

Suit filed to bar penalties for antiwar GI protestors

—story page 12

**"We are 1,366* active-duty servicemen.
We are opposed to American involvement
in the war in Vietnam.
We resent the needless wasting of lives
to save face for the politicians in Washington.
We speak, believing our views are shared
by many of our fellow servicemen.
Join us!"**

Gl's Stationed in Vietnam
 Sp/5 James R. Abbott
 Sp/5 Kenneth E. Adams
 Sp/5 John A. Adcock
 Sp/5 Thomas W. Arbogast
 Sp/4 Rayfield Archer
 Sp/4 Donald Arnold
 Sp/4 John Ashley
 Sp/4 Robert J. Aune
 Sp/4 Robert J. Baisel
 Sp/4 Gary S. Baklund
 Sp/4 Martin D. Ballard
 Sp/4 Robert J. Bannister
 Sp/4 Wayne Belcher
 Sp/5 Stuart Bennett
 Sp/4 Robert B. Blake
 Sp/4 Ernest A. Blouin
 Sp/4 John L. Bodaway
 Sp/4 Terry L. Bostic
 Sp/5 David G. Bridgick
 Sp/4 Robert J. Brown
 Sp/4 Cpl. DeCarlo E. Crony
 Sp/4 Paul A. Bush
 Sp/4 Robert J. Calkins
 Sp/5 George A. Carnes
 Sp/4 Lucas A. Carpenter
 Sp/4 Robert S. Carter
 Sp/4 Margaret Carter
 Sp/4 Gerald B. Carvalho
 Sp/4 Robert S. Chaffin
 Sp/4 James Chamer
 Sp/5 Wesley Christiano
 Sp/4 Raymond J. Cline
 Sp/4 Charles S. Coney
 Sp/4 Robert A. Cook
 Sp/5 Robert Cornwall
 Sp/4 Duane P. Countess
 Sp/4 William F. Crawford, Jr.
 Sp/4 Michael D. Davidson
 Lt. (jg) J. C. Davis
 Sp/4 Joseph T. De Stefano
 Sp/4 Robert M. Degen
 Sp/4 John W. Dunnett
 Sp/5 Randall M. Dunn
 Sp/4 William H. Elderkin
 Sp/4 George P. Farrell
 Sp/4 W. White E. Fife
 Sp/4 Peter James Fitzpatrick
 Sp/4 Gary P. Flanagan
 Sp/4 Donald B. Flinders
 Sp/4 Joseph L. Freitag
 Sp/4 Joel D. Friday
 Sp/4 R. Gaudreau
 Sp/4 Paul G. Gaudreau
 Sp/4 Richard Galt
 Sp/4 Jerry Gibson
 Sp/4 Robert R. Gien
 Sp/4 Anthony Girouard Jr.
 Sp/4 Sheldon R. Green
 Sp/4 William J. Groff
 Sp/4 Brooke F. Gunter
 Sp/4 Robert S. Hanes
 Sp/4 Don Hartman
 Sp/4 Frank Henry
 Sp/4 Roy D. Hebert
 Sp/4 Robert H. Hill
 Sp/5 James M. Horgan
 Sp/4 John H. Howell
 Sp/4 Cpl. D. E. Howard
 Sp/4 Kevin Ingold
 Sp/4 Joseph E. Jackson
 Sp/4 R. S. James
 Sp/4 Cpl. L. Johnson
 Sp/4 Harry D. Jones
 Sp/4 John Kniel
 Sp/5 Kenneth J. Kessler
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*Total number of active-duty GI signatures received through Oct. 29, 1969. This figure was not in statement, as originally circulated.

Help lead the country to a better society

A call to action

Worcester, Mass.

Shortly after Nov. 15, a Worcester local of the Young Socialist Alliance is going to be established. Our ranks are chiefly made up of YSA at-largers, former SDSers and extremely active SMCers.

Now is the time that the YSA must dramatically grow in size. The dissolution of SDS has left a gap that must be filled. The YSA, the real revolutionary socialist youth organization in the country, can fill this gap.

The youth radicalization of the '60s has won many to our ranks and has begun to affect other layers of the population. It is probable that the '70s will be years when the workers begin to radicalize. We must enlarge the ranks of the cadres which will lead our country to a better society, a socialist world. Venceremos.

Alan S. Einhorn

Dissident DeLeonists welcome exchange of views

New York, N. Y.

Robert Langston's article on the split in the SLP was well received by the dissident DeLeonists who left the party earlier this year.

In way of amplification, there were at least two other major splits in SLP history in addition to those mentioned by Langston. One of the biggest occurred from 1917 to 1919 and involved two basic issues: 1) the question of unity with the Socialist Party in order to strengthen the left wing of that party; and 2) the relationship of the SLP to the Soviet Revolution, the Comintern in particular. Coincidentally, a split took place in 1947-48 that also involved the Soviet Union. Only this time it revolved around the question of the SLP's tardy withdrawal of support for Stalin's anti-working class regime.

The Socialist Committee of Correspondence is definitely interested in developing fraternal relations with other revolutionary socialist organizations. We welcome exploratory discussions on the theory, practice and future direction of the socialist movement.

Readers of *The Militant* can obtain further information about the various new DeLeonist groups and receive a complimentary copy of *Socialist Forum* by writing to: SCC, GPO Box 1948, New York, N. Y. 10001

Thomas Lowy
Corresponding Secretary

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.

Inside dope revealed

New York, N. Y.

The whole story has not been told about the "body of the enemy soldier" captured with incriminating documents to the effect that the Viet Cong would celebrate Nov. 15 knocking off Vietnamese Uncle Toms who collaborate with the American invaders. According to inside information, at my disposal, this body turned up a second time at Ben Cat, with documents ordering Viet Cong cadres to celebrate Nov. 15 by raping nuns and eating children. A third time the body turned up at Quang Tri, with documents indicating the Viet Cong would blow grass and watch stag movies on Nov. 15, in honor of Abbie Hoffman.

When the body turned up a fourth time outside Pleiku, U.S. authorities refused to divulge the contents of the secret documents because they are so incriminating.

Each time the body turned up, it figured as 25 body counts, thus upping the kill ratio and proving how successful "Vietnamization" of the war is proceeding, if we would only stop bickering and criticizing and get behind Tricky Dick in his efforts to find peace by continuing war.

R. V.

Tennessee SMCer joins subscription drive

Johnson City, Tenn.

I am a member of the Student Mobilization Committee on this rather conservative campus. Another SMCer, a subscriber to *The Militant*, was recently forced to leave school for personal reasons. I am now receiving his copies of *The Militant*, and thus only recently

found out about your subscription drive.

Not wishing to cut up my copies of *The Militant*, I typed out the blanks for the subscriptions I received at this evening's meeting. I feel confident that we will be able to get many more subscriptions, and would appreciate your sending me some spare blanks. To close, let me say that *The Militant* is one of the finest papers I have ever read, if not the finest. Keep up the good work.

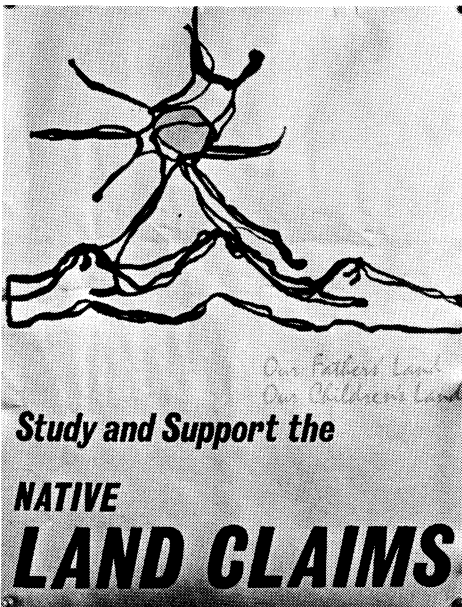
S. H.
E. Tenn. State University

Heaven help them

Anchorage, Alaska

Gov. Keith Miller (appointed to replace Hickel as governor of Alaska and cut out of the same cloth) said about the Native Land Claims Bill now up before Congress, that the U.S. federal government has a "fair and honest record" in its history of dealing with American Indians and that he only wants to "secure the same treatment for the Alaska natives."

M. M.



Alaskan poster

Open letter demands respect for nationalist flag

[The following is an open letter to the principal of Franklin K. Lane High School who refused to allow the display of the black nationalist flag in a black studies class (See Nov. 14 *Militant*)]

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Government of the Republic of New Africa hereby registers its grave concern over the incidents that occurred in Franklin K. Lane High School on Oct. 24, 1969. According to our information, you ordered Black students in Classroom 248 to take down a red, black and green flag that they had raised.

The flag that you so arbitrarily ordered these students to remove has a history and a tradition going back to the days of the Honorable Marcus Garvey. All Black people understand and respect this flag. This red, black and green flag symbolizes the nationalistic aspirations of more than 25 million Black people held in colonial status in America. It represents the hundreds of years of Black blood that has been spilled in the building of America into the greatest power the world has ever known. It represents the land that we are entitled to through years of free toil—the land that we have no title to and can claim no sovereignty over. This flag means more to the young

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Friday, November 21, 1969

Closing news date—Nov. 14

Black citizens of the Black Nation than the red, white and blue flag of America could ever mean to them.

The young citizens of the Black Nation have pledged their allegiance to their own flag; and under it they have committed themselves to building a better people and a better world. Your act was correctly interpreted by them as an insult to the only flag that can rightfully be claimed as their own.

The Republic of New Africa is concerned that unless you and those who command you recognize and acknowledge the importance of the red, black and green flag and begin to show it the same respect and courtesy that you accord your own red, white and blue flag, a very tense situation can deteriorate into a full-fledged confrontation!

I would suggest that you recommend to your superiors immediately that representatives from the Government of the Republic of New Africa come in to discuss with them the correct protocol to be followed when the red, black and green colors are to be displayed. Such an act on your part will indicate to the Black Nation your sincere desire to respect the flag of the Black Nation and to develop procedures for according it the place of honor and respect it must have when on display in public places.

I hope you will give this offer on our part, to sit down and discuss a very tenuous situation, your immediate and serious consideration.

Sister Ibidun
Dep. Minister of Information
Brooklyn Consulate

Leadership and women's rights movement

New York, N. Y.

When I read the letter in the Nov. 14 *Militant* about the women's rights movement in London whose leaders are mainly men I was reminded of the old civil rights movement whose leaders were mostly white. I hope British women develop the same approach on this as American blacks.

P. R.

Disturbed by our terminology

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I find it extremely disturbing that you use the terminology of the tyrants, i.e. escalation, in reference to your subscription drive. This is like "war against poverty," "win the peace," etc.

One's cause is inevitably threatened when one adopts the mentality of the enemy. This is a semantic and psychological fact.

Elizabeth Sawyer

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

Message from Viet students

The following is the text of a message to the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam from the Vietnam National Union of students. The message was sent to the SMC's national office in Washington from the Student Union's office in Hanoi.

At a time when developing October campaign success, U. S. movement is actively preparing mid-November actions, Nixon revealed November 3 U. S. policy continuing and prolonging war and called on U. S. quiet majority for support.

In such situations, we highly appreciate importance of November 15 demonstrations aiming gather widely all anti-war forces in strong mass actions urging U. S. administration meet U. S. peoples common deep aspiration by stopping Vietnam aggressive war now and withdrawing immediately all American troops from South Vietnam.

Vietnamese students and people will continue struggle till complete realization our fundamental national rights and together with all world democratic and peaceful forces entirely support U. S. students and people struggle for peace and U. S. legitimate interests.

SMC welcomes declaration by Vietnamese students

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced Nov. 7 receipt of a telegram from the Vietnam National Union of Students in support of the Nov. 15 march on Washington to bring all the troops home now.

SMC national executive secretary Carol Lipman recalled Vice-president Agnew's statement concerning the message from Pham Van Dong of Vietnam in support of the Oct. 15 National Vietnam Moratorium.

Miss Lipman said, "On the day of the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium Vice-president Agnew demanded that the organizers of the Moratorium 'repudiate' the message of solidarity from the people of Vietnam and declared that the Vietnamese people were responsible for the death of 40,000 American citizens."

"At that time," Miss Lipman continued, "the Student Mobilization Committee publicly declared that it is the U. S. government that is responsible for the death of 40,000 American men of my generation. It is the Nixon administration that is responsible for the continuation of the war. The only road to a real peace in Vietnam is for the American government to immediately withdraw all forces."

"We say the same today. We welcome the message of support for Nov. 15 from the Vietnam National Union of Students because we both share a common desire to end the U. S. government's aggression in Vietnam and withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam to allow self-determination for the Vietnamese people."

"We repudiate the Nixon administration for continuing the war in Vietnam and will redouble our efforts to make



Carol Lipman

the Nov. 15 mass, legal and peaceful march on Washington to bring all the troops home now an expression of the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of American citizens."

"We will not be deterred by red-baiting and attempts by the government to divide the peace movement. The American people do not support a war against the Vietnamese people that the administration justifies in the name of 'anti-communism', neither will they support a 'war' on the peace movement by the administration in the name of 'anti-communism.'"

"Peace forces from one end of the country to another are uniting in a common struggle to get our men home now."

Challenge Army ban

NEW YORK — One of the most immediate problems facing antiwar GIs — the right to on-post distribution of their publications — was slated to come before Chief Judge Butler Nov. 12 at the Federal Court House in Clinton, North Carolina, the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee announced. The case is in the form of a motion that the Court direct the Army to allow immediate distribution of the newspaper published by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

The antiwar newspaper is entitled *Bragg Briefs*. The motion was filed by attorneys Leonard Boudin of New York, Samuel S. Mitchell of Raleigh, N. C., Howard Moore of Atlanta, and Laughlin McDonald of Chapel Hill, N. C., in association with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

The argument is a crucial one; the decision on this case will affect dozens of bases around the country where more than 60 different antiwar papers are being published. The issue at stake is the constitutional rights of American servicemen to freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Commanding General Tolson of Fort Bragg has turned down four requests by GIs United that they be allowed to distribute their paper. His reasoning is that the distribution of the paper through regular channels (PXs, etc.) would "constitute a clear danger to the loyalty, discipline and morale of the military personnel located at Fort Bragg and thereby seriously impair the military mission of that installation."

Attorney Boudin will argue that the Army is invoking a process of prior censorship contrary to fundamental First Amendment rights.

Frame-up of Berkeley black activist defeated

By JEAN SAVAGE

BERKELEY, Calif. — The acquittal of Wayne Green represents a major defense victory for Berkeley and the entire movement. The case clearly points out the racist and class nature of our judicial system. Green is a Black Panther activist and Resistance organizer on the UC Berkeley campus.

Over a year ago he was arrested and framed for attempted murder. At his first trial, UC plainclothes policeman James Sicheneder claimed he saw Green throw the firebomb that injured two highway patrolmen at UC Sproul Plaza after police had attacked a Young Socialist Alliance rally on Telegraph Avenue in July, 1968.

Six other witnesses, including assistant UC dean of students Charles Wade, each swore they saw a white man throw the bomb.

But by frequent allusions to Green's work in the Resistance and his participation in campus protest demonstrations, deputy district attorney Frank Vukota deflected they jury's attention from the great weight of evidence supporting Green's innocence.

He accomplished this by playing on the jury's latent fear and distrust of young people, of protesters, of students, and of blacks. Throughout the trial, the prosecutor continually referred to Green as a "colored boy." In his summation, he called for Green's conviction as an appropriate way of curbing "demonstrations such as the one we had at Cornell in April."

At the first trial, 11 of the jurors voted for conviction. At Green's second trial, he was acquitted. Many factors led to this acquittal. First, Green was fortunate to be defended by one of the best lawyers in the country, Vincent Hallinan,

who handled the case without fee. Secondly, many people worked to build Green's defense committee. Pamphlets were put out, sponsors collected, tables manned on campus and at shopping centers, and thousands of buttons and leaflets were distributed.

New evidence was presented by Hallinan during the trial. He stated that he knew who threw the fire bomb, and that the police also knew the man's identity. A young woman testified that her boy friend had told her that he threw the bomb.

Hallinan also pointed out that the police had been given this information in January and had purposely withheld evidence in order to convict Green and save face. At this point in the trial, the DA contradicted his charges at the first trial and claimed that maybe Green had only helped to light the firebomb and an unknown white friend had thrown it.

In this trial, as in the first, the jury was all-white with the exception of one Asian-American. But this time they were not fooled by the DA's arguments, which

were straight out of the watermelon patch.

The trial reached the height of ridiculousness when the DA tried to explain why Green had yelled "Oh no" when Sgt. Sicheneder had come after him.

The DA actually told the jury that Green thought the firebomb he threw had hit and killed Sicheneder and he yelled because he thought it was Sicheneder's ghost coming after him!

The DA neglected to mention that Sicheneder was trying to get his gun out of his holster when he came after Green.

Des Moines welfare mothers jailed

DES MOINES — Police brutalized and arrested Black Panther Party leader Charles Knox and two representatives of a welfare mothers organization Nov. 6 after 15 welfare mothers attempted to collect donations for their organization at an Iowa Welfare Association banquet being held at the fashionable downtown Savery Hotel.

The arrests came after Mrs. Bryson, president of the Mothers for Dignity and Justice, began to speak to the assembly: "You sit here eating \$6 a plate dinners, and our children are home without any food. I asked you earlier in the day for donations and there was no response. This is why we returned tonight. We came here and stated what our problems were and asked for donations and now the 'Man' has been called."

At this point, six cops surrounded Mrs. Bryson. She tried to explain the situation and also to demand the arrest of a hotel waiter who had pushed and shoved her in an attempt to keep

her from the microphone. Ignoring her demands, the cops began to manhandle her, viciously macing her and placing her under arrest.

Charles Knox, defense captain of the Black Panther Party, then walked over to the police and told them, "Let her go. She'll walk." The police responded, "Stay out of this Charles," and jumped him from the back — pushing, shoving, handcuffing and severely macing him.

Then Mrs. Pat Auch, a member of the Mothers for Dignity and Justice, told the police to leave Knox alone. The police turned and maced her, throwing her to the floor where she lay unconscious. She was then dragged down the stairs to the hall where she lay on the ground until an ambulance arrived. On the way to the hospital, the cops hurled racist remarks at her, calling her, "You nigger lover."

In protest against this brutality, social workers, lawyers and other com-

munity people jammed the police department in support of the three victims. All three were released on bond.

The president of the Iowa Welfare Association denied that any members of his organization were responsible for calling the cops. Those members of the IWA remaining at the banquet voted unanimously for a resolution demanding that the charges be dropped and that the three prisoners be released immediately.

Many of the people at the IWA conference were very much affected by the cram course they got in the type of oppression, injustice and just plain police brutality as it occurs in the "colonized" areas of Des Moines today.

The three victims of injustice need support. Send letters and telegrams to the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, Armory Bldg., East First and Des Moines St. Copies of these letters should be sent to Black Mobile Street Workers Ass'n., 1210 University, Des Moines, Iowa 50314.

Puerto Rican students fight ROTC

By BENJAMIN ORTIZ

Benjamin Ortiz is a representative of the Committee Against Political Repression in Puerto Rico and a member of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). Last week we published the first half of a speech he gave at the New York Militant Labor Forum Oct. 24, providing historical background for the current upsurge of the independence movement. The second half, published below, describes the sharpening confrontation between radicalizing students and the colonial government.

* * *

The struggle against obligatory military service in the North American Army has become one of the most important campaigns of the MPI [Pro-Independence Movement] and of FUPI [Federation of University Students for Independence] in Puerto Rico.

This struggle against military service has been building up to a crescendo since the U. S. intervention in Vietnam started. Pacts of solidarity between MPI and FUPI and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front have been signed.

About 100 Puerto Rican youth have court cases pending this year because they refused to go into the Army. Four or five of the 100 have been acquitted on technicalities because the government didn't want to convict them while the campaign against the draft was at full momentum. Last Sept. 26, comrade Edwin Feliciano became the first to be convicted and sentenced. He was given one year in prison.

The night before the sentencing a demonstration of about 3,000 students was organized in the university town of Rio Piedras. On the 26th, the students marched from the University of Puerto Rico to the courthouse; they were there when Feliciano was condemned,

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then went back to the campus to organize another demonstration in front of the ROTC building.

All the ROTC papers and files were burned, the political symbols were removed and destroyed. The students were confronted with ROTC officials who had rifles, but the rifles were empty, so they had to run away and allow the students to take the building. When firemen tried to get into the university two fire trucks were destroyed and the firemen evicted from the campus. So the building was almost entirely burned down.

Using this demonstration as a pretext—as well as other pretexts such as a recent bombing of Woolworth's that caused one million dollars damage—the government instituted political repression.

The governor in power is Luis Ferre who was a Republican until last year when he organized something called the New Progressive Party, which won the election against Muñoz Marín's decaying Popular Party. He demagogically talked about the need for a change and promised to end unemployment and the drug problem. He promised to solve the agricultural problems that were abandoned by the Popular Party when it began the process of industrialization. He knows that he can't deliver on these promises.

Ferre is a right winger by the standards of Puerto Rican capitalist politics. He believes in statehood for Puerto Rico. He believes in the organization of society along purely classical capitalist lines. He directs the government as if it were a corporation—a military-industrial complex. And the military part of that military-industrial complex began to show itself last Sept. 26.

Seven students were suspended; six were arrested. Twenty-five leaders of the Socialist League were arrested, although all but one of them had nothing whatever to do with the university incident. All FUPI and MPI leaders had to go underground to avoid being arrested.

On Oct. 1, just two weeks ago, a very militant and large student demonstration occurred, demanding complete elimination of ROTC. Most of the students at the university were present.

Then more repression was threatened. It was publicly announced that Florenzo Merced, the president of FUPI, would be arrested. The next Monday, Oct. 5, Florenzo Merced sent a communique from the underground announcing that he would attend his regular 10 a.m. class on the university campus, and that if they wanted to arrest him they would have to go into the university. They didn't dare.

A demonstration in support of the president of FUPI was held at the Superior Court, demanding an explanation of the order for his arrest. This was the biggest campus demonstration yet.

Even the boxer that you know here, José Torres, who in Puerto Rico is considered a reactionary, supported the student struggle. And your famous director, Elia Kazan, participated in this demonstration.

That week was the most important and exciting so far. During the week of Oct. 5-12, for the first time in our recent history an alliance between the student leaders and the leaders of the working people was forged; an agreement was signed Oct. 6 at a joint rally held by FUPI, the student council at the university and the Sindicato Obreros Puertoricano—the Puerto Rican Working People's Organization.

The unions in the syndicate are mostly internationals. They're North American unions, but their leaders on the island are Puerto Ricans. Only 18 percent of the Puerto Rican work force is organized, but this 18 percent is represented by the workers' syndicate.

These unions decided that they were going to support the students—that they would enter the university and struggle with the students. And the students decided to mobilize for any strikes by the workers and go onto the picket lines whenever they are needed. So organized labor and the leadership of the organized students now have a solidarity pact to combine their forces.

Last week the university professors met and approved a resolution giving the university and the colonial government until Oct. 30 to decide the future of ROTC before they take action. This was a significant step for them because the majority of the teachers are either politically uninvolved or liberals or right-wingers. One professor even received cordial applause from his colleagues when he spoke about a popular armed struggle against the colonial institutions on the island.

So the political situation on the island has polarized into a struggle between two forces: On one side are the Ferré people—the pro-statehood right wing that is trying to assimilate our people into the U. S. and destroy our cultural and national identity—and on the other side, people who are struggling for independence.

This phenomenon is reflected even in the Popular Party, which is divided between a pro-statehood, pro-Ferre faction and an anti-assimilationist, pro-independence faction.

Along with the polarization, the repression has grown. Compañeros in

the MPI and in a group called the Armed Liberation Commandos face arrest and persecution in the near future. They started the repression against the Socialist League because they know that this organization is smaller, has a less efficient organization, and is less capable of mobilizing international solidarity than the MPI.

Students have started a hunger strike on the Rio Piedras campus, focusing on one demand—elimination of ROTC. A student general strike was voted, for implementation if the colonial government and the university don't eliminate ROTC by Oct. 30.

Here in New York we have been developing a solidarity campaign against the political repression and in support of the students.

To conclude, the repression has intensified, but so too has the struggle against colonialism. An armed struggle between the pro-independence and the anti-independence forces has begun.

Our compañeros are preparing for the worst, working hard to give a correct interpretation of what is happening to the masses concerning the likelihood of increased imperialist repression and also the immense possibilities for quantitative and qualitative growth of the independence movement.

Detroit leafleter wins court victory

By MICHAEL SMITH

DETROIT — Attorney Ron Reosti announced Nov. 7 that Wayne County Circuit Court Judge John Swainson will rule favorably on a case concerning the right to pass out leaflets in front of Detroit high schools.

Mr. Reosti's client, SMC activist Peter Herreshof, had been ticketed over six months ago for distributing an anti-war leaflet to students at Denby High School.

The judge will rule that an ordinance Detroit police assigned to monitor high schools were using as a basis to ticket activists applies only to commercial handouts and not to political literature—whose distribution is protected by the First Amendment.

Police harassment had been sporadic until last summer when SDS Weathermen adventures in a number of schools put school administrators and their police collaborators uptight. Ticket issuance became systematic and because the fine was stiff—\$25—leafleting became prohibitive. As a result, of course, many political opportunities were lost while the legal challenge dragged through three courts.

New York meeting voices protest

Rightists attack Puerto Rico MPI

By RACHEL GAGE
NEW YORK, Nov. 11—A meeting to build support for the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), which has recently been the target of a series of attacks, drew over 250 people here today. In the latest attack on Nov. 7, MPI headquarters in Puerto Rico was virtually destroyed and members subjected to vicious physical attack by police.

The meeting at St. Marks Church on New York's East Side consisted almost entirely of Puerto Rican youth with a handful of black and white supporters as well as some people from other Latin countries. Many were members of MPI; others were from the Young Lords, Lucha, PRISA and Unica as well as various campus groups.

During the meeting an excellent film was shown of the events in Puerto Rico from Sept. 26 to the latest attack on Nov. 7. Speakers called for support to the struggle against ROTC at the University of Puerto Rico, civil liberties for all independence groups, and the organized defense of political prisoners. Several speakers called for a united front of all Puerto Ricans to struggle on campus, in the unions, and in the community to protest the current repression.

On Nov. 7, MPI headquarters in San Juan was savagely attacked by a mob of as yet unreported origin protesting the University's decision to phase out ROTC. This decision had been a major

victory for FUPI (Federation of Pro-Independence Students) which led the struggle for the elimination of ROTC. The mob had previously been prevented from entering the campus by a crowd of 5,000 students lead by FUPI.

When the mob could not enter the campus, they went to the nearby MPI headquarters, began throwing Molotov cocktails and rocks and finally ransacked it and set it on fire. Although the police were present, they refused to stop the destruction or protect the 40 people inside the building.

According to Benjamin Ortiz, a representative of MPI here, four members were shot and 25 to 30 were beaten by riot police. MPI members were not armed. The cops shot upstairs and through walls. After the building was set on fire, members emerged and asked for protection. Instead, they were attacked and dragged from the scene.

Finally, at 1 a.m., a Civil Rights Commission lawyer offered MPI members help in leaving the area and they were taken to the Commission headquarters where they were offered legal assistance. A complaint has been filed by the CRC and an investigation will be made by the district attorney's office.

Independence sentiment among young people generally, and especially young organized workers, has been growing, and FUPI has been winning increasingly widespread support among students. An alliance between FUPI, the university student council, and the Puerto Rican Workers Organization was

recently signed. Members of the union now striking General Electric in Puerto Rico have asked FUPI for support, according to Ortiz. Half the circulation of *Claridad*, MPI's newspaper, is to workers and 90 percent to people under 30. FUPI has been successful in encouraging men not to serve in the U. S. military.

Leaders of MPI expect further repression and arrests. However, they have

no doubts that the organization will continue to function, to educate people on the need for Puerto Rican independence and to defend those attacked.

Those who wish to make a contribution to the defense of those arrested since Sept. 26 and help MPI continue its struggle should send contributions to: P. O. Box 241, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York. N. Y. 10009.



CONTINUING FIGHT. Scene in San Juan, 1957, as students opened fight against ROTC.

Sub drive
near windup

By BEV SCOTT
Business Manager

NOV. 12 — This is the last week of our two-month subscription drive for new readers of The Militant and Young Socialist. We need less than 600 subscriptions to fulfill our quota, and we are confident that these subscriptions will be sold at the numerous antiwar rallies scheduled this week, as well as the big demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.

Twelve cities have already surpassed their subquotas, and for seven of these cities, these were quotas which they had increased in the course of the drive. We expect that each city will make 100 percent by the final scoreboard.

Classic oppressor pattern

Palestinian Arab homes blasted

By ROBERT LANGSTON
NEW YORK — One important accomplishment of the Palestine liberation movement has been to convince the world—and especially Israel—that the Palestinians exist, that despite the disaster they have suffered they are capable of organizing and acting to liberate themselves.

For almost 20 years following the expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs in 1948, it was a central theme of Zionist and Israeli propaganda that the Palestinian refugees were "just some more Arabs," whom it morally and legally devolved upon the Arab states "to do something about."

As the Palestinian resistance has intensified, so have the repressive measures of the Zionist state. And the need to justify these measures has gradually led to the admission that the resistance

has great and ever increasing support from the Palestinians.

The Israeli military's preferred method of dealing with people suspected of cooperating with the resistance activists, has been to dynamite their houses, leaving them and their families homeless.

The glaring contradiction between the patent fact that these dynamitings were becoming more frequent and the claim that the resistance didn't have any significant support in the population gave rise to some sophistries that would be comic if they didn't touch on such vast human tragedy.

A few months ago, for example, a "left-wing socialist" member of the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) told me with a straight face that the government had to blow up Arab houses in the occupied territories, not to intimidate the Arabs but because if it didn't take strong measures the Jewish population would be so infuriated at the "isolated terrorist acts" that they would begin lynching Arabs!

Now, however, Israeli officials are beginning to admit that the fedayeen have broad and growing support in the occupied territories. And the military government is confronting their growing problem in a way that is sure to turn whatever remaining neutrals there may be into partisans of the fedayeen.

The new policy seems to have been initiated on Oct. 24, when the Israelis did not demolish a single house but laid waste an entire village. Patrick Brogan reported in the Oct. 27 *London Times* that only two houses and the mosque remained standing in the village of Halhul, near Hebron, after the Israeli action. (The *London Times* reported the following day that all structures had been dynamited.) Most were multiple-dwelling houses, Brogan wrote, and some 60 or 70 families

lost their homes and everything they possessed.

Previously, as James Feron explained in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*, Israeli policy had been to dynamite only the dwellings of "homeowners or occupants who had either participated in sabotage or who had assisted in subversion."

The new policy is quite different. The *Jerusalem Post's* military correspondent, writing in the paper's Nov. 3 weekly overseas edition, explained the reasons for destruction of Halhul: "Behind what can be termed the 'peaceful but noncooperative facade' of the local population (which had not participated in strikes or demonstrations) there had been a constant buildup of terrorist activity. . . ."

Halhul was obliterated following the purported discovery of a resistance group operating in the Hebron area. Some suspects were traced to the village, and at 4 o'clock on the morning of Oct. 24, Israeli troops entered it. They had arrested 12 suspects, but one who was in an apparently abandoned building offered resistance: After the building was surrounded, a grenade was thrown which killed an Israeli officer and injured two policemen.

After consulting with Israeli authorities, the village's mayor persuaded the defiant suspect to give himself up. Two hours later, the village was annihilated.

The rationale of the new policy was spelled out quite clearly by an official of the military government cited by Feron in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*: "There has been more collaboration with terrorists recently. . . . We are saying to them, 'If terrorism continues, life will be unbearable and our defensive measures will make life unbearable.' If it becomes unbearable, then they will have three choices: either fight the terrorists themselves or denounce them to us or suffer."

Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard					
City	Quota	New Subs			
Newark, N.J.	35	43	San Francisco, Calif.	350	314
Boston, Mass.	275	330	DeKalb, Ill.	80	70
Lawrence, Kan.	30	35	Cleveland, Ohio	250	221
Kansas City, Mo.	50	58	Twin Cities, Minn.	250	217
Hayward, Calif.	40	43	Seattle, Wash.	150	127
Boulder, Colo.	60	63	San Diego, Calif.	45	38
Antioch College, Ohio	30	31	Columbus, Ohio	50	41
Atlanta, Ga.	150	156	Berkeley, Calif.	275	223
Providence, R.I.	55	56	Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	19
Phoenix, Ariz.	50	51	Washington, D.C.	75	56
Detroit, Mich.	275	277	Austin, Texas	150	110
Binghamton, N.Y.	100	100	Portland, Ore.	20	13
Philadelphia, Pa.	250	245	Houston, Texas	50	32
Gainesville, Fla.	35	34	Champaign, Ill.	30	18
New York, N.Y.	850	800	East Lansing, Mich.	30	18
Madison, Wis.	100	94	Carbondale, Ill.	25	11
Chicago, Ill.	325	301	Ann Arbor, Mich.	75	32
Los Angeles, Calif.	400	363	Logan, Utah	25	9
Kent, Ohio	75	68	Glen Ellyn, Ill.	15	5
St. Louis, Mo.	30	27	Albany, N.Y.	25	4
Bloomington, Ind.	30	27	General	425	316
			Total	5665	5096

Women's liberation jolts New York Post

By BRYNA TAUBMAN

The following account of a recent struggle between women's liberation forces and the management of the New York Post is reprinted from Women's Monthly, a recently initiated newsletter of the women's liberation movement in New York.

* * *

For several months Lindsay Van Gelder and I had listened to the sarcastic voices of our colleagues at the *New York Post* whenever we talked about women's liberation. Then one day we found them joining the battle on our side, reluctantly, but joining it.

It began when the executive editor became the first man at the *Post* to take women's lib seriously and see our attempt to merely reform the *Post* as a threat to his masculine ego.

We had invoked a contract clause, allowing us to withhold a byline, in the name of women's lib. By informing the

editors that we did not want bylines on stories about women whose only claim to fame was that they were wives of famous men—the specific incident was an assignment on Mrs. Gil Hodges, wife of the Mets manager—we caused an unbelievable amount of conferences, anger, frustration and finally union solidarity.

The executive editor, an aging lady's man with problems of his own, spent two days wishing it was the '30s so that he could fire us, and finally decided that it was. After long chats with him, in which he alternatively threatened and cajoled us, we were fired for gross insubordination. Even our most chauvinistic colleagues wanted to walk out after that. The union, headed at the *Post* by a woman, unliberated but uppity, leaped to our defense, demanding an immediate meeting with management.

Since we were fired on Friday, we spent the weekend wondering what would happen and asking friends from radio, television, wire services and other newspapers to hold off on the story while begging *Post* reporters to wait until the union decided on an action.

The meeting with management on Tuesday partially resolved the problem. We were reinstated—it was that or the threat of a strike—and management was going to ask an arbitrator whether a political issue as "unimportant" as women's lib could be a justified reason for withholding a byline. The issue changed and 75 percent of the chauvinistic *Post* staff arbitrarily withheld their bylines to defend their own rights in the future, forcing management to give up the idea of arbitration.

A week after our firing, the issue was settled. We were reinstated and bylines were back in the *New York Post*. During the incident, however, Lindsay and I found support from several surprising corners, not for women's lib but for withholding our bylines for any reason. The story of our mini-revolt was published in the *Times*, on one of the wire services, mentioned in the *Wall Street Journal*, and last week we got a letter from eight women at the *San Francisco Chronicle*, applauding our stand against male chauvinism.

Things are back to normal at the *Post*. Lindsay and I still don't talk to the executive editor. But during the luncheon for Mets' wives two weeks ago a male reporter was sent to entertain them while we took a long lunch hour.

Seek release of antiwar GI from Ft. Jackson stockade

NEW YORK—In spite of the victory of the Ft. Jackson Eight last spring, when the Army was forced to drop all charges against eight leaders of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, officials at Ft. Jackson are still trying to silence the voice of dissent on base. On Oct. 10, Pvt. E-1 Charles Carson was placed under arrest for "distributing petitions without proper authority."

The petition referred to was one circulated by the GI Press Service of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. That petition appeared in the *New York Times* on Nov. 9, with the signatures of 1,365 active-duty GIs, calling for an immediate end to the war and support for the Nov. 15 antiwar action in Washington.

Carson, 18, was a worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Montgomery, Alabama, before he joined the Army in May of this year. He was outspoken in his opposition to the war and racism both before



TEXAS' FINEST IN ACTION. More than 50 State policemen were called onto University of Texas campus in Austin to clear protesting students and nonstudents out of the Chuckwagon, a restaurant in the student union building. Students and others occupied the restaurant on Nov. 10 after the union board ordered it closed to nonstudents. The board's action came in

response to the restaurant's use of tear gas and other measures to clear the area. The photograph shows the aftermath of the occupation.

Women's group formed among psychologists

Women psychologists took the offensive at this fall's convention of the American Psychological Association, opening a fight to combat both overt and obscured forms of discrimination practiced against them. The result was at least one important victory by the end of the convention, and the formation of the Association for Women Psychologists.

According to *Social Action*, the newsletter of Psychologists for Social Action, momentum for the revolt was supplied by three symposiums—"Women as scientist and subject," "Women as subject," and "What can the behavioral sciences do to modify the world so that women who want to participate meaningfully are not regarded as, and are not in fact, deviant?"

Following one of the symposiums, discussion among the women present revealed that every single one of them felt they had been discriminated against in employment because of sex.

With a little research, several examples of overt sex discrimination in the APA's employment bulletin were turned up. The APA president and executive officer were confronted with the evidence and, after consulting their lawyers, admitted that listing employment opportunities which were for men only was illegal. They agreed to close the recruitment booths of the offenders.

Under pressure from the women, the APA officers were obliged to hold a press conference with the women the next morning, to alert the APA general membership to the problem of sex discrimination.

Activities at the convention also included the circulation of three petitions. The first demanded that the APA accredit only those psychology departments which did not practice sex discrimination toward women. The second demanded that the APA investigate its own practices of sex discrimination and publish its findings prior to the 1970 convention. The third supported abortion as a civil right of women.

Following the initial victory over the policies of the APA hierarchy, the newly formed Association for Women Psychologists met to select a spokesman and corresponding secretary as well as an editor for its newsletter.

Women's liberation panel is held by Columbia YSA

By LORA ECKERT

A panel discussion on "The Struggle for Women's Liberation" was held Nov. 6, sponsored by the Columbia University Young Socialist Alliance as part of its weekly forum series.

The discussion covered a wide range of topics of concern to women's liberation, beginning with the refutation of some of the myths used to maintain the oppression of women.

For example, the myth that working women have inferior jobs partly because women are inherently more prone to illness and absenteeism was countered with figures from a recent government survey which showed no statistical difference in absenteeism between men and women except in one age bracket where women had a .3 percent higher absenteeism record.

Women in the audience knew from personal experience the truth of the quip: "Men with bachelor's degrees are asked to take aptitude tests; women are asked to take typing tests." Exposing blatant discrimination against women on the faculty at Columbia, Rachel DuPlessis of the Columbia Women's Liberation Group pointed out that women earn over half the Ph.D.'s granted by the French department, and yet, there are no women professors in that department.

The need for abortion reform was discussed by Carole MacDonald also of the Columbia Women's Liberation Group. Two of the panelists were plaintiffs in a current suit to legalize abortions in New York state.

Nora Naszger of the Children's Free Commune described how 30 three-year-olds invaded and seized Low Library, the main administration building at Columbia, as part of a fight to set up a free day-care center in one of the five unused, unrented storefronts near the campus owned by the university.

The final speaker on the panel was Pat Grogan, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for city councilwoman in New York. She discussed the relationship between the capitalist system and the subservient role women are forced to play, comparing the situation in the United States to that in Cuba. After the revolution in Cuba institutionalized inequality of the sexes was eliminated. Women were needed to help expand the island's productive capacities, and the government is making an all-out effort to provide the necessary day-care centers to free women from the home and enable them to play a key productive role in society.

Cuba's nursery program is but six years old. In that period, despite shortages of building materials and trained nursery personnel, the revolutionary government has succeeded in providing more free nursery facilities than New York, a city of roughly comparable population, and an awful lot richer.

and after he became a soldier. Carson was confined to the stockade Oct. 19 after nine days of restriction and harassment. Since his confinement, the charge of illegal distribution of a petition has been dropped. He now faces five other charges such as willfully disobeying a direct order to remove his hands from his pockets.

Carson described his treatment in the stockade to his attorney. For almost a week, he said, he had been in the "box," a reconverted refrigerator measuring 5 ft. by 8 ft. He said he had a spotlight on him 24 hours a day. He indicated that he was lucky, however, as he was given a bed while most soldiers who are put in the "box" don't get anything to sleep on at all.

Attorney Howard Moore of Atlanta is acting as Carson's counsel, in association with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee and attorney Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, S. C.

The General Electric strike

Seek to make workers pay for war

By FRANK LOVELL

NOV. 11—As the General Electric strike enters its third week it becomes clear that here is the testing ground of the Nixon administration's domestic economic policy, its determination to hold wages on the home front, to curtail production, and to induce what government economists call a "mini-recession." This is the prescription, they say, to cure inflation.

On Oct. 29, two days after production stopped at GE, Nixon tried to persuade George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and other executive council members that it is in their own best interest and better for workers and for the whole economy if union negotiators accepted a small wage settlement in this bargaining round.

The present high interest rates and "tight money" policy of the big banks, operating through the Federal Reserve Board, combined with federal spending cutbacks in construction, had succeeded in slowing down production and raised unemployment.

On Oct. 7, Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy told the Congress that the existing four percent unemployment rate was "acceptable" to the administration. He added that it is necessary to continue the present fiscal and monetary policies in order to curb prices even though unemployment continues to rise.

These anti-inflationary hopes depend more upon the drive to hold down wages than any concern about prices. The theory is that if a slowdown in production can be induced, an increase in unemployment will undercut labor militancy thus strengthening industry's hand in controlling wages. Then, hopefully, in the wake of this process, prices will begin to level off. Meanwhile, swollen corporate profits remain untouched.

It was in complete accord with this economic outlook that GE, on the same day that Kennedy explained the economic aims of big business and the government, submitted its take-it-or-leave-it wage package to the unions. This "offer" is an increase of 20 cents

Strike delayed by unions at Westinghouse

NOV. 10—The union contract covering wages and working conditions at Westinghouse Electric Corp., GE's largest competitor, was extended on a day-to-day basis when it expired Nov. 9.

This agreement was reached between the corporation and the major unions involved after token changes in the Westinghouse offer which was identical to that submitted by GE on the standard take-it-or-leave-it basis. Westinghouse expanded the original GE offer with an added insult: to give five weeks vacation to workers with 30 or more years service, effective Jan. 1, 1972.

The eagerness of union officials to find gains in this "new" company offer was evidence that they hope to follow the "one-at-a-time strike strategy" employed by UAW officials in the auto industry. Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), says, "We can now concentrate our entire weight on GE."

It is becoming increasingly clear that wage negotiations in the electrical industry are not and cannot be confined to one company, or even to this one industry. The struggle here over the new wage scale has been joined by a considerable section of the ruling class, and by their political puppets in the seats of government.



an hour, up from an average pay of \$3.25, hardly enough to offset the jump in prices during the past year. The new rate, under terms of the GE proposition, would remain in effect for one year at which time wages will be reviewed.

The steps leading up to the strike at GE show that management in this corporation, which stands among the giants of U.S. industry, was anxious to introduce a drastic wage policy that will quickly shift the entire burden of inflation onto the workers by further impoverishing those who are lowest paid.

Management appeared confident that it could succeed, as it has in the past, in operating large sections of its vast industrial complex even if workers in some plants went on strike. It still hopes to operate, if only with a skeleton force of supervisory employees. It seeks sympathy and support from other sectors of industry and relies upon the government for help. It draws upon its vast reserves and its foreign operations from which, according to an announcement just two days after the strike began, it expects this year and next to increase sales by almost \$2 billion. It expects, in the long struggle, to demoralize the strikers and deal heavy blows against the union's capacity to fight effectively on wages and conditions.

Such grandiose plans have a very strong appeal to other industries. Next in line for wage raises come the railroad workers in January, the Teamsters in March, the rubber workers in April, the building tradesmen in May, and then the auto workers in September. The employers in all these industries will be harder to deal with if the strike at GE fails, especially if unemployment continues to grow.

Every branch of government and all sections of the ruling class are now moving to weaken the strike. The courts have issued injunctions against pickets, forcing them to let supervisors and other salaried employees into the plants.

In the Congress there is already talk of "compulsory arbitration of labor-management disputes involving nationwide strikes."

Against all the might of GE and its allies in industry and government, there is a powerful alliance of union forces. The most impressive part of this al-

liance is on the picket lines where GE strikers in different unions march together, all against GE. There is a deep bitterness against the low wages, the fake paternalism, the callous disregard of elementary human needs, the constant reminders of union weakness. These strikers are not out this time simply to march around with signs because they think it may help negotiations along. They are there because they want to get even with GE. Each and every one of them has a personal grievance. Many care little about "job security" with GE. This is what accounts for the new militancy of these strikers.

In addition, there is the mutual support pact among the different union leaders, their policy of coalition bargaining. This is new too. All 13 unions representing GE workers have agreed upon a common set of demands for wage increases over the next 30 months and all are joined in common action to win these demands.

Both George Meany of the AFL-CIO and UAW president Walter Reuther have announced plans to raise strike funds for all GE strikers. They are preparing for a long strike.

One of the reasons these top union officials stand together against GE is their fear of a new pattern in labor-management relations.

In order to press its economic nostrum for inflation ills, the Nixon administration encourages GE methods and attitudes against collaboration with the unions, which is exactly the opposite of the close working relationship and understanding that has existed between these same top union officials and heads of other corporate giants. Fear of an end to their rosy relations has even moved them a bit.



at from Austin's DA to shut down h he labeled a center of "drug abuse, prostitution." Police used mace and people were hospitalized with head rally later in the day drew several dents to the main mall on campus. who took this shot was soon maced.

2,000 march against war in Houston

By RAY ELLINGTON

HOUSTON — The Texas-wide anti-war march here Nov. 9 was the largest demonstration of any kind this city has ever seen. Over 2,000 people joined in the two-mile march and rally, a prelude to Texas participation in the Nov. 15 national march in Washington.

A contingent of 80 GIs from Ft. Hood took part although the FBI had persuaded nearly every bus company not to charter to GIs. The GIs did manage to scrape together two old buses. They estimated that for every soldier who made it, there were 10 more who would have come if not for the lack of transportation and extra-duty assignments for the weekend.

Beginning in a black neighborhood, then marching along one of Houston's major streets, the marchers experienced no incidents of harassment. Most people just watched silently or gave the "V" sign or clenched fist salute.

One speaker at the rally was the famed antiwar ex-Army captain, Dr. Howard Levy. Other speakers included a black Houston high school student, a Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) representative, a Ft. Hood GI, an SDS member, and a businessman from Dallas who got a big applause when he urged everyone to "get on that bus to Washington."

Organizations represented on the march included the Houston Mobilization Committee, the University of Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Austin SMC, the Austin and Houston locals of the YSA, and MAYO.

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From Lenin to Stalin

By Victor Serge

112 pages paper \$1.45
Translated from the French by Ralph Manheim

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

Tufts strike hits job jim crow

By MARK FRIEDMAN

MEDFORD, Mass., Nov. 12 — The Tufts University students are on strike and have pledged not to return to classes until demands by the Tufts Afro Society for the hiring of black and third world workers at the Volpe Construction Company site on campus are met. Several hundred black and white students are currently occupying the computer center, preventing the university computer from operating, intensifying their pressure on the administration.

On Nov. 5 the Afro Society occupied the construction site, 150 strong, and construction was shut down for the day. The university administration, while demanding that the company hire black workers, insists that construction proceed until the job discrimination issue is settled in the courts, thus in all probability permitting completion of the building by a virtually all-white work force.

The strike decision was made after the students awoke Nov. 6 to find the construction site surrounded by 280



Photo by Manuel Russell

Tufts students shut it down

helmeted, badgeless riot police armed with clubs, tear gas, dogs and shotguns. The administration was also armed with a blanket injunction against any demonstrations or leafleting by the Afro Society, later softened to permit demonstrations that "do not obstruct the normal flow of traffic."

The next day the Afro Society escalated its strike activities to include a mill-in in the administration building, in which several hundred took part. At a 12:30 rally of 700 sponsored by the Afro Society and the Young Socialist Alliance, speakers included Beth Shorter of the Tufts Afro Society,

Peter Camejo for the YSA, and a member of the Harvard Afro Society.

At a strategy meeting earlier in the week, the Worker-Student-Alliance faction of SDS had pushed for a building takeover by whites before mobilizing campus support. This proposal was defeated, and the students instead marched to President Hollowell's house, where they fired questions at him and poked holes in his arguments, thereby effectively building broader support for the Afro Society demands.

The Afro Society wants 20 percent of the construction workers to be black and demands a voice in all future and

current construction on campus.

Tony Pharr, an Afro Society spokesman, told this reporter of his hope that the Tufts action will set an example for actions on other college campuses across the country, thereby making a real impact on the discriminatory hiring practices of the construction companies and unions throughout the nation.

The university has offered a compromise proposal that it hire 15 blacks in addition to the 106 workers employed by Volpe, only six of whom are black. This compromise, of course, would not crack through the color bar in the unions and the industry, and was promptly rejected by the Afro Society.

So the strike actions continue. Another mill-in took place Nov. 10.

The faculty decided, 57 to 49, not to support the strike, but a steering committee reflecting the diverse support for the strike has been formed, including faculty and graduate student representatives.

Yesterday, before occupation of the computer center began, the Volpe office in Malden, Mass., was picketed, but police barred the entrance, preventing a planned sit-in.

Mockery of justice at Ft. Dix

By JOEL ABER

On Nov. 10 six stoney-faced Ft. Dix Army officers railroaded Jeffrey Russell to three years hard labor and a dishonorable discharge.

Russell's conviction was a cruel travesty of justice, but it wasn't exactly a smashing victory for the Army brass. Initially Pvt. Russell faced charges that could have drawn 60 years in jail, but the Army was forced to back down in the face of coverage sympathetic to Russell in the mass media, embarrassing revelations about stockade conditions and the total discrediting of the prosecution's case by its own witnesses.

Like 90 percent of the soldiers in the overcrowded Ft. Dix stockade last June, Jeffrey Russell was there for the common "crime" of going AWOL. He also had the misfortune of being known by the brass as a Buddhist, a pacifist, and ergo a "troublemaker." On June 5 a so-called "riot" broke out by prisoners protesting the inhuman stockade conditions.

At first the brass tried to shift blame

for the incident from the sadistic stockade authorities to the GIs by bringing charges against 38 of them. Charges were eventually dropped against all but nine who were given relatively minor special courts-martial and four, including Pvt. Russell, who faced full general courts-martial. Russell was the first to be tried.

The prosecution's case was so weak that it agreed to drop a conspiracy charge against Russell at a pretrial hearing leaving only the two charges on which he was eventually convicted, riot and arson.

Every prosecution witness embarrassed the Army with his testimony. Pvt. Joseph Pettit, the only witness to say, as the Army alleged, that Pvt. Russell had thrown a footlocker out the window testified under cross-examination that the Criminal Intelligence Division had told him "it would help my case a bit better if I told them what I remembered."

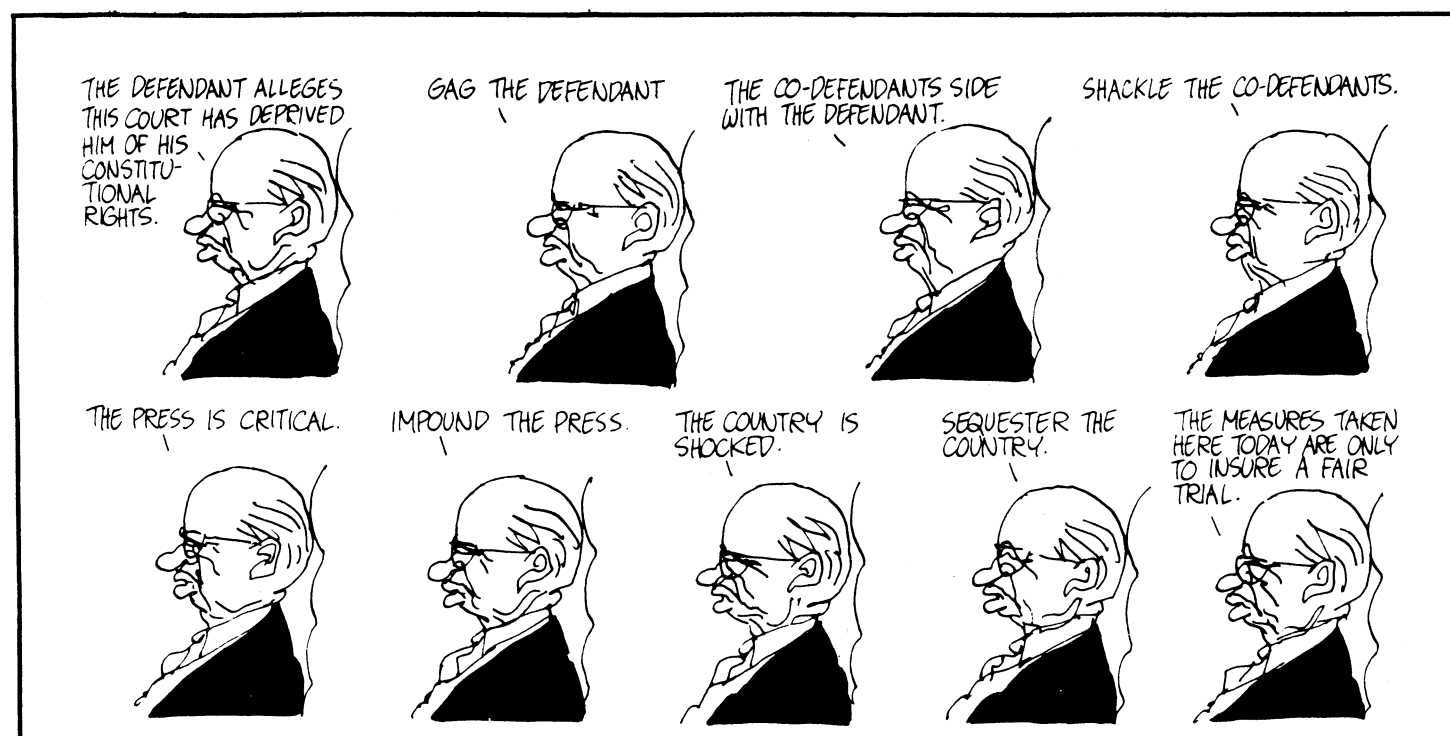
Pvt. Allen Farrell testified that a statement he had given to CID was erroneous: It contained "everything they

wanted me to say." At another point Farrell answered a prosecution question, "I forgot what answers you told me to say to that." The prosecution tried unsuccessfully to have Farrell declared "a hostile witness" after his honest answers.

Pvt. William Miller, also testifying for the prosecution, said that he had witnessed frequent beatings of prisoners and mentioned that he and Russell had frequently discussed the "horrible conditions" in the stockade. A final prosecution witness, Airman John H. Fisk, was no better at corroborating the Army's fairy tale; he refused to testify without an attorney.

Following the trial it was learned that the brass is investigating Fisk for a possible charge of perjury. They must believe that his silence was a lie!

This was the total evidence on which six exceedingly impartial officers convicted Pvt. Jeffrey Russell. Russell's team of attorneys from the Workers Defense League, headed by Rowland Watts and Judith Vladeck, immediately announced plans to appeal.



Artists' view of Chicago Conspiracy 8 trial.

Jules Feiffer/The Village Voice/L.A.S

CALENDAR

BOSTON

POLITICS AND THE BLACK STRUGGLE: A MARXIST VIEW. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, 1969 candidate of Socialist Workers Party for mayor of New York. Fri., Nov. 21, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307. Donation: 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

RALLY TO LAUNCH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SENATORIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. Speaker: Paul Lodico, candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Nov. 21, 8:00 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Contrib: 75c, 35c unemployed and students. Ausp. Militant Forum. (No forum following week due to holidays.)

LOS ANGELES

41ST ANNIVERSARY BANQUET FOR THE MILITANT. Special guest speaker: Farrell Dobbs. Sat., Nov. 29. Refreshments 6 p.m., Dinner 7 p.m., Program 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St., Tel. 269-4953. Dona. \$5, students \$2.50.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH REVOLT AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM. Speaker: Nelson Blackstock, editor of the Young Socialist, 8 p.m., Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m., 1 University Pl., NE. Contrib. 75c, students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

WHAT NEXT FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? Speakers: Irving Beinin, Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee; Marilyn Marcossan, Joanna Misnik, New York Student Mobilization Committee; representative, New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Fri., Nov. 21, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (nr. 18th St.). Contrib. \$1; h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY: THE LEBANESE CRISIS AND THE ARAB REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS. Speaker: Robert Langston, staff writer for The Militant, recently returned from the Mideast. Fri., Nov. 21, 8:30 p.m., 686 N. Broad St. (cor. Fairmount) Dona. \$1; students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Paul Boutelle answers inquiry

Should blacks run on multi-national ticket?

I was asked by *The Militant* to respond to your letter. I'm sorry that the pressure of time was such that I could not do so until the campaign was over.

You raise two important questions: 1) Isn't there a contradiction between my activities as a member of the SWP and my support for building an all-black political party? And 2) Why don't black revolutionaries in the YSA and SWP get together with other black radicals to form a black political party?

In answering these, it is necessary first of all to understand the basic nature of the black liberation movement in this country. This struggle has two aspects. On the one hand, it is an independent struggle with its own unique and separate characteristics and demands. To carry this independent struggle forward, we need a mass black political party—a party controlled and run by black people, which is based on the liberation struggle of black people, and which can fight for black control of all aspects of life in the black community.

At the same time, the struggle of black people, while independent, is also part of and interrelated with a broader struggle against the capitalist system. Within the U.S. there are struggles against oppression going on which include people of all nationalities including Puerto Ricans, Jews, Chicanos, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Scandinavians, etc. If we are to be successful in the fight against the system, we also have to build a multi-national revolutionary party which can unite these broader forces, which can coordinate these struggles and lead them in a revolutionary direction.

Revolutionaries in the U.S. face a powerful opponent—the wealthiest and strongest ruling class in the world. A multi-national revolutionary party is absolutely necessary to coordinate and unite the struggle against this enemy, which is united.

Thus both types of parties are needed—a black party which is based on the national struggle of black people for self-determination, and a revolutionary socialist party, which is based on the class perspective of mobilizing and uniting the working masses of all nationalities in the struggle for socialism.

There is thus no contradiction be-

tween building a revolutionary socialist party and building a black party, just as there is no contradiction between building the SWP and building the Chicano movement, the antiwar movement, the labor movement, or any other movement of struggle. On the contrary, we believe that to the greatest degree possible revolutionaries should be in the front ranks of these movements, attempting to give them leadership and to carry them forward.

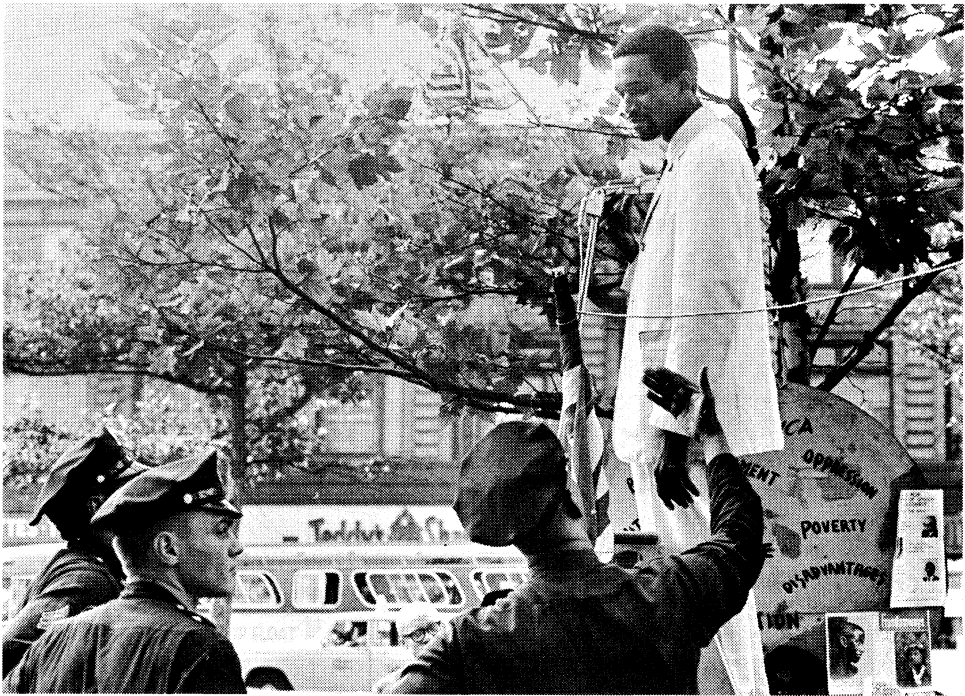
In the antiwar movement, for example, the SWP has been able to play a vanguard role, and has been in the forefront of building the large actions.

Because we are active in the antiwar movement, it doesn't mean that our members leave the SWP in order to join that movement. On the contrary, we find that by belonging to the SWP, by drawing on the lessons learned by the SWP during its many years of struggle, we are better able to build and help give leadership to the antiwar movement.

The same thing applies to the black liberation movement. To move this struggle forward, it is necessary to build a strong socialist organization with a clear program of struggle which bases itself on the lessons drawn from struggles of the past.

The Socialist Workers Party was the first radical organization in this country to call for and campaign actively for a black party. And we have participated in a number of attempts to bring such a party into being. As early as 1963, we participated in the formation of the Freedom Now Party, which was the first attempt at building a black party, and which ran a slate of candidates in the 1964 Michigan state election. Another independent movement which we supported in every way possible was Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Wherever possible—at black power conferences, during our election campaigns, in our literature—we have attempted to raise the concept of bringing black people together to form a black party. We have supported the campaigns of independent black candidates when we felt these campaigns would help lay the groundwork for building a party independent of the Republicans and Democrats.



Paul Boutelle being arrested for speaking in Harlem in 1964. Police imposed ban on him while he was a leading spokesman for the Freedom Now Party. After joining the Socialist Workers Party, he tested ban to see if it still applied and found it did. Boutelle was later acquitted by the courts.

Questions Boutelle campaign role

Plainfield, Vt.

Editor:

I generally agree with the SWP's analysis of black liberation and I see the need for an independent black party. It seems to me the primary task of serious black revolutionaries is to build such a party. Why then, do black radicals such as Paul Boutelle and others spend their time building the SWP rather than creating a viable political alternative for the black masses?

The way to build an independent black revolutionary party is for black revolutionaries to band together and begin organizing and agitating in their own name, not in the name of the YSA and SWP. Paul Boutelle, if he really feels the need for a new black party should be running for mayor under the banner of such a party—not SWP. It is inconsistent, after passing a resolution calling for a new black party, for black SWP'ers to spend the major portion of their time doing anything but forming and building such a party.

F.D.

You comment in your letter that if I was really serious about forming a black political party then I would run for mayor under the banner of such a party—not the SWP. The fact is that in 1964 I did run for office under the banner of such a black party—the Freedom Now Party. And it was as a result of this very experience that I saw the need to build a socialist movement in this country.

The limited accomplishments of the FNP campaign and the problems we faced in trying to build the Freedom Now Party gave me a better understanding of the difficulties of building a mass black party. I began to realize that in order to create a viable organization we had to first draw together a strong cadre of people who were politically conscious and experienced, and who had a serious long-run perspective for organizing the masses of black people. I found that the SWP was an organization which had begun to build such a cadre and—paradoxical as this may sound—I have been able as an SWP member and candidate to reach more black people about the need to form a black party than I did as a candidate of the FNP.

Building a black party is a highly complicated task—something which takes more than a handful of well-meaning people. By building a mass black political party you begin to challenge the whole capitalist-controlled two-party system in this country. It would mean that for the first time in history, the masses of oppressed people would be organized politically independent of ruling class control. So momentous a task as this will take time, and it will take conscious political leadership.

One of the clearest examples of the difficulties involved is the recent experience of the Black Panther Party. The BPP has made important contributions to the struggle, and during the period in 1968 when it was experiencing its most rapid growth, many people including myself hoped that it would help to lay the basis for the formation of a truly mass black political party. But, the BPP has been plagued with serious weaknesses which have retarded its development and made it difficult for that party to effectively counter the attacks of the racist authorities.

The ultraleft verbiage of the party, the lack of consistent participation in mass struggles going on in the community and on the campus, and the lack of internal democracy and threats of violence against those in the movement who disagreed with them—all these have served to isolate the Panthers from the community.

Moreover, the absence of internal democracy in the Black Panther Party has made it impossible for black revolutionaries who have disagreed with these policies to participate in the party and help overcome these weaknesses. Not only have black SWP'ers and YSA'ers been excluded from membership—but whole Panther branches have been expelled when they took positions which did not agree with those of the

top leaders in Oakland.

Such experiences as these have convinced me that indispensable to the task of building a black party is the construction of a solid Marxist cadre which is educated in the central concepts needed to build a mass movement. Such a cadre will have to be able to formulate a program which is neither ultra-left nor reformist. It will have to understand the importance of democratic procedures in building a mass movement. And it will have to understand the relationship between the nationalist and class aspects of the black liberation struggle.

Black members of the SWP and YSA are anxious to join with anyone that is serious about creating a black party, and who is in general agreement with us on what needs to be done to carry this out. By ourselves, we do not have the forces to build such a party, and it would be artificial for us to attempt to do so.

As revolutionaries, we are moving ahead with a series of activities which are helping to lay the groundwork for a black party. We are concentrating on five areas:

1) Participating in and helping to give leadership to struggles in the community and on the campus for black control of institutions which affect the lives of black people. Such struggles as these are important in laying the basis for organization of a mass black party because it is through participation in such struggles for black control of the community that increased numbers of people will become conscious of the need to build a black party which can fight for overall political control of the community.

2) Participation in the struggle to end the war in Vietnam, a struggle which helps to radicalize both the black and the white communities and which exposes the Democratic and Republican parties.

3) The carrying out of an educational campaign to explain the need for a black party making use of literature, public meetings, election campaigns, etc. The great majority of black voters still support the Democrats, or liberal Republicans like Lindsay. Even many black radicals who consider themselves revolutionary do not really understand or agree on the need for a mass black party independent of and in opposition to the capitalist parties. There is an urgent need for education (in Marxist terms, propaganda) to convince black vanguard elements, and through them, broader forces, that a black party can and must be created.

4) Education and training of black people, including ourselves, in Marxism so that we can absorb the lessons that can be learned from past revolutionary struggles.

5) Recruitment of black people who are developing a revolutionary consciousness to the ranks of the SWP, the party which is building the cadre to coordinate the overall struggle for socialism, and the party with the clearest and staunchest perspective for building a mass black party.

Book review

Antonio Gramsci: great Italian Marxist

ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM. By John M. Cammett. Stanford University Press. 306 pages. \$2.95. **THE MODERN PRINCE AND OTHER WRITINGS.** By Antonio Gramsci. New World Paperbacks. 192 pages. \$1.85.

The life and work of Antonio Gramsci should be of special interest to today's revolutionaries. His generation's experience in the brief revolutionary period of pre-Mussolini Italy foreshadowed the present social and political upheaval on the continent of Europe. And Gramsci, the most clear-sighted and creative Marxist on the West European scene, left a scarlet thread of political sanity where the leftists of other stripes left a trail of verbal pseudo-revolutionism, ultraleft abstentionism and political opportunism.

A student at the University of Turin, near the center of the Fiat industry, in Italy's industrialized Piedmont region, Gramsci became a revolutionary socialist in the Socialist Party youth movement. Following the Bolshevik victory of 1917, he became an ardent follower of Lenin.

Italy's Socialist Party, unlike all the other European workers' parties outside of the Russians, had not supported its government during the war. It even joined the Comintern two weeks after it was founded in 1919. But the Italian SP was centrist. That is, it verbally supported revolution but in practice gave the open reformists within it free rein. Capitalizing on the prestige of the party, these elements dominated the activity of the trade union movement and made the party incapable of coordinating the workers' revolutionary struggle on a national scale and leading a struggle for power.

The Turin Communists around Gramsci, however, had developed a program for the practical transfer of control in the factories to the workers, on the basis of adapting the Russian workers' councils to Western European conditions. In the tumultuous months at the end of the World War, they tested this program for workers' control in action and emerged with a rich experience. But the SP leadership refused to adopt the workers' council idea as its own and blocked the effective national de-

Italian CP bureaucracy worried by new dissidents

TURIN, Italy (Revolutionary Collective/LNS) — Italy's long period of intense social turmoil has not left the Italian Communist Party unshaken. Last week, three solid days of debate in the party's central committee attempted to exorcise the ideological heresies of a new political journal, *Il Manifesto*. The journal was founded in June by a dissident group, which includes three central committee members, for the purpose of opening an unlimited debate on the most fundamental issues of the party's life and organization.

The Italian Communist Party (PCI) with 1,600,000 members is the largest Communist Party in the West. Having harvested some 8,500,000 votes (27 percent) in the last national elections of May 1968, it is one of the most important political forces in Italy. With the PCI hoping to enter a new Italian left-wing government sometime in the not-too-distant future, the present internal ideological crisis is of no small importance.

The 12th Party Congress held early this year reaffirmed the PCI's reformist political line: the socialist state will be created through an ever increasing series of PCI electoral victories. Most of the young militants of the student movement have long since given up the party as hopelessly integrated into the "system." The *Il Manifesto* comrades, however, decided to work from within and the first issue of *Il Manifesto* came out in June of this year as an expression of that dissenting position.

The challenge of *Il Manifesto* strikes at three fundamental levels. At the practical level, they cite the party's clear inability to creatively relate to the new mass movements of students and workers that have exploded onto the scene in the last two years.

This has led the *Il Manifesto* com-

rades to a theoretical analysis that would call into question the basic tenets of Leninist democratic centralism upon which model all of the traditional communist parties have been constructed. As a still somewhat vague alternative, they propose a kind of organization resembling the soviets of the October revolution, an organization that would grow out of the spontaneous, revolutionary agitations of the masses.

Finally, at the international level—departing from the theoretical analysis of democratic centralism and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia—all of the PCI's traditional relationships with the Soviet bloc socialist states are called into question.

The reaction of the party bureaucracy (the central committee) was predictable. All of the theses of *Il Manifesto* were categorically rejected and the traditional line of the party warmly affirmed. At the same time, the PCI's political position is very delicate and open censorship would have been quite costly. Instead, the *Il Manifesto* group are officially accused of "inadmissible factionalist activity" and a campaign of "democratic debate" is called for to penetrate into every level of the party "to combat and reject that activity."

However, even this response is significant. For the first time in the party's history, a party-wide debate has been opened by the bureaucracy on fundamental political issues raised by a dissenting minority.

[Editor's note: While we disagree with the reported view of the *Il Manifesto* group which equates the Leninist concept of democratic centralism with the Stalinist bureaucratic perversion of it, we believe the emergence of the *Il Manifesto* group is one more expression of growing ideological difficulties of the Italian CP.]



Communist-led demonstration in Rome as fascist government fell at end of World War II.

velopment of a system of workers' councils.

In 1920, a defensive action under reformist leaders spontaneously escalated into the revolutionary occupation of the factories by the workers. Gramsci alone understood the meaning of this, on the one hand recognizing the objective verification of his program and on the other hand fearing that this occupation, combined with the refusal of the SP to organize it, would result in the ruling class's moving desperately towards the Fascists as a means of dealing with the intense social and political crisis. Here, the Turin Communists fought again for the nationwide application of the transitional idea of workers' councils. Again, the SP blocked the way. Trotsky wrote later that Gramsci was the only Italian leader that understood what this failure could cost the Italian workers.

By now it had become obvious that a definitive break with the reformists had to be made, even if that meant splitting with the center faction in the SP to accomplish it. But the new party, the Italian Communist Party, was hamstrung in its early stages by another danger, ultraleftism. A large "Communist" group around Amadeo Bordiga, the Neapolitan workers' leader, also opposed the SP reformism, but it regarded the transitional program of workers' control as reformist and it refused to engage in parliamentary struggles to reach the workers or apply the tactic of the united front.

This was all the more dangerous as, by now, Italy was living under Mussolini, whose government was trying desperately to stabilize itself. The first task of the revolutionary left was to make this impossible by emphasizing the need for a massive antifascist front and pushing other democratic demands to isolate Mussolini from the masses. In this democratic mobilization, the revolutionary vanguard could have consolidated itself on a national scale and reopened the road toward the revolutionary overthrow of the Fascist regime.

The internal struggle with the Bordigists made the CP incapable of leading this fight. Political victory over Bordiga came too late; the Gramscian

CP was driven underground and Gramsci himself was soon imprisoned, isolated from the party. The second tragedy came when Gramsci's former co-worker and the new leader of the CP, Togliatti, went over to Stalinism and took the apparatus of the party with him.

"We must stop [Gramsci's] brain from functioning for twenty years," Mussolini's prosecutor had said. Gramsci died shortly after his release from prison in 1937, after ten years' incarceration.

But Gramsci's prison notebooks contain what are, in my opinion, some of the most thought-provoking studies ever written by a Marxist. One of the most important topics, the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party, is treated by Gramsci in a highly interesting way. It is the subject of *The Modern Prince*. Here Gramsci argues that Machiavelli's *Prince* was intended as a guide, not to the princes who already knew and practiced "political science," but to the rising bourgeoisie whose historic tasks were to unify the nation-state and throw off foreign domination. *The Modern Prince* is intended as a guide to the revolutionary party of the 20th century which will lead the workers to solve the next array of tasks history has posed before humanity.

Cammett's book is the first English-language attempt at a biography of Gramsci and it is a capable work. Together, these two books give us a good introduction, from a special vantage point of problems we face today in more mature form, and the responses of a man who was one of the best revolutionaries of his time.

—JAN GARRETT

**Fascism: What It Is
How to Fight It**

By Leon Trotsky

50 cents

Merit Publishers
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

The Great Society

Imagine the enemy—Hanging Judge Hoffman, who denied Bobby Seale the right to an attorney of his choice, and had him shackled, gagged and sentenced to prison for protesting, said: "I'm as good a friend of the black man as they have in this community."

It figures—The National Council on Hunger disclosed that \$400,000 allocated to feed the poor is being turned over to a private company to finance a White House conference on nutrition. The conference, in turn, will no doubt establish that hungry people should eat more.

How appropriate can you get?—A White House sponsored Halloween pumpkin-carving contest was won by a Secret Service agent who sliced out the face of a witch.

T. S. Dep't—If you think you've got troubles with the high cost of living, consider this. Prince Phillip of Britain says that unless the Queen gets an increased expense allowance, they may have to move out of Buckingham Palace. They haven't had an increase since 1951 when they were allotted about \$1.1 million a year, which has to cover additional items besides household expenses. The Prince said they've already had to sell one of their yachts and he may have to give up polo.

The revolution-makers — Declaring that a revolutionary attitude is developing among masses of Americans who now consider accesss to medical care a right rather than a privilege, Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Foundation said that if rectification of the situation is left to the medical profession, "the volcano will have erupted long since."

Like the man was saying—A spokesman for the American Medical Asso-

ciation advised a congressional committee that "greed and avarice are least obvious in the medical profession than any other, possibly excluding the ministry."

Calling Dr. Kafka—Five years after she withdrew from her postmaster's job in Lincoln Park, Mich., because of a heart ailment, Mrs. Marguerite Wilson was denied reappointment to the still vacant job. Finally, to still her protest she was permitted to take a physical which showed she was able to hold down the job. Then it was ruled she could apply for a substitute clerk's job except that physical showed that she wasn't strong enough for that particular post. Meanwhile, she was advised that since she was well enough to work, she was no longer eligible for disability pension.

Die-in deal—A Michigan ski resort offers burial plots near its slopes. We hear that coupon-dispensing cigarette companies may follow up by offering cemetery space among their premiums.

Still a minority—Those readers who get upset about this column occasionally relaying data on the lethal qualities of tobacco can relax. A current study shows that pro-smoking propaganda still outruns the anti three-to-one.

Costume jewelry—That \$1,050,000 diamond acquired by Liz Burton is fitted to be used either as a ring or pendant. "She'll wear the necklace with an evening dress," a Cartier spokesman explained, "and the ring with slacks." And maybe with a miniskirt she could wear it on a garter.

Losing faith?—Opening prayers in the Senate are now strictly limited to two minutes.

—HARRY RING

Reading for revolutionaries

Origins of socialist theory

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC. By Frederick Engels. 96 pp. \$1.

In this relatively short work, Engels has succinctly explained the difference between the socialism jointly elaborated by him and Marx and that which preceded them. In the course of making the comparison, he shows how the new ideas he and Marx popularized grew out of the conceptions of socialism held by others whose theories were not fully thought out.

Engels pays a tribute to thinkers like Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen who lived and worked in the earlier years of the 19th century at the dawn of modern capitalism. They could not project their thinking into a time when conditions would be radically altered by the inexorable march of capitalist development but they were advanced thinkers for their time. They laid a basis upon which a scientific socialism could be and was constructed.

Engels also acknowledges the debt he and Marx owed to that philosophy which culminated in the system worked out by Hegel. He explains how Marx combined the Hegelian dialectical system with the materialist conception in a way that resulted in a scientifically correct method that stands to this day as the highest achievement of human thought.

This work is actually a history starting with medieval times, passing through the bourgeois revolutions, and looking forward to the socialist society. In following this course, we become acquainted with French and German philosophers, British political economy and French revolutionary events, all of which are included in the development of the ideas of scientific socialism.

There are especially rich passages that explain the shortcomings of the 18th century thinkers, particularly the French philosophers, who based themselves upon "reason," a rational society, a rational government and so on. While these men were revolutionary for their times, what they were really advocating was the bourgeois society. However, this society, when it was finally realized, soon revealed its own contradictions. To resolve these, a socialist society was needed.

The early spokesmen for a society that would go beyond bourgeois society already appeared in the bourgeois revolutions. In Germany, the Anabaptists and Thomas Munzer; in England, the Levellers; in France, Baboeuf. But they were before their time. On the other hand, their example led to the formulation of the first specifically socialist theories, which though insufficient, led in turn to the discoveries of Marx and Engels.



Frederick Engels

Thus, a historical chain is constructed in which the successive links are connected to one another and, in fact, strengthened in its totality. Socialism passes from its utopian to its scientific stage.

Engels places two discoveries in the foremost position as the main elements in the passage from utopian to scientific socialism. These are: 1) the materialist conception of history; and 2) the explanation of capitalist production through surplus value. He modestly gives full credit to Marx for these discoveries but his own role was a great one.

—MILTON ALVIN

FCC approves New York, Houston Pacifica stations

NEW YORK — The Federal Communications Commission has renewed the license of New York Pacifica Foundation station WBAI-FM. Over the years, the FCC has shown reluctance in renewing the license of the independent, listener-sponsored station.

Also, the Commission granted Pacifica a license to operate a listener-sponsored, noncommercial radio station in Houston, Texas. The station, which will operate on 90.1 mc, has named Feb. 15, 1970, as a target date for its initial broadcast. Veteran Houston reporter Larry Lee has been named general manager of the new station. Call letters have not yet been assigned.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Strnad, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

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 Standiff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, 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.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

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., Ypsilanti, 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, Schordell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Allan Pump, 158 Hamilton St., E. Orange, 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: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

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

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Janet Gogolick, Antioch Union, Yellow Sprin s, 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, 1319 F. St., Rm 1010 Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 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.

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Act to bar hounding of antiwar soldiers

By ROBERT LANGSTON
NEW YORK, Nov. 12 — The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee announced today it will file suit against the Secretary of Defense and other government officials to block persecution of the 1,365 GIs who signed an antiwar statement that appeared as a full-page ad in last Sunday's *New York Times*.

According to a Chicago Daily News syndicate story by William McGaffin, which appeared in yesterday's *New York Post*, on Nov. 10 "lawyers from the judge advocate sections of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps spent the day trying to determine what to do about the GIs whose names appeared in the ad."

But the brass is not waiting for their lawyers to decide what actions, in patent violation of the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, might have a chance of standing up in some kangaroo-court-martial or other. They have already begun harassment of the GIs involved.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has learned of at least one soldier in Washington, D. C., who has been hit with a punitive transfer for having signed the statement.

At a press conference today, representatives of the Student Mobilization Committee, which sponsored the ad, produced the petitions for news personnel to inspect. Since there is no question about the authenticity of the petitions, the brass' questioning of the signers can only be an attempt to intimidate them and other antiwar GIs.

The brass is aware of the fact that there is nothing they can legally do

against the dissidents. McGaffin points out that "nobody appears to be certain at this point whether any action will be taken."

The three attorneys present at today's press conference — Dorian Bowman of the firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin; Allen Levine of the New York Civil Liberties Union; and Prof. Dan Collins of the New York University Law School, who is chairman of the New York New Democratic Coalition — stressed that the catchall Article 134 of the Military Code could not legally be applied in this case. To do so would be to violate First Amendment guarantees of free speech, the Uniform Code of Military Justice definition of constitutional rights, and the Pentagon's regulations affirming the right of members of the armed forces to circulate written material expressing dissent from government policy.

The antiwar GIs' statement read: "We are 1,365 active-duty servicemen. We are opposed to the American involvement in the war in Vietnam."

"We resent the needless wasting of lives to save face for the politicians in Washington."

"We speak, believing our views are shared by our fellow servicemen."

"Join us!"

At today's news conference, representatives of the GI CLDC presented a statement which said in part: "Reports that the military has been interrogating GIs who have signed the ad convince us that the Pentagon is illegally harassing and attempting to intimidate GIs who have chosen to express their point of view by signing the ad. This interroga-

Pentagon Problem: How To Muzzle Militant GIs

By WILLIAM MCGAFFIN

WASHINGTON (CDN) — The Pentagon has been thrown into a quandary by 1365 active-duty servicemen who have endorsed the Vietnam protest march on Washington organized by the New Mobilization Committee.

The question the Pentagon brass is now trying to resolve is whether the GIs, who range in rank from private to sergeant, did anything illegal by permitting their names to appear in an advertisement.

The full-page ad, which appeared in the Sunday edition of *The New York Times*, contains this message:

"We are 1365 active-duty servicemen who are opposed to American involvement in the war in Vietnam."

"We resent the needless wasting of lives to save face for the politicians in Washington."

"We speak, believing our views are shared by many of our fellow servicemen."

"Join us!"

Brass Surprised

After the ad appeared, the Pentagon began a spot sampling to try to determine how many of the men knew in advance the wording of the protest in the ad and whether they actually signed a petition of protest. If a pattern is developed by the sampling, all 1365 may be contacted.

Pentagon officials were frankly surprised that this many GIs would permit their names to be used in a protest ad. They

are convinced, however, that Vietnam dissent is not widespread in the armed forces.

One general officer who has just returned from Vietnam said that of 7000 men in his unit, only six were dissenters. And of the six, only two had to be court-martialed.

Yesterday lawyers from the judge advocate sections of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps spent the day trying to determine what to do about the GIs whose names appeared in the ad.

One Pentagon source confided: "They are finding it difficult to nail it as an illegal act."

The Pentagon obviously does not like it one bit. But nobody appears to be certain at this point whether any action will be taken. There is only one sentence in the ad that could get the GIs into trouble. This is the one that says: "We resent the needless wasting of lives to save face for the politicians in Washington."

Code Violation

Some Pentagon officials felt this could be interpreted as a violation of Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. This is a catchall article that says, in part, that "all conduct of a nature to bring discredit upon the armed forces" shall result in a court-martial and punishment at the discretion of the court.

One Pentagon official said that he would rather see the GIs subjected to a less severe

form of discipline under Article 15. Instead of being court-martialed, they would be punished by their company commanders and the punishment might, for example, include such items as a couple of months' loss of pay or a reduction one grade in rank.

In addition to the legal aspect of the case, however, the Pentagon officials also are evaluating the psychological implications. One factor they are weighing is whether it would be wise to make martyrs out of these men by throwing the book at them.

Another problem is what orders to lay down to local commanders about GIs who want to demonstrate Saturday. In the ad, the GIs urged readers to "join hundreds of thousands of Americans from all walks of life who will march in Washington and San Francisco to demand that all the troops be brought home from Vietnam now."

They note that GIs, as American citizens, "have the Constitutional right to join these demonstrations." In the past, however, they say, military authorities "have often restricted servicemen to their bases, thus effectively preventing them from participating in demonstrations against the war."

The ad urges readers to write to the President and their Congressmen "to demand that GIs not be prevented from participating in the Nov. 15 demonstrations."

Publisher's list features new work by Malcolm X

NEW YORK — Merit Publishers has announced the following list of forthcoming books for winter-spring publication:

By Any Means Necessary. By Malcolm X. Edited by George Breitman. Speeches, articles, interviews, many of which have never before appeared in print. This is a companion volume to *Malcolm X Speaks*.

W. E. B. DuBois Speaks. With a tribute to Dr. DuBois by Martin Luther King. Edited by Philip S. Foner. From DuBois' speech on Jefferson Davis at the Harvard commencement exercises in 1890 to his speech on the *Encyclopedia Africana* at the University of Ghana in 1962.

GIs Speak Out Against the War: The Case of the Fort Jackson Eight. Interviews of participants by Fred Halstead. Introduction by Attorney Michael Smith. What happens when GIs insist upon their constitutional rights to assemble and speak against the war in Vietnam. Told by participants in the precedent-setting case at Fort Jackson which went into the federal courts and resulted in new army directives on how to deal with dissent. An inside look at army life, the Vietnam war, and the thinking of today's citizen-soldiers.

Black Voices From Prison. By Etheridge Knight and other inmates of Indiana State Prison. Essays, stories, poems by Knight, plus other writings (including a play) by his fellow prisoners. Collected and edited by Knight. Introduction by Roberto Giammanco.

Cuba for Beginners. by RIUS. A cartoon history of Cuba from its discovery by Columbus through the tenth anni-

versary of the Fidelista revolution. This hilarious anti-imperialist volume, which is also historically informative and educational, has gone through six editions in Mexico. The brilliant Mexican artist RIUS has updated the work for this first U. S. edition.

Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music. By Frank Kofsky. The radical changes in the thinking and mood of the black ghettos have been paralleled by radical developments in music. This study shows the interconnection. The musical developments are closely analyzed, as are the economics of the music "business" and the position of the artists, as well as the general social-political background. Special attention is given to the art of such seminal innovators as John Coltrane.

Eugene V. Debs Speaks. Edited by Jean Tussey. Selected speeches and writings of the great socialist orator and agitator. With an introductory essay by James P. Cannon.

Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art. Edited, with an introduction by Paul N. Siegel. Trotsky's ideas on literary and artistic criticism set forth in selections from his writings, followed by a section of book reviews, essays, and articles showing his application in practice of these ideas.

Malcolm X On Afro-American History. An expanded and illustrated edition of this popular work, now widely adopted for classroom use.

Permanent Revolution (with Results and Prospects). By Leon Trotsky. A new edition of this classic work with an introduction by Peter Camejo.

tion is in itself a violation of the civil liberties of these citizens in uniform.

"Further reports that the Pentagon is considering bringing courts martial or other punishment against these men clearly show that the Pentagon has absolutely no regard for the constitutionally guaranteed rights of American citizens."

Carol Lipman, executive secretary of the SMC, stressed the importance of achieving the greatest possible participation in the Nov. 15 marches in Washington and San Francisco to defend these GIs now under attack from the

brass.

The representatives of the SMC and GI CLDC joined in urging all supporters of democratic rights to send letters and telegrams of protest to the Secretary of Defense, Washington, D. C. Funds are needed to cover the cost of the legal and publicity battle on behalf of the GIs. Contributions should be sent to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011 or to the Student Mobilization Committee, 1029 Vermont Ave., N. W., Suite 907, Washington, D. C. 20005.

Phila. black students press community control boycott

By FRED STANTON

PHILADELPHIA — Students at the nearly all-black West Philadelphia High School have been boycotting the classes of history teacher George Fishman since Oct. 14, and the issue has developed into a full-fledged struggle for black community control of the school (see *Militant*, Nov. 7).

The students are demanding that Fishman be transferred because he ignores black history in his classes, avoids all controversial discussion, and is not providing quality education. Officials of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers have threatened to strike if Fishman is transferred.

Richard Lawrence, a student at West Philadelphia High School and a spokesman for the boycott told the *Militant*: "The basic issue is quality education. Mr. Fishman is an insufficient teacher, one of the many in West Philly and other schools like West Philly. He just happens to be one of the worst, and we want him transferred."

When asked about the threat of the teachers' union to strike, Lawrence replied, "The black community should have a voice in the education of their children. Community control is definitely an issue."

"At our first meeting with Mr. Fishman, he said he wouldn't want to stay where he's not wanted. But then he went to the union, and now he's a

pawn of the union in their fight against community control. It's part of the process of dictating for so long to the black community. Now our schools are not up to par with white schools, and the union wants to keep it that way."

Lawrence explained that they had won overwhelming support from the other students. "They realize that an 'A' at West Philly in Mr. Fishman's class equals a 'D' in other high schools. We're not learning anything."

"The majority of the faculty were for a strike and against the students until they heard the students' side. A lot have changed their minds since then. Now I think the majority supports the students. We have commitments from different community organizations which will try to keep the black schools open if there is a strike. The union will be surprised. Lots of teachers will cross the lines to teach. Dick Gregory says he will come down to teach Mr. Fishman's class personally."

What do the students want to accomplish?

"For four hundred years the key to the minds of black children has been in the hands of people who refuse to open the door. What we are asking for is not just the transfer of one teacher, but the acquisition of that key. When that key is acquired, then and only then can the seed of knowledge blossom and bear the fruit of wisdom."