA**, to the YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N. Y. 10003.

A participant's report

The occupation at City College

By Miguel Padilla

NEW YORK, May 12 — The City College of New York remains an armed camp with over 200 policemen stationed throughout the campus for the fifth consecutive school day. Despite a recommendation by the college's faculty to close the campus and remove the police, the Board of Higher Education has once again decided to resort to repression in its attempts to silence the black and Puerto Rican students. The president of the college, Buell Gallagher, has submitted his resignation in protest over the BHE's decision.

A week ago the Board obtained a court injunction ordering black and Puerto Rican students to evacuate the college's south campus which they had been occupying for 14 days. The occupation by over 350 black and Puerto Rican students came as a result of the administration's unwillingness to seriously address itself to demands drawn up at the beginning of the present semester. The students, calling themselves the Black and Puerto Rican Student Community (BPRSC) had put forward a list of five demands.

The occupation action led to negotiations between the students and the administration which were shortlived. The administration hoped to use the negotiations to demobilize the movement by creating the illusion that something was being done about the demands. Committees whose

City College demands

1. The establishment of a separate black and Puerto Rican school of studies.
2. The establishment of a separate freshman orientation course for black and Puerto Rican students.
3. Student voice in the setting of all guidelines for the SEEK program (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge) including the hiring and firing of all SEEK personnel.
4. That the racial composition of all future entering classes reflect the racial composition of the New York City public high schools.
5. That the Spanish language and a course in black and Puerto Rican history be required of all education majors.

purposes were to work out the details concerning the implementation of the demands met irregularly or not at all. When the students attempted to present the various proposals to Gallagher they were sent to the heads of different departments in what turned out to be the proverbial wild goose chase. Realizing the games which were being run down on them, the students abandoned the "negotiations" and decided to take direct action.

Strike call

A strike was called to begin April 21. The first day of the strike was a big success — with about 30 percent of the students staying out of classes and a march and rally of approximately 2,000 students. The following morning, students and faculty arriving at the college on their way to classes, found the four gates to the south campus locked and manned by black and Puerto Rican students. High atop the 70 foot flag pole flew the red, black and green flag of black liberation alongside the flag of Puerto Rico.

At about 8:30 a.m., police were ordered to clip the lock on the main gate of the campus. The police moved in, did their clipping, and moved out without resistance from the black and Puerto Rican students. However, when students and faculty attempted to enter the campus they were blocked by the black and Puerto Rican students standing shoulder to shoulder at the entrance. The college's security force was then ordered to move in and disperse

the students who were blocking the gate. The security guards who are for the most part black and Puerto Rican refused and instead lined up with the students to help keep out the unwanted visitors. Seven of the guards were dismissed for their actions, but were later reinstated when the BPRSC adopted a sixth demand that all college employees who supported the students' demands not be harassed in any way.

Just as soon as the word got out through the media of the occupation by the black and Puerto Rican students, aid began to pour in from the community. Food was delivered on a regular basis for the entire duration of the occupation. Everything from cash to tooth brushes to messages of solidarity were received by the students on each and every of the 14 days.

Center of Harlem

City College is located in the middle of Harlem, the largest black and Puerto Rican community in the U. S. The administration, faced with the swell of community support and fearful of the community's reaction to the use of police, decided to shut down the school. Gallagher went so far as to state that he would rather go to jail than to call police on campus.

One of the most dramatic incidents to occur during the occupation was the uncovering of a black undercover agent on campus by the students. Faculty and community representatives were summoned to witness the agent's forcible ejection from the campus.

The negotiations proceeded, producing agreement on three of the five demands (#2, 3, and 5), only to grind to a halt, deadlocked over the issue of proportional representation in the entering classes. Two days later the court injunction was served.

The purpose of the injunction was to victimize the students through the courts on an individual basis without using direct police oppression which would arouse the community. The students, feeling that the occupation had served its purpose in terms of focusing attention on the five demands, decided to leave on May 5, and not to violate the injunction.

The strike, however, continued and the black and Puerto Rican faculty along with about 100 white faculty members announced that they too were on strike.

On Tuesday, May 6, the first day after the evacuation, the black and Puerto Rican students circulated throughout the campus, talking to non-striking students about the demands and the strike. The next day a group of black and Puerto Rican students went up to the engineering building, a notoriously reactionary section of the campus.

Fights began to break out between the strikers and the non-striking students. Gallagher summoned police on campus and then cancelled classes for the rest of the day. The police then left. Non-striking students began to pour out of their classes onto the streets and a demonstration was organized protesting the closing of school. A rally was



Photo by Tony Petercen/New York Press Service

Embattled City College students face cops at end of occupation

held in front of the Cohen Library where students began chanting "Open it up!"

Racist attack

A group of about 200 students split off from the rally and began roaming the south campus. Three black women students who had stayed on campus were trapped near a locked gate as the 200 began to converge on them shouting racist epithets and threats. About 40 black and Puerto Rican students who were in a park across the street from the school heard the sisters screaming for help. They quickly scaled the fence that surrounds the campus and a five-minute battle ensued. The right-wing racists were soundly thrashed. Police swarmed back on campus, but there were no arrests as the students scattered at the sound of the police sirens.

The next day classes were held, but all attention was focused on the south campus. At about 11 a.m. a rally was held by white students supporting the strike. Right wing students lined up across the street and began hurling rocks at the strikers.

When the striking students retaliated, the cops moved on the strikers. Ten students were arrested — all of them black! Charges ranged from "disturbing the peace" to "inciting to riot." Later in the day 12 fires were reported throughout the south campus.

Despite the brutal police repression which has been unleashed against them, the black and Puerto Rican student community of City College is determined to carry on the struggle until the demands are met. The students are now working to consolidate and mobilize as well as to broaden the support from the campus and community. Meetings with high school and community groups are being set up. A fact sheet explaining the history of the movement at CCNY, the demands and the strike is being distributed throughout the black and Puerto Rican communities of New York. As one member of the Black and Puerto Rican Student Community stated as he evacuated the south campus, "This is just the beginning."

Philadelphia Student Mobe Maps summer program

By Rich Feigenberg

PHILADELPHIA — Over a hundred people participated in Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee's Antiwar Basic Training Day and conference May 10. The day's activities included an Army indoctrination film, talks by antiwar GIs and discussion of activities against the war and in defense of the rights of GIs and high school students to express their antiwar views.

A message to the conference from a GI in Vietnam told of the widespread wearing of antiwar buttons and symbols by the GIs there, and expressed his hope that the civilian antiwar movement will continue to escalate its activities in defense of GIs' rights and against the war.

Fort Dix GIs reported on recent cases of harassment of antiwar activists on base, and on their efforts to secure legal distribution rights for their antiwar paper, the **Ultimate Weapon**.

They proposed, and the SMC decided to support and build, a GI Teach-in and Picnic in Philadelphia, June 14 (Flag Day), which will include antiwar speeches, a rock band, softball, food, etc.

The SMC will work with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee here to defend the GIs United at Fort Jackson. The conference endorsed a Memorial Day service planned by the Veterans for Peace in support of the Ft. Jackson GIs.

Antiwar activities will be held around the graduations in this area, including the wearing of armbands at the ceremonies. The major summer action planned at the

conference was a Hiroshima Day demonstration in solidarity with the Japanese antiwar movement's campaign against the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, Japanese complicity with the Vietnam war, and U.S. control of Okinawa.

It is clear from the turnout, enthusiasm and actions projected by this conference that antiwar sentiment and action are on the rise here. The SMC Spring Offensive is rolling in Philadelphia.



"You could ask for a popular vote on the issue and threaten to resign if it failed...!"

Chicagoans assail police killing of Young Lord

By Tony De Leon

Chicago — There has been a widespread reaction of outrage here against the killing of Manuel Ramos, a member of the Young Lords Organization, by an off-duty cop. A memorial march of close to 1000 was held today in honor of Ramos, who was a founding member of the YLO, a political organization based in the Puerto Rican community.

Ramos was shot while attending a Young Lords' birthday party. The cop who killed him claims he went to quiet the party because there was too much noise. Taking his gun with him, the cop approached the party, drew his gun and fired, killing Ramos and wounding another YLO member. The cop was also wounded.

Cha Cha Jimenez, YLO chairman, told



"Cha Cha" Jimenez (right) and Froben Lozada of Merritt college faculty at Denver Chicano youth conference.

The Militant that the incident occurred after one of the YLO members went outside during the party to get a breath of fresh air. "When he got out in front of the house he saw this man coming toward him with a gun . . . Before anybody could run out of the house, the pig fired into the hallway hitting Manuel Ramos. He fired three times into the hallway and wounded another member."

The shooting is just one of many incidents of repression of the Young Lords by Chicago cops since they changed from a street gang into a political organization in 1967. The Young Lords have been on the scene in the North Side community for four years. Explaining how and why they developed into a political organization, Cha Cha Jimenez explained, "We were fighting our own people. We were fighting other poor people, our brothers. Now we know the enemy is the capitalist system. We must unite all our people; the people of the Third World must get together and fight to change society."

The memorial march held here May 5 reflected the degree to which the YLO has won the support of the community. As the march proceeded through the streets, many people from the neighborhood joined in. The YLO has been involved in a number of community struggles, including rallies on urban renewal. "We are dealing with every issue in the community," Jimenez said.

Sailors protest unsafe vessel

By Stewart Singer

BOSTON — Three sailors from the USS Boston held a press conference May 9 to report on the condition of the cruiser, which is scheduled to leave Boston Navy Yard soon for service in coast bombardment of Vietnam.

The sailors maintain that the ship is unfit to go to sea without causing unnecessary danger to the crew. The Boston was built early in World War II, and most of its equipment has not been replaced since. The most serious problems



USS Boston

Photo by Manuel Russell

with the ship are a cracked rudder, which has to be welded periodically and should be replaced, an emergency diesel generator that leaks carbon monoxide into the crew quarters, requiring evacuation of those quarters when the generator is operating, and fuel tanks which leak fuel into the ship's hold. *

The sailors called the press conference in order to clarify reports about the ship that have been appearing in the press since Congressman Ottinger of New York called for an investigation of the ship's condition by the Navy. Ottinger apparently got his information from a crewman responding to leaflets distributed by some sailors urging men to write their congressmen.

The case of the Boston points out an aspect of the war that is sometimes forgotten: the complete disregard for the lives of even their own men shown by the military brass and the U.S. government while they continue their criminal invasion of Vietnam. The sailors pointed out that the sole criterion of the brass seems to be whether the ship's cannons can fire its 5- and

8-inch shells. The comfort and safety of the crew, and even the accuracy of the shelling, are considered of secondary importance. (The frequent shelling of American positions by American planes and artillery say a good deal about the hypocritical, inept bureaucracy, which uses American men to fight its wars.)

According to the sailors, more than half the crew of the Boston is opposed to its sailing in its present condition. This includes enlisted men and petty officers. They say that Captain Komorowski is aware of the problems they have raised, but he is afraid to delay sailing for fear of risking his anticipated promotion. The captain has refused to permit reporters on board and has publicly dismissed the charges against the ship as being made up by a group of "subversives" who are opposed to the war in Vietnam.

The sailors agree that many of the members of the crew are opposed to the war, as is true among servicemen generally. But the opponents of the war feel that if they must go to Vietnam, they want to go as safely as possible.

Ft. Jackson brass moves for ouster of socialist GI

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Pvt. Steven Dash of New York City, an activist in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Jackson, S. C., and one of the 10 men who last month sued the commanding general for infringement of the group's civil liberties, has come under attack.

Four days after the March 20 meeting, from which charges against the Ft. Jackson Eight stem, Pvt. Dash had his pass pulled in an effort to contain his antiwar activity. He has now been notified that on May 19 he is to appear before a Security Board . . . to determine whether your continued service in the United States Army is clearly consistent with the interest of national security."

In an affidavit to be filed in support of the suit against the general, Pvt. Dash stated: "As a citizen of the United States, the Constitution guarantees me the right of free speech—inside the Army as well as outside it. It was my intention upon induction to exercise that right . . . Before induction I made it clear to the inducting officials that I considered this my right and that it was definitely my intention. I made it clear that I was opposed to the war and for bringing the troops home, that I was a socialist and an active member of the Socialist Workers Party. I also made it clear that I expected the Army not to interfere with my rights as a citizen on

that account."

In a summary of the expected testimony, Pvt. Dash has been notified that his company commander will testify that he has had antiwar literature and copies of *The Militant* in his possession.

Along with Pvt. Joe Cole, one of the Ft. Jackson Eight, Pvt. Dash attempted to present a petition signed by 270 soldiers calling for an open meeting on the base to discuss the war. The officer who refused to accept the petition will testify as to its presentation.

Another witness will be Pvt. John Huffman, the army informer-provocateur who infiltrated GIs United and later testified for the prosecution at the investigation. This time Huffman has "volunteered" to testify as to Pvt. Dash's support for socialism, his support of the SWP and advocacy of "violent revolution." The last point being, in Pvt. Dash's words ". . . a bold-faced lie. What I said was that it is sometimes necessary for revolutionists to defend themselves against armed reactionaries."

The charges against Dash, then, merely rehash what Pvt. Dash told the army before he was inducted. "The Army," stated one of the defense attorneys, "can't have it both ways. They can't punish a man for holding his beliefs. If they didn't want him they should not have taken him in the first place."

Chicago campus defense meeting

By Gilberto de Leon

CHICAGO — A rally was held here May 8 at the Chicago Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in defense of the Fort Jackson 8 and the members of the National Mobilization Committee indicted for their actions during the Democratic Party convention last summer. There were 200 in attendance.

Ellis Burrus of the Student Mobilization Committee defended the right of GIs to oppose the war: "The war in Vietnam—any war—is a gold mine," Burrus declared. "It's a gold mine for the brass. It's a gold mine for the weapons manufacturers. But the only part of the gold mine the GIs get is the shaft!"

Other speakers included Rennie Davis of the National Mobe and Terry Cannon, a member of the Oakland 7 recently acquitted from charges resulting from anti-draft demonstrations in Berkeley.

A collection was taken to help support the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. The rally was sponsored by the Circle

Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Faculty Committee to End the War, Circle Vets for Peace and the Circle Independent Democratic Coalition.

CHICAGO, May 9 — An anti-ROTC meeting was held at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois today despite attempts by the administration to play down a "Military Honors Day" meeting.

Word about the meeting leaked out, and the Faculty Committee to End the War invited the student Committee to End the War, MAYSO, SDS, and the Draft Information Center to plan a counterdemonstration.

This included a rally which was addressed by Staughton Lynd and spokesmen from the Worker-Student Alliance and John Brown caucuses of SDS. ROTC has not been kicked off campus, but antiwar students feel that the next action against them could result in ROTC being reduced to an extracurricular activity.

French Trotskyists nominate Alain Krivine for president

The Communist League announced May 5 that it would enter Alain Krivine as its candidate for president of France in the June 1 elections.

Krivine is one of the foremost leaders of the revolutionary youth movement in France, and was the main spokesman for the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth) during the May-June upheaval last year. As a result of the role he played during those events, Krivine, along with 13 other JCR members was arrested in July and held for 39 days before the de Gaulle government decided it would be unwise to bring them to trial. Within days after being released, Krivine was drafted into the army, and at present is stationed at Verdun with the 150th Infantry Regiment.

Announcement of the campaign received front-page coverage in the influential daily *Le Monde* and has received the support of many prominent figures, including Jean-Paul Sartre.

Daniel Bensaid, one of the leaders of the Communist League, told a press conference May 5:

"We want to put the revolutionary voice

Sartre, others back Krivine

According to *Le Monde* of May 11-12, more than 30 prominent French intellectuals, writers, and professors, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir have announced their support of Alain Krivine's candidacy, even though they do not necessarily agree with the full platform of the Communist League.

The statement released by them says:

"Parliamentary democracy claims to give all political tendencies an opportunity to express themselves. The candidacy of Alain Krivine provides an occasion for the new forces that appeared in May-June 1968 to make themselves heard, utilizing, this time, the means provided by bourgeois legality. A large majority are still unaware of the meaning and the scope of the May movement. That is why, apart from any possible political agreement with the program and ideas of the Communist League which is running Alain Krivine, the undersigned have decided to support him. . . ."

Krivine files needed names

The Communist League has filed 120 signatures of elected officials, mostly mayors of small towns, in order to fulfill the constitutional requirements for Alain Krivine to run for president, according to *Le Monde* of May 13.

of May and June on radio and television. This revolutionary candidacy will help to dissipate the electoralist and parliamentary illusions fostered by the Communist Party. We want to break with this fantasy and build a force to the left of the Communist Party."

"This candidacy," *Le Monde* quoted Bensaid as saying, "does not, therefore, have an electoral objective. Its principal aim is to explain that nothing was solved by the referendum, that nothing will be solved following the 1st or the 15th of June [the dates for the first and second rounds of the presidential election]."

The army refused to allow Krivine to leave Verdun to attend the press conference, but the candidate has set in motion the legal proceedings to compel the army to recognize his right to campaign. Supporters of the Communist League have asked the Constitutional Council to rule on the case.

Le Monde called the case "unprecedented"—evidently they could remember no other occasion on which a rank-and-file soldier ran for president of the republic—but the paper indicated that Krivine had



Jean-Paul Sartre

the right to be a candidate. At 27 he fulfills the age requirement for the presidency, which in France is 23. He also satisfies all other constitutional requirements for the presidency. *Le Monde* commented:

"The first reaction in military circles was that no regulation prohibits running for office. A military candidate in an election is free to write or say what he pleases. He can take advantage of a leave without pay and a special furlough."

French election laws require that a presidential candidate must receive the endorsement of 100 government officeholders in order to appear on the ballot. These 100 signatures must be collected from mayors, members of parliament, senators, etc. The Communist League has issued an appeal for these signatures on a civil liberties basis. It is asking for endorsement from individuals who do not necessarily agree with Krivine's program, so that he can exercise the democratic right to appear on the ballot.

The Communist Party launched a slanderous, red-baiting attack on the Krivine campaign in the CP paper, *l'Humanite*.

"If Krivine," *l'Humanite* said, "despite his sudden respect for the democratic sentiments of elected officials, has trouble finding a hundred sponsors, Marcellin will provide them." Marcellin is the head of the government police apparatus. The Communist League replied by asking the Communist Party to demonstrate its own willingness to defend the civil liberties of workers' organizations by providing the necessary signatures for Alain Krivine from among the many CP functionaries who hold public office.

Georges Marchais, a member of the Political Bureau of the French CP, in an interview in the May 9 *Le Monde*, further denounced the revolutionary candidate and declared that the CP would not provide any signatures. The same issue of *Le Monde* reported that the Communist League had already secured 40 of the required endorsements.

Other candidates in the presidential race include 72-year-old Jacques Duclos, standard-bearer of the Communist Party; Michel Rocard, national secretary of the PSU (United Socialist Party, the left-wing Social Democrats); Gaston Defferre, the mayor of Marseille, running for the Socialist Party (a new regroupment of right-wing Social Democrats); Georges Pompidou, the Gaullist candidate; and interim President Alain Poher, running with the support of the Radical Party, the traditional bourgeois liberals.

The Communist League had proposed a joint campaign to the PSU, which has a significant influence on left-wing students, but the PSU decided to run its own candidate.

The Communist League also issued an appeal for contributions to the campaign,



Alain Krivine, with bullhorn at

to help them meet expenses, including the \$2,000 filing fee which must be deposited with the government. (Contributions can be sent to Dominique Mehl, CCP: 24 786 41, Paris, France).

In issuing their appeal, the Communist League commented:

"In face of such a carnival of thieves, who seek to disorient revolutionary workers and militants, the Communist League considers it important to offer a revolutionary candidate. We are not interested in running for the post of president but in spreading revolutionary ideas and propaganda among the workers through this campaign."

A massive campaign windup rally is scheduled for May 28 at the Sports Palace in Paris.

Le Monde announced May 10 that Krivine's commanding officer of the 150th Infantry Regiment had informed the soldier that he would not be granted a leave for the campaign until he was officially certified as a candidate.

Supporters of Krivine's candidacy immediately demanded interviews with both interim President Alain Poher and the Constitutional Council which oversees elections. They denounced the measure as one designed to prevent Krivine from fulfilling the constitutional requirements.

In a letter addressed to Poher, the Political Bureau of the Communist League declared:

"Neither the Constitutional Council nor the Ministry of the Army raised the slightest legal objection to [Krivine's] candi-

New facts on 'overpopulation' hoax

By Harry Ring

Ever since the rise of capitalism, there has been a persistent theory of "overpopulation."

In fact, full-page ads in such publications as the *New York Times* frequently advise that the "population explosion" is a bigger menace than the bomb. If the spawning of children isn't curbed, we're warned, mankind will simply die of starvation. The problem we're told is particularly acute in the "backward" countries—Asia, Africa, Latin America.

While the publicity around this theme has been particularly heavy in recent times, it dates back, as we indicated, some hundred years. The Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, (1766-1834) of Great Britain, was its most thoughtful advocate.

The Malthusian theory of "overpopulation," put in its most concentrated form, is that the world's population increases geometrically, while the world's food supply increases only arithmetically.

Space here does not permit an analysis of this theory. The most devastating scientific rebuttal of Malthus was made by Karl Marx in his celebrated work *Capital*. Some nine years ago, the contemporary Malthusians were subjected to a first-rate,

highly educational analysis by Joseph Hansen in his pamphlet, *Too Many Babies?* (Merit Publishers, 25 cents.)

I would like to cite here a somewhat different anti-Malthusian source—the *New York Times*. An article in the financial section of that paper last April 14 by Brendan Jones was headed, "World's Food Glut Strains Trade Relations."

The article opened: "Increasing world production of major food crops—a bright potential for feeding larger populations—is currently building up costly surpluses and straining international trade relations."

The article cites statistics to show that the problem is too much, not too little, food in the world. "Too much," of course, is meant in terms of the amount that can be sold at a profit, not "too much" in terms of what could be used to feed the hungry.

The principle problem of overproduction of food, the *Times* reports, is in the advanced capitalist countries which literally have to spend billions every year to store, dump, or give away its staggering surpluses.

But the capacity to produce large amounts is not limited to these countries, says the *Times*. "Technological advances," the report states, "chiefly in high-yielding varieties of wheat, rice, corn and grain

sorghum, have, theoretically, made it possible for most countries to increase food productivity faster than their population growth."

The article concludes: "In the developed countries, surplus food production exceeds demand. . . . For the developing countries, the basic problem is a shortage of foreign exchange either to buy surpluses or to finance new agricultural projects. . . ."

"This is a problem which, according to the economic and agricultural experts, has still to be worked out. But it is emphasized also that the predictions of a few years ago that the rising population would bring widespread famine are no longer valid. Even in developing countries. . . food grain production. . . is now growing as fast as their 2.5 percent annual birth rate."

A rather startling admission. One that strongly suggests that the problem is one of an irrational, inhuman system where the production and distribution of food is determined by profit, not need.

A socialist society will increase food production even further and rationalize distribution as well. People will be free to have or not have children, as they choose. And there won't be rich and poor, with the rich telling the poor whether or not they have the right to have kids.

Boutelle salutes

Krivine contest

(The following message was sent to the Communist League of France by Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor of New York.)

Greetings to the Communist League. The formation of your organization and your decision to run Alain Krivine for President of France are both big advances for the revolutionary workers and students of France.

It was my good fortune to spend a few days in Paris last June. Although I was not present during the height of the movement I was able to speak with a number of revolutionists active in the events of May-June. They left me with a vivid impression of the freedom and liberation of those great days.

We will follow your campaign with great interest. We are sure that it will be successful and will strengthen the position of the Communist League as the revolutionary alternative for the workers and students of France.



during Paris march last June.

New backoff at Ft. Jackson

Army backs off on court-martial for supporter of GIs United

COLUMBIA, S.C., May 14 — At the end of the day, the Army has what is called "retreat formation," at which time the enlisted men line up for what they hope will be their day's last harass.

The brass are being put through their own "retreat formation" presided over by the Ft. Jackson 8, supported by a nationwide defense campaign which has now come to include Lord Bertrand Russell, the defense committee's honorary chairman.

Charges against two of the men have been completely dropped; in an additional retreat by the brass, two more have been given administrative discharges. Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, who was scheduled for special court-martial last week, has been informed that there will probably be no trial at all and that he too will be discharged through an administrative board hearing



Pvt. Joe Miles

that will determine his "fitness." Three remain — Pvts. Jose Rudder, Andrew Pulley, and Joe Cole — not yet having slipped out of the brass' sight.

Although the Army frowns upon the democratic right of enlisted men to form committees, the brass shows no hesitancy to meet in committee themselves to discuss how to victimize men who have exercised those constitutional rights. On May 12 and 13, conferences were held at Ft. Jackson between the prosecuting military attorney and two supposedly neutral officers, Cols. Miller and deBrocke, the former investigating officer who presided over the pretrial investigation, and the latter the convening authority for the possible court-martial.

A decision regarding Pvts. Pulley, Cole and Rudder was not reached at these meetings, nor was one made when the prosecutor shot golf the following afternoon with Gen. Coleman, the deputy commander at the base.

It is believed here that the decision is slow in coming because it is a difficult one for the brass to make. The hardliners want to make an example out of the men, hoping to "repress" antiwar activity. Probably among these hardliners is Gen. James "The Zapper" Hollingsworth, Ft. Jackson's commanding officer, who got his nickname back in the early days of the Vietnam war when he demonstrated to foreign correspondents his love for personally "zapping

Charlie" while leaning out of a helicopter gunship.

But the more thoughtful brass, it is believed, understand full well the danger: that is, the hard tactics may, to use their terminology, be "counterproductive," as it demonstrably has been already, further encouraging mass protest activity and deepening resentment against the brass. They realize the effect of publicity and prefer to handle the situation in a quiet and less messy way.

Many GIs, perhaps 100, have submitted petitions to "The Zapper" demanding the release of the remaining men. Two of the signers were called in by their commanding officer, asked if they were not drunk when they signed and whether they really believed in what they did and thought it would do any good.

Meanwhile, a peace wreath of woven grass was made by the prisoners and hung on the stockade barbed-wire top fence, only to be removed by guards. And Pvts. Cole, Pulley and Rudder, after 55 days in the stockade — unrepentant and unyielding — await the decision of their "superiors."

Delmar Thomas, one of four of the Ft. Jackson Eight initially confined to the stockade but now awaiting discharge, is very excited about this victory and about the prospect of getting out of the Army so that he can go on a speaking tour in defense of GIs rights in Michigan.

dacy. However, [Minister of the Army] Messmer has just made a different decision: Alain Krivine will not be given a special leave until his candidacy is official.

"By paralyzing [Krivine], the Minister of the Army is trying to guarantee the failure of [Krivine's] efforts. We call your attention to the glaring inequality which exists between the candidates. . . . It is within your jurisdiction to stop this scandal."

The following day, Mr. Yves Jouffa, lawyer for the campaign, also demanded that Poher immediately revoke the ruling of the Minister of the Army.

General gives private OK to distribute Bill of Rights

Lt. Gen. John J. Tolson, commanding general at Ft. Bragg, N.C., on May 13 gave official sanction to Pvt. Joseph Miles to distribute copies of the Bill of Rights to fellow GIs on the base. Permission to do so constituted a begrudged concession to a request by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam and was characterized by a spokesman for the GI organization as insufficient.

The situation developed when the GIs took exception to an order issued by Gen. Tolson, who ruled April 29 that "distribution of publications, including pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, handbills, flyers and other printed material" would be forbidden on the 56,000-man base without his prior approval.

GIs United — which patterned itself on the active-duty GI organization of the same name at Ft. Jackson, S.C. — immediately objected to the blatant unconstitutionality of the order, regarding it as an obvious attempt to curb free speech for enlisted men opposed to the war.

They sought and gained the support of the noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, who is helping them to seek a court injunction against the illegal order.

At the same time they requested permission, in line with the order, to hand out two things: a copy of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution; and the Army oath of enlistment.

The request for permission was submitted by Pvt. Joe Miles. Miles, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and an initiator of the Ft. Jackson GIs United, who was recently transferred to Ft. Bragg.

On May 13 Ft. Bragg officials replied: Pvt. Miles could pass out the said leaflet, including the return address of the off-base post-office box number of GIs United; but Miles was the only one given permission and his permission was restricted to three intersections on the base, covering the hours from 5 to 6 p.m., on two days — May 19

and 20.

Miles stated May 14 that GIs United will send a letter to the commanding general pointing out that he apparently misunderstood their request.

They had asked for permission to be granted to all the members of the organization; this time they intend to send the names and signatures of about 30 GIs, according to Miles.

They had expected to pass out the leaflet at all regular gathering places — cafeterias, PXs, movie houses, etc. These will also be itemized in the letter, as well as a sufficient amount of time for the distribution.

The Ft. Bragg antiwar organization has also circulated the "Statement of Aims" and information about the GIs United in Ft. Jackson. Meetings of up to 40 men have been held at Ft. Bragg, including returned Vietnam veterans.

While the general's action represents an effort to hamstring GIs United without the embarrassment of denying permission to circulate the Bill of Rights, his move focused further attention on the efforts of GIs United to exercise their legal rights.

A story by Ben A. Franklin in the May 14 *New York Times*, for example, said that "many base commanders . . . have been preoccupied in recent months with attempting to discourage through disciplinary means the circulation of printed matter by GI antiwar agitators."

While the permission granted at Ft. Bragg was "severely limited, the *Times* said, it "was believed to be the first time that an Army commander had officially sanctioned the on-base distribution of literature by a member of the growing number of antiwar activist groups in uniform."

The action, the *Times* said, "resulted from an unusual test case precipitated by the resourcefulness in military counter-bureaucracy of a single, militant GI . . . Pvt. Joseph D. Miles, a 20-year-old Socialist and black nationalist . . ."

Black Liberation Notes

The Federal Court of Appeals in Albany, N.Y. rejected an appeal April 16 to reverse the decision in the case of three blacks convicted for the murder of Brother Malcolm X.

The three, Thomas Hayer, Norman 3X Butler, and Thomas 15X Johnson, have been sentenced to life imprisonment. The appeal was tied to the fact that the press and public had been barred from the courtroom during the testimony of two witnesses, thereby denying the defendants' constitutional right to a public trial. The appeal again brought to light the muddled circumstances surrounding the assassination of Brother Malcolm X.

In the newspaper reports on the appeal, Hayer, Butler, and Johnson are described as Black Muslims, members of the Nation of Islam. But the irrefutable fact is that Hayer, one of the assassins caught in the Audubon Ballroom on that fateful day, said during the trial in early 1966 that he was not, and had never been, a member of the Nation of Islam. In fact, during the trial, Hayer admitted his role in the assassination, with the explicit intention of exonerating Butler and Johnson.

Hayer said in his testimony that he was in the pay of non-Muslims, but the prosecution chose to ignore this. To pursue the case along the lines of Hayer's confession would have opened up the Pandora's Box of what really went down, thus exposing the role played by the racist, imperialist government sitting in Washington, D.C.

I refer readers to a pamphlet recently put out by Merit Publishers entitled, "The Assassination of Malcolm X." The pamphlet contains an analysis of the contradictory newspaper coverage of the assassination by George Breitman, and a collection of articles written for *The Militant* during the trial by Herman Porter. The pamphlet costs 50c, and can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

According to the May 10 *Michigan Chronicle*, a black weekly in Detroit, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, DRUM, recently lost an election to the UAW power structure in a bid for the vice-presidency of Local 3. Don Jackson, DRUM's candidate, received 1,254 votes, while Andrew Hardy, the black agent of Walter P. Reuther, received 2,800 votes. The *Chronicle* reported that "Chuck Wooten, a member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, of which DRUM is a part, said the organization filed a protest of 'irregularities' in the election with the UAW. Wooten charged that the

persons in charge of the election had among other things, allowed UAW retirees [who are mostly white] to vote without checking their identification . . . In leaflets distributed after the election, Hardy said the workers who 'cared about real unionism' had 'joined forces to stop the drive being made by outside organizations to destroy our union.'"

I'm sure that Hardy's reference to "outside organizations" was not meant for the Hamtramck cops that the running-dog leadership of Local 3 called to the headquarters to bust up a meeting of DRUM members last September.

"When you take your case to Washington, D.C., you're taking it to the criminal who's responsible; it's like running from the wolf to the fox. They're all in cahoots together. They all work political chicanery and make you look like a chump before the eyes of the world." —Malcolm X

This statement is very apropos in light of an editorial in the May 10 *Baltimore Afro-American*. According to the editorial, cases involving the right of lily-white private clubs to racially discriminate will be heard before the Supreme Court real soon. But the catch is that six of the nine judges on the Supreme Court bench are members of these clubs. The six include Warren, Stewart, Douglas, Harlan, Brennan, and White. In legal logic then, only Marshall, Black, and Fortas would be able to judge these cases. But this logic goes against all the traditions of "justice" in these United States as we know it.

—Derrick Morrison

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Students win support against Madison cops

By Bob Wilkinson

MADISON, May 13—Residents of the Mifflin Street "student ghetto" near the University of Wisconsin campus have received wide support in their battle against last weekend's police rampage.

The steering committee of Local 223, American Federation of Teachers, passed a resolution demanding amnesty for all arrested and calling for a citizens' review board to control the cops.

A group of 40 UW law students have formed a legal defense committee to collect evidence and affidavits. In addition, the Pan-Hellenic Council is organizing sorority girls to sell daisies to help raise funds for the defense.

On May 21, Mifflin residents will go to a city council hearing on a proposed ordinance permitting street dances. They expect to expand the subject matter to include eyewitness accounts of the police riots. The *Madison Sun*, a local community paper, plans massive circulation of a special issue devoted to the Mifflin Street affair.

Saturday, the Mifflin area residents and some local firemen defiantly rejected city and police provocations by holding a party at the home of Capt. Edward Durkin, president of Firefighters Local 311. Some 500 people joined in the six-hour picnic-be-in with live music, food, beer and an 80-pound roast pig. Many students dubbed the pig "Wilbur," after Madison police chief Wilbur Emery.

The lawn party was at once a celebration, an act of defiance, and a show of solidarity between students and firemen. Earlier this year, the firefighters local had won a 52-hour strike with support of students.

Police violence began last weekend when Madison cops attacked a street dance on the 500 block of West Mifflin Street, making arbitrary arrests and beatings. Students defended themselves and by early Tuesday morning had tied down a force of some 450 riot cops drawn from all over southern Wisconsin. Efforts to maintain a police-state atmosphere had proved fruitless. Several squad cars and at least one police wagon were badly damaged by rocks and bottles, and the tear gas supply was exhausted. Finally police withdrew from the area and calm was restored.

At a street meeting Wednesday night, May 7, Mifflin area residents adopted six resolutions to deal with community problems:

- To reaffirm the right of free assembly by having a block party on Saturday, May 10.

- Dropping of all charges against those arrested during the police melee, and no further reprisals.

- An on-going community organization with block representatives to discuss area problems and implement appropriate actions to resolve them, including a possible rent strike later in the year.

- Solidarity with Firefighters Local 311, and a demand for an end to harassment of the union by City Council, the Police and Fire Commission, and the local newspapers.

- To demand rerouting of the annual Armed Forces Day parade so that the Mifflin Street area is not used as a staging ground.

- Urge all students to attend the City Council meeting the following evening to demand amnesty and a permit for the street dance.

At the City Council meeting Thursday night, Mifflin area residents were snubbed. Aldermen tabled the street permit issue to

L.A. antiwar groups announce an outing

By Jesse Parker

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Student Mobilization Committee and the GIs and Vietnam Veterans Committee are sponsoring a GI-teach-in-picnic on May 24. It will take place at Fairmont Park in Riverside at 12 noon. There will be food and entertainment. One of the speakers will be David Mays from Norton Air Force Base, who was recently court-martialed for his antiwar views. Father Bonpane will also speak. Afterwards the GIs will meet to discuss antiwar organizing. The students will meet to discuss antiwar actions around graduation.

the last point on the agenda of the five-hour meeting, then summarily rejected it by a 17-3 vote at 1 o'clock in the morning.

It was evident from the meeting and public statements afterward that the city was trying to provoke another battle for Saturday night. Such a battle would have isolated the Mifflin residents politically from the rest of Madison.

Mayor William "Bull" Dyke made a phony gesture of "conciliation" by offering a parking lot for a Saturday block party. The site, which had been used as a staging area for the police riot, was rejected.

On Friday evening Firefighters Union President Durkin, who had come under fire for his support of the students against the police, offered his place for the party. Acceptance of Durkin's offer served to undercut charges that radical students were just "seeking a confrontation" with the cops. During the party at Durkin's home, a local alderman demanded that the fire captain get the "hippies" out of the neighborhood. Durkin told the alderman that if he wanted the party stopped, he should call in the police. The alderman left and the party continued.

MADISON—Madison students have won a victory in their battle against repressions by the University of Wisconsin administration. The Committee on Student Conduct Hearings, set up by the University to punish strike supporters, cleared two of the three students charged with "obstructing" University activities during the February strike over 13 black student demands.

Lew Pepper of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Arthur Winnig, a strike sup-



In a reversal of prevailing norms, four men immobilized a pair of armored car guards with Mace as they were leaving a Brooklyn department store and relieved them of \$350,000.

porter, were among several students faced with suspension or expulsion on frame-up charges. A third student whose case was heard by the same disciplinary committee chose to plead guilty. He received a one-semester suspension from the University. Pepper and Winnig chose to fight, and the Committee Against Political Repression sponsored rallies and defense meetings on their behalf.

The broad defense that was built around these two cases was seen as instrumental in forcing the disciplinary committee to clear the students.

CAPR and local attorneys are now mapping plans to fight repressive new state laws which would bar students convicted of crimes arising out of "student disorders" from setting foot on state university campuses. Action against these measures will probably begin this summer.

The Joint Legislative Investigating Committee—the "little HUAC" set up to probe the student strike—has maintained silence about its threats to issue subpoenas against student organizations which supported the strike. JLIC's silence follows a press conference in which leaders of YSA, SDS, Madison CEWV, Black Council and the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union condemned the investigation, and vowed not to allow the State Legislature or anyone else to divide or demoralize the student movement.



Madison students during police attack

Indiana U black students face police victimization

By Rick Congress

BLOOMINGTON, Ind., May 14—Indiana University black students face a grand jury investigation and probable indictment for action taken at a negotiation session between administrators, faculty and students, striking against the 68 percent tuition hike ordered for next semester (see May 16 *Militant*). In light of the bad faith and manipulation of the administration and student government "responsible student leaders," students representing blocs and political groups such as YSA, New University Conference and SDS demanded to be included in negotiations with the administration.

The student government, inter-fraternity council, and officials of the residence halls had deserted the Campus Caucus, which had been coordinating the anti-fee-increase movement, in order to make a deal behind the student body's backs. This culminated their attempts to thwart the desires of the mass rallies throughout the previous week. Movement leaders were locked out of an earlier session on May 8. That evening, all leaders including YSAers were present at a second session of the negotiations.

After the meeting had been in progress for about an hour, a spokesman for the approximately 150 black students present announced that no one would be able to leave the room until the administration bargained in good faith and brought the trustees down to campus to speak about rescinding the fee increase. Black students took positions at all the doors.

While the police were being mobilized to "liberate" the administrators, students filled the buildings to support the black students. By 2 a.m., over 1,000 students lined the corridors around the conference room. No one was actually physically prevented from leaving. After it was clear that the police would come in, Rollo Turner, black student spokesman, announced that all who wished to leave could. No one did leave at that time. It was then agreed that no reprisals would be taken against the black students and that the chancellor, John Snyder, would arrange for the trustees to meet students in one week.

The next day, a rally of 1,000 voted to end the class boycott and await the outcome of the trustees' meeting. On May 13, the administration broke its word when acting president David Derge sent a letter to the Monroe County prosecutor saying that the trustees had directed him to ask the prosecutor to convene a grand jury to investigate the "lock-in," and determine if a crime had been committed. The letter said the university would cooperate in the

investigation and help identify students who may have committed a crime.

Today the prosecutor, Thomas A. Berry, announced that he was impaneling a grand jury for the investigation. The Ku Klux Klan, Birchers, and local police, have been howling for arrests of the black students. Under Indiana law, they could be prosecuted for kidnapping.

The mass mobilization had kept the administration off balance for two weeks. When the strike ended, they hoped to be able to victimize student leaders with impunity. This move against the black students is part of their general offensive.

(The attack upon students at Indiana University by the county prosecutor resembles the 1963 case of the Bloomington Three. At that time, three YSAers had been indicted by the then Monroe County prosecutor under an Indiana State Sedition Law, for a meeting that the YSA had held on campus. An international defense campaign forced the charges to be dropped after four years of litigation.)

Students met last night to plan a defense rally for the black students to be held Friday. The administration hopes to step back and allow the Monroe County prosecutor to cut down the movement that has been shaking the campus. The immediate response in building the defense rally promises, however, to stymie their plans for repression.

L.A. May Day boosts Militant

LOS ANGELES—On May 3, a hundred supporters of *The Militant* attended a May Day dinner sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. All agreed the affair was a political, social and financial success. Nearly \$500 was raised to help expand the revolutionary socialist movement in the Southwest.

Milt Alvin, National Committee member of the SWP, spoke of *The Militant*, past and present. He discussed the current infatuation with Maoism among some young radicals, relating Maoism to its historical and political antecedent, Stalinism.

Lew Jones, Berkeley organizer of the SWP, spoke on the worldwide youth radicalization.

The top 10 *Militant* salesmen and subscription agents were saluted.

An open letter to Norman Mailer from Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York

Dear Mr. Mailer,

I share your well-justified disgust with the rotten political establishment in New York City. The politicians and policies of New York's Democratic, Republican, Liberal and Conservative parties are both objectionable and laughable. "Those clowns," as you have said, "haven't said anything bright in 45 years. They're a bunch of bums." It is no wonder so many of today's youth reject them out of hand.

Your campaign reflects a widespread mood of discontent, alienation and disgust. Yet the political framework of your campaign, the fact that you are seeking the Democratic Party nomination, means that your campaign itself, and all your criticisms of the "bunch of bums" will be for naught. To enter the Democratic primary can only help perpetuate the political con game of the two-party system, the costly myth that it is possible for real change to come about by voting for a "better man" within the Democratic Party.

True, you don't really expect to beat the machine. As you put it, "Our election in the Democratic primary would be magic . . . Our election in the mayoralty election would be a miracle." The stated purpose of your campaign is to bring new ideas to the people of New York—presumably effective ideas which can actually challenge the present social order.

But don't you agree that more than a fresh and different style, groovy slogans, and sharp criticisms are needed to mount an effective challenge to the present rulers of this city and country?

The biggest problem facing the movements for social change, the struggles of black and Puerto Rican people, labor and youth is lack of political power. Over and over, these struggles have been short-changed by political hustlers who sound ever so much opposed to the status quo prior to election day—and afterwards file their pre-election speeches and promises in their well-known waste basket.

The simple fact is that both the Republican and Democratic parties are fool-proof structures designed to ensure and preserve the political rule of the businessmen, financiers and real-estate sharks who are responsible for all the things wrong with this town that you are campaigning against. At best it's like trying to beat a man at his own game, using his deck.

Good intentions, bright ideas and "dynamic" new personalities will never change these rigged and thoroughly corrupt political machines and make them susceptible to the needs of the working people and all the others who pay the price for capitalist misrule of this city, and nation. Such individuals are utilized by the very forces they are railing against to refurbish the party's rotten image, thereby disarming and resnaring those who have become disenchanted with the status quo. At the very moment when there is the greatest opportunity in years to educate people to the need to break with the capitalist parties, your campaign serves the objective purpose of persuading them once more that something can be done "inside" these parties.

If you don't think it is necessary to break with these parties, then how can you say you're different—except in style—from the Lindsays or the reform Democrats? How can you stand up and say that you represent a new and a serious type of politics? It's sad to see just another replay of that old game.

Furthermore, I think it is because you have chosen this path that your campaign falls short on the two most pressing political issues of the day—the fight for black and Puerto Rican control of the black and Puerto Rican communities, and the fight against the war in Vietnam.

Your notion of community control is really a caricature



Norman Mailer

Photo by Shannon

of what the struggle of the black and Puerto Rican people is all about. An article in the April 24 *Village Voice* by Joe Flaherty, one of your top campaign spokesmen, states your campaign position on community control: "The common ground we all agreed upon was community control . . . Mailer stressed the idea that if we believed in such controls it would have to apply to all neighborhoods—both left and right. Harlem and Staten Island, under Mailer's mayoralty, would have the right to their own life styles. We could now have communities that honored Malcolm X and John Birch on their birthdays."

You are quoted in a May 1 *Voice* article as seeing this ("with a private mirth") as a way to "everything from black power to Irish self-righteousness." You are quoted in the May 2 *New York Times* as promising to make New York "famous around the world again for the charm, ferocity, elegance, strength, calm and racy character of our separate neighborhoods."

The black and Puerto Rican view of the struggle that is being waged is not as light-hearted. It is a serious fight against oppression, a fight for the resources of society to be used to benefit the oppressed and for the decision-making control concerning the black and Puerto Rican communities to be made by the communities themselves.

It's a distortion of the reality to equate that struggle with the local maintenance of special privileges for the white population and for the wealthy. The problem we face is that certain sections of society already control the material resources of the city, while the majority are denied them. Staten Island and Harlem are not in the same predicament, and simple "decentralization" as you project it would only reinforce the inequality.

Your interpretation of community control becomes, then, a mere catch-phrase, which avoids supporting the black and Puerto Rican struggle for control of the black and Puerto Rican communities.

Your campaign's attitude—or, more precisely, non-attitude—to the Vietnam war is indefensible, especially since Vietnam's relevance to New York City problems is immediate. It means that the resources misused on the war are denied to the building of schools, housing, hospitals, etc. Yet you have consistently avoided mentioning opposition to the war in Vietnam. Why?

In the April 17 *New York Times*, you are quoted as saying, "The left and right have almost no meaning in municipal politics. People whose national politics are right-wing—and find my ideas on, say, Vietnam atrocious—may nonetheless believe I hate air pollution and neighborhoods ruined by ugly buildings as much as they do and might be the one man running to do something about it."

The *Times* article makes clear the reason for your silence on Vietnam: "The writer said that a Mailer-Breslin ticket would, hopefully, appeal to the left and right in New York."

Isn't that the same old machine-type politics?—concentration on mismanagement in high places, the lack of imagination and do-nothingism of the "ins," hating air pollution (without, of course, an effective program to curb the monopoly polluters), etc.

It's sad to see an imaginative writer turn into an imaginative, but status quo, politician.

I hope your experiences in running in the primary will bring you to the same conclusions I have drawn from the two-party con game. If they do, I would certainly welcome your support to my campaign for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Fraternally,
Paul Boutelle

(Issued by the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 533-4450.)

S.F. students fight court victimization

By David Salner

SAN FRANCISCO — After the Third World Liberation Front announced the end of the 134-day student strike at San Francisco State, they added, "but the struggle continues." A major part of this continuing struggle is the defense of the 700 who are facing jail sentences because of their participation in the strike.

With all the means at its command, the ruling class is campaigning to convince the people that these 700 are criminals and not fighters against the oppressive conditions of this society. The main political task we now face at S.F. State is to counteract this propaganda. This is not an easy task, but we have made some progress. Out of the first four trials resulting from the Jan. 23 mass bust, 18 people were acquitted, six had a deadlocked jury, and eight were found guilty.

But, in carrying out the defense, there have been a number of incidents involving members of the Progressive Labor Party which reflect an attitude which could seriously harm the defense and lead to unnecessary victimizations.

In one instance, just as two juries were about to deliberate over charges against the 18 defendants, including TWLF leader Roger Alvarado, one leading member of PLP shouted out in the corridor to a right-wing faculty member: "Fink, we'll get you later!" He did this in front of defendants and jurors.

Leaflets about "imperialist courts" have been passed out in the courtroom under the nose of the jury. A PLP-oriented leaflet announced gloomily, "We cannot get a fair trial, nor can we hope to have an impartial jury." Not only do such acts indicate a totally unserious attitude toward the defense of the movement, but they reflect a simplistic analysis of capitalist society. The American people are brainwashed, and juries reflect this fact. But, not all are brainwashed. One non-brainwashed juror can hang the jury. Twelve can acquit.

Such provocative talk and action comes from a group which has publicly attacked the 15 demands of the strike. In the April issue of *Challenge*, the Progressive Labor Party announced to the world that the 15 demands were "bourgeois" and that the Third World strike leadership had acted against the best interests of the Third World communities.

This represented a change in PLP's line since last November, when they supported the strike. Their position at that time was contradictory. While they opposed black nationalism in general, they supported a strike around demands which were clearly nationalist. At the SDS convention in Ann Arbor, they attempted to justify their contradiction by saying the 15 demands were "nationalist in form, but working class in content." Now PLP no longer even concedes that the 15 demands are "working class in content." They write, "The vast majority of black people are workers; what did these demands have to do with racism as they felt it?"

The San Francisco State Strike was the longest student strike in North America. It helped to generate a wave of student actions across the country in support of similar demands. It won widespread support within the black and Third World communities (which, PL to the contrary, feel the demands were relevant to their needs), and even received some labor endorsement. PLP has yet to explain how a movement of such massive proportions could be built on the quicksand of "bourgeois" demands.

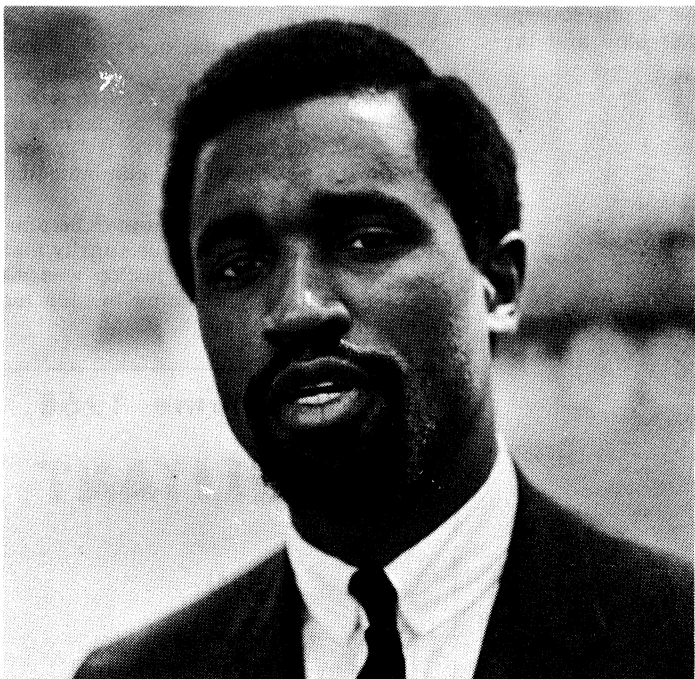
Carolina campuses hear Cuba report

By Andy Rose

CHAPEL HILL, N. C. — Linda Jenness, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance delegation to Cuba during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the revolution, spoke to enthusiastic groups at Duke University and the University of North Carolina about the real situation in Cuba today.

On Sunday, April 20, she addressed the Socialist Forum, an independent socialist discussion group in Durham, N. C. About 40 members of the Forum were present at the talk where Linda showed slides taken during the trip.

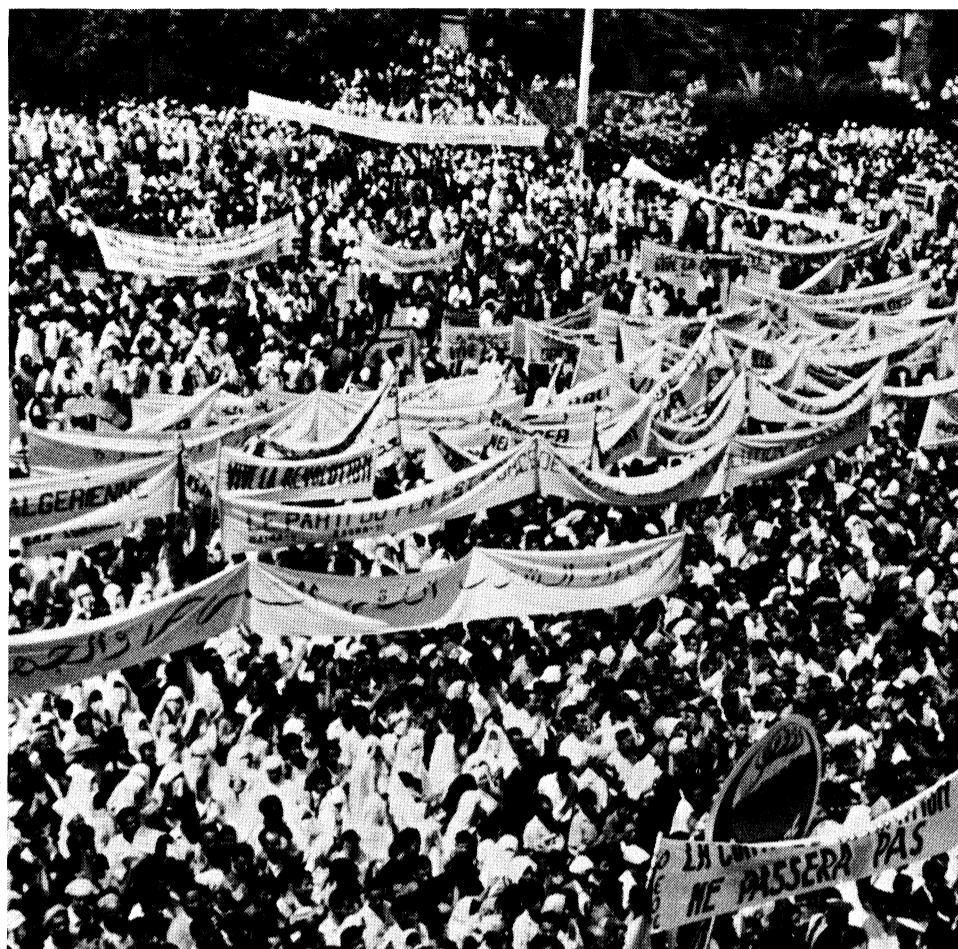
The next day Linda spoke on Cuba at a meeting at the University of North Carolina sponsored by the Chapel Hill-Durham YSA.



Paul Boutelle

Photo by Shannon

Arab teach-in is held at U of Pennsylvania



PHASE OF ARAB REVOLUTION. Mass rally in Algiers after victory over French. Supporters of Palestinian liberation fighters point to that victory over what at first seemed like insuperable odds as example of how they will win their battle against Israeli regime and its imperialist sponsors.

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA — Three years ago teach-ins on Vietnam were sweeping the country and educating thousands of people about the struggle for self-determination of the Vietnamese people. Today the format is the same, but a new issue is being added to the educational focus—the fight for Arab liberation. On Sat., May 10 this city's first teach-in on Arab liberation was held at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sponsoring organizations included not only the Organization of Arab Students and groups of students from other parts of the colonial world (Ethiopia, South Africa, Rhodesia), but also representatives of an oppressed people in the United States: the Society of African and Afro-American Students at Penn., and Muhammad's Mosque No. 12 (Nation of Islam). Other sponsors were the Young Socialist Alliance, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation and the U of P Muslim Student Association.

Solidarity of the U.S. black struggle with the Arab revolution was also expressed by two Afro-American speakers, Lucia de Leon Johnson and Nathan Long.

Three of the speakers were Palestinian Arabs—Georgetown University professors Ilyas Shufani and Hisham Sharabi, and Mrs. Randa Khalidi El-Fattal, the editor of the journal *Arab World*. Dr. Shufani documented and recounted from personal experience the racist policies of the Israeli state toward its Arab so-called citizens.

Mrs. Fattal described the history and program of Al Fatah. "None can explain better than the immortal Che Guevara," she said, "what happened after the June war—how the guerrilla struggle could suddenly capture the imagination of the masses . . ."

Mrs. Fattal emphasized Fatah's "indebtedness to the glorious Cuban, Algerian, Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions."

Dr. Sharabi stressed the strength inherent in the mass character of the Palestinian struggle: "It is the human factor and not the technological factor that will in the end be decisive. . . . Furthermore, the Palestinian analysts point to a very concrete historical experience. If the greatest power on earth has failed to achieve a victory against a peasant population with primitive technology, why should Israel hope to achieve what the United States, with all its might, has failed to achieve in Vietnam? The Palestinian Arabs, backed by the Arab masses, able to extend the vanguard revolutionary activity, to transform it into a people's movement, will be able to bring about a military stalemate, an impossible victory, for the Zionist war machine."

Dr. Sharabi pointed out that Israel will also face "an economic erosion that even

this great country has begun to feel as a result of its involvement in Vietnam. And perhaps most importantly, through this constant state of turmoil, or stalemate, of expanding revolutionary activity, the Palestinian Arabs hope to bring about a change of heart within Israel itself, within its bastion, as regards the sanity, the validity of the Zionist strategy of force, expansionism and racism."

Jon Rothschild of the Socialist Workers Party emphasized the same point. It is imperative, he said, for revolutionary-minded Jews in Israel "to build an anti-Zionist movement, an anti-imperialist movement within Israel itself, which can challenge the expansionist aims of the Israeli ruling class and challenge the right of the Zionist state to exist in the first place in the exact same way that we in this country have begun to build an anti-war movement which can challenge the right of the United States government to oppress the people of Vietnam.

"Israel as a capitalist state has all the problems of a capitalist state: racism, inflation, unemployment, poverty, etc. Sooner or later the radicalization which is sweeping the world today, including the advanced capitalist world, will spread to Israel itself. And we will see the development which can link up with and form alliances with the Arab national movement—and together can throw Israeli capitalism into the sea."

Rothschild really brought down the house with the conclusion of his speech: "People have raised the question, can we win this struggle? Can the Palestinians, who do not have the arms or resources that the Israeli state has, can they defeat the Israeli state? Can the colonial world, which does not have the kind of arms and wealth which the advanced capitalist countries have, can they win their struggle? Can the black people in the United States win their struggle for self-determination? Can the American people defeat the war plans of the United States ruling class when it seems that we are so out-powered?"

"Well, I think the best answer to that question was given by Ben M'hidi, the Algerian FLN leader who was captured by the French, and the French held a news conference for him so the people could ask him embarrassing questions. And somebody asked him, 'Do you think that your small group of cutthroat terrorists with no weapons but time bombs and women's handbaskets has a chance of defeating the French army with all its power and its 500,000 troops in Algeria?'"

"And Ben M'hidi said, 'All I can say is that we have a better chance of defeating the French army than the French army has of defeating history.'"

300 attend Cuba debate at Berkeley

By Pat Wolf

BERKELEY, May 10 — Two opposing political viewpoints on the Cuban Revolution clashed head-on before an overflow crowd of more than 300 last night on the University of California campus. Peter Camejo, recently returned from a three-month stay in Cuba, spoke for the Young Socialist Alliance and Ernest Haberkern represented the position of the Independent Socialist Club in a debate on the nature of the Cuban Revolution. The lines of political disagreement were already drawn long before the debate, with the YSA supporting the Revolution and the ISC opposing it.

Haberkern began his presentation with the claim that the Cuban Revolution had won wide support among radical youth because it projected an image of romantic guerrilla bands responsible to no one that struck a responsive chord among "alienated intellectuals." In reality, he continued, Cuba is "the most Stalinist and authoritarian country in the Soviet bloc."

Haberkern then proceeded to develop a political analysis of the Revolution focused around the contention that the Cuban leadership had yielded to the pressure of imperialism by building a one-party state lacking in all the forms of democracy both within and without the Communist Party. Castro, he said, needed an ideology and apparatus independent of U.S. imperialism, yet able to enforce discipline within Cuba, so Fidel picked the old Cuban Communist Party (PSP) as the source of this apparatus. According to Haberkern, Fidel then supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia not because he really thought there was a danger of capitalist restoration there, but rather because he feared for the one-party state in Cuba. Haberkern concluded by calling for "open class struggle" against the Cuban government.

Camejo, putting forward the YSA's position on Cuba, explained that the victory of the Cuban Revolution had not simply been carried out by a few isolated guerrillas, but was instead the victory of a mass struggle of the people, which included general strikes and a successful boycott of elections held in government-controlled territory. The results of this revolutionary victory, he continued, were a profound overturn of all the existing reactionary and oppressive social institutions. The old army and police, for example, were simply abolished, rents were cut in half, and stiff laws were passed against racism.

Camejo went on to describe the character of the new society being created in Cuba as thoroughly egalitarian, with free nurseries, free medicine, free schooling and with the highest literacy rate in the Western Hemisphere.

Camejo then turned to an analysis of ISC's general political outlook. To criticize and to oppose are two separate things, he pointed out. The YSA criticizes Cuba's lack of institutionalized democracy and its support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia; but it does not inflate these things out of all proportion to reality and then reject the whole Cuban Revolution, as ISC does. He described ISC's third camp position, that is, the conception that both the Soviet bloc and the



Photo by Dave Warren

Ernest Haberkern

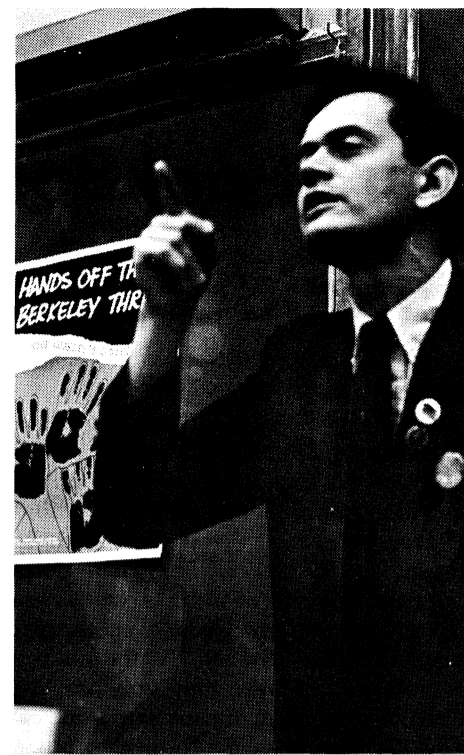


Photo by Dave Warren

Peter Camejo

U.S. are equally reactionary, imperialist and warlike, as completely false. The YSA position is that American imperialism is actually the most aggressive and reactionary force on the world scene and the YSA supports unconditionally the struggle of all oppressed people against imperialism. The ISC on the other hand, Camejo noted, refuses to support the NLF and most of the other actual guerrilla movements.

The question period was stormy and quite heated at times as the audience expressed sharp differences with one or the other speaker.

A sharp controversy centered around the question of whether volunteer labor in Cuba was in reality a form of forced labor, with ISC claiming that all sorts of pressures, such as withholding of ration cards and social security benefits, were used to get people to work overtime, and YSA contending that the evidence showed that it really was voluntary, because the Cuban people understood the need for it. A member of the Black Panther Party spoke on this point and said that after he understood the oppressive nature of capitalism he was willing to do "all the volunteer work necessary to destroy it."

This debate demonstrated once more the way to handle political differences within the movement. Open, frank and public discussion serves not only to test the merit of one position against another, but also serves to subject those positions to examination and criticism by the radical public.

Colonel clues in Me. students on military justice

By Ted Parsons

PORTLAND, Me. — A symposium on "Justice in the Military" was held at the University of Maine, May 2 and 3. Colonel Jacob Hagopian and two other military officers contended that military justice was fair and that military courts guaranteed rights not granted in civilian courts.

Their position was contested by Marvin Karpatkin, a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union and Charles Morgan, director of the Southern Regional Office of ACLU, who defended Muhammad Ali and Captain Howard Levy.

Morgan described the outward procedures of military justice as a "combination of Kafka and Catch-22." He compared military courts with Southern all-white juries, declaring that it is "impossible for career officers to eliminate the prejudices they have."

At one point Colonel Hagopian became flustered enough to blurt out angrily that the purpose of military justice was to keep the GI from "becoming too big for his breeches."

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The Great Society

Bounce this one off the wall— Dr. Aristid Grosse, a Temple University scientist who experiments with bubbles, says plastic bubbles could be used to control riots. Dr. Grosse once immersed himself in a fog of bubbles and found himself experiencing unreal sensations, with visibility zero and a sense of being cut off from the world. A handful of cops with bubblethrowers, he said, could control an entire riot. The professor didn't mention possible side effects but apparently sufficient exposure does lead to a condition of bubble-brain.

Another julep, waiter!— Louie B. Nunn, battling governor of Kentucky, is "damned sick and tired" of student dissent and ready to meet it with "whatever force or means are necessary." To wit: "Fire if fired upon . . . drag 'em out if they want to be dragged out . . . walk onto bayonets if they want to walk onto bayonets."

Really tries hard— Former New York Chief Inspector of Police Sanford Garelik, Mayor Lindsay's running mate, told a radio audience May 5 that "I have very strong reason to believe that money is coming from Cuba and China to foment dissent on the campus." A few hours later, in a press release, he said: "I want to correct an erroneous impression that I gave. I tried to make clear that I know of no hard evidence to support the charge that financial support has come from China or Cuba for these activities . . ."

Before they hang them— U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Perry told three Chicago Panthers facing a weapons possession charge: "You will get a fair trial here whether or not you deserve it."

Could replace Election Day— In a May 1 address to the House, Rep. Duward Hall of Missouri announced: "Tomorrow is 'Sucker Day' . . . the annual salute to Spring held in the town of Nixa, Mo. . . . To the unimformed, the sucker is not a human, so eloquently described by P. T. Barnum, but a fish . . . Nixa Sucker Day is topped off with the doggondest meal ever served, highlighted by steaming cupfuls of sucker soup, which is said to be good for babies and people over 40, or to fertilize roses."

Beginning on Capitol Hill?— A May 6 New York Times headline stated: "Congress-

sional Study Calls for an Attack on Root Causes of Mental Illness."

Like forgetting the food bill— It never fails when we've tried to get on a budget that we overlook some item, throwing the whole deal out of whack. So we're quite understanding of the Defense Department's embarrassment at its oversight in estimating a \$6.6-billion budget for the proposed Safeguard missile system. They forgot to include \$1.2 billion for nuclear warheads.

Soaked with wisdom— A panel of women, described as prominent in the world of fashion, beauty, psychiatry and entertainment, advised representatives of women's organizations that drinking with the kids is a good way to keep them from turning to drugs. The meeting was sponsored by the "women's division" of the Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc., which firmly believes that people should get high in the way God intended they should.

For instance, which one?— A May 6 New York Times dispatch acknowledged the U.S. State Department has barred the Soviet Union from buying Hollywood films which show the seamier side of U.S. life. The dispatch added: "For its part, the Soviet film industry has shown no desire to buy films that show the United States in a positive and serious light."

Telling it like it is— With a straight face yet, David Ogilvy, the Madison Avenue ad man, told a group of visiting Soviet journalists that the primary task of advertising "is to give a beautiful, exact and striking description of the nature and quality of the goods advertised."

Added problem— Last week we reported the warning that if something wasn't done about DDT, the bald-headed eagle might become extinct. We don't mean to divert attention, but there may even be other problems, besides. Like a Swedish scientist reported that breast-fed infants throughout the world are ingesting double the maximum safe daily intake of DDT.

Thought for the week— "Capital is a curious thing, with perhaps no nationality. It flows where it is served best."—An observation by the late Gen. Eisenhower, as recalled by Charles Meyer, new State Dep't. man on Latin America.

— Harry Ring

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, 1010 Lemon St., #12, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

CAIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: YSA, c/o Bill Williams, 897 Vista Grande, Apt. 4, El Cajon, Calif. 92020.

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Merit Publishers issues 3 important new pamphlets

NEW YORK — Merit Publishers announces three new pamphlets for May: **Key Problems in the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism**, by Pierre Frank, George Novack and Ernest Mandel (64 pages, 75c), **The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice**, by Ernest Mandel (40 pages, 65c); and a revised compilation, **Fascism—What It Is and How to Fight It**, by Leon Trotsky (32 pages, 50c).

In **Key Problems in the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism**, Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and a former secretary of Leon Trotsky, traces the development, over the past century, of the conception and the content of a transitional program, whose demands are designed to guide the systematic mobilization of the masses in their struggle for power and in their struggle to build a socialist democracy after capitalism has been overthrown. The main steps proceed from the first sketch contained in the concluding section of the **Communist Manifesto** of 1848, through the programs of the Second and Third Internationals, to the document known as the Transitional Program of the Fourth International (**The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International**, also published by Merit, 35c).

The second essay, by George Novack, American socialist scholar, has few precedents in Marxist literature. By situating the Transitional Program in the widest evolutionary context, he raises the significance of its function to a high theoretical level. Novack analyzes the three main types of transitional situations in which the revolutionary forces of our time must operate: 1) the period of the preparation for the overthrow of the old order; 2) the critical point of the transference of political and economic supremacy from the possessing classes to the working masses; 3) the prolonged task of creating the new post-capitalist society.

In the final essay, Ernest Mandel, the European Marxist, covers ten categories of problems encountered in economic construction of the noncapitalist regimes since the Russian Revolution of 1917. Starting with the irreconcilable conflict between a national and a worldwide perspective in creating a socialist economy, he proceeds to discuss market and monetary categories; the operation of the law of value; rigid and flexible planning; the problem of investments and consumption; the application of material and moral incentives; individual leadership versus workers' self-management; agriculture; trade with the capitalist world; and economic relations among workers' states.

The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice contains Ernest Mandel's speech to the SDS sponsored "International Revolutionary Students' Assembly" held in New York City in September, 1968. The presentation is a powerful polemic against the tendencies of pure "activism" and "spontaneism" which have sprung up among some radicals. Opposing this theory, Mandel argues in defense of the Marxist conception of the indispensable integration of theory and practice. Major excerpts from the discussion period

are included, and cover such questions as the socio-economic nature of the Soviet Union, the Cultural Revolution in China, the necessity of a Leninist party, moral vs. material incentives, and many others. The pamphlet, published by the Young Socialist Alliance, is being distributed by Merit Publishers.

The Trotsky pamphlet, **Fascism, What It Is and How to Fight It**, consists of eleven selections from the many books, pamphlets and letters in which he analyzes fascism and developed a program to combat it.

A pamphlet with the same title was published in 1944, but more than half of the contents in the present edition is different. It is edited and introduced by George L. Weissman.

A free copy of Merit Publishers' new catalog can be obtained by writing 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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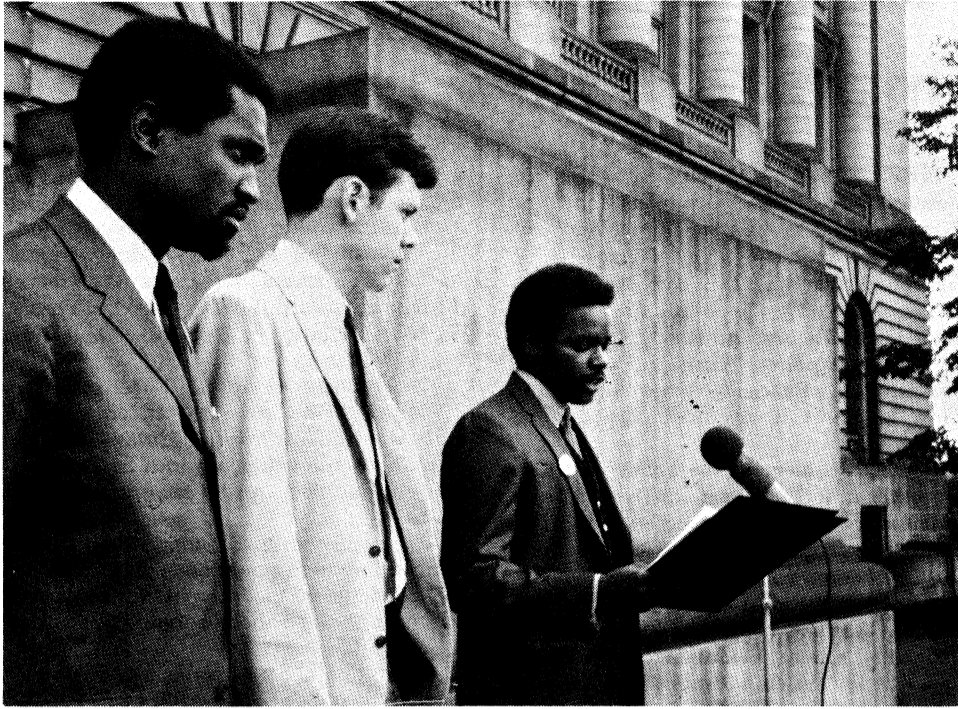
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AT PRESS CONFERENCE. From left to right, Paul Boutelle, Syd Stapleton and James Harris of Socialist Workers Party. They urged nationwide campaign to save Ahmed Evans.

Cleveland socialist ticket demands Evans be freed

By Dave Wulp

CLEVELAND, May 15—The Cleveland Socialist Workers Party today announced its mayoralty campaign and denounced the verdict and death sentence in the Ahmed Evans case as a barbarous, totally racist assault on the entire Cleveland black community.

The candidates for Mayor of Cleveland and the East Cleveland Board of Education, Syd Stapleton and James Harris, in a joint statement with Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York City, called for the immediate release of Ahmed Evans. They demanded that Ohio Governor James Rhodes immediately use his executive power to free Evans.

Following a well-attended press conference on the City Hall steps, Stapleton and Harris went to Mayor Stokes' office and demanded that the mayor, so far totally silent on this case speak out in Evans' defense and use his influence with Gov. Rhodes to secure Evans' release.

Syd Stapleton, 23, was a leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964, and has been a leading figure in the anti-war movement for several years. He is a past national officer of the Student Mobilization Committee, and is now active in the Cleveland SMC. James Harris, 21, is a student at Cleveland State University where he is president of the Crucible, a black student organization, and a political columnist for the *Caldron*, the Cleveland State paper.

Paul Boutelle condemned the death sentence given to Evans by an all-white jury and pointed out that no person has been executed in Ohio during the last six years. In fact, no one has been put to death in the last two years in the entire United States. He denounced Gov. Rhodes and Mayor Stokes for not speaking out against this frame-up and promised that the Socialist Workers Party would support a nationwide defense effort to free Evans.

Lashing out on the Evans trial, Stapleton said, "the Evans trial is reminiscent of the Huey P. Newton and Rosenberg trials; witchhunt, political frame-up, and the threat of execution. Contrary to the course of action of the city government, the SWP calls for the prosecution of the cops who shot down black citizens in Glenville last year."

Harris pointed out the political attack on black nationalism contained in the Evans trial. He said that since the prosecution couldn't prove Evans guilty, they had put black nationalism on trial instead, and that both the prosecuting attorney and the judge played on the racist fears of the all-white jury.

Harris went on to say "this is the same racist propaganda which is being dished out by the white-controlled schools in the black communities. It is for this reason that black people must seize control of the tools of their suppression: the courts, the schools and the police force. Rather

than submit to these unjust and murderous attempts to stop black liberation, blacks must demand and must get black control of the black community by any means necessary. Politically, this means the formation of an independent black political party—not the election of black Democrats who sit on their hands while their city commits murder in the name of law and order."

Stapleton told the press conference that he is slated to be inducted into the Army in June. He said, "the war in Vietnam is a major threat to the lives and well-being of the citizens of Cleveland, especially the young men faced with induction as I am. I will run my campaign, in or out of the Army, so as to best represent the GIs whose very lives are threatened by this war."

After the press conference, Stapleton and Harris went in to discuss their demands with Mayor Stokes. They met Stokes at the first floor elevators and presented their position. Although he has had since last July to think about the Evans case, Stokes dismissed the encounter by saying, "Thank you for telling me your demands. I'll consider it."

Nixon tries to deflect antiwar heat

By Dick Roberts

MAY 15—In the opening remarks of President Nixon's policy statement on Vietnam, read to nationwide TV audiences last night, Nixon rejected the one quick, sensible and just solution to the war which millions of Americans—above all, the young men in the armed forces—wanted to hear: announcement of immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

Nixon made it clear that he would continue the U.S. military intervention in South Vietnam, at present troop levels. Like Johnson before him, Nixon also made it clear that he clings to the hope of wringing concessions from the Vietnamese revolutionaries in Paris, while chopping away at their forces in Vietnam.

It was nevertheless significant that Nixon framed his speech as an answer to critics of the war who favor withdrawal and that he attempted to soften the administration's public negotiating stance in Paris as a concession to these critics.

Nixon's new stated position, in favor of "mutual withdrawal" of U.S. and North Vietnamese forces, where Johnson demanded withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces before U.S. withdrawal, is a verbal concession, testifying to the immense and growing pressure on him to end the war, and that is its main significance.

Wall Street Journal staff reporter Henry Gemmill hit on Nixon's biggest problem in an article written from Washington May

Black man convicted in rigged, racist trial

By Syd Stapleton

CLEVELAND—Ahmed Evans, a prominent Cleveland black nationalist, has been sentenced to die in the electric chair on Sept. 22 in connection with the death of three Cleveland policemen and a civilian during the police attack on the black community in July of last year.

Following the trial, which featured "scare" stories about "nationalist plots to bust out Ahmed Evans," and displays of overt racism on the part of the prosecuting attorney which were featured in the local press, an all-white jury found Evans guilty on seven counts of first-degree murder—two counts for each cop, and one for the black civilian.

Before sentencing Evans to death, the judge heartily endorsed the verdict of the jury, and accused Evans of being responsible for the recent events at Cornell University by saying, "these children [!] are really following the example you set."

He was echoing the sentiments of the prosecuting attorney, who demanded that the jury "protect our American way of life" by bringing in a verdict which would result in Evans' execution. Prosecutor Corrigan revealed the real attitude of the cops, the city administration and the judge in his closing remarks to the jury. "Let the young people in our community realize that if they join with the likes of Ahmed Evans . . .," said Corrigan, "they, too, will go to the electric chair."

Charging that blacks were systematically excluded from the jury, and that the whole trial was marked by racial overtones, the defense will appeal the case if the list of many well-grounded motions for a mistrial is denied. However, the judge has denied a stay of execution for the purpose of an appeal.

The trial began seven weeks ago. Out of 130 persons called as potential jurors, only 10 were black (the city of Cleveland is black in its majority), and all black potential jurors were excused by the prosecution or the judge. The judge promptly denied the defense motion for a mistrial based on the constitutional right of trial by a jury of one's peers.

The prosecution, unable to prove that the bullets causing the four deaths came from any of the weapons allegedly owned by Evans, based its case on four major planks. First was the testimony of a glue-sniffer and arsonist currently in the county jail. Evans, according to the informer's

testimony, organized a group of 40-50 people for the express purpose of "killing cops."

The second piece of prosecution evidence proved to be no better. A patrolman wounded during the shooting testified that he was shot by Ahmed Evans. But the defense produced attendants at the hospital where the patrolman was treated who testified that the cop told them at the time that he didn't know who shot him. He only "remembered" after the proceedings against Evans were begun.

A third key piece of prosecution evidence turned against them when the county coroner revealed that two of the dead cops had an alcohol level in their blood equivalent to that produced by 13-15 one-ounce shots of whiskey, and that the third had been drinking.

Thus, having no evidence against Evans, the prosecution resorted to a general offensive against black radicalism. Red-squad cops testified that "black nationalism" was the philosophy of violent revolution. Mayor Stokes' aides testified that Evans was doing political organizing in the black community and was angry about the police and national guard being used against the black community.

The press and other police agencies collaborated with this attempt to appeal to the most racist and reactionary instincts of the jurors. During the trial, police released a story, with no factual evidence, of a "nationalist plot to terrorize jurors."

In a further attempt to promote hysteria, police released stories of raids in the black community producing guns and pictures of Eldridge Cleaver and Malcolm X.

In this atmosphere, when the defense began to produce its witnesses the story dropped from page one in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* back to page 15 in the third section. The defense opened with testimony by residents of the area of the shooting, establishing the outrageous racism of the cops, their widespread drinking, and police attacks on unarmed men in the area.

The defense produced evidence that one of the cops—whom the prosecution maintained had been shot from Evans' house by a rifle—had in fact been shot at close range in the midst of the police line.

By the end of the trial it was clear that no evidence had been produced to show that Ahmed Evans, or any other black person, had in fact shot anyone.

9: "The tranquility on the war issue that the Administration has generally enjoyed thus far has been bought by raising public anticipations; if unfulfilled these could heighten future waves of popular frustration."

Gemmill predicted that "By about the turn of the year [Nixon] could be at the edge of another great falls, remarkably like the one where LBJ was lost."

The *Wall Street Journal* correspondent quoted one Nixon administration man as believing that if Nixon could not end the war within one year "the country would become ungovernable."

The moratorium on criticism of the Nixon administration's war policies definitively ended with the national demonstrations of a quarter of a million people against the war, April 5-6. Since that time a number of previously silent Congressmen have renewed their attacks.

On May 12, rebellion hit Mayor Daley's turf: the Chicago City Council voted unanimously to call on Nixon to "quickly and drastically reduce American involvement in the war . . ."

And the massive upsurge of high school and university students across the country has registered big blows against the war even if it hasn't, in every case, been directed explicitly at it.

Senator Aiken (R-Vt.) no doubt expressed the concern of a number of politicians

when he declared May 1: "To attempt to enumerate all the problems facing the government today would be a futile and unending task . . . However, I would maintain that most of these problems are, directly or indirectly, an outgrowth of the war in Vietnam."

But recognizing this fact, talking about it and solving it are not the same things. That is why, as *New York Times* reporter Max Frankel aptly put it, although Nixon "inveighed against the 'tired rhetoric of the past,' he showed a good grasp of it. There was, in fact, very little in the speech that Lyndon B. Johnson had not said many times before . . ."

Set New York forum on campus battles

NEW YORK—The revolts at CCNY and Queens College will be discussed at the Militant Labor Forum at 873 Broadway Friday, May 23 at 8:30 p.m. Speakers will be Miguel Padilla, a participant in the CCNY struggle, and Al Santiago, a member of the Student-Faculty Council of the SEEK coalition at Queens.