

THE MILITANT

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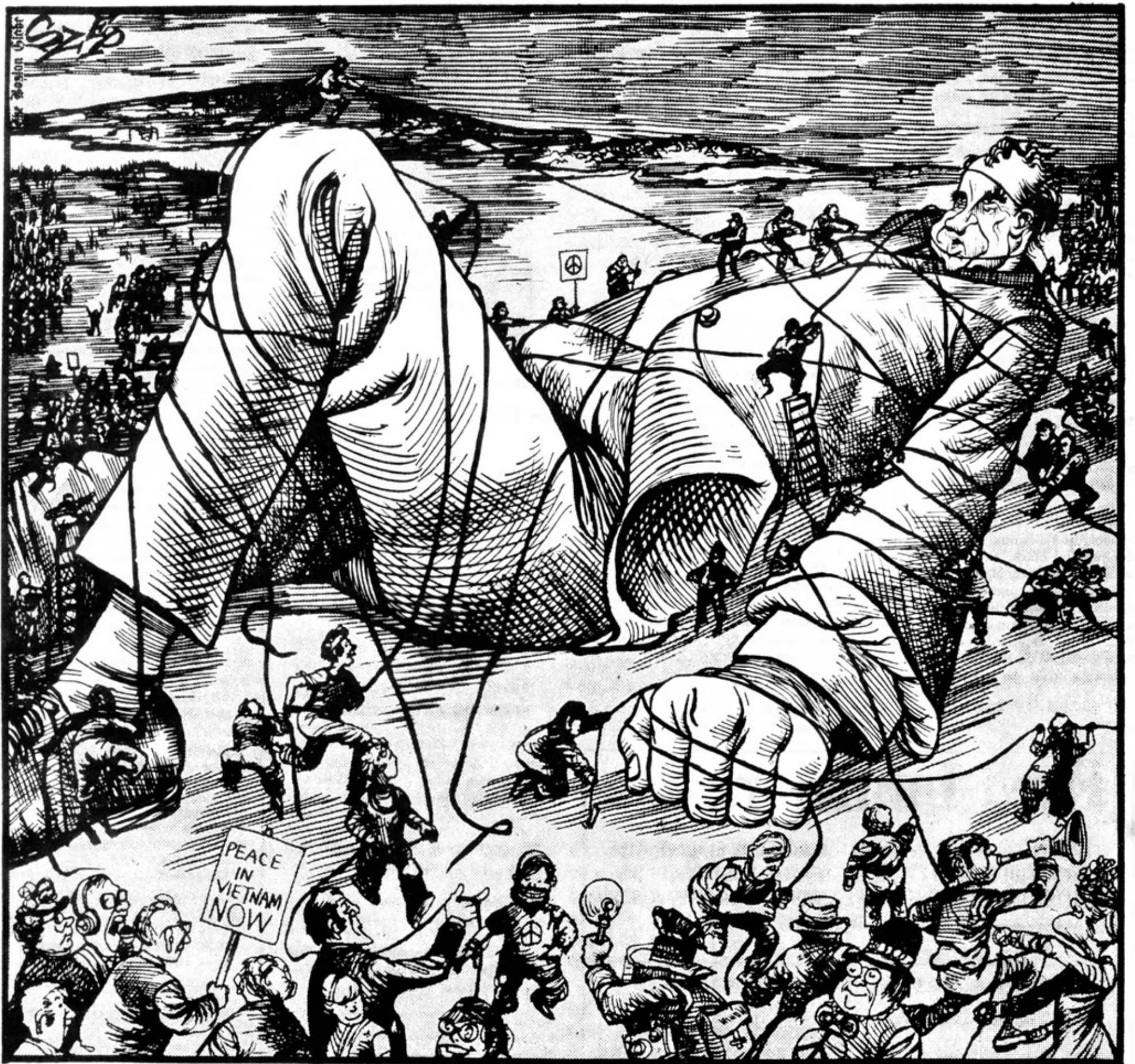
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An unprecedented opportunity

The unprecedented, giant outpouring for the Oct. 15 Moratorium and the moves of the Moratorium Committee to help build the Nov. 15 Washington-San Francisco marches increase the prospect for making the Nov. 13-14 Moratorium and Nov. 15 actions the most powerful blows against the war. See analysis page 8.

STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR!

Build Nov. 13-14 Moratorium; All out to D.C., S.F. Nov. 15!



'Under no circumstances will I be affected whatever by it.' —PRESIDENT NIXON

Antiwar GIs, WACs appeal for help

Harassed by the brass

Anniston, Ala.

Last Wednesday night, one of the members of GIs-WACs United was arrested by the MPs at Fort McClellan for wearing a black armband at the service club in support of the Vietnam Moratorium. Although he was later released, the harassment of GIs-WACs United for exercising their constitutional right to express to other GIs and WACs their opposition to the Vietnam war continues.

The brass is very uptight here. There was a revolt in one of the mess halls against the small portions of lousy food provided. Now hundreds of GIs and WACs who have received *Left Face*, the GI-WAC paper at Fort McClellan, are being intimidated. GIs and WACs have been told in company formations to turn in copies of *Left Face* they had received (by first class mail!), since it is "subversive." The brass is now having mail clerks turn in the names of anyone who they think is getting *Left Face*.

Military Intelligence (sic) is trying to claim that the paper is being put out by "outsiders"—civilians. The base now has a regulation which says that anybody who has more than five (!) copies of anything is guilty of "distributing literature" unless they can prove otherwise. We are planning to contest this by going through official channels to gain the right to pass out *Left Face* on post.

We would appreciate contributions to help keep the paper going. Anyone who would like to receive a copy can write to: *Left Face*, PO Box 1595, Anniston, Ala. 36201.

For the staff of *Left Face*:
PFC Thomas A. Hathcock, Jr.
Sgt. Lewis A. Delano
Sp/4 Thomas J. Cuccaro
Sp/4 Armond Mikell

Moratorium at Brooklyn

elementary school

Brooklyn, N. Y.

On Oct. 15 at elementary Public School 20 in Brooklyn, which is predominantly black and Puerto Rican, many of the teachers sought to encourage expression concerning the war in Vietnam. Students lettered and hung antiwar posters in their classroom windows and displayed writings about their feelings of the war on hallway bulletin boards. An assembly was held for grades 3-6 at which the students saw slides on Vietnam, sang antiwar songs and read their personal state-

Letters from our readers

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

ments concerning the war. One fifth grade class wrote letters to President Nixon. The following is an articulate expression of one boy's opposition to the war:

"Dear President Nixon: I am a student at P. S. 20 in Brooklyn. We are writing to you about the war in Vietnam. We have relatives who have fought in Vietnam, and have come home wounded. My uncle Pappo came from Vietnam without any leg. We would like you to send the men back home. We would like to see them alive again. We would like you to spend more money in Fort Greene where we have rats and bad houses and roaches and garbage in the streets. We would like you to spend less money in Vietnam so we will have lower prices in Brooklyn. Lower prices will help poor people to get clothes. But, most of all we want PEACE! in our country."

Martha Harris

Former liberal joins YSA

Worcester, Mass.

Two years ago, I was a liberal: tacitly supporting our aggression in Vietnam; advocating black power and black capitalism, all the while being extremely suspicious of American politics and government.

A year ago, I was a radical: SDS, participatory democracy, antiwar, pro-Black Panther party, etc.

I began reading *The Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, the *Old Mole* (Boston), etc. and I found myself developing a firm ideological basis for my cynicism. I was getting involved.

When this year's SDS convention deteriorated into a brawling bullshit session, I became very disappointed in the white radical movement, even as I was developing a revolutionary socialist viewpoint. As a result, I've decided to join the YSA, the only viable political group of its kind in America. I think the time has come for me to discard my "independent radical"

philosophy.

Presently, I am a sophomore at Clark University and deeply involved in the SMC Vietnam Moratorium campaign.

R. P. C.

Class will study Mandel

Worcester, Mass.

I read Ernest Mandel's "On Workers Democracy" in the Aug. 22 *Militant*, and would like to use it for a class on the histories and ideologies of student radical movements in the U. S. today. I will be leading a discussion section on this subject this semester, and have found that my most indispensable sources of information have been *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*. These two publications contain, in my opinion, the most comprehensive analysis of the split(s) in SDS, which will comprise a large part of the subject matter of my discussion section.

W. M. S.

A correction

Berkeley, Calif.

On page 11 of the Oct. 3 issue of *The Militant*, I read that "a Berkeley cop was photographed shooting a fleeing person in the back" (Great Society column).

I believe Harry Ring was referring to a photograph taken during the Peoples Park days and first published by the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

It does not make that much of a difference but still I want to mention that the shooting cop was one of the "Blue Meanies" (that is, one of the Alameda County Sheriff deputies), not a member of the Berkeley PD.

S. P. F.

Exile couple relies on Militant

Hamilton, Ontario

As my husband is an ex-member of the U. S. Army (he deserted and we were forced to flee to Canada) and we are both socialists, we consider your newspaper a must. *The Militant* will fill our need for accurate coverage of what's happening in the states.

K. D.

Poor Richard's cabinet

Macedonia, Ohio

The continuation of the Johnson Vietnam policy by the Nixon administration will more and more convince the American people that there is no two-party system in this country. As we see it, there is a one-party system representing the upper bourgeoisie. Of the 12 Nixon cabinet members, nine are millionaires: Postmaster General Blount, Interior Secretary Hickel, Defense Secretary Laird, Treasury Secretary Kennedy, Housing Secretary Romney, State Secretary Rogers, Commerce Secretary Stans, Attorney General Mitchell, Transportation Secretary Volpe. President Nixon is still considered as "poor" because a few months ago his wealth was estimated at "only" about \$600,000.

And that is one of the reasons why the people are losing interest in elections generally and in presidential elections particularly. For instance, in the presidential election of 1968 about 45 million Americans eligible to vote didn't take part in the election. They just ig-

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Closing news date—Oct. 24.

nored it. The reason is simple: There is not much of a choice.

J. M.

PL series useful in Denmark

Denmark

My compliments to Mary-Alice Waters for her articles on Progressive Labor, which are very useful here for our fight with the Maoists. Also, your information about black power, the Black Panther Party, and SDS are very fine and useful.

V. R.

Wants a fourth party

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The success of the first Moratorium, combined with other evidence of increasing revulsion from the American Way of Life (imperialist ventures, genocide, ravishment of natural resources, and enforced slavery in the guise of consumerism, makes it imperative that the momentum for a fourth party increase. Factional differences must be surmounted for a last-ditch attempt to break free from Republican-Democratic technocracy and a concerted attempt must be made to enlist millions of Americans behind a new party whose aim is to neither embrace technology, as the liberals have, nor to pretend it doesn't exist, as much of the New Left does, but to use this country's wealth to re-structure, not reform.

We must organize from the highest levels of politics to the lowest (i.e., community control) within a new party which can embrace *all* the potentially dissident elements in our society from Black Panthers to the middle class who were first stirred by the McCarthy campaign.

Socialism is the only answer which is both realistic and humane. It is also out last chance to avoid disaster. It will, however, only succeed through the efforts of a strong and heterogeneous fourth party—not through criticism and dissent from the sidelines.

E. S.

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN 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

by Robert S. Browne
and Robert Vernon

A Symposium: Should the U.S. Be Partitioned Into Two Separate and Independent Nations: A Homeland for White Americans—A Homeland for Black Americans

Robert S. Browne is assistant professor of economics at Fairleigh-Dickinson University in New Jersey and author of the *Ramparts* article, "The Case for Black Separatism." He was a member of the advisory committee of the 1967 Newark Black Power Conference.

Robert Vernon is a contributor to *The Militant*, author of *The Black Ghetto* and coauthor of *Watts and Harlem: The Rising Revolt in the Black Ghettos*.

50c
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New York, N. Y. 10003

Our sub drive escalates again

By BEVERLY SCOTT
Business Manager

OCT. 22—The goal of our drive for new readers continues to escalate. This week four areas increased their quotas with the New York SWP and YSA leading the way.

When we opened our drive Sept. 15 for 4,000 new readers for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* by Nov. 15, New York accepted a quota of 425 subscriptions. Then, seeing how well they were doing, they increased their quota to 600. Now they've decided to double their original quota and have set out to obtain 850 new readers!

Meanwhile, Kent, Ohio has tripled its original quota of 25, and has indicated that it may be able to do even better than that. Boulder, Colo. has doubled its quota to 60, and Binghamton, N.Y. has raised its bid once more to 100 subs.

Two more cities have now exceeded their original goals, and several others are rapidly approaching that mark. We anticipate that next week we will receive word of more cities raising their quotas since there are still several weeks remaining in the campaign.

One of the most interesting reports we received this week was written from Macomb, Ill. by Naomi Allen, who is currently trailblazing in the Midwest for the YSA.

She wrote, "On the eve of the Moratorium, a small rally at this traditionally conservative school, Western Illinois University, provided the basis for

our work in spreading our press. We began with enthusiasm, but were just flabbergasted when the response was one of overwhelming interest and excitement.

"The first six people I offered the newspaper to bought subscriptions on the spot, and I sold 10 subs in one hour. *The Militant's* reputation preceded us and laid the groundwork for our successful sales. Kids just snapped it up!" The result of the evening's work was 18 new readers.


Other areas report equally enthusiastic reception of our press at Moratorium Day rallies. In New York, representatives of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign committee were invited to speak at 22 different rallies, and as a result of these meetings, along with sales at other rallies, over 70 subscriptions were sold, as well as 2,350 single copies of *The Militant*.

In the Twin Cities, Minnesota, YSA and SWP members were able to sell 17 subscriptions during Moratorium activities, in addition to 400 *Militants*. They report that "the consciousness and receptivity of the crowds were fantastic."

The report from Atlanta, Georgia, explains how they were able to make their big leap on the scoreboard this week. "Our dorm mobilization at Emory University netted 23 new subscribers in a half hour, even though we were kicked out of every dorm by the campus authorities."

A SUGGESTION. This ad in Atlanta's Great Speckled Bird has resulted in a modest number of subscriptions. Maybe it would be worth considering a similar one in your local underground paper.

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Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs			
Phoenix, Ariz.	30	38	Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	15
Kansas City, Mo.	30	33	Chicago, Ill.	275	160
Lawrence, Kan.	30	33	Champaign, Ill.	30	15
Providence, R.I.	40	42	Houston, Texas	50	20
Philadelphia, Pa.	200	193	Gainesville, Fla.	35	14
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	91	Washington, D.C.	75	29
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	178	Seattle, Wash.	150	57
Newark, N.J.	35	30	Hayward, Calif.	40	15
Atlanta, Ga.	125	104	Bloomington, Ind.	30	10
Boston, Mass.	275	228	Glen Ellyn, Ill.	15	5
Antioch College, Ohio	30	24	Ann Arbor, Mich.	75	24
Madison, Wis.	75	59	San Diego, Calif.	45	14
Boulder, Colo.	60	47	East Lansing, Mich.	30	9
Detroit, Mich.	275	209	DeKalb, Ill.	80	22
San Francisco, Calif.	350	262	Austin, Texas	150	41
St. Louis, Mo.	30	22	Portland, Ore.	20	4
Berkeley, Calif.	225	161	Logan, Utah	25	4
Los Angeles, Calif.	400	285	Albany, N.Y.	25	3
Cleveland, Ohio	250	174	Carbondale, Ill.	25	3
Kent, Ohio	75	52	General	425	264
New York, N.Y.	850	514	Total	5310	3507



Photo by Hermes

NEW YORK SCENE. High school students, like these who gathered in Central Park for the Moratorium, bought *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* in gratifying numbers.

Seattle socialist candidate debates opponents on TV

By BILL MASSEY

SEATTLE, Oct. 19—Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Tom Leonard received mass publicity this week in a televised debate with his "nonpartisan" opponents, Democratic State Senator Wes Uhlman and stodgy, Eisenhower-type Republican R. Morton Frayn.

Leonard's write-in campaign for mayor of Seattle has injected life into an otherwise deadly-dull contest, forcing the other candidates to discuss issues like Vietnam and black control of the black community. Equal-time laws will force Frayn and Uhlman to face Leonard in at least two more such debates before the Nov. 4 election; and Leonard will appear at least seven or eight times on local radio and television.

In the television debate, both representatives of the capitalist parties distinguished themselves by opposing Leonard's demands for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay at Boeing aircraft, which has been laying off 1,000 workers a month since the government has cut spending; they have both opposed similar demands, for 30 for 40, in the construction industry, which would open up jobs for blacks.

While being against decent pay for workers, both Uhlman and Frayn were quick to react when Leonard attacked a recent pay hike for the mayor and city council members that raises the mayor's salary to nearly 30,000 a year. With Frayn's agreement, Uhlman explained that a mayor is "like a corporation executive and should be paid like one."

When Leonard called for direct control of the police by the community—particularly the black community—Uhlman and Frayn countered this democratic proposal with cries for more police control of the community and more cops on the streets.

Uhlman has received the backhanded support of the Communist Party through the pages of the *People's World*, although his policies on "law and order" and his refusal to take a

stand on the Vietnam war are identical to the positions of Frayn.

Earlier in the week, current Seattle Mayor Floyd Miller called Leonard and the two capitalist candidates for mayor to a briefing on a present police-department scandal involving gambling payoffs. Leonard used the opportunity to demand that Miller institute an investigation of recent police invasions of the black community.

Leonard also called on Miller to close down the city offices for the Oct. 15 Moratorium. Miller refused both of Leonard's requests, saying that he is a Democrat and that he supports Nixon's policies.

Meanwhile, Leonard was one of the speakers at the huge Moratorium Day rally in downtown Seattle and received a loud ovation when he urged mass participation in the Nov. 15 march on San Francisco.

Seattle SWP hall attacked

SEATTLE — Two potentially dangerous attacks were made on the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here over the weekend of Oct. 18-19. Late Friday night a pellet-type gun was fired at the front window of the Militant Bookstore which is also the SWP campaign headquarters. Late Saturday night an army surplus chemical smoke bomb was hurled through the back window but fizzled out without doing serious damage. Nobody was in the headquarters during either incident. At a press conference, Tom Leonard, SWP mayoralty nominee, related the attacks to the violence stimulated by a warmaking racist government.

Campaigners focused on Moratorium

Cleveland SWP made Vietnam 'local issue'

By DAVE WULP

CLEVELAND — If the nationwide Moratorium Oct. 15 made anything clear it was that Vietnam is a local issue. It is an issue that politicians in office and those contesting for office have to deal with. This was certainly the case in Cleveland last week with the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Syd Stapleton for mayor.

On Oct. 13, Stapleton went to the city council to support the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council's resolution which would have put the city council on record as endorsing the Oct. 15 Moratorium and urging the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Although several councilmen had privately reported support for such a resolution, it never got to the floor. Council President James Stanton told Stapleton before the meeting that no councilman would introduce the resolution, and if it did get to the floor, several members of the council were prepared to object to it, which would throw it into committee. Stapleton was told that he would not be allowed to speak in favor of the resolution in any case.

So the socialist candidate took the matter directly to the people, through TV interviews on the spot and through a release to the press that said in part, "Some may object that matters of foreign policy are not within the purview of city council. It is hard to see the logic of this position when over 400

Cleveland-area men have died in Vietnam. This is doubly true when one considers the need of all large cities in the country for massive federal aid to create more jobs, better housing, set up free medical programs for all and combat the growing problems of air and water pollution. I pledge my support to any action which will make the city council more responsive to the needs and wishes of the people of Cleveland."

Regardless of the wishes of the city council, the Moratorium came to Cleveland as scheduled on Oct. 15. While Mayor Stokes reaffirmed his stand in favor of immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam in the days immediately preceding the Moratorium, he ducked endorsement of the Moratorium itself much as the city council had done. City employees were told that they would lose a day's pay if they participated in any of the activities planned in Cleveland on the 15th.

Stapleton's supporters, on the other hand, threw themselves into preparations for the action. On the day of the Moratorium, Syd Stapleton spoke to nearly 5,000 at Kent State University.

In Cleveland, campaign supporters sold *Militants* and passed out campaign literature and buttons to a responsive crowd of 8,000, gathered for the mass rally that capped the day's events.

During the week, Stapleton was also able to promote the fall antiwar offensive through the more than three hours of radio and TV time at his disposal.



On Friday, Stapleton spent the entire day in Marymount High School, a Catholic girls' school. He spoke to seven classes, including one religion class, sold several subscriptions to *The Militant*, and got promises of support from several of the lay teachers.

The week's activities culminated in a debate between two representatives of SDS-Weatherman and two socialists—Stapleton and SWP candidate for East Cleveland Board of Education James Harris—at a Young Socialist Alliance forum on the Case-Western Reserve University campus, entitled, "Revolutionary Change and the Fight Against the War." Nearly 200 people came out.

They heard the Weathermen assert that the Oct. 11 Chicago action was a "victory" and what was called for was the immediate formation of a "Red Army."

Harris spoke next. He pointed out the need for all revolutionaries to sup-

port the U.S. antiwar movement. He reminded the audience that the consequences of an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam would be that no government could survive without the support of the majority of the Vietnamese people.

In this context of support for self-determination at home and abroad, Harris urged the formation of a black political party. Such a next step is necessary, he explained, because the overwhelming majority of the American citizens still believe that the solution to their political problems lies with either the capitalist Democratic or Republican party.

Syd Stapleton underlined the point: "The most important thing is to break with capitalist politics. And this is dependent on independent mass action that can mobilize the American people and give them a sense of their own power. The movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam has done just that."

In support of this argument, he pointed to the growing involvement of the ranks of organized labor in the fight against the war.

Stapleton scored the Weatherman action in Chicago and stated, "If all that reflected were a suicidal urge on the part of a few individuals, then it would be one thing—but it exposes SDS and the movement as a whole to attack, while separating the movement from the very people it seeks to and can reach."

"Revolutionaries have every reason to be optimistic. Oct. 15, Nov. 14 and Nov. 15 are just the beginning of a radicalization that can put this country in the hands of its people."

"We urge people to participate in the movement against the war and to join the Young Socialist Alliance—to build the kind of revolutionary youth movement that can help to win this victory."



Carl Stokes

Electronic debate with Galbraith

U.S. bars Mandel trip to Stanford

By ART SHARON

PALO ALTO, Calif., Oct. 18—The long arm of the State Department prevented the noted Marxist political economist, Ernest Mandel, from appearing at Stanford University here this weekend. Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, had been scheduled to address a conference on "Technology and the Third World" sponsored by the Stanford Graduate Students Association. He was to debate the eminent liberal economist, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard.

The conference was able to partially circumvent the State Department ban by arranging for a trans-Atlantic telephone discussion between Mandel and Galbraith.

For a week prior to the conference, the GSA was confident that the action barring the Belgian revolutionary from the U. S. was taken by some minor State Department bureaucrat and that it would be overruled by higher-ups. But the intervention of students, through family connections, and the intervention of faculty members and President Pfizer himself were of no avail. Washington did not want Mandel to appear.

Galbraith expressed the view of the overwhelming majority of the conference participants when he assailed the State Department action, in his keynote speech last night before an audience of some 1,600 people.

This morning, the conference heard a tape-recorded address by Mandel on "A Radical View of the Development of the Third World and Technology." Over the telephone hook-up, Galbraith then

commented on Mandel's paper, and Mandel replied to Galbraith's comments. Mandel's paper and the exchange between the revolutionary Marxist and the liberal were followed with intense interest by the 500 students present at this morning's session. Following the transoceanic debate, there was discussion from the floor with Galbraith.

Galbraith was, from his own point of view, profoundly pessimistic about the future of Latin America. He held that the ruling classes in the region, because of their blindness and greed,



Ernest Mandel

had lost the opportunity for an orderly and controlled "early" revolution and now faced a "late" and violent one on the Cuban model.

(IP)—The ban on Ernest Mandel is especially arbitrary since he made a two-month tour of the United States last September and October, speaking at 30 universities from coast to coast.

At that time his revolutionary positions (he made no secret of his Trotskyist views) were attacked by such right-wing voices as *Barron's* magazine, conservative columnist William Buckley, and in front-page editorials in the Hearst papers signed by Editor-in-chief William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

Mandel has been invited to speak at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Columbia, Amherst, and the New School for Social Research in early December.

He has also agreed to participate with Andre Gorz, Lucien Goldman, and other speakers at a conference in New York on Nov. 29 on the subject of "Agencies of Social Change" under the joint auspices of the Socialist Scholars Conference and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

These sponsors intend to make a vigorous effort to get the ban on Mandel lifted so that he can fulfill these engagements. They contend that the right to hear and debate dissenting views face-to-face goes hand-in-hand with the right to read them on the printed page.

A national protest campaign will be launched if the government authorities continue to refuse to give Mandel a visa.

N.Y. police club Iranian protesters

By JOEL ABER

NEW YORK—While the Shah of Iran was lunching at New York's luxurious Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Oct. 18, students were peacefully protesting this brutal dictator's state visit to the government that put him in power via a 1953 CIA-inspired coup. Uniformed and plainclothes police brutally attacked the demonstration, arresting three Iranians and one American and beating several others. Sponsored by the Iranian Students Association, the picket line was supported by the Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism and the Organization of Arab Students.

For the first hour, the police confined the pickets behind barricades a block away from the Waldorf. After being informed by the ACLU that the cops had no legal right to prevent them from picketing directly in front of the Waldorf, the demonstrators climbed across the barricades and marched to the Waldorf to the tune of drums and chants in Persian and English, such as, "Shah, Shah, Charlatan" and "Down with the Shah."

The pickets stayed directly in front of the Waldorf for about 10 minutes, then crossed Park Avenue, moving away from the hotel, whereupon two cops attempted to arrest one of the Iranian students, who was quickly cordoned off from the police by the angered demonstrators. Then cops charged from all directions with clubs flailing. According to the Iranian students, some of the plainclothesmen who took part in the police attack were members of the Sawak, the notorious CIA-trained Iranian secret police.

One Iranian student was held prostrate by several cops who repeatedly beat him with their nightsticks, leaving him bleeding on the street. The student initially apprehended was freed by the demonstrators and escaped, but four other arrests were made. They were charged with rioting and resisting arrest.

Initially, the arrested demonstrators had also been charged with assaulting the cops, but these charges were dropped when TV film showed that the most seriously injured cop—who had a broken hand—had tripped and fallen while chasing a demonstrator.

The demonstration had been called to draw attention to the brutal repression in Iran, which has resulted in the execution, imprisonment and torture of hundreds of dissidents, including students, religious leaders, and the Kurdish minority that has taken to armed struggle against the repression.

Racial, sexual equality goal of new coalition

CHICAGO—Twelve white, or predominately white, organizations have formed a national coalition to seek an end to racism and sexism in North America. The Grimke-Brown Coalition was formally organized in Knoxville, Tenn., Oct. 4-5.

The coalition's name honors Angela and Sarah Grimke, sisters from South Carolina active in pre-Civil War feminist and abolitionist work, and John Brown, who led the Harper's Ferry raid in an unsuccessful attempt to free slaves in the South.

Temporarily, the coalition will share offices with one of its members, the Committee for One Society, 40 N. Ashland Ave., Chicago. Other organizations in the coalition include the Appalachian Volunteers, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the Women's Liberation Movement Center.



Photos by Joel Aber

Demonstrators against Iranian tyrant and New York cops who attacked them

'Progressive' Israel bans magazine

By ROBERT LANGSTON

If anyone still has illusions about democracy in Israel, he should consider the recent case of *Matzpen* magazine, which is published monthly, in Hebrew, by the Israeli Socialist Organization, the revolutionary socialist, anti-Zionist party of Israel with a joint Jewish-Arab membership.

The ISO has long hoped to begin publishing an Arabic counterpart of *Matzpen*. In August, the first issue of the new magazine was ready for the presses.

Now in the great Israeli democracy, the galley proofs of every issue of every publication must be submitted to a censor of the defense ministry before printing. There is a long list of topics—about 60, as I have heard it rumored—it is forbidden to mention in print in Israel—including, of course, the list of topics it is forbidden to mention. Naturally, apologists for democratic Israel insist that the censorship has nothing to do with political ideas but is only aimed at safeguarding military secrets.

Well, the galley proofs of the first issue of the Arabic *Matzpen* were dutifully carried to the censor. And 80 percent of the articles in the proposed magazine were forbidden—although all

of them had already appeared in the Hebrew edition and had passed the censor without any trouble! And the September issue of the Arabic *Matzpen*

was banned outright.

It is singular how a political opinion in Hebrew becomes a military secret in Arabic.

Mexican students on hunger strike

OCT. 14—A student imprisoned since the beginning of the mass Mexico City student upsurge of 1968 announced Sept. 26 that he is beginning a hunger strike in order to win a trial.

Details have been released by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Martin Dozal Jottar was placed in the notorious Lecumberri prison Sept. 10, 1968. Even according to the statutes of the Mexican constitution, he should have been given a trial within "four months if the maximum sentence for the crime does not exceed two years in prison; and within a year if the maximum punishment exceeds that time."

With over a year gone by, Martin Dozal stated that he was "forced to turn to the only form of protest available to a person in prison, the hunger strike," in a letter addressed to ju-

dicial authorities.

He continued: "No one can keep a person in a state of anguish and desperation for 13 long months, which is what I have spent in jail, with that person knowing nothing about what the future holds for him, subject to uncertainty each day."

"It is more than moral and human resistance is capable of supporting in an individual who, in addition, knows in full conscience he is innocent."

The USLA Justice Committee has urged support for Martin Dozal Jottar's demands for a trial. Telegrams and letters should be sent to Mexican President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, El Zocalo, Mexico City, D. F. Mexico.

The address of the Justice Committee is P.O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001.

"Conspiracy" trial of Berkeley 3 opens

OAKLAND, Calif. — The Berkeley Three conspiracy trial began Oct. 20 in Alameda County Superior Court. As in other conspiracy trials, the defendants, Jack Bloom, Paul Glusman and Peter Camejo, are not charged with committing a specific crime, but with conspiring to commit misdemeanors. It is, according to the law, a much greater crime to "conspire" to commit a misdemeanor than to actually commit one.

The Berkeley Three case stems from last year's student sit-in at Moses Hall, University of California at Berkeley, protesting the regents' cancellation of Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver's faculty-approved course.

The defendants' attorneys are Arthur Wells, Penny Cooper and Richard Hodge.

The indictments charge two of the defendants with advocating a sit-in at public rallies, and the third defendant with chairing a public meeting!

If the conspiracy law were upheld in this case, a very dangerous precedent

would be set. Any vindictive district attorney would be able to construe as a "conspiracy" any speech or meeting planning a demonstration where a misdemeanor is later committed. The conspiracy charge would permit the conviction of movement leaders with long sentences because of misdemeanors committed by others. Under this law, conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor is a felony.

The trial opened with Judge Harold B. Hove denying all defense pretrial motions, including a motion to try the defendants separately, since each defendant is charged under a separate indictment. Judge Hove, a former FBI man, insisted that the trial will be run "like any other trial in the United States."

The social and political nature of the trial became quite apparent even before any testimony was presented. As both the defense and the prosecution eliminated prospective jurors, two distinct patterns developed: The prosecutor eliminated six black jurors, mainly young, and especially any black with



Left to right, Jack Bloom, Paul Glusman and Peter Camejo

natural hair, two young white jurors who looked like students, and one middle-aged woman who said she was somewhat favorable to students. On the other hand, those eliminated by the defense were, on the average, 25 years older than those challenged by the DA, and all were white with the exception of one Latin American.

The final jury includes no one under 30, but does include four blacks and one Asian.

Several black potential jurors ruled themselves out by stating that they could never convict the Berkeley Three because they believed that the defendants were being victimized for attempting to fight for a just cause.

It is expected that the DA's office is waiting for a decision on the Berkeley Three case before deciding whether to bring indictments related to the People's Park issue. After a victory in the Oakland Seven draft board case, it is hoped that acquittals of the Berkeley Three will tend to prevent any further use of the conspiracy law to intimidate dissent in California.

Also in progress at the Alameda Superior Court, is the case of Wayne Green. Green is a young black activist from the Berkeley campus facing a charge of attempted murder stemming from the battle for Telegraph Avenue of 1968.

During the summer of 1968, the police had viciously attacked a legal, peaceful rally sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. The following day,

demonstrators again went to Telegraph Avenue in protest and barricaded the street. The police attacked the demonstration. In the ensuing fight, a firebomb was thrown at a policeman. Although various witnesses said that the person who threw the firebomb was white, the police chose to charge Wayne Green.

Their purpose seems to be to use racist prejudice against young black people as "violent" to aid them in victimizing someone who has been particularly active in the antiwar movement. Wayne Green has been a member and organizer of the Resistance, which emphasizes pacifist refusal to participate in the illegal and unconstitutional war in Vietnam.

Vincent Hallinan, well-known San Francisco attorney, is defending Wayne Green without fee because of his belief that Green's case is a clear attempt to victimize a totally innocent person. Hallinan has stated to the press that he knows who threw the firebomb and may reveal this information during the trial.

Both the Berkeley Three and the Wayne Green cases are part of an attempt by the local authorities to victimize activists, not for any act but by trying to use public prejudice against them.

Contributions to the defense of the Berkeley Three may be sent to: The Berkeley Defense Committee, 2158 Emerson St., Berkeley, Calif. 94705.

'No' vote to war recruiting puts Harpur head on spot

By LEE SMITH

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. — Students at Harpur College, the campus of the State University of New York here, where five YSAers have been elected to the United Student Government, went to the polls Oct. 13 to vote in a campus-wide referendum on the war in Vietnam.

The referendum was conducted by the USG and involved five questions: 1) Do you favor immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam? 2) Do you favor a partial subsidy by USG of buses to Washington, D.C. Nov. 15 for the demonstration to bring all the GIs home now? 3) Do you favor allowing military recruiters on campus? 4) Do you favor allowing recruiters for war-related industries on campus? 5) Do you favor allowing recruitment by non-war-related industries on campus?

The Student Mobilization Committee campaigned against allowing the use of campus facilities for military and war-related recruiting. SMCers spoke in dormitories and passed out thousands of leaflets.

Sixty percent of the students turned out to vote in the referendum. A majority of these cast antiwar ballots, voting

"yes" on the first two and "no" on the third and fourth questions.

Eighty-five percent voted in favor of immediate withdrawal and 75 percent voted in favor of USG subsidizing buses to Washington. Over 60 percent opposed military recruiting and over 50 percent opposed recruiting by war-related industries.

YSAer and USG President Gary Wurtzel, upon learning the results of the referendum, sent telegrams to Chancellor Samuel B. Gould of the State University of New York and Governor Nelson Rockefeller, informing them that a majority had voted to bar war recruiters from the campus and requesting that this democratic decision be respected. A copy was delivered to Harpur President Bruce Dearing.

Both Gould and Dearing have asserted in the past that the campus would remain open to recruiters no matter what the students wanted.

Wurtzel informed these men that the USG is ready to take whatever action is necessary to realize the will of the majority. A rally was slated for Oct. 17 to demand an answer from Dearing, and a mass meeting for Oct. 19 to discuss and plan further strategy.



Photo by Susan Gordon

Moratorium Day, Binghamton, N. Y.

Columbus, O., city council adopts red-baiting measure

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Oct. 21 — In the most recent stage of a witch-hunt campaign under way here since last summer, the Columbus city council has passed two unconstitutional, red-baiting city ordinances. One makes it a "criminal offense" for any person to "go upon any school property within the city of Columbus and make or do any offensive act, utterance, gesture, or display which tends to disrupt or interfere with educational classes or social or athletic activities then in progress."

The other ordinance likewise makes it a "criminal offense" to "sell or offer for sale or give or offer to give or attempt in any manner to distribute any pamphlets, circulars, or other printed matter which is directed at inciting or producing imminent lawless action and is likely to produce such action at any entrance or exit to any schoolhouse, school athletic field, or within 100 feet of any school property."

These laws have been publicly labeled "the anti-SDS ordinances," and SDS has until now been the main target of the witch-hunters. Several SDSers face trumped-up charges of "inciting to riot" as a result of a leaflet distributed after

last summer's rebellion of the black community here. And earlier this month, SDSers attempting to distribute a leaflet, announcing a regional conference, were hit with a phony "obscenity" charge.

City officials openly viewed these arrests as stopgap measures, and Mayor Sensenbrenner called for laws to give the city "more authority" to deal with SDS and other leftist organizations. The two new city ordinances were the result.

City officials here seem fully aware that the ordinances are blatantly unconstitutional. One city councilman suggested changing some wording to try and avoid conflict with the Constitution. The city attorney cynically responded that "we always have the problem of free speech."

Representatives of the black community, the trade-union movement, and the American Civil Liberties Union oppose the bills. The ACLU has offered to take test cases of the ordinances. The Young Socialist Alliance here in a public statement condemned this attack on free speech and urged others to join in demanding the repeal of these laws.

More reports on Moratorium

ANCHORAGE

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

ANCHORAGE, Alaska — The myth of "it can't happen here" has been shattered in one of its last remaining strongholds. After a university rally and motorcade, over 600 students and townspeople filled Sidney Lawrence Auditorium—scene of last month's famous oil-lease sale—for a spirited Moratorium Day demonstration, proving that antiwar sentiment is no less prevalent here in Alaska than in the "lower 48."

Army Pvt. Joe Miles, a founder of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, received the most enthusiastic response of the afternoon when he said that GIs and civilians would be satisfied with nothing less than total and immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and could easily see the phoniness of Nixon's "peace" maneuvers. The Army had sent Miles and several other antiwar-activist GIs to clean an unused command post 20 miles away, keeping them until well after Miles' scheduled speech, but to no avail: he arrived back in Anchorage just in time to give the closing speech of the day.

Following the rally about a dozen men from Ft. Richardson and Elmendorf AF Base held their own meeting to discuss how they could most effectively express their opposition to the war.

Other speakers at the rally represented the student, black, professional and Alaskan Native communities. The Army was invited to send an official spokesman to express its position, but declined. Thus, the military had to be satisfied with its unofficial representative—Pvt. Joe Miles.

ANN ARBOR

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — The focus of Moratorium activities here was a massive rally of 25,000 at the University of Michigan football stadium, which included speeches by Tom Hayden of the Chicago 8 and U.S. Senator Philip Hart.

KINGSVILLE

By ROBIN MAISEL

KINGSVILLE, Texas — This town of 23,000, run by its namesake, the giant King Ranch, which dominates all political life in this part of the world, had its first two antiwar demonstrations Oct. 15.

Texas A & I College, also run by the King Ranch and by Humble Oil, had a noon rally of 600 at which Chuck Orr, one of the principal organizers, told the students, "The next thing is to build the student strike and the march on Washington."



Moratorium rally at U of Michigan stadium

After several Chicano students were suspended from high school for wearing black armbands, 150 people showed up on a few hours notice at the headquarters of the Mexican-American Youth Organization for a defense rally. From there they marched to the courthouse, down the center of the main street of this 20-percent-Chicano, dusty South Texas town, chanting, "Bring them home" and "Viva la Raza."

At the courthouse, 800 people gathered for a candlelight wreath-laying ceremony, songfest and antiwar rally.

AMHERST

By TOM BIAS

AMHERST, Mass. — About 6,000 took part in Moratorium activities in the Amherst-Northampton area of Western Massachusetts Oct. 15, with rallies of 3,000 at the University of Massachusetts and several hundred at Smith and Amherst, followed by a march from Smith College to Northampton City Hall. The students from Western Massachusetts colleges plan to charter a train to Washington for the Nov. 15 march.

PORTLAND

By TONIE PORTER

PORTLAND, Ore. — Thousands poured into the streets all over Oregon to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now. In Portland's largest march ever, 10,000 took part. In Eugene, 6,000 took part in a march led by Mrs. C. Muir whose son was killed in Vietnam. Three thousand marched to the capitol steps in Salem. At Oregon State University in Corvallis (total population, 30,000), 3,000 students and townspeople listened to speakers.

The feelings of Oregonians, who have lost 500 men in the war so far, were

also expressed off the campuses and away from the cities—in numerous small lumbering and agricultural communities. The Portland *Oregonian* reported this action in the town of Roseburg: "In Roseburg, site of no college, the American Legion arranged a motorcade in support of President Nixon and the flag, but many opponents of the war, mostly young people, carried white crosses and read a list of the war dead."

A Portland State University rally of 3,000 heard Vietnam veteran James Fairley, who brought the welcome news that "GIs on patrol in Vietnam wore black armbands in sympathy with us."

And so it went at almost every campus and high school in the area. An Oregon Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has been launched as a broad coalition to turn out Oregonians for the Nov. 15 demonstration in San Francisco.

SALT LAKE CITY

SALT LAKE CITY — The first major antiwar action in this state's history drew nearly 5,000 people Oct. 15, beginning with a teach-in on the University of Utah campus and culminating in a march from Reservoir Park to a rally at the federal building in downtown Salt Lake. In addition to U of Utah students, participants included high school and grade school students, businessmen and students from the repressively operated Brigham Young University.

A Brigham Young student told the rally, "Despite threats by the BYU administration, we are here to express our opposition to the war . . . because the Prince of Peace is on our side."

LOGAN

By STERNE McMULLEN

LOGAN, Utah — In a solemn ceremony at Utah State University, nearly 1,000 persons met on the quad, lowered the flag to half-mast and played taps to mourn the dead in Vietnam. About half the crowd then attended a rally sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee. Later, several prominent professors conducted a teach-in on Vietnam.

PLAINFIELD

By DAVE HALDANE

PLAINFIELD, Vt. — Goddard College, in its first institutional political stand, has issued a statement declaring "that all U.S. soldiers, marines, airmen, sailors, CIA agents and counter-insurgency funds and equipment should be brought home from Vietnam immediately."

The statement is part of an Oct. 13 referendum passed by an 81 percent

majority of the college's students and employees.

To implement the stand, the Vietnam Moratorium was observed by canceling all classes, closing the kitchens, and giving all employees a paid vacation for the day and by Goddard students speaking at nearby colleges and high schools and leafleting factory workers in nearby Burlington, Vermont.

WORCESTER

By ALAN EINHORN

WORCESTER, Mass. — Nearly 10,000 people turned out Oct. 15 at the Worcester city hall to protest the Vietnam war. Contingents from Clark University, Holy Cross College and Worcester Junior College converged on the rally.

Speakers at the rally included the presidents of Clark and Holy Cross and Eric Poulos, an SMC leader and ex-SDSer. We anticipate sending at least five busloads of Clark students to Washington Nov. 15.

ST. THOMAS

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands — Despite rain, forcing the Moratorium activities indoors, more than 300 persons attended a teach-in at the campus of the College of the Virgin Islands. A march of about 350 through downtown St. Thomas followed, with a 20-foot banner reading, "We demand an immediate end to the war and the draft."

SAN JUAN

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — The first general student assembly on the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico since 1964 met on Moratorium Day and voted overwhelmingly to call a student strike "if the Academic Senate does not eliminate the ROTC program." Speakers at the Moratorium student gathering included leaders of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI) and the president of the Independence Party Youth.

Throughout Puerto Rico, the Vietnam war was debated in high schools while pickets and sit-ins were staged at universities.

PATERSON

PATERSON, N.J. — One hundred workers at the Lite Industries plant here, which makes bulletproof vests and body bags used to transport the dead from the fields, called for an end to the Vietnam war at a lunchtime Moratorium rally although peace could mean layoffs for them. Members of Local 404, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) denounced as a fraud not only "this obscene war" but also the implicit assumption that "war means good jobs on a long-term basis."



Photo by F. B. Lord

Melissa Singler addresses U of Texas SMC rally

AN EDITORIAL

New stage in antiwar movement

The Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium marks the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of domestic opposition to the Vietnam war. Anger, frustration and resentment about the war have grown steadily since Johnson abdicated. They finally exploded on Oct. 15. As *Life* magazine, describing Moratorium day activities, succinctly put it, "It was a display without historical parallel, the largest expression of public dissent ever seen in this country."

Whereas the size of previous demonstrations was measured in the tens of thousands or the hundreds of thousands, Oct. 15 involved literally millions.

The size, the variety and the geographical distribution of the actions were striking, but so too was the composition. Large numbers of middle aged and older Americans who have not participated heavily in previous antiwar demonstrations joined in. This was not because young people played a less crucial role this time. On the contrary, Oct. 15 saw the most widespread student strike that has ever occurred in the U.S. on any issue. But the youthful antiwar movement was successful in convincing, organizing and moving into action millions of previously uncommitted adults.

Oct. 15 provided a graphic example of the vital importance of the independent, radical character of the student movement of the last decade. It was evident that the attitudes, approaches, and actions prevalent on the campuses are filtering into other sectors of the population which are also affected by war, racism, taxes, inflation, and similar issues which have given such impetus to the student movement.

As one first-time demonstrator explained to a *Life* reporter, "Everyone has his own threshold for public protest. Above that threshold you act. My threshold took a while to reach, but I've reached it now." And this is precisely what concerned many of the spokesmen for the ruling class. American policy, they feared, might begin to be made in the streets, not in the hallowed "safe" channels of government machinery, insulated from the interests of the majority of Americans.

On Oct. 15, millions of Americans began to enter directly into the historical process, threatening to remove the power to make decisions in their name from "duly elected" representatives. And when such a process begins it has a momentum and political logic of its own which it is not easy for the rulers to control or reverse. Once the threshold for public protest is crossed on one issue, it becomes much easier to cross it on another.

Oct. 15 was an example such as we have seen before—and will again—of the peculiar contradictions of American political life. Because of the character of the two-party system, the average American has no other means of expressing his or her deepest interests and needs except by ultimately going into the streets. We have seen it in the ghetto explosions, the campus demonstrations, and the antiwar movement, and we will see it in the future explosions in the labor movement. The same individual who is not conscious enough to break politically with the Democra-

pathy and support for the antiwar movement (see story page 10).

The size, the age composition, the geographical spread, the manifestations of support from organized labor, the sympathy among the troops, the fact that millions who would never have considered it six months before were demanding that the troops be withdrawn from Vietnam—all these factors combined to make Oct. 15 a decisive new stage in the growth of a mass movement against U.S. imperialist policies in Vietnam. The message of the American people to their government

that the only way to really affect the government is in the streets. It would reinforce the growing radicalization and lead to even greater mass pressure in the future on the war and other issues.

In reality, the only concession that could totally satisfy the growing and deepening antiwar opposition would be an *end* to the war—the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. And this *no* section of the American ruling class is willing to do.

This was most strikingly clear in the speeches made by the liberal capitalist politicians on Oct. 15—those who are



Photo by Michael Hardy

Students in Central Park Moratorium rally.

tic or Republican Party on election day still finds himself impelled into the streets as frustration and anger boil over.

An additional significant feature of Oct. 15 was that for the first time a number of important unions gave support to an antiwar action. The United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, and the Chemical Workers, speaking through the Alliance for Labor Action, the San Francisco Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and others, endorsed the Moratorium and called on their members to participate.

Also important, though not so widely reported, was the response of the GIs in Vietnam. Numerous papers carried dispatches about some units wearing black armbands, but interviews with a cross section of GIs gave striking evidence of even more widespread sym-

was: Get out!

Where did this overwhelming explosion that caught even its organizers by surprise come from?

Nixon strategy backfires

The Nixon administration's concealed strategy has been simply to buy time. Vague promises about settling the war, piddling troop "withdrawals," phony draft-call reductions, pleas for time to put the "new policies" of a new President into effect—all were calculated to gull the American people into continued acceptance of the war. And for a few months the maneuvers "succeeded."

But, beneath the surface, the anger, frustration, and resentment was building toward a much greater explosion than if no crooked attempt had been made to contain it. Most Americans were willing to give Nixon even the better part of a year to come through on his vague promises. But when he didn't, they felt they had obviously been taken for fools.

The dilemma of the ruling class today is virtually insoluble; hence the deep differences expressed among them on what course to follow. Further *minor* concessions to antiwar sentiment serve only to stir the wrath of the American people, the feeling of righteous indignation that the government they elected to represent them should ignore their wishes.

Unless the administration recognizes the explosiveness of this situation, many influential voices in the ruling class are saying, the moderate opponents of the war will find it impossible to retain control over the growing dissent.

Yet, at the same time, any *major* concessions—such as a cease-fire or the withdrawal of several hundred thousand troops—would be seen by growing numbers as a colossal victory for the antiwar movement, confirmation

most strongly in favor of making concessions in order to avoid the political and economic consequences of continued large-scale aggression. The closer they came to demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam, the louder were the cheers they received. But they were always impeccably careful to qualify their demands, to avoid crossing that decisive line of demarcation.

Counterattack

The antiwar movement has taken a qualitative leap forward, bringing major reinforcements into the struggle to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The Oct. 15 momentum is carrying over toward even sharper political confrontation in the Nov. 13-14 actions, and culminating in the Nov. 15 marches on Washington and San Francisco.

This momentum and the fear it inspires amongst the ruling class assure that new attempts will be made to divide and weaken the antiwar movement and to derail it politically by steering it toward a course more compatible with the needs of America's rulers.

As has been the case from the day the antiwar struggle began, three issues remain key to maintaining the movement on its independent, principled course: 1) the need to fight for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the troops; 2) the need to build mass actions in the streets centered on this issue; 3) the need for a nonexclusion policy. It is crucial that the antiwar movement remain firmly committed on these questions, as concessions on any one can lead only to weakening and eventually destroying the antiwar movement as an effective force.

Anything short of immediate and unconditional withdrawal is a denial of the right of the Vietnamese people to

(Continued on page 11)

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

AUSTIN

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Evelyn Sell. Fri., Oct. 31, 8:00 p.m. 2200 Guadalupe. Aisp. Militant Forum.

CHICAGO

WELFARE FIGHT IN WISCONSIN: Report on actions led by Father Groppi by participants. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal. Donation: 75c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

REVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Susan LaMont. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Aisp. Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

LENINISM VS. SPONTANEITY. A debate between Pete Seidman, L.A. organizer, Socialist Workers Party, and Art Kunkin, editor and publisher, L.A. Free Press. Fri., Oct. 31, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St., 269-4953. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE COMING RECESSION: WHY NIXON WANTS IT. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Thurs., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 201 Fayerweather, Columbia U, 116 and Broadway. Aisp. Young Socialist Forum

PHILADELPHIA

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA: Buffet dinner at 5:30 p.m. Larry Seigle, national chairman of the YSA speaks at 7 p.m. Party to follow. Sat., Nov. 1, 686 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Reservations: CE6-6998. Aisp. Young Socialist Alliance.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH REVOLT AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM. Speaker: Nelson Blackstock, Editor of the Young Socialist. Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m. 2338 Market. Contrib. \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Nancy Strebe. Sat., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 1 University Pl. NE. Donation: 75c, students 50c. Aisp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Calif. peace forces rebuff splitters

By LEW JONES

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 22 — The buildup for the western Nov. 15 mobilization in San Francisco has received wide support. The successful October Moratorium illustrated the possibilities for a massive Nov. 15 turnout.

Preparations for this mass action, however, are marred by the utilization of exclusionary methods, red-baiting and strong-arm tactics by two New Mobilization officers, Donald Kalish and Terrence Hallinan. With such methods, these individuals have sought to bureaucratically change the character of the Nov. 15 march and impose their ideas on a movement that has repeatedly rejected them in democratic debate.

Kalish and Hallinan seek a Nov. 15th "politicized Woodstock," referring to the recent gathering of 400,000 at a rock concert at Woodstock, N. Y.

Along with the Communist Party and Irving Sarnoff of the Los Angeles New Mobilization Committee, they propose a Nov. 15 "cultural rally," which would include one political speech. This one speech, ostensibly representing the entire antiwar movement's opinion, would purport to explain what the movement would do after Nov. 15. Since all the

speakers proposed for this slot by Sarnoff, Hallinan and Kalish are thoroughgoing reformists — the latest is Sen. Goodell of New York — it became quite clear that they seek to destroy the independent character of the antiwar movement by putting it at the disposal of such speakers.

Hallinan's reformist proposals, contrary to the decisions of the Cleveland July 4th New Mobilization Committee conference, have been repeatedly rejected in local and regional gatherings of the supporters and builders of the Nov. 15 march. In these meetings, supporters voted for a massive march around the slogan, "Bring all the troops home now."

Democratically arrived-at decisions were also made to bring together a speakers list that represented the breadth of the antiwar coalition. The idea was to bring the many newly active forces into the streets, not to turn the antiwar movement over to the liberals.

At an Oct. 11 New Mobilization Committee meeting of some 200 people, the Hallinan et al. proposals were put forward for democratic discussion and vote. His ideas were soundly defeated, at which point Hallinan walked out. While outside, completely unprovoked (this writer was a witness), he punched Roland Sheppard, a representative of Painters Local #4, who had voted against him.

Then, at an Oct. 16 meeting of the New Mobilization Membership Committee (formerly the Bay Area Peace Action Council), where over 300 people were present, Hallinan and his supporters again had a fair opportunity to win adherence to his ideas. Before the meeting, Hallinan and Kalish had sent a letter asserting that the previous Saturday's meeting was invalid because it was unrepresentative (!); moreover, they felt that that evening's meeting could not legitimately discuss the Nov. 15 action. His letter and proposals were again decisively defeated in the most representative meeting yet held for Nov. 15.

Hallinan's response to the second defeat was to attempt an office coup on the antiwar movement. On Friday evening, Oct. 17, Hallinan led a squad which removed desks, tables, chairs, files and other equipment from the Nov. 15 office. A silk screen used for a poster for the march was destroyed by the squad.

The following day, Oct. 18, Hallinan and Kalish called together a "regional" steering committee, handpicked by themselves. A goon squad led by Archie Brown of the Communist Party was on hand to exclude "unwanted elements." Over 30 people were kept out including two members of the Black Panther Party; representatives of the Merritt College Chicano Student Union; the head of the Nov. 15 Third World Task Force, Sarah Hymes, a long-time leading figure in Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; representatives of the Hayward State College student government, the Berkeley student government; Student Mobilization Committee leaders from San Francisco State, San Jose, Stanislaus, San Mateo, and Sonoma; Merritt College SDS; and Asher Harer of the Socialist Workers Party.

Youth were systematically kept out and several of those excluded had even received one of Hallinan's written invitations.

At the meeting the handpicked group decided, as expected, to support Kalish, Hallinan and Sarnoff, to exclude the outsiders, and to rule out of order any discussion of the issues or Hallinan's red-baiting of the SWP.

Hallinan told the rigged meeting that the SWP was trying "to take over" and



TERRENCE "KAYO" HALLINAN. Former boxer has taken to punching antiwar activists who disagree with his line.

that the SWP "wants to promote American radicalism." He concluded by telling those present not to "worry about the people outside screaming about democracy."

Those who were excluded called a meeting the next day attended by some 88 people representing a variety of groups.

This meeting passed a statement which said in part "... we firmly endorse the tradition of nonexclusion ... and deplore the recent attempts at exclusion by a small minority within the movement ... This minority led by Terrence Hallinan and Donald Kalish and which was not elected by anyone has attempted to run the Western New Mobilization Committee by appointment and fiat.

"It has refused time after time to carry out decisions made in open meetings; it has held its own secret, closed decision-making meetings; it has refused to make itself responsible to anyone on a regional, organizational or democratic basis ... and finally this minority has resorted openly to violence on members of the movement."

This statement, which was distributed to the movement press, goes on to call for support to the Nov. 15 march on the basis of the Cleveland July 4 conference decisions.

The statement, which is being circulated widely, was passed unanimously and signed by over 70 people, including Rev. Raymond Allen, an official of Citizens for Peace, Herman Fagg, chairman of the Nov. 15 Third World Task Force, Marjorie Colvin, Nov. 15 New Mobilization project director, Gayle M. Justice, an official of the Peace and Freedom Party, Thora Bennett, of AFT Local 1928, and Ed Farley, formerly director of the San Francisco Proposition P referendum on the war.

The meeting also voted to establish a representative, nonexclusive regional steering committee and to continue preparations for the march through the New Mobilization Committee membership meetings.

Permits are being obtained for a cross-San Francisco march extending from the docks to the Golden Gate Park. Organizers are hopeful that at one point the march will stretch all the way across the city.

A short but representative rally is planned by the New Mobilization Membership committee. Invitations have been sent to a number of individuals and the committee plans to release definite speakers soon.

In the meantime, support for Nov. 15 and the growth of the antiwar movement continues to escalate.

The San Francisco Moratorium organized by the New Mobilization Membership Committee attracted over 7,000 people in a driving all-day rain. Over 100,000 leaflets for Nov. 15 were distributed. Five thousand turned out in Berkeley and San Jose, also in spite of the rain.

The Student Mobilization Committee reports a rapid growth. Diane Feeley of the regional SMC office reports that in the last ten days SMCs have been established at Marin Junior College, Sonoma State College, College of San Mateo, Dominican College, Stanislaus State College, Modesto Junior College, Napa Junior College, Mills College, University of Calif. at Santa Cruz, and Redwood High School in San Francisco.

Special task forces for the Nov. 15 march have reported encouraging results. The third world task force is planning a third world contingent composed of Chicanos, Afro-Americans, Native-Americans and Asian-Americans. A women's task force has been formed and has issued a special leaflet which has been received quite favorably on the region's campuses. Organizers of the task force expect a sizable women's contingent on the march.

Further information on the Nov. 15 march may be obtained from the New Mobilization Membership Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 2170 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110; 415-282-4741.

and yet more on Moratorium

By THOMAS SCHOONOVER

LAFAYETTE, La. — The militant conservatives whose viewpoint has always dominated this area were taken aback by the forceful yet controlled protest against the Vietnam war by over 1,500 people here Oct. 15.

Some 1,500 to 2,000 turned up for a peace rally in the center of the University of Southwestern Louisiana campus, followed by a silent memorial march of 700 to the federal building and back. Most of the participants were students, with a few faculty and citizen supporters.

After a combined total of perhaps 75 people at previous marches since 1967, the effect of this demonstration on the student body and those in the community who witnessed it was electrifying. Naturally, local press censorship severely limited our ability to reach much of the community.

Nov. 14 and 15 should provide further evidence of the growing peace sentiment, even in this conservative, super-patriotic area.

CARLISLE, Pa. — Representatives from the Army War College here, including an assistant secretary of the Air Force, took part in a Moratorium Day teach-in at Dickinson College, attempting to justify the U. S. aggression in Vietnam. The only novelty in their presentations was their assurance that the Nixon administration is ending the war and therefore there is no longer any base for the antiwar movement! The attendance at the teach-in, the largest antiwar activity every held here, was an obvious refutation of this position.

That evening students from Dickinson, Wilson College and Shippensburg State College marched 1,300 strong to a rally near the War College where they were addressed by David Oden of the Philadelphia Young Socialist Alliance. In the center of the town, which has heretofore been a stronghold of reactionary sentiment and employs many workers in war-related installations, community members spontaneously joined the march.

Oct. 15 — as seen by the Dixiecrats

"Thanks to the promotional expertise of the national news media, this matter has gotten completely out of hand. What started out as an attempt at a nationwide strike or protest in the European tradition, sponsored by the regular radicals of our nation, now is being made out as a patriotic display of the highest order." — Walter Flowers (D.-Ala.)

"Those who are sponsoring this moratorium ... are really against peace. They are encouraging the continuation of war. They are encouraging a continuation of aggression. They are encouraging massacre." — William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.)

"When public policy is made by mobs in the streets, anarchy prevails." — John Rarick (D.-La.)

"My own hometown of Sylacauga, Ala. has declared tomorrow (Oct. 15) Patriotism Day." — Bill Nichols (D.-Ala.)

"I urge teachers and professors to stand before their classes tomorrow (Oct. 15) as brave, patriotic Americans and to teach as usual. We are paying them for teaching, not demonstrating and rioting." — John Duncan (D.-Tenn.)

"I am unalterably opposed to all demonstrations ... These demonstrations often lead to riots, violence and destruction of property ..."

— Tom Beville (D.-Ala.)

'We will force Nixon's abdication'

The following speech was given by Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, at a Wayne State University (Detroit) Oct. 15 Strike rally of 6,000 and the city-wide Moratorium rally in Detroit of 20,000 people.

* * *

Never before has there been a day like this.

This country is shaking apart at the seams over the question of the Vietnam war.

Never before has there been a clearer mandate—The overwhelming majority of the American people are telling a minority government that it had better heed the desires of the majority of the American people. It had better get the troops out of Vietnam now and really end the war in Vietnam.

Or there will be a popular movement on an even wider scale to oppose the continuation of the war.

We will force Nixon's abdication like we forced Johnson's abdication. We will demonstrate, Mr. President Nixon, everywhere you go, like we did to Johnson, until all the troops are brought home. There will be no peace for you, Mr. President, until there is a real peace in Vietnam and all our men are home.

Never before has there been such a united movement to bring the troops home. The campuses and high schools are closed down from normal business across the country.

Students are demonstrating against the war, holding rallies like this today, and turning their classrooms into discussions over the Vietnam war.

Even today, organized labor is beginning to raise its voice in opposition to the Vietnam war—and labor has that duty. For certainly the American labor movement has the real raw power to force an end to the war.

What if the River Rouge plant here in Detroit, and the Chevrolet plants, and the General Motors plants, and the plants in Hamtramck joined us on next month's Moratorium? How about a Moratorium on work? A real moratorium.



Photo by David Katz

Carol Lipman at Detroit rally

Yes, there would be no war in Vietnam.

A graduate of the University of Texas, presently on active duty in Vietnam sent a message to the school paper from Pleiku. "We want to come home. The American people want us to come home. The Vietnamese people want us out of Vietnam. And the only reason why we are not home is because the American people are not shouting loud enough or forcibly enough to bring us home."

I ask you this.

Are we going to demand forcibly enough?

Are we going to shout loud enough?

Are we going to demand in large enough numbers this fall that all the troops be brought home now?

I also want to talk about some of the things I read in the paper today. Mr. Vice President Agnew made a statement to the press concerning a message sent by a representative of the Vietnamese people fighting for their self-determination in Vietnam. Mr. Vice Pres-

ident Agnew said that it is an "incredible and shocking intrusion into the affairs of the American people by an enemy power." He went on to say: "The leaders and sponsors of tomorrow's moratorium, public officials and others should openly repudiate the support of the totalitarian government which has on its hands the blood of 40,000 Americans."

There is certainly someone who had the blood of 40,000 Americans on their hands. The United States governments from the Kennedy administration, through the Johnson administration and today the Nixon administration have the blood of 40,000 Americans on their hands.

No, Mr. Vice President Agnew, we won't repudiate the message from the people of Vietnam. The American people repudiate the war policies of your administration. We declare that the United States government is responsible for the death of 40,000 Americans of my generation. We welcome the message of the Vietnamese people in solidarity with the American antiwar movement and only wish that the United States interference in Vietnamese affairs were limited to such telegrams. We repudiate your war policies and demand that you bring the troops home now.

I also noted in the press that there is a debate in the Senate and House over how to end the war. Some are talking about withdrawal of significant forces in a year, some say two years, some say, like our president, that maybe all the GIs will be home by 1972.

We must let the administration know that there is only one solution to ending the war—that is the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops now.

Now, some say, that this is impossible.

Mr. Nixon has announced that he can send tens of thousands of troops anywhere in the world at a moment's notice. Well, let's take him up on it. We demand, Mr. Nixon, that you show us in how short a time you can withdraw over half a million troops from Vietnam.

And I am sure that the American people will be willing to bear a few hardships for this task. We will stop flying for a few days. You can use every civilian airplane and ship for the task. I don't think it will be too long or difficult a task.

And I say this too, if the American antiwar movement with its limited resources can bring over half a million people to Washington, D.C. on November 15 to demonstrate their opposition to the war in Vietnam, then, you, Mr. President Nixon, can withdraw over half a million troops now.

A statement by Carol Lipman

NEW YORK—Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said the SMC would throw its full energies and resources into building the Nov. 13-14 Moratorium as part of its fall offensive against the war.

"The Oct. 15 Moratorium was the biggest student strike action this country has ever seen. We are urging students across the country to make Nov. 13-14 even more massive," she said. "We see the two days of campus actions against the war as part of the buildup for a giant mobilization in Washington Nov. 15. We call on all students: Strike against the war! Build the Nov. 13-14 Moratorium as the springboard for a giant outpouring in Washington Nov. 15. Demand that all the troops be brought home now!"

President Nixon, we know you can do it—or is it that you are just the same old tricky Dick?

I also want to comment on a news analysis that appeared in the *Washington Post* today.

President Nixon has given a clue to his strategy for trying to ride out the tempest beating against his Vietnam policy by setting a national speaking date for November 3.

The date is just about midway between the two scheduled high points of the early thrusts of the antiwar moratorium campaign.

It is wiser administration strategy, some specialists inside the government have concluded, to try to blunt the domestic antiwar drive in its second, rather than its first stage. By this reasoning, they are concerned more about November 15, when a march on Washington is planned, than they are about October 15.

No, Mr. Nixon, you can't fool the American people any longer. We see through your maneuvers and we see through your lies. We are going to show you this fall that the majority of American people can affect the course of the war and can force you to bring our brothers home.

October 15 is just the beginning this fall.

It is the beginning of the fall antiwar offensive that will culminate in national antiwar protest November 13-15, which will culminate in a national march on Washington November 15.

And the American people will turn the war capital of this world, on November 15, into the peace capital of the world. On to Washington November 15. BRING ALL THE TROOPS HOME NOW.

Life: GIs back antiwar movement

"A handful of U.S. soldiers took part today in the protest against the war," is the way the New York Times reported the reaction of GIs in Vietnam to the Oct. 15 Moratorium. The clearly suggested idea was that the GIs really weren't interested.

That just isn't so, according to Life magazine. Life assigned reporter Hal Wingo to interview "young draftees and enlisted men who had been in combat recently" throughout South Vietnam about their reaction to "M-Day."

"Many soldiers regard the organized antiwar campaign in the U.S. with open and outspoken sympathy," Wingo reported.

"The protests in the U.S. are not demoralizing the troops in the field.

"Nearly all feel that the Paris peace talks are a fraud."

Wingo also found a sympathetic response among the GIs to Nixon's troop withdrawals. Here are the reactions of some of the GIs quoted in the Oct. 24 Life article:

"Outside our families, I

think the protestors may be the only ones who really give a damn about what's happening" — Pfc. Chris Yapp, 4th Division civil affairs team member in a Montagnard village.

"I was against the war all along but too lazy to speak up. When I saw the war on TV, I could always turn it off and go out. But you can't do that there and when you see what is happening, you know you have to protest." — Pfc. James Petrillo, 21, 101st Division infantry.

"I never could see the sense in this war, but I enlisted partly because I wanted to get the true picture on what is happening. I'll go back now and carry my sign on the campus. Maybe I can influence somebody." — Spec/5 Raul Torres, 22, 4th Division medic.

"I came partly for revenge, but now I have lost all faith. The demonstrators are right to speak up because this war is wrong and it must be stopped." — Pvt. Jim Beck, 19, 101st Division medic, whose brother was killed at Khe Sanh.

The First Ten Years of American Communism

343 pp.

\$6.00

James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, was a leader of the Communist Party from its founding until his expulsion in 1928 for Trotskyism. In this book, he describes the factional alignments and struggles that marked the early CP's internal life, recounts its successes and failures in the trade-union and political arenas, and analyzes its gradual degeneration into a Stalinized caricature of a Bolshevik party.

merit
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... antiwar movement

(Continued from page 8)

self-determination, their right to choose their own government. Anything less than withdrawal means that Americans and Vietnamese will continue to die, that the war will continue to go on as it has in Korea and Laos to this day. Anything short of withdrawal plays into the hands of America's rulers by simply setting the stage for full-scale war to flare again in the future. Nothing short of withdrawal is in the interests of the American or Vietnamese people.

Mass action

Similarly, to compromise on the need to organize mass actions in the streets would be to give up the antiwar movement's most effective weapon—right-wing liberals to the contrary notwithstanding.

One of the New Haven organizers of the Moratorium, Gregory Craig, told *New York Times* reporters on Oct. 20 that in his opinion the mass march on Washington scheduled for Nov. 15 is a "most unfortunate tactic" that might "alienate the middle-class people who supported us on Oct. 15." He could not have been more wrong.

It is precisely such massive actions in the streets that have organized and built the antiwar movement over the last four years. It is precisely these

mass actions that have been visible proof of the size and determination of the antiwar forces, that have convinced many that it is legitimate to dissent—that it is even their responsibility to join others in the streets as the only means of making their opposition count. Furthermore, such mass actions are key to involving social forces beyond the middle class and students.

It was precisely such mass actions during the last five years that led directly to the unparalleled outpouring of Oct. 15—which also expressed itself in the streets.

Any attempt to shift the arena of struggle from the streets to the capitalist electoral arena—as the Lindsays, Goodells, McCarthys and others hope to do—would only short-circuit the struggle and give America's rulers another reprieve such as they had in 1968 and early 1969.

Nonexclusion

While both the withdrawal demand and the mass-action character of the antiwar movement have come under attack in recent days, it is the issue of nonexclusion which has loomed largest.

With its back against the wall, the Nixon administration is probing the practicality of using the age-old strategy of divide and rule. A well-educated McCarthyite of the 1950s' vintage,



Photo by Shannon

Vice President Spiro Who?

After a brief sober period, NYU's RYM II flips out

By AL ROSENTHAL

NEW YORK—After a promising initial move toward the antiwar movement at the opening of the school year, the New York University chapter of SDS is once again in headlong retreat from the movement.

At the time of the SDS split, the NYU chapter adhered to the RYM II faction, and, like national RYM II, it repudiated its former abstention from the antiwar movement. While it retained a lot of ultraleft rhetoric, it was at least making an effort to relate to the large numbers of radicalizing youth on campus.

The NYU SDS established the Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam as an "anti-imperialist" antiwar group, and, as one SDSer said, "We want to make the Vietnam war a central focus of campus politics."

Then came Moratorium Day. The school administration invited dozens of government officials to speak, and Student Mobilization Committee activists fought for and won the right of all campus groups to be represented at the "official" rally.

The crowd at the rally was large, and it was militant in opposition to the war. Yet, John Lindsay's subtle demagoguery drew heavy applause. This was a situation in which it was the

opportunity and duty of every radical to explain the phoniness of the likes of Lindsay and to discuss the role of liberal, capitalist politicians in deluding the American people.

But, after delivering a generally good statement on the relationship between liberals and imperialist wars, SDS suddenly departed from the rally and—proceeded to go and tear up the ROTC building.

In a leaflet issued the next day, the SDS chapter proudly proclaimed, "WE SMASHED ROTC!! NOW WHAT??" They grandiloquently declared, "The people [involved in the action] dealt a blow to the war and imperialism," and they answered their question with the terrifying words, "NYU SDS is declaring war on ROTC."

The net result of their action was, of course, to make the Lindsay forces appear to be the champions of mass demonstrations against the war and radicals look like kooky advocates of tiny, violent confrontations.

In the space of several days, the NYU SDS went from building massive actions really dealing blows against the war and imperialism to a small-scale physical confrontation that did nothing but isolate them from large numbers of opponents of the war.



Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

GREET PRIZE WINNERS. Nearly a thousand New Yorkers turned out on short notice to picket "Man of Year" award dinner. Defense Sec'y Rogers accepted prize for Nixon. Other winners were San Francisco State's cop-calling Hayakawa and Johnson-Humphrey-supporting "socialist" Bayard Rustin.

Nixon sent up his red-baiting trial balloon on the eve of the Moratorium by having his man Agnew demand repudiation of the greetings to the peace movement from Hanoi. Since then, Agnew has publicly attacked the New Mobilization Committee (NMC) for including communists in its leadership, and Nixon's supporters in Congress have made a point of reading into the Congressional Record all the standard red-baiting attacks on leaders of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and NMC. They hope to force a split in the ranks and leadership of the antiwar forces and undercut the momentum building for the November actions.

While support for this line of attack has not been widespread—influential voices like the *New York Times* and numerous congressmen, fearing it will boomerang, have been sharply critical—it will certainly continue and tend to focus in more sharply on the SMC and NMC. The way the antiwar movement responds to these attacks is crucially important.

One of the most significant breakthroughs made by the antiwar movement from the time of its first national action—the April 1965 March on Washington—was the principled stand on political nonexclusion in the movement. Rejecting the cold-war, red-baiting actions of the old social-democratic peace movement, which refused membership to Communists, Trotskyists, student radicals, black nationalists, and others deemed to be "totalitarians," the young radicals who launched the antiwar movement declared unequivocally that all who opposed the intervention of the U.S. in the Vietnamese civil war were welcome to participate and help build the march on Washington.

Agnew pushes red-baiting of antiwar forces

OCT. 22—Vice President Agnew continued his red-baiting attack on the antiwar movement today with a televised attempt to smear the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam by pointing to the fact that its steering committee includes an avowed Communist. Presumably, he was referring to Arnold Johnson, the Communist Party representative on the New Mobe steering committee.

This same question was raised earlier in the day by a newsman at a New Mobe press conference. In reply, Prof. Sidney Peck, a cochairman of the New Mobe forthrightly stated that the Mobe was built on the principle of political nonexclusion and that its steering committee therefore was representative of the cross section of the opposition to the war.

That decision has been reaffirmed over and over by the antiwar movement since 1965 and has provided the basis for building a strong, unified, militant opposition to the policies of the U.S. government.

The refusal to bow before red-baiting attacks was based on an understanding that an attack on any segment of the movement is an attack on everyone, that there is no way to buy immunity from red-baiting, and that if it succeeds against one group or individual it will only embolden the witch-hunters to attack others. The youth who built the antiwar movement of the 1960s took note of the bitter lessons of the 1950s and rejected out of hand any compromises with cold-war anti-communist attacks.

Such is still the prevailing mood amongst the antiwar forces, although there are unquestionably some who find red-baiting attacks on left-wing builders of the antiwar movement useful.

The national Moratorium organizers have thus far correctly refused to be drawn into the trap of red-baiting the SMC and NMC or repudiating the greetings of friendship from the Vietnamese people. Even more important has been the lead taken by the SMC in reaffirming the common cause of American antiwar youth and the Vietnamese people in bringing about the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Leaders of the SMC have strongly reaffirmed the policy of nonexclusion and welcomed the support and participation of all who want to build mass actions demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

The new generation of radicals in the U.S. today is not very susceptible to the red-baiting attacks of the Nixon administration—or of any other forces that think they can make use of such tactics. If the antiwar movement is unequivocal on the importance of repudiating such attacks, if it answers that it is proud of the role it has played in bringing communists, socialists, Democrats, Republicans, pacifists and many others together to fight for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, red-baiting attacks from any quarter can only backfire. It is the ruling class which is today on the defensive, the antiwar movement on the offensive.

We are on the threshold of an entire new stage in American history. In the midst of an imperialist war, millions in the imperialist country are demanding a halt. Like the young people whose argument and example brought them to this position, these masses of Americans can be quickly radicalized. If we fight energetically and resolutely, we can strike hammer blows at the war and at the capitalist system responsible for that war.

Strike against the war! Build the Nov. 13-14 Moratorium! All out for Washington and San Francisco Nov 15!

Many at UCLA rally behind ousted teacher

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

LOS ANGELES—An explosive civil liberties case has hit the University of California. UCLA Assistant Professor of Philosophy Angela Davis, a young black woman, has been notified of her

BULLETIN, Oct. 20—Superior Court Judge Jerry Pacht declared unconstitutional the 29-year-old policy of the California Board of Regents against employing Communist Party members. The ruling came in a UCLA faculty-sponsored taxpayers' suit against the firing of Angela Davis.

dismissal from the faculty because of her acknowledged membership in the Communist Party.

The vast majority of UCLA faculty and students support Miss Davis' right to teach at UCLA. By a vote of 551 to 4, the UCLA faculty voted to rescind the ban it voted in 1950 against employment of Communist Party members at the school. Then, by a vote

of 539 to 12, it blasted the UC regents for their attack on Miss Davis' right to teach.

Miss Davis' first class on "Recurring Philosophical Themes in Black Literature," held Monday, Oct. 6, was attended by 2,000 students. In a strong show of solidarity, they packed the largest classroom on campus. When the class was over, the students held a meeting where they voted to call on the UCLA faculty to stop teaching until Miss Davis is allowed to teach for credit.

At this point in the case, Miss Davis is appealing the regents' decision and will continue teaching her philosophy course even though the school will not give credit for it. It is clear that this case, which Miss Davis states she will take into the courts when university appeals have been exhausted, will gather massive support for the protection of Miss Davis' civil liberties. Support comes from civil libertarians, radicals, students, the black and brown community, and women's liberation groups.

The regents have picked a bad time to attack a young black professor for her political affiliations.

2-school shutdown staged by Los Angeles teachers

By GORDON BAILEY

LOS ANGELES—Teachers returned to their classrooms in the Los Angeles suburb of Lawndale after a partially successful, nine-day strike that closed down the town's school system. The walkout of the 260 Lawndale teachers, which was carried out in the face of a court injunction, was the first strike ever against the entire school system of a Los Angeles suburb.

The Lawndale strike followed by two weeks a one-day work stoppage by

Psychiatrists urge end to abortion ban

OCT. 13—"Abortion when performed by a licensed physician should be entirely removed from the domain of criminal law," a group of 280 psychiatrists recommended Oct. 11. The conclusions were drawn in a report entitled, "The Right to Abortion: A Psychiatric View," issued by the Committee on Psychiatry and Law of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

Opposing various abortion law reform proposals, including those which give psychiatrists the responsibility of deciding whether abortions should be performed, the psychiatrists declared: "A woman should have the right to abort or not, just as she has the right to marry or not."

The report specifically criticized reform proposals of the American Law Institute that an abortion may be performed if there is "Substantial risk" that the mother's or child's "physical or mental health" would suffer.

"For those convinced that abortion is murder," the psychiatrists state, "the ALI statute is nothing but a broadened license for professionals to authorize murder. For those convinced, as we are, that the moral issues present an insoluble dilemma that should be left to individual conscience . . . the ALI proposal disregards the right of a woman to control her own life."

the 25,000 public-school teachers in Los Angeles. For the first time in this city's history, teachers left their classrooms to protest low pay and bad working conditions. They marched by the thousands to the Civic Center, and they only returned to their classrooms under a condition of "suspended strike," which means they can walk out again at any time.

In Lawndale, the teachers defeated, temporarily at least, a school board attempt to renege on a pay increase granted by the previous board. After the schools had been closed for five days and the striking teachers had won considerable community support, the board agreed to freeze funds originally earmarked for the pay increases. The board had been attempting to use the funds for other purposes. They also agreed to establish a fact-finding committee to look into the financial condition of the school district, and to meet with the teachers.

The Lawndale and Los Angeles actions are indicative of the growing militancy in the ranks of the teachers' professional associations. Nineteen thousand of Los Angeles' 25,000 teachers belong to the Classroom Teachers Association, and nearly all the Lawndale teachers are members of the Lawndale Teachers Association. Both groups are affiliates of the National Education Association, which in the past has generally opposed teachers' unions and strikes as being "unprofessional."

The fact that the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) is also organizing teachers here has been a spur to the militancy of the NEA groups. Although the AFT has only signed up 3,000 teachers in Los Angeles so far, it has the advantage of seeking trade-union recognition for all teachers in California.

At the time of the one-day work stoppage in Los Angeles, the AFT secured strike sanction from the Central Labor Council and attempted to convert the demonstration into a formal strike. Four thousand teachers did extend the Los Angeles walkout by one day.



Photo by Della Rossa

Victimized teacher Sal Castro (third from left) and supporters

L.A. Chicano community fights transfer of teacher

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—For the second year in a row, the Chicano movement is staging massive demonstrations to prevent the transfer of teacher Sal Castro from Lincoln High School. Nearly 1,000 demonstrators met at La Placita, off Olvera Street Oct. 6 and marched up the hill for a militant rally on the patio at the board of education building.

A year ago this week Castro became a symbol of Chicano control of the Chicano community after a sleep-in for eight days and eight nights that forced the school board to return him to Lincoln High. Castro was again transferred this semester in violation of provisions won in the board occupation last year forbidding punitive transfer of teachers.

The Oct. 6 demonstration was organized by the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee, a coalition that came into existence during the March 1968 Chicano high school blowouts in East Los Angeles.

Speakers at the rally included Rev. Vahac Madirosian and Margaret Wright, a militant black educator.

Interviewed at the rally, Castro said, "The issue is not me as an individual, but what the community wants. The only thing these people on the board

of education understand is a demonstration like this, forcing working people to leave their jobs and come down here to the board."

Castro's transfers out of Lincoln High came after he became a spokesman for the educational reforms demanded when the students walked out in the 1968 blowout. There were 32 demands then, and, says Castro, "We're still asking for them. We're asking for bilingual education starting with kindergarten. We're asking for changes in curriculum that would make education much more meaningful to Mexican kids."

"We're asking for new buildings and student rights. We want teacher-training programs whereby the teachers will become bilingual and have a deep appreciation of Mexican history and culture. We're asking for Mexican administrators in Mexican schools."

Board of education president Arthur Gardner was finally forced to go out onto the patio to address the hundreds of demonstrators still there as dusk fell. He offered nothing, stating only that a review board will begin deliberations on the Castro case.

The Chicano demonstrators answered him with shouts of, "We want Castro! We'll be back!"

Building trades jobs demanded by L.A. Blacks and Chicanos

LOS ANGELES—Black people and Mexican-Americans here have joined the nationwide struggle against discrimination in the building trades. Twenty-two organizations, including the Black Panther Party and the Urban League, participated in a "Black Monday" demonstration Oct. 13. They demanded that qualified black and Mexican-American workers be hired on all the construction projects in Los Angeles. Leaders declared they will picket the construction sites and close down the projects if their demands are not met.

The first targets of their campaign are federally funded projects. Already a redevelopment project in a ghetto area has been closed down for three weeks by a picket line. Only a token number of minority workers have skilled jobs on this construction site, which is surrounded by unemployed black people.

The next target of the campaign will be the convention center that is being

built with taxpayers' money. Minority people are being forced to pay tax money for the center but few of them are getting jobs on the project. The Council for Justice in Construction, the organization initiating the campaign, is prepared to close down the project until an adequate number of minority workers are hired.

Black contractors are also discriminated against in Los Angeles. Because they cannot get bonded for more than \$25,000, they are unable to even bid on the large construction jobs. The Urban League is particularly concerned with this problem and is seeking to bring united front pressure to bear on it.

While the initial demonstration did not attract the large numbers involved in the East, the wide measure of unity exhibited by 22 minority organizations on this issue is a sign that the fight for justice in the construction industry in Los Angeles is only beginning.

More disclosures on U.S. war in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

OCT. 21—Washington is now, and has been for a long time, deeply involved in a dirty war in Laos to crush the Pathet Lao forces of liberation. The Nixon administration is not about to let the American public know the truth about this war, because it would add new and potent fuel to the antiwar movement.

This is the essence of an important article by *New York Times* Washington correspondent Richard Halloran, which appeared in the "News of the Week in Review" section of that newspaper Oct. 19. It has been further substantiated by a series of articles written in Laos, by *New York Times* reporter Henry Kamm.

Hearings were opened in Washington yesterday to determine the extent of U.S. intervention in Laos, by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee subcommittee headed up by Sen. Stuart Symington (D.—Mo.).

"The outlook for informing the American voters and taxpayers about that involvement, however, is not promising," Halloran stated.

"The Nixon Administration has been singularly unforthcoming in telling the citizens about American operations in Laos. The Senate hearings will be closed to the public, and the prospect of anything save a heavily censored transcript ever being released is not good."

Halloran pointed out that, "The Pentagon has refused to make public the amount and type of aid the U.S. has given to Laos . . . The State Department, despite repeated requests, has refused to give any justification for not

answering the many questions put to it."

Halloran suggested a number of reasons for this veil of secrecy, completely confirming the background analysis of U.S. intervention in Laos presented in this newspaper earlier this month (see *The Militant*, Oct. 10 and 17).

● "The first reason is that the U.S. has broken the Geneva Agreement of 1962 that forbids outside powers from sending military forces into Laos.

"The U.S. is running at least two operations in Laos; one is the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail over which the North Vietnamese move men and supplies from North Vietnam through Laos to South Vietnam; the other is the combat support for Lao Government offensives against the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao rebels . . .

● "The second reason for the ambiguity is the clear connection between the conflict in Laos and the war in Vietnam . . . *Given the domestic dissent against the war in Vietnam, the hint that the war in Vietnam may be spreading to Laos can only cause the Nixon Administration more trouble here at home.*

● "The third reason derives from the second. The Nixon Administration is apparently assisting the Lao Government against the North Vietnamese in Laos to improve the U.S. and South Vietnamese bargaining position at the Paris peace talks.

"But just as in South Vietnam, the Administration doesn't want to admit that it is trying to gain on the battlefield an advantage it can use in Paris for fear of stirring up more dissent at home and criticism abroad." (Emphasis added.)



Pathet Lao fighters

Opponents of the Vietnam war should note the last lines well. They are at once singular testimony to the power of the antiwar movement and the doubletalk of the Nixon administration. In the battlefields of Laos as in South Vietnam—whatever Nixon says—the U.S. military is pressing to crush the forces of revolution.

Halloran gives yet another reason for Washington's silence on Laos:

● "The fourth reason for the secrecy is the deep penetration of the CIA in Laos. Air America and Continental Air Services, two supposedly private air lines operating in Laos, are known to be financed by the CIA.

"A large number of people in the Agency for International Development (AID) mission are either CIA agents or contract employees. The 'spooks' never like to submit to the glare of public exposure."

It is true, as Halloran states, that the Pentagon has not disclosed AID figures for 1969. But the figures covering AID arms supplies to the Lao Government for the years 1946-68 were revealed in the *Congressional Record*, March 12, 1969, p. H 1620. This came to \$528,300,000—the highest per capita figure for any nation receiving U.S. arms.

In an interesting letter to the Oct. 19 *New York Times*, Jonathan Mirsky and Stephen Stonefield of Dartmouth College assert that, "By 1958 the Royal Lao Army was the only foreign army in the world wholly supported by American taxpayers."

The two Dartmouth writers also recall that, "Our present ally, the neutralist leader Souvanna Phouma, when driven into exile in 1960 by the CIA-sponsored Phoumi Nosavan, described America's role: 'What I shall never forgive the U.S. for is the fact that it betrayed me, that it double-crossed me and my Government . . . [U.S. Ambassador J. Graham Parsons] and others like him are responsible for the recent shedding of Lao blood.' (*New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1961)."

Henry Kamm's recent dispatches to the *New York Times* from Laos recount the agony of those subjected to U.S. genocidal-warfare tactics. On Oct. 10, he described the appalling story of 13,000 Laotians forced to live underground for six months:

"When the U.S. Air Force began heavy bombing of towns in the Plaine des Jarres seven months ago, the townspeople of Phong Savan dug trenches and caves into the hillside a mile or two away and lived in them.

"It was a good thing they did, they say, because now not a house is standing in Phong Savan. Five weeks ago,

after living underground for six months, venturing out only by night, the 13,000 people of Phong Savan and other towns were airlifted out of the area . . .

"Some say they do not know whose planes bombed them. 'We were in the holes, so how can we know?' a woman said warily. They were frightened and unhappy in their holes, they said. Most were deep slit trenches in zigzag patterns, shored up by planks and covered with corrugated iron roofing and dirt."

And from Vientiane, Oct. 19, Kamm wrote: "Two principal leaders of the Royal Laotian Army have acknowledged torture and maltreatment of North Vietnamese prisoners of war and have condoned the practice.

"In presenting groups of captives to newsmen last week, Maj. Gen. Van Pao and Maj. Gen. Kouprasith Abhay conceded that prisoners who had refused to cooperate in interrogations about their units and their operations were subjected to deprivation of food and drink, to beatings and electrical shock torture."

Kamm described one example. "Nguyen Van Co, a 24-year-old private captured north of the Plaine des Jarres on Sept. 27 . . . said he had been left behind by his retreating comrades when he was disabled by a wound in his left shoulder . . .

"For that, the prisoner said, he was starved for four days despite his wound, beaten and tortured by shocks administered through electrodes fixed to two fingers of his right hand. He held up his manacled hands to show scratches he said had been caused by the electrodes."

. . . still more on Moratorium

DENVER

By MARY F. WALTER

DENVER—In Denver, 3,000 people stood in ankle-deep snow during the reading of the Colorado war dead at the state capitol, followed by an outdoor rally at Metropolitan State College. In Boulder, 3,000 persons participated in a candlelight march followed by a convocation at the University of Colorado.

In Pueblo, nearly 1,000 took part in a candlelight march at the end of

the day's activities. In Colorado Springs, more than 600 youths, most of them high school students, shivered in freezing weather and a 30-mile-per-hour wind during a demonstration.

But the demonstrations were hardly over before the Colorado New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam had called for a GI-civilian antiwar march in Denver Nov. 9, while the SMC and the president of the U of Colorado student body called an Oct. 26 antiwar state convention. In addition, buses will go to both Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15.

LOS ANGELES

By DAVE SAPERSTAN

LOS ANGELES — "We've got so many people here, it's impossible to march as planned," said the chairman of UCLA's evening candlelight rally on Moratorium Day. The 18,000 people who took part made this easily the largest demonstration against the war ever at UCLA.

Prolonged applause greeted the statement that this rally was the first step to organizing 500,000 people for the San Francisco march on Nov. 15.

NEW CONCORD

By RICHARD SMITH

NEW CONCORD, Ohio—Muskingum College observed the Moratorium with a full program of antiwar activities and the cancellation of all afternoon classes. Seven hundred out of a student body of 1,400 heard former green beret Dan Burdekian call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. The day's activities were sponsored by the Muskingum Area Peace Action Council.



Tigers thriving on Viet war

"The only form of life which has increased in Vietnam is the tigers. In the past 24 years, tigers in Vietnam have learned to associate the sounds of gunfire with the presence of dead and wounded humans. Because of this increased food supply, tigers appear to be multiplying in southern Vietnam, much as the wolf population increased in Poland during World War II." —Botanist Ivan Palmblad, speaking on ecological destruction of Vietnam at a Utah State University teach-in Oct. 15.

Simply an aberration?

The politics behind SDS Chicago freakout

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Now that the Chicago action of the SDS Weatherman faction is over, almost everyone recognizes that it was a defeat. In fact, after witnessing several hundred SDSers running through the streets, breaking windows, knocking over pedestrians and making suicidal attacks on armed cops, the temptation has been to dismiss the whole thing as some kind of political lunacy.

But, even in purely practical terms, a look at the very high price paid by the participants in injuries and arrests shows that we cannot afford not to politically analyze what happened there. The Weathermen suffered 290 arrests, with bail totaling \$750,000. Scores were wounded by the cops, and one SDSer faces a charge of attempted murder.

The fact is that all this resulted not from some kind of isolated psychological aberration, but was the final product of a wrong political program. It was the logical outgrowth of the ultra-leftism which has dominated SDS politics for some time and which, in a modified form, still has significant influence in many sectors of the radical student milieu.

What is the nature of this ultra-leftism? How is it that a seemingly sane group of individuals could become involved in something so obviously divorced from reality as the Chicago action?

Judging from their ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, the Weathermen in Chicago were apparently under the illusion that they really were launching some kind of revolution. After it was all over, one SDSer was heard to explain, "This is just like the NLF. It was true warfare, just like Burchett!"

The Weathermen's naive belief that the action of a handful in Chicago was somehow equivalent to the mass social revolution taking place in Vietnam is obviously absurd. But, politically, it is simply the logical extension of a general political approach that has always prevailed in SDS, a political approach that tends to discount the long-run necessity—or even the possibility—of mobilizing the masses of people in political struggle to change the system.

The kamikaze-like action in Chicago was the expression of frenzied political despair. It was testimony to a profound-

ly pessimistic inner conviction that the masses of Americans can never really be mobilized for revolutionary struggle. It follows in a familiar pattern of many such attempts in history to substitute the desperate actions of a "dedicated" handful for the mass. This developed out of the basic politics of SDS.

SDS has never succeeded in developing a consistent program and perspective aimed at organizing the masses in a revolutionary direction through struggle over concrete issues. In the early sixties, this lack of a long-run revolutionary perspective was reflected in the orientation of SDS toward left liberalism. At that time, most SDSers saw no alternative except to support the liberal politicians in the hope that they would make the necessary changes in society. "Part of the way with LBJ" was their slogan in 1964.

With the rise of the antiwar movement, the SDS leadership began to develop a new variant to their basically reformist approach. They opposed building a mass movement around the issue of the Vietnam war because, they said, the masses could not be organized around such "abstract" and highly "political" issues. As an alternative to the antiwar movement they offered a social-work type perspective of "community organizing" around issues such as better garbage collection that, they paternalistically explained, could be more easily understood by the people.

The SDS leadership's inability to gauge the potential for involving the masses of people in the political struggle against the war in Vietnam reflected a basically cynical and elitist attitude toward the masses of American people still evident in SDS politics today. Only today, because of the turn by SDS toward more "revolutionary" politics, this elitism and lack of appreciation for the revolutionary potential of the masses tends to take on an ultra-left form.

The slogan, "serve the people," which recently gained such favor in SDS circles, is a reflection of the paternalistic view that somehow the SDS vanguard will be able to make the revolution for the people without actually involving them in struggle. Another example of this paternalistic approach is the assumption by the Weatherman faction that the only way to speak to working-

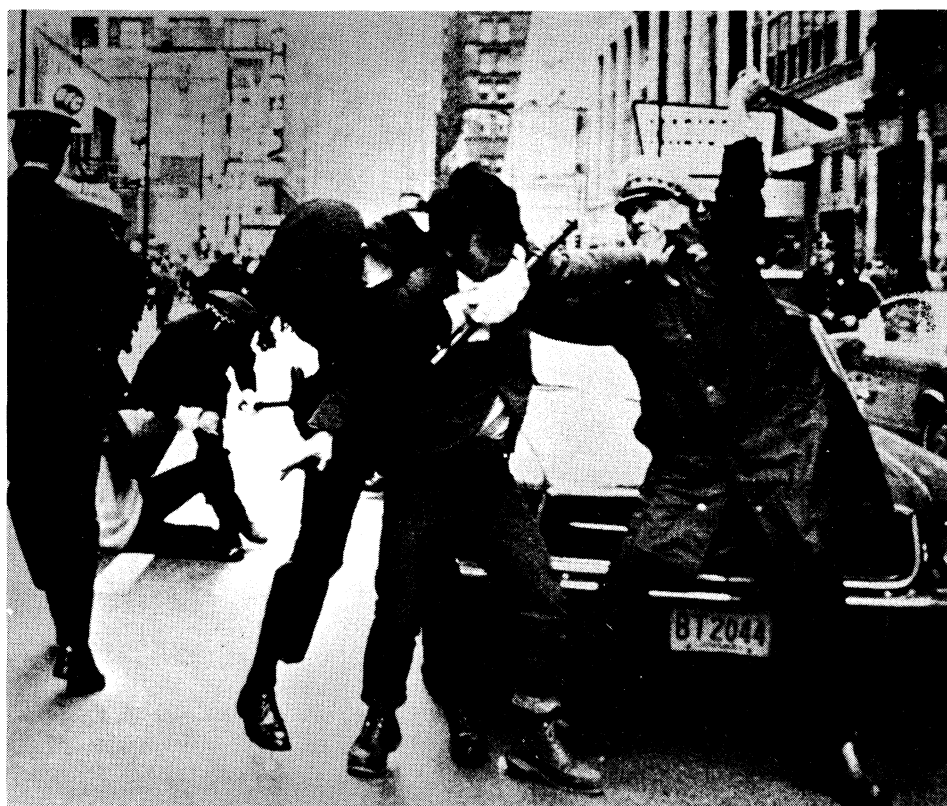


Photo by Steve Rose/Newsreel/LNS

SDS "Red Army" in Chicago

class youth is by using what the almost exclusively middle-class SDSers conceive of as the language and style of working-class street gangs. Working-class youth will be turned on to revolutionary politics, they believe, when they see what tough street fighters the Weathermen are.

The irony is that at the very time the Weathermen were attempting to win over working-class high school students with their street fights in Chicago, hundreds of thousands of the very youth they were trying to reach were participating in antiwar actions around the country!

Although all the major factions of SDS now declare themselves to be revolutionaries, they virtually ignore the fundamental lessons contained in decades of revolutionary struggle. They have not absorbed the fact that revolution is a process, that it takes time and patient work to win the masses of people to a revolutionary perspective, that the only way the people will be won to this struggle is around concrete political issues which challenge the system.

Instead of joining with masses of people in struggle and educating them on the basis of the issues they are moving on, the ultra-lefts stand in grand isolation, issuing ultimatums to the masses. (Said one Chicago Weatherman speaker about GIs who are not ready to leave the regular army for their "red army": "He's got to join us or else he's a pig.")

Moreover, ultra-lefts usually become so involved in carrying out their own imaginary "revolutions" that when the masses do begin to go into motion, they miss the action completely.

There is probably no more dramatic an illustration of this than the contrast between the isolated actions of both Weatherman and RYM II in Chicago and the gigantic mass mobilizations that came four days later on Oct. 15. Not only did the SDSers stand aloof from these momentous events—but most of them seem oblivious to the fact that we have just witnessed the largest mobilizations of people in opposition to government policy in the history of this country!

This abstention from the real struggle stands in stark contrast to the role which is being played in this movement by revolutionary socialists of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, who worked actively to build the Moratorium. On Oct. 15, speakers for the YSA and SWP appeared at scores of meetings and rallies, where they were able to present their socialist ideas to literally tens of thousands of people. And, in area after area, their participation gave the Moratorium a militant character it would not have had if left in the hands of the liberals.

The participation of revolutionary socialists in this mass movement was not accidental. Nor do such mass

movements as these just appear spontaneously out of nowhere. In the past four years the SWP and YSA have played a not unimportant role in helping to bring this movement to the point it is at today, fighting within the movement for the slogan of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops as the only principled position, fighting to keep the movement independent of the capitalist parties and politicians, working first to build the smaller demonstrations which would lay the basis for the larger ones to come.

Our participation in this movement has been based not only on an understanding of its importance to the defense of the Vietnamese revolution, but also on the recognition and confidence that it is only through participation in struggles such as these that the masses will be radicalized. The simple act of coming into the streets to demonstrate opposition to the government is a matter of great political significance because it is through such actions that the masses begin to feel the power they have to change things.

All the revolutionary talk in the world will not substitute for this process of education through struggle. A 12-year-old demonstrator beautifully expressed the essence of this on Oct. 15 when she declared, "If they don't end the war after this demonstration, then I'll know we don't have democracy in this country."

Fla. State SDS to be independent

By DOUG JENNESS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Oct. 19—A southern regional SDS conference hosted here this weekend by the Florida State University SDS chapter voted 30 to 16 to "support a policy of nonalignment with either Chicago or Boston."

This decision was made despite strong opposition voiced by small contingents from the Spartacist League, the Progressive Labor Party and the Worker Student Alliance, all of whom argued for alignment with the Boston-based WSA faction of SDS. John Pennington, national secretary of SDS (WSA) was present. No Weathermen were present, and only one RYM II supporter.

The motion for nonalignment was introduced and supported by independent SDS members, primarily from New Orleans and Tallahassee, who argued that PL and Spartacist appeared to be fighting only for their own factional interests. They indicated support for a nonexclusionary SDS where radicals who haven't yet made up their minds about what ideological tendency to join can have a home.

The vote reversed an earlier decision to align with WSA.



Photo by Goodman

MASS ACTION. Students marching to Boston Commons for giant Oct. 15 Moratorium rally. At rally of over 100,000, Peter Camejo, Student Mobe leader and SWP spokesman, was able to share platform with Senator McGovern and counterpose revolutionary socialist view to that of capitalist politician.

The Great Society

How brainy can you get?—Reporting that the New York Police Department has set up a new centralized communications and dispatch center, the *New York Times* explained: "A study conducted by the National Crime Commission in Los Angeles several years ago found evidence that the faster the police responded to a crime, the more likely it is that an arrest will occur."

Might keep him awake—New York state courts upheld Rochester Judge Parker Stone in his ban on women attorneys wearing miniskirts in his court.

Old-fashioned American enterprise—It's nonsense to talk about San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto being linked with criminals. The mayor's doing just fine on the legit. For instance, he and his police commissioner just formed a \$2.5-million intercoastal shipping company. Each own a third of the outfit. The other third is divided among the families of the mayor's cousin and uncle.

Pure as ever—A federal judge in New York declined to ban a poster depicting a pregnant girl scout and the suggestion: "Be Prepared." Denying a Girl Scout application for an injunction and a \$1 million damage suit, Judge Morris Lasker said he doubted anyone could sully the name of the Girl Scouts.

Brace yourself—Colgate-Palmolive will be investing \$20 million a year for the next two years plugging its "new" Colgate toothpaste. The most scintillating feature of the drive will be numerous commercials showing Arthur Godfrey licking the stuff off a brush because "it tastes good, too."

The helmsmen—Confirming the fact of a sharp drop in ROTC enrollment

at Berkeley, Capt. Edward Kerr, chairman of the university's department, explained: "On this campus especially, the war has hurt us. Our political views are considerably different from those on the rest of this campus. We agree more with the Administration, with the Establishment, if you will—things that aren't too popular these days."

Our bold business leaders—Continuing in its ever pioneering spirit, the Coca Cola company has invested an undisclosed number of millions of dollars to make its advertising image youthful. However, company vice president Ira Herbert assures, the shape of the bottle will remain untouched. Tests show buyers like it, he said, and "the last thing we want to do is fly in the face of public opinion."

As we predicted—Employing the materialist method of analysis in reporting the high sale of birth control pills in Italy, we recently expressed confidence the Pope would have a piece of the action. Now an unidentified news clipping sent by a reader includes in a "Q and A" column the question of whether or not the Church does have any interest in firms producing the pill. The answer provided is: "The Vatican has a financial interest in the Instituto Farmacologico Sero which manufactures the pill."

Congressional abolitionists — Two House members of Congress' Joint Committee on Disposition of Executive Papers think their committee should be abolished. All they do is sign their names to long lists of numbers sent to them periodically from the executive branch. Nobody will tell them what the numbers refer to. Maybe they're lists of people murdered by the CIA and/or Green Berets.

— HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-0430.

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

Hayward: YSA, Caryl Towner, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541. Tel: (415) 537-3653.

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: Alan Standliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 1816 19th, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 1176-1/2 Peachtree St., all correspondence to P.O. Box 7818, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

DeKalb: YSA and bookstore, 317 Wood St., Apt. B, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. (815) 758-1511.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Tel: (913) 843-2073.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, c/o Ed Jurenas, 1610 S. Limestone, Lexington, Ky. 40503. Tel: (606) 278-8544.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8857.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 417 Olive St., Ypsi-

lanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 523-5468.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Allen Pump, 158 Hamilton, E. Orange, Newark, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 674-3144.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Oh. 44112 Tel: (216) 249-8250.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Janet Gogolick, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R. I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Dan Rosenshine, 4103 Davis Pl. NW, Wash., D. C. Tel: (202) 965-0253.

WASHINGTON, Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon.—Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Reading for revolutionaries

How sexual oppression evolved



Culled from Oct. 19 New York Times Magazine

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION, A MARXIST APPROACH. By Evelyn Reed. Merit Publishers. 63 pages. 95c.

One of the encouraging developments in the current radicalization process in the United States is the new interest in the position of women in present day society. A good deal of discussion is taking place on this question and, in addition, many new organizations have been formed to win equal rights for women.

In this work, Evelyn Reed makes a contribution to this struggle by approaching the question, first of all, from the standpoint of where the inequality of the sexes really started and how it all began. She actually begins with what preceded this condition, in the time when inequality between the sexes was unknown, showing how changes in the productive process led to class distinctions and to relegating women to a position of servitude and subordination to men.

Without doubt, her method is scientifically correct. It is impossible to understand how women in present day society reached their present position without going back to the prehistory of mankind when things were quite different.

In making her analysis, Evelyn Reed gives us a good look into what primitive society was really like. It seems that superiority of one sex over another was entirely unknown and unneeded. Women's place was one of equality and an honored place too. Primitive society

was a matriarchy in which women did outstanding work in many fields, including food production, industry, science, medicine, textiles and many other things.

The evidence that the author submits is very convincing that for the greatest part of human history equality between the sexes was the rule.

The author also deals with aspects of modern life and the pressures that are used to keep women in a subordinate place. The role of fashions, cosmetics and other devices that cost working women and wives of working men countless millions of dollars every year is thoroughly explored and explained. A good deal of light is shed on questions of importance that are taken for granted by most women and not even noticed by most men.

In the final section, the author reviews the book, *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan, published several years ago, that deals with problems of middle-class women.

The author throughout takes her stand on the basis of revolutionary Marxism and the need to struggle for socialism. She emphasizes that there is also a need for a transitional program dealing specifically with women's problems. She correctly likens the struggle for women's rights with the struggle for the rights of Afro-Americans and other oppressed minorities.

She points out that, like these other fields of struggle, the true history of how women became an oppressed section of modern society has been concealed. Just like the blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans who are now going back into the past in order to learn how they got to where they are today, it is necessary for women to learn their history.

—MILTON ALVIN

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Nixon's 'anti-inflation' swindle

Wants workers to pay for war

By DICK ROBERTS

In a radio address to the American people Oct. 18, and a letter to 2,200 businessmen and trade-union bureaucrats the following day, President Nixon made it clear how he plans to "combat inflation" in the coming period.

Nixon's policies are designed to further shift the costs of the Vietnam war onto the backs of American workers, while holding the promise to American business that the government will continue to assist it in reaping war-primed profits.

The radio address was billed as a program to combat the rising cost of living that has eaten at wages throughout the war.

It turned out to be an exercise in demagoguery. The essential message was a threat primarily directed at American workers. About the only true thing Nixon said was, "We've asked the American people to take some bitter medicine."

After outlining recommendations to Congress that it should raise taxes and slash federal spending on needed domestic programs, "medicine man" Nixon called upon "labor's leadership and labor's rank and file to base their wage demands on the new prospect of a return towards price stability."

What prospect is that? Nixon didn't

say. Prices are still going up at record-breaking rates. Workers are exhorted to cut down their wage demands when wages are already lagging far behind the rise in the cost of living and the new demands seek, at best, only to catch up with spiraling prices.

The government's concern on this score was underlined by Labor Secretary George Shultz's intervention into the contract negotiations at General Electric and Westinghouse. Shultz demanded that electrical workers drop from their contracts automatic, or escalator, pay-increase clauses which are designed to allow workers to keep up with the soaring cost of living.

Shultz called such clauses "built-in inflation." According to Shultz and Nixon, workers who have cost-of-living clauses in their union contracts to compensate for inflationary price rises are causing inflation!

To add a little icing to the cake, Nixon said that businessmen should be "realistic" when they set prices. What the President really meant by this was explained in a single sentence of his Oct. 19 letter:

"New laws and new restrictions are not required, if we treat with respect the law of supply and demand."

But it is precisely the "law of supply and demand" that allows monop-



"The good news is I'm in the vanguard of the fight against inflation—the bad news is I'm fired."

oly to register superprofits by jacking up prices and hence causing inflation.

These superprofits are pumped into the production of war machinery to reap the guaranteed high profits of government-underwritten war contracts.

The "law of supply and demand" goes hand in hand with war production to drive up prices and profits.

What Nixon is really trying to do is to get workers to "voluntarily" accept wage cuts. If workers don't "co-operate," so Nixon's line goes, then they are to be held responsible for inflation.

They should reduce their wage demands on the President's promise that business will do likewise. Except business has never done that in the history of capitalism.

When workers sign a contract with employers, it does bind their wages. But employers make no such contracts with consumers. In fact, Nixon's policies have already emboldened business to resist wage demands in the confidence that the government will join them in the effort to control "wage" inflation.

But it is not workers at all who are responsible for inflation. They are the ones who bear the brunt of it. It is caused by war production and monopoly-pricing policies. Real wages of American workers, taking into account rising prices and rising taxes, have declined steadily since 1965 — the year that the major escalation of the U.S. attack on Vietnam began.

And this gives a clue to labor about the best way to fight Nixon's attack on wages. As part of their struggle to get fair wages with cost-of-living clauses to protect them against inflation, they should support the antiwar movement, help to build it and force

Washington out of Vietnam.

The recent statement by the Alliance for Labor Action in support of the Oct. 15 Moratorium was a step in the right direction. It indicates that many workers are beginning to understand the real cause of galloping inflation.

Workers should put pressure on their unions to reverse the policy epitomized by George Meany's blanket endorsement of the Vietnam war that came out of the recent AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City.

Meany's stand plays directly into the hands of the capitalist ruling class and the government. By supporting the war, Meany gives the government the club to drive down wages.

It gives credence to the whole phony line of sacrificing wages to fight inflation, when the blame for inflation should be put squarely where it belongs: on the imperialists' genocidal devastation of Vietnam.

It is directly in the interest of labor to join forces with the antiwar movement in this way: by repudiating the trade union bureaucrats who support the war and by demanding that the unions endorse the massive struggle against the war symbolized by Oct. 15. That is the best answer to Nixon, on the major cause and cure of inflation.

N.Y. SOCIALIST WORKERS WINDUP ELECTION EXTRAVAGANZA

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Cont.: \$2.50 dinner and rally
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Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

TWO CANDIDATES, SINGLE ALTERNATIVE. Paul Boutelle (right), SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and Rasheed Storey, Communist Party mayoral candidate, debated issues in campaign at Educational Alliance Oct. 17.

Despite his own candidacy, Storey gave support to liberal Mayor John Lindsay, asserting election of either of Lindsay's capitalist-party opponents would open door to fascism. He justified

CP's 1964 support of Lyndon Johnson.

Boutelle explained need for working people and Afro-Americans to form own parties. He also showed why SWP supports all struggles by oppressed peoples for self-determination. Asked to comment on differences between CP and SWP, Boutelle commented: "Unlike the CP, the SWP never supports enemies of the working class."

New York SWP TV schedule

NEW YORK — On Sunday, Oct. 26, 3 p.m., Alfredo Pena, SWP candidate for controller, will be on WABC-TV. On Monday, Oct. 27, 1:30 a.m., Paul Boutelle will be on WNEW-TV. On Sunday, Nov. 2, 1:30 p.m., Paul Boutelle, Alfredo Pena and Jeff Mackler, SWP nominee for president of the city council, will be on WNBC-TV. On Monday, Nov. 3, Paul Boutelle will be on WOR-TV at 7:30 a.m., 12 noon, 4:30 p.m. and 9 p.m.