

Bomb attack on N.Y. SWP offices

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People
Vol. 33—No. 18 Friday, May 2, 1969 Price 15c

Pvt. Joe Miles discusses the GIs United

— pages 6-7 —

Hearing for Ft. Jackson 8 shows Army has fake case

— see page 12



UNDAUNTED Scene on steps of federal courthouse in Columbia, S. C., as Ft. Jackson 8 emerge from hearing where their attorneys are seeking writ to have them re-

leased from illegal Army detention. Placard-carrying supporters are students from University of South Carolina in Columbia.

GIs United express thanks

"The walls of confinement seem very thin."

Letters from our readers

Ft. Jackson, S. C.
The GIs United victimized Ft. Jackson 8, Pvts. Cole, Rudder, Pulley, Chaparro, Thomas, Mays, Duddie and myself, would like to show our appreciation by saying thanks to the many people who send contributions and letters assuring us that we have their financial, sympathetic or moral support.

I can't overemphasize how your letters boost our morale to its greatest elevation, which in turn makes the walls of confinement seem very thin. Your letters reassure us that we don't stand alone, and that you believe in what GIs United is for, and that you will stand up for this and for GIs United.

You have assured us in every respect that you recognize our struggle and that our struggle and that the GIs United fight is your fight also. For your support we express great thanks and ask that you continue. All GIs United support mail should be sent to the following address: GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, P. O. Box 11222, Capitol Station, Columbia, S. C.

Pvt. Tommie Woodfin

Arab, black liberation positions criticized

Bayside, N. Y.

Though not specifically in Antonio Camejo's article, Hal Levin (*Militant* letters column, April 4) is correct in what he says about your attitude toward the black liberation movement. That is, you never take exception to or qualify your support of any statement, tactic or platform made by a black militant or black militant organization. In your haste to enlist as many black militants as possible to the revolutionary cause, you refuse to disagree with even their most wild assertions. A little bit of the latter would make your paper quite a bit more real.

It seems to me that the basis of your support of Al Fatah is that it is a popular resistance to an occupation army and nothing else. That is fine by itself, but Al Fatah's ultimate goals are the

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.

destruction of Israel with no thought of socialism in the whole deal. The *Militant* and all Arab guerrilla groups would be well-advised to seek revolution in their own countries and then worry about Israel.

J. F.

[Within the framework of support to the various black liberation movements, we see no reason to refrain from criticizing them when we believe they are wrong. However, when we do make such criticisms, it is as a part of the process of supporting and defending these much attacked movements, whose development we consider profoundly progressive. There are always criticisms that can be made of any movement. But often these are carping, not constructive, criticisms. We leave the carping kind to those for whom the criticism is in fact an expression of political hostility to the basic character and aims of black nationalism.

[We do support Al Fatah because it represents an oppressed people fighting for self-determination. But it is completely misleading to assert that its aim is "the destruction of Israel." Al Fatah has stated on a number of occasions that while its war is directed against the reactionary, Zionist state of Israel, it stands ready to live in peace and fraternity with the Jewish people in a free Palestine where the rights of the Palestinian Arabs are assured. Editor]

A revolutionary education at I. S. 271

New York, N.Y.

Are the systems of education in America succeeding in their purpose? Yes, all too well. The function of bourgeois education

has not been to free the mind, but on the contrary to bind and mold it into a product the society can neatly use. More precisely, to indoctrinate in the values and morals of the bourgeoisie.

Political activity that may put a crack in the "mold" is harshly suppressed in the high schools (*Militant* article on Paula Smith, April 25). Junior high school students for the most part are made to face indignities that sound pretty much like those of military basic training.

I recently had the opportunity to visit Junior-High School 271, in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. For those who have forgotten, this is the school where the Fall '68 school crisis over decentralization was focused. This school is clearly an exception to the bourgeois rule.

Physically the school plant looks very similar to every new junior high in the city. However, as one walks inside, a strange but interesting feeling is perceived, one that I can say does not correspond to the atmosphere of a "normal" school. Bulletin boards are covered with political and cultural topics that relate to the community, The Black Panthers, Martin Luther King, Nigeria, and revolution—to name but a few of the motifs. Classrooms have related *Militant* and *Young Socialist* articles on the walls. Malcolm X's picture hangs prominently in the back of one classroom.

The students, mostly black, have a political understanding and consciousness probably unequaled in students of this age group. It seems to me that the conflict with the community and the United Federation of Teachers has only helped to deepen the resolve and consciousness of the community, which is reflected in quality education for the students of this school district.

The teachers in this school want to teach, not like many of the racist and uninterested teachers that Albert Shanker represents. The kids have a deep and honest respect for their teachers, because they know that these teachers are interested in them.

Black control of black education, as I hope this letter has shown, is truly revolutionary and a first step toward Third World self-determination in this country. It is also a first step in destroying the interests of the bourgeoisie in education.

Lawrence Birkner

Umoja project needs funds

Lansing, Mich.

We, the members of the Black Student Alliance and the African Students Association are writing this letter to request financial help to send two black students to Africa this summer.

We are concerned by the lingering "deceptive myths" that the white racists and imperialists in America have created in the past 400 years to "divide and conquer and

THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 33—No. 18

Friday, May 2, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was April 25.

enslave" black people here and in Africa. We are mindful that these myths have created and continue to create considerable damage in the minds of both Africans and the black people in this country, thus contributing to the disunity and lack of understanding that exist between us. We have, therefore organized UMOJA (UNITY) PROJECT, whose primary purpose will be to send two students to Africa every summer. We are hoping to send two students this summer. The students will be hosted by the families of some of the African students at Michigan State University.

Since this project will cost about \$3,000, we are appealing for funds to help us build a strong and unbreakable bridge between America and our beloved Mother Africa. We sincerely believe that through your help we can begin to lay the foundations for the unity of all the black people in the world.

We would like to hear from you on or before April 30, 1969; sooner if possible.

Umoja Committee, BSA/ASA
21 Student Service Bldg.
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Mich. 48823

Ft. Jackson defense: a question

Chicago, Ill.

I am in support of the GIs at Ft. Jackson who have been framed up by the Army brass. The people of this country are supposed to have free speech. The pigs talk about free speech, but when that speech is directed against them, they will try to repress it.

I read in *The Militant* that contributions for the Ft. Jackson 8 could be sent to the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. What is the need for the money? If I know why, I will probably make a contribution.

I'm trying to learn how U.S. imperialism operates. Can you give me some facts on the history of Vietnam, why the U.S. is there, and the role of Thieu and Ky in the U.S. control of Vietnam?

How are Thieu and Ky getting richer from their position? How did they get to be premier and vice-premier anyway? Did the French establish the Saigon government? What do Thieu and Ky own in

Vietnam? What American businesses are in Vietnam? How can they get their hands on Vietnamese natural resources? Can the big businessmen force the Vietnamese to sell out their property, like the big corporations can over here? Lastly, how can the U.S. and the Saigon government control or influence the "free" elections, and what they are voting for?

Brother M. W. J.

[Contributions on behalf of the Ft. Jackson 8 serve two primary functions: they help foot the bill for the expensive legal battle, and they cover the expenses of a nationwide publicity campaign, which is necessary to build broad civilian support for the GIs.

[Perhaps the best brief history of imperialist intervention in Vietnam is contained in the pamphlet, *War and Revolution in Vietnam*, by Doug Jenness (10c). Other literature on the subject includes *How the U.S. Got Involved in Vietnam*, by Robert Scheer (65c), and books on Vietnam by Ellen Hammer, Jean Lacouture, Felix Greene, Wilfred Burchett and Howard Zinn. These, as well as more general literature on U.S. imperialism, can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York 10003, which has a free catalog available. — Editor]

Overkillmania

New York, N. Y.

An utterly unrestrained compulsion to accumulate an infinite amount more of a given thing than you can possibly ever use is surely a sign of lunacy. And when the collector's item is weapons of destruction, it seems to me, the diagnosis is even more certain.

It is generally conceded that the U.S. now has a nuclear stockpile capable of wiping out humanity several times over. Yet, it is now reported, the government is currently equipping each of its Polaris submarines with a new missile, the Poseidon, which carries an MIRV warhead (that's multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicle). The cost \$76-million per submarine.

How long will these people be permitted to run loose?

H. C.

If you support:

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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

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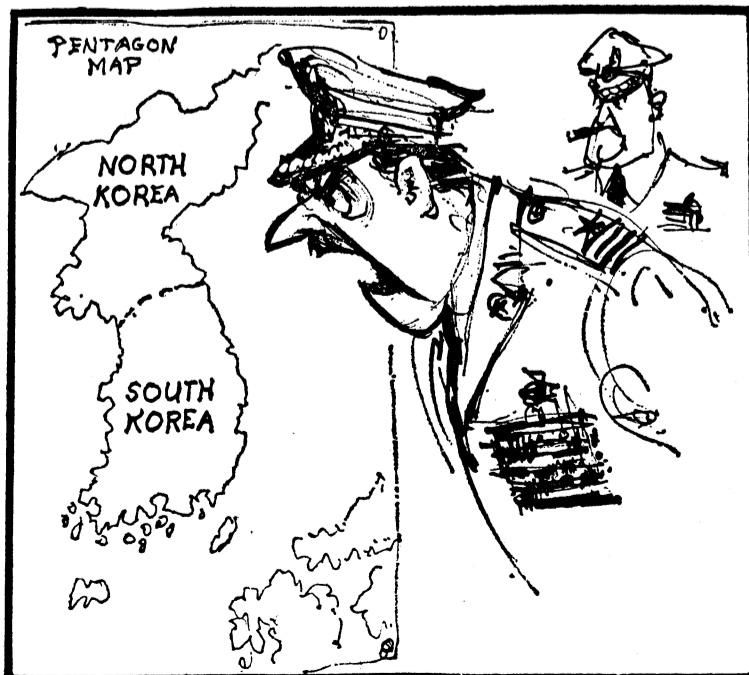
Address

City State Zip

GI buttons



30 cents each, 25 cents in quantities of five or more. Price to GIs: 25 cents each, 15 cents in quantities of five or more. Order from Young Socialist Alliance, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.



Doug Sneyd/Toronto Star

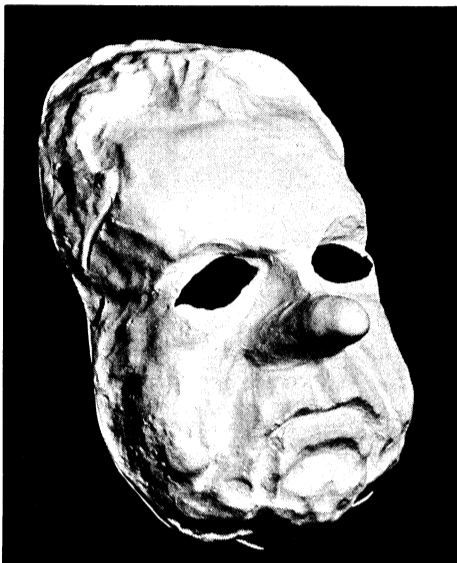
"Well, if it's war they want! . . . They'll have to wait their turn."

NLF slams Nixon claims about "secret" talks

By Robert Langston

APRIL 22 — In the face of growing public disillusionment with the Paris "peace talks" and a resurgence of active American opposition to the war in Vietnam, the Nixon administration is seeking to dilute and disorient antiwar sentiment by a new, fictional "peace offensive."

During the last two weeks of March, a myriad of rumors about secret talks between the U. S., the Soviet Union, the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam began to circulate. These rumors were apparently based on leaks from official U. S. sources in Paris and Washington,



Ft. Jackson 8 backed by N.Y. Puerto Ricans

By Rafael Rivera

NEW YORK — Over 200 participants in the Puerto Rican Community Conference of 1969 held at Baruch College April 19-20 voted overwhelmingly to actively support the Ft. Jackson 8. Proposal for the action came from the 30 members of the Puerto Rican Youth Caucus, who made a deep impact on the conference by their call for Puerto Rican independence and their condemnation of American imperialism. The Community Conference voted for the organization of a Puerto Rican defense league which would have as its first task aiding in the defense of Pvts. Jose Rudder and Edilberto Chaparro, two of the Ft. Jackson 8. The Puerto Rican Youth Caucus, perhaps the first militant organization of New York's Puerto Rican youth, strongly influenced the decisions of the community conference.

Working with the knowledge that they as youth comprise over 65 percent of the total Puerto Rican population of New York, the caucus, at the opening of the conference, made a symbolic act in which they sat throughout the playing of the U. S. national anthem and stood with their fists raised throughout the playing of "La Borinquena," the Puerto Rican national anthem.

This act set the tone of the conference, whose participants were mostly grass-roots people, recently involved in the struggle for community control of their education, as in the Lower East Side, and of their hospitals, as at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx.

Among the many positions taken by the conference were official statements favoring community control of all schools, hospitals, police, etc.; immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam; independence for Puerto Rico and an end to military conscription of Puerto Rican youth—both in Puerto Rico and the U. S.

The conference also drew up a statement supporting the black and Puerto Rican struggles in New York's high schools and colleges and the demand to the board of education to make Sept. 23 a Puerto Rican national holiday. Sept. 23 commemorates El Grito de Lares of 1868, which summoned the first revolt against Spain.

In order that these proposals be implemented, the Youth Caucus announced the building of citywide Puerto Rican youth conference to be held in the near future. Further information on the conference can be obtained from the office of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) at 106 E. 14th St., telephone 473-9764.

and on April 3 Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird stated in a television interview that "there has been some sign of progress in some of the private talks."

At about the same time, the president of the Saigon puppet regime, Nguyen Van Thieu, clearly acting under heavy U. S. pressure, began to talk about his government's willingness to enter into direct negotiations with the NLF and to offer members of the liberation front a legal status in the country's political life—under certain conditions.

The conditions were preposterous: The NLF—under a different name—would be recognized as an opposition party after it laid down its arms and North Vietnam forces were withdrawn and before U. S. forces were taken out. In other words, the NLF has been offered Thieu's promise of legal recognition in return for militarily handing over it members to the tender mercies of the Saigon dictatorship and its U. S. masters.

Both North Vietnamese and NLF spokesmen have unconditionally denied that they have been involved in any secret talks and have denounced the deception intended by Nixon administration hints about such talks. On April 10, Than Buu Kiem, NLF spokesman in Paris, told the 12th full session of the Paris talks that reports of secret negotiations were part of a "perfidious maneuver" to delude public opinion into believing that the Nixon administration is seeking a peaceful settlement.

According to a Paris Associated Press dispatch published April 10, Kiem said, "The U. S. administration wants to conceal the truth, but during the last few days hundreds of thousands of people, including a great number of GIs, massively demonstrated in tens of American cities demanding that the U. S. government end the war and immediately bring U. S. troops home."

Zuan Thuy, a DRV spokesman in Paris, took the same position. Nixon's "new" Vietnam policy, he said, was "aimed at soothing the criticism" of the administration by antiwar forces.

At the same time, NLF and DRV spokesmen reiterated their basic demand: That the U. S. be willing unconditionally to withdraw from Vietnam and to respect the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination.

There is no indication that the military situation is changing in any way that would require a retreat from that demand. The two-year-old U. S. effort to gain control of the Mekong Delta may serve as an example. Peter Arnett, in an Associated Press dispatch datelined Dong Tam and published here April 14, reported the opinion of a Ninth Division intelligence officer that the main obstacle to the "pacification" effort in the Delta is "the absolutely fantastic recuperative powers of the Viet Cong. You can zap them again and again and they'll spring back." Another intelligence officer lamented the high morale of the NLF soldiers. "We have not yet caught a note of despair," he told Arnett, "we have not even seen it in the personal letters we take off bodies. They don't even complain about the heat or the food."

And despite the literally genocidal nature of the "pacification" action—"We shoot anything that looks male," a major told Arnett—the liberation struggle continues to enjoy overwhelming local popular support. According to Arnett's U. S. sources, "All but 10 percent of the estimated 40,000 armed enemy in the area are South Vietnamese, recruited locally. The remainder are North Vietnamese."

U. S. planners may finally have faced up to this military-political reality. According to a report by Max Frankel on the "new Nixon peace program" in the April 6 *New York Times*, "as described in Washington . . . this change would confirm Washington's readiness to settle for something less than military victory, but it would also buy time . . ."

The administration wants to "buy time," that is, gull the American people into thinking it is making a serious effort toward peace, only in order to carry through its aim of salvaging and maintaining whatever it can of its position in Vietnam. Still insistent on its refusal to withdraw its troops, the talk of "peace efforts" is a fraud. The only meaningful peace program is one for the full, unconditional withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam. Achieving that will require further determined efforts by the U. S. antiwar forces and the Vietnamese liberation fighters.



Photo by Gert Strom

SWEDEN ANTIWAR PROTEST: 3,000 demonstrators in Stockholm April 13 demand break with Saigon and recognition of NLF. Swedish speakers demanded a stop to Sweden's underhanded support to U. S. war effort. Speakers included representative of American Deserters Committee and Jaimey Allen of U. S. Student Mobilization Committee, reporting on April 5-6 antiwar demonstrations here.



OKLAHOMA! Scene at U of Oklahoma antiwar demonstration April 12. 600 protestors demanded GIs be brought home now, the largest antiwar demonstration in the state so far. It was organized by the Oklahoma University Committee to End the War in Vietnam and sponsored by a coalition of campus groups.



Photo by Manuel Russell

SUPPORTING THE GIs IN VIETNAM Brian Donovan, ex-Marine stationed in Vietnam, tells radio audience in Providence, R. I., that the boys in Vietnam want to come home, and that's the way to support them. Donovan was part of antiwar demonstration held at "Project Thank You," pro-war call-in show appealing for money, clothing, etc. to GIs in Vietnam. The demonstration was organized by R. I. GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace.

SF: setting the crime to fit the punishment

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO— At the height of the Third World and teachers' strike at San Francisco State College, more than 900 cops and an undisclosed number of plainclothesmen occupied the campus. This occupation cost the taxpayers over \$30,000 a day. All the latest technical equipment, from helicopters to mace to public relations men were used to carry out the job of trying to break the strike. And in the course of the past four months, more than 650 students, teachers and community people have been arrested. More than 100 were injured, with half a dozen requiring surgery.

The more serious the victim's injury, the more serious the cops' charge. One student, desperately trying to rescue his brother from a rain of police clubs, received a head gash requiring 24 stitches—and a charge of attempted murder. Such charges are not limited to leaders. Anyone was open to the victimization. One student walked out of the library only to find himself under arrest for felonious assault. On another day, cops severely beat students after they had been arrested and placed in the police wagon. In at least one instance, cops conducted a mock execution.

Strike leaders were singled out for continual arrest, and in two separate cases leaders have been framed on the charge of illegal possession of guns. Several foreign students were fingered for arrest, so that they now face deportation hearings. And on Jan. 23, cops surrounded and charged a rally of over 1,000 people, arresting more than 450.

Acting S.F. State President Hayakawa has set up a kangaroo court which will now take campus disciplinary action against arrested students in addition to the charges that they face in the criminal courts.

Over 120 arrested students are the recipients of federal loans or scholarships. If convicted they face, by order of the federal office of education, the loss of these moneys. Certain conservative departments within the college have already begun penalizing students. Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance have been deprived of their fellowships and have been forced out of their area of graduate study. With AFT backing, they are fighting for reinstatement.

The court calendar is now filled with the cases of arrested strikers. A right-wing assemblyman has warned the judges that if they do not convict the strikers they will face heavily financed opposition in the next election. A few strikers have already been convicted, and have been given sentences ranging from one to six months in jail. Helen Myers of the Young Socialist Alliance has been given the stiffest sentence to date: 45 days in jail and a two-year probation.

Convicted students are currently out on appeal. Cases stemming from the mass arrests have begun. In all, the trials will cost the people of San Francisco more than \$1,000,000.

The corporate elite, ruling through the state-college board of trustees, decided to make a test case of S.F. State College. If they can succeed in breaking the dynamics of the 15 demands, crushing and demoralizing the solid core of strike supporters, it will be a lesson for other campuses.

Out of their own need to continue and expand their profits, the corporate rich nearly 10 years ago decided that large sums of money could no longer be "squandered" on education. As the president of Southern Pacific company stated, "... we must knock the absurd notion that any American who is worth his salt must get at least a four-year college degree. As a result of this kind of thinking, our colleges are being overcrowded with many people who are not college material, and some of our finest vocational opportunities are going begging."

Almost 10 years ago, administrators instituted the "master plan." Heralded as a model scheme, the plan narrowed the bottleneck of admission procedures. It reinforces the hierarchy of universities, state colleges and locally financed junior colleges, with the top of the pyramid containing fewer than 10 percent third-world students. The third-world community in California, on the other hand, represents a full quarter of the population, while in urban centers it is the majority.

As a result of admission procedures, the percentage of blacks attending S.F. State fell by eight percent. Today the black students represent only three percent of the total S.F. State population, Chicanos less than one percent, and Orientals about nine percent. This is in sharp contrast to the population trend in the San Francisco city schools, which are now 60 percent third world.

Although third-world students may attend a junior college, it is essential to note the disparity in funding. Per capita cost for the university student is twice that of the state-college student, while the state-college student costs three times as much as the junior-college students; thus the rate of discrimination is 6:3:1.

All but a tiny section of the third-world community has been frozen out of college. The thrust of the S.F. State College TWLF demands is not to just have a better education for a "talented minority," but to open the colleges to the third-world community. Such a demand the ruling class has labeled ridiculous. California's giant agricultural and industrial businesses need a reservoir of relatively cheap and unskilled labor.

Consequently, although the California student population is expected to double within the next eight years, not one university or state college will be constructed. Emphasis is rather on building 11 vocationally oriented junior colleges, funded out of local taxes.

The corporate elite has been faced with two additional problems: the student radicalization and the growing impetus for teachers and other workers to organize unions. One S.F. State College president after another has been unable to deal with these problems. There have been seven such presidents in eight years.

After the third-world students raised their demands, both white students and a significant proportion of the faculty joined in support. They understood the third-world demand for self-determination partly because they were facing the same enemy. From the beginning week, the strike was a massive mobilization of support for third-world demands and a recognition that our common struggle forms the basis of a united front. The solidity of the mass



"Law and Order" at San Francisco State College

base brought in significant community and union support, including a formal mutual aid pact with the striking oil workers.

Faced with united force, the ruling class did not succeed in isolating any of the components of the strike from the others. All it could do was threaten, intimidate, victimize and arrest. But although the first

phase of the strike is now over, the campus must strengthen itself for the next stage in the fight by evaluating the first stage and by defending itself against reprisals.

Funds to help defray expenses of the costly court fight can be sent to the S.F. State Legal Defense Committee, 546 Fillmore, San Francisco.

U of Wisconsin students fight state witch-hunters

By Bob Wilkinson

MADISON, Wis., April 19— The state legislature here has begun a witch-hunt attack against University of Wisconsin students involved in last February's student strike.

While the strike for black students' demands was at its height, right-wing state legislators called for a HUAC-style probe into "student disorders" in order to "get" radical students on campus. The result was the Joint Legislative Investigating Committee (JLIC).

This committee is chaired by Sen. Milo Knutson, a former Goldwater supporter. Gordon Roseleip, a notorious red-baiter of the Joe McCarthy school, and Carl Thompson, a Democrat and the "liberal" of the bunch, are among the committee's more prominent members.

JLIC has power of subpoena and power to compel witnesses to testify under immunity from state prosecution. Thus witnesses could be compelled to make statements about themselves or their friends, and those statements could be turned into damaging accusations or even frame-up conspiracy charges against students whose only "crime" was opposition to racism at the university.

In addition, state laws on contempt of the legislature are such that a vote of the state legislature could jail any person found in contempt without a trial. Thus, a student who failed to answer a question to the satisfaction of the JLIC could be imprisoned without trial until the legislature adjourns—i.e., for an indefinite time.

So far JLIC has only taken testimony from volunteer witnesses. But the committee's counsel, Assistant Attorney General John E. Armstrong, has sent letters of "special invitation" to heads of various student organizations. Members of the Investigating committee had earlier announced that those who would not accept these "invitations" would be subpoenaed.

In response to this, four campus organizations issued a joint letter condemning the JLIC and pledging not to cooperate with the witch-hunt.

In their letter, the Madison students answer the "conspiracy" charges levelled by some of the Committee members:

"If your committee wants to find a 'conspiracy,' it does not have to look very far, for you are a part of that conspiracy. You are part of the power structure which oppresses Afro-Americans and fights a war against the Vietnamese people. . . .

"The student organizations in whose name we speak refuse to aid and abet the conspirators on this committee, and we call on all those who support us and who defend our rights not to cooperate with the witch-hunt now going on in the State Capitol.

The letter is signed by Students for a

Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union.

Court trials and university disciplinary hearings are also underway against students arrested during the February strike. One student was expelled by the university board of regents for allegedly breaking a window in a university building.

A black student, Gregory Stewart, was acquitted of a disorderly conduct charge after a patent frame-up attempt by an assistant DA.

University disciplinary hearings will be held this week against two other students, Harvey Clay and Lew Pepper. Both face one-year suspension from the university.

Harvey Clay, an Afro-American from Midland, Texas, was arrested when a right-wing student pushed him into a police line. Lew Pepper, a YSA member, was grabbed off a picket line he was helping to organize. Both are charged with "conduct which obstructs or seriously impairs university-run or university-authorized activities," a catch-all charge being used against most of the students the university wants to expel.

A Committee Against Political Repression is being formed to publicize the cases of students being victimized by university and state officials and to build support.

Although lawyers are working without fees, funds are still urgently needed to cover other legal expenses. Contributions should be sent to the Wisconsin Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1082, Madison, Wis. 53701.

NEW YORK CITY

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"Law and Order" at University of Wisconsin

In America the poor pay taxes and the rich don't

By Marvel Scholl

Two recently published reports point out the vast disparity in the effects of taxes and inflation on the working class and on the rich.

An April 14 report issued by Nicholas Kisburg, research and legislative director for the N. Y. City Teamsters District Council 16, reveals that increases in federal, state and local taxes, plus social-security levies, wiped out from one-quarter to more than one-half the wage increases won during the last three years.

The New York City study covers the years 1965-1968. It considers what has happened to wage increases in 24 industries and industry groupings.

In 12 of the industries studied, workers suffered a net loss over the three-year period. In the other 12 groups studied, workers made a net gain, although, as Kisburg says, these increases were "relatively small."

"Expressed in percentages," Kisburg said, "the worker was able to hold on to only 4.4 percent of his gross gain, surrendering 43.4 and 52.1 percent to the tax gouge and inflation."

Contrast those facts and figures with those revealed in a feature article by Philip M. Stern in the April 13 *New York Times Magazine*.

There were 386 super-rich Americans who paid not one cent of income tax on April 15, 1968, and they were also expected to escape unscathed in 1969. Of the 386 tax-dodgers, all had incomes of more than \$100,000. And 21 of them had annual incomes of from \$1 million to \$5 million!

Today's capitalist profit hogs, who pile up ill-gotten gains through "freeenterprise," don't forget to file. But their deductions, all perfectly legal under present tax laws, protect them from having to give up any

of their "take-home" pay. Depreciation allowances (on oil and real estate), "farm" losses, capital-gains forgiveness (one-half of profit on sale of property, stocks and bonds, etc.), family foundations, other charity gimmicks (like making one huge charity contribution equal to eight years' income, which exempts them forever from the 30-per-cent-of-income limit on this deduction)—these are but a few of the protections that the wealthy have.

Perhaps the biggest racket of all is real estate. A rich man can—and many do—"buy" a new building without spending a penny of cash. He simply buys the building with borrowed money, takes the loan interest off his gross adjusted income, then another chunk as "depreciation" (the first year), and then rents the building for less than his alleged operating expenses—for another "loss."

There are many more devastating facts in the Stern article, too many to list. But consider the above in relation to the tax gouge perpetrated on the working class.

Kisburg winds up the Teamsters' report: "The tax collector does not pay union dues, walk the picket line or take any risk, but nevertheless extracts his greedy share from every collective-bargaining gain made by the workers even when the inflationary spiral now devours most or all of that gain . . .

. . . when they snatch a larger share of that three-year gross gain than is ultimately retained by the worker, something is radically wrong . . .

"Plainly, collective bargaining by itself no longer enables the worker to even hold his own . . ."

True enough, collective bargaining alone never has been enough. The working class needs its own political arm, a labor party based on the trade unions, with a socialist program to overturn capitalism and replace it with a social and economic system based on production for use, not profit, and on the concept, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

As an immediate reform, we advocate no tax at all on incomes of \$10,000 or less; 100 percent taxes on all war profit; 100 percent taxes on all incomes over \$25,000 annually.

N.Y. budget slash evokes militant, mass response

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK—Enactment of the New York state budget was a blatant attack on the needs of the people. The allocations for welfare, health and education are shockingly inadequate, not to mention a whole host of other areas, such as museums, parks, libraries, etc.

The budget came as no surprise, because capitalist politicians never provide enough money for the people's needs. However, the reaction to this budget was different from the response of past years. This time, the people directly affected by the reductions organized demonstrations all over the state, involving tens of thousands of people.

The cruelest cutbacks have come in the field of welfare. Welfare recipients in New York City are now expected to live on 66 cents a day for food. In addition to this, the allotments for clothing and furniture are to be curtailed, the eligibility for Medicaid was reduced, and Medicaid patients not on welfare will have to pay 20 percent of their bills.

The cuts in hospital care evoked a particularly sharp response in Harlem. On March 24, a noon rally was held in front of Harlem Hospital, with speakers from Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union; HARYOU-ACT; and the Harlem Organization for Health Affairs. Then, on March 31, there was another demonstration in Harlem, organized by a group of Harlem ministers, which drew 5,000 people.

The attack on education provoked an equally sharp response. On March 19, 10,000 people mostly students, demonstrated in Albany, the state capitol. Several Democratic Party politicians who spoke met with a chilly response. Then, about 600 black and third-world students, deciding they had had enough, took over the rally. Among the speakers solidarizing



"Are you sure you've examined all the loopholes? Mineral depletion? Municipal Bonds? Capital gains? . . ."

Black students at Cornell gain ground on demands

By Robert Langston

APRIL 24—Black students at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, won a significant victory yesterday when the school's faculty voted 700-300 to rescind an April 21 faculty resolution calling on the university administration to proceed with disciplinary action against five Afro-American students. Yesterday's about-face by the faculty occurred after some 9,000 mostly white Cornell students rallied the evening before to support the black students' demands. About 2,000 of the students remained in Barton Hall throughout the night and declared the building occupied.

The April 21 faculty action came the day after members of the Cornell Afro-American society withdrew from Willard Straight Hall, the university's student center, after having occupied it for 36 hours.

They occupied the building primarily because of disciplinary action taken by the administration against five black students for participating in demonstrations last December demanding the establishment of a black college at Cornell. The Afro-American students have been negotiating with

the administration on the demand for six months.

The students withdrew from Straight Hall after administration spokesmen agreed to drop the disciplinary action. The faculty vote on April 21 would have made it possible for the administration to break its agreement with the black students.

During their occupation of Straight Hall, the black students armed themselves with rifles and shotguns. Press and politicians have responded with what can only be called an orgy of racist hysteria. Two days after television had shown the black students bearing their weapons while leaving the building, more than a hundred state assemblymen had declared themselves co-sponsors of a bill that would make the bringing of firearms onto a state campus a felony. Liberal spokesmen began identifying the Afro-American students' decision to arm themselves with Alabama cops' use of cattle-prods against civil-rights demonstrators a few years ago.

The black students, however, had acted deliberately and purely defensively. Last Friday, a cross was burned on the porch of Wari House, the Cornell black women's cooperative. Black Women students have reported anonymous telephone threats on their lives and have frequently been the objects of jeers by carloads of young white toughs. C. Gerald Fraser wrote in the April 24 *New York Times*, "Negro women at Cornell do not usually venture out alone these days around the campus."

Despite this atmosphere, when the black students occupied Willard Straight Hall, they were unarmed and resolved to attempt a purely "passive resistance" type protest. But during the occupation, they were physically attacked by a group of white fraternity students. The black students beat off that attack and held the hall. A little later, however, according to spokesmen of the Afro-American Society, they received credible reports that more than a hundred fraternity types, drinking heavily, were planning a new, massive attack on them. And later still, they received reports that gangs of white racists were gathering to make an armed attack on the hall.

At this point, the occupiers decided they had to prepare to effectively defend themselves. The weapons were then brought in.

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CALENDAR

ATLANTA

FIRST SOUTHWIDE YOUNG SOCIALIST CONFERENCE, Sat., May 10-11: George Novack, "Reform and Revolution in American History"; Tony Thomas, "Why Black Nationalism is Revolutionary"; Mary-Alice Waters, "International Socialist Party—Report from the 9th World Congress of the Fourth International"; Linda Jenness, "The Southern Movement—the Role of the Young Socialist Alliance"; A panel of antiwar GIs, "GIs United Against the War." Reg. fee: \$2 for conf., 75c individ. sessions. Begins 10:00 a.m. Sat., Emory U., Biol. 106. Ausp. YSA.

BERKELEY

MAY DAY SOLIDARITY. Panel discussion by representatives of socialist groups. Fri., May 2, 8 p. m., 2519-A Telegraph Ave., Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

BOSTON

MAY DAY 1969. Speakers: John Barzman, YSA, Harvard senior, "Harvard's Student Revolt—An Analysis"; Steve Bates, SWP, "U. S. Capitalism, Labor and Unions Today." Fri., May 2, 8:15 p. m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 302. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

MAY DAY CELEBRATION: Banquet, address and party. "Making the American Socialist Revolution." Fri., May 2, 7 p. m., 302 S. Canal (cor. Jackson). Contrib. \$1.50; children 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. Special guest speaker: Lew Jones, former National Chairman, YSA, now Berkeley Organizer, SWP, "May Day and the World Youth Radicalization." Sat., May 3. Refreshments 6 p. m., dinner 7 p. m., 1702 E. 4th St. Call 269-4953 or 264-9349. Contrib. adults \$2.50, students \$2.

MINNEAPOLIS

TWIN CITIES MAY DAY BANQUET AND CELEBRATION OF V. R. DUNNE'S 80TH BIRTHDAY. Speakers: Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl. Banquet, raffle, discotheque, refreshments. Sat., May 3, 6:30 p. m., 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240. Reserva. call 332-7781. Donation \$2.50.

NEW YORK

MAY DAY SOCIALIST WEEKEND. For info. see p. 9 this issue.

SEATTLE

A RED MAY DAY CELEBRATION, Fri., May 2, 7 p. m. Dinner, entertainment, Speakers. Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N. E.

Pvt. Joe Miles of GIs United:

"In the Army today -- You have a new type of GI"

[Pvt. Joe Miles, one of the initiators of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, which developed at Ft. Jackson, S. C., was transferred to Ft. Bragg, N. C., in a move intended to curb GIs United. Miles has continued to exercise his constitutional right to express his views on the war and other social issues, inside and outside the Army. On weekend leave April 11-13, he visited New York. He appeared at a press conference of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, visited and discussed with the pupils at I. S. 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville who had been reading about the GIs United, and, on April 11, he addressed the Militant Labor Forum. The following is an abridged version of his speech and extracts from the question period.]

* * *

In the Army today you have a new type of GI. He's not the "mine is not to reason why, mine is just to do or die" type, nor is he some kind of beast, with blood dripping from his jaw, running around wanting to kill babies and things like that. The majority of the GIs in the Army are draftees, conscripts, who don't want to be there. The alternative of five years in jail and 10,000 dollars, in fact, is the only reason that most of us are there.

These are GIs who are beginning to think, who are not just saying, "Well, I'm in the Army; I'm just going to do my time and get out." Although many GIs do feel this way, there are many, many more who are beginning to question events in the world, especially the Vietnam war. GIs are young people, and we're not immune to—in fact

we're very much affected by—the general youth movement and youth radicalization all around the world.

GIs United is a result, an outgrowth of this new type of GI. GIs United got started the last week of January, when a bunch of us—all Puerto Ricans and blacks—got together and were listening to some tapes by Malcolm X. We dug what he had to say and began to discuss our whole role as black GIs and our relationship to the war in Vietnam and our relationship to the rest of society.

Well, we decided to get together and do something about the war in Vietnam, about the racism in the Army and the racism out here in the outside world too. We decided that the best way we could get the maximum amount of people involved, so as to reach a lot of people, was to organize around ending the war in Vietnam.

We recognized our role as a dual one, as blacks and as GIs. As a GI, no matter what color you are, you catch hell in the Army. If you're black, you catch hell first and catch more of it. So we said, in order to fight the real enemy, the real oppressor in the Army—that is the lifers, the career soldiers, the brass, the officers—we had to have some GI unity. We had to get together as GIs.

So we decided that the best way to get things going was to organize around one main objective, that of ending the war in Vietnam, because we know from our experiences and from the experiences of other guys around the country that a majority of GIs are opposed to the war. A majority of GIs don't feel that it's worth our lives

going 10,000 miles away to fight for so-called freedom, so-called democracy, when we don't have it back home.

We realized the need to have some unity because if we didn't they'd tear us to pieces. They can victimize one guy, or two guys, but it's a different story when a whole company, a whole brigade, a whole battalion, a whole post begins to get together to talk about some GI unity against the lifers and the brass. That's something that really shakes them up.

So we decided to collectively organize and exercise our constitutional rights to voice our opposition to the war. As GIs we feel that we've got more of a right than anybody to exercise these rights of free speech. They tell us we're in the Army to defend these rights. They say, "You're defending the Constitution with your very life"—and you're supposed to take an oath to this. So surely that gives us more of a right than anyone to discuss the war in Vietnam, to discuss racism in this country or any other social or political issue. As GIs we certainly have more right than anyone to speak against this war because we fight it. We go over there and we die.

So, as one of our first activities, we began circulating a petition, a postwide petition, asking that the commanding general provide facilities to hold an open meeting to discuss the war, to discuss racism in the Army and to discuss the general right of GIs to freedom of speech.

In the Army you get a lot of individual abuse, a lot of harassment, a lot of degradation—a lot of this goes on on a personal level. We understand the need to fight this, but at the same time we realize that the reason, ultimately, for this abuse and harassment is to get us to fight the war in Vietnam. They want to turn us into a sort of mental vegetable.

So we wanted to raise the whole level of thinking to a general political consciousness of the need to oppose and struggle against the war in Vietnam. We feel that a majority of the American people are opposed to this war. We want to let the American people know that GIs don't support the war, that we don't want any part of it.

We thought if we can build a movement against the war in the Army, and unite with a massive movement on the outside, we can force this government to end the war. We can make them bring us home. Because, you know, who hears from a GI? When we begin to speak out, to exercise our rights and stand up as human beings, we think that people will listen. We think we can have a big impact.

As a result of our efforts to hold meetings, which we feel is within our rights, we've gotten a great deal of victimization and harassment by the brass. And we think that this shows a tremendous weakness on their part.

GIs United has conducted a completely legal struggle, since we realize that because of the very nature of the oppressive situation we are in, the minute that we do something illegal, that's the end of us. So we've gone up through the chain of command. We've talked with the company commander; we've talked to the inspector general; we've asked for a meeting—a legal, peaceful democratic meeting—to be held on post to discuss the war. And in response to our efforts, we have received court-martials, trumped-up charges, punitive transfers. Our company was on restriction so long that the barracks began to look like jail to us.

One week we were restricted for an entire week. One night was for inspection of wall lockers. One night was to see whether the pants on your dress greens went below the third shoelace on your shoe. And on the next two nights, they said, "Well, we're going to restrict you because you have to go to a mandatory basketball game!"

They would tell guys, "If you sign this petition you're going to get court-martialed." They would arrest guys who were



MEETING THE PRESS. Pvt. Joe Miles (center) and Pvt. Allen (right) at a November 1968 Young Socialist Alliance national convention.

out circulating petitions on post. They didn't have anything to charge us with. They'd just arrest us, threaten us, and bring us back to our company. They confiscated petitions. They illegally gave guys direct orders to take their names off the petitions. We had one guy, Tommy Woodfin, who was court-martialed for circulating a petition. They said he was circulating a "flyer." But the Army doesn't understand that when you sign something, it becomes a petition. So Woodfin was acquitted. We were able to get him off because we had a good lawyer and we were able to get civilian help and support.

We feel that these frame-ups are a show of weakness on the Army's part, a demonstration that they don't have anything legally to get us on. In fact, because we're exercising our legal right to discuss the war, they are forced to use all these dirty, low-down, underhanded means as an attempt to break us up—and this exposes them more. When we attempted to turn our petition in a few weeks back, they refused to accept it on the grounds that it represented an attempt at "collective bargaining." At least that's what they told us. But collective bargaining had nothing to do with what our petition was about and what GIs United is about. We are simply asking that our rights be recognized as citizens, as human beings, as soldiers if they want to call us that, and that we be allowed to discuss the war.

So we have decided to sue the Army because it has been denying us these rights. Leonard Boudin has filed suit on our behalf in the federal courts against the Secretary of the Army and the commanding general at Ft. Jackson for violation of our First Amendment rights, for trying to victimize our men for exercising their rights of free speech.

The latest victimization that we've received is the Ft. Jackson 8 case—it used to be the Ft. Jackson 9 case—I'll talk about the ninth person a little bit later. What they are trying to do, I think, by moving against the Ft. Jackson 8 is to break up the leadership of the group and this way to crush the organization. Well, that hasn't deterred us a bit. We've brought a whole new layer of guys around GIs United, and our strength has grown.

The charges were brought against the Ft. Jackson 8 after an outdoor meeting, a very spirited, very lively meeting of several hundred GIs. The day after the meeting, the Ft. Jackson 8 were placed on restriction. Four were placed in the stockade. The Army's case against the Ft. Jackson 8 is just so weak and ridiculous that we almost had to laugh at it. Even the sergeants who gave testimony said things like the meeting was peaceful, it was orderly, there was no violence. Those who testified said, well, they were making obscene and derogatory statements, and yet when the guys wrote down what the statements were, one of them was something like Pvt. Rudder said, "We've got the constitutional right to discuss the war in Vietnam." And that was called a derogatory statement.

So we feel it's very important to mount as massive, widespread and vigorous defense campaign as possible on behalf of the Ft. Jackson 8, because one thing the brass can't stand is publicity. They can't let people really find out what's going on in the Army. For them to tell the truth it would be like letting people open up Dracula's coffin in the daytime.

So we've been doing all we can to gain support. The GI Civil Liberties Defense

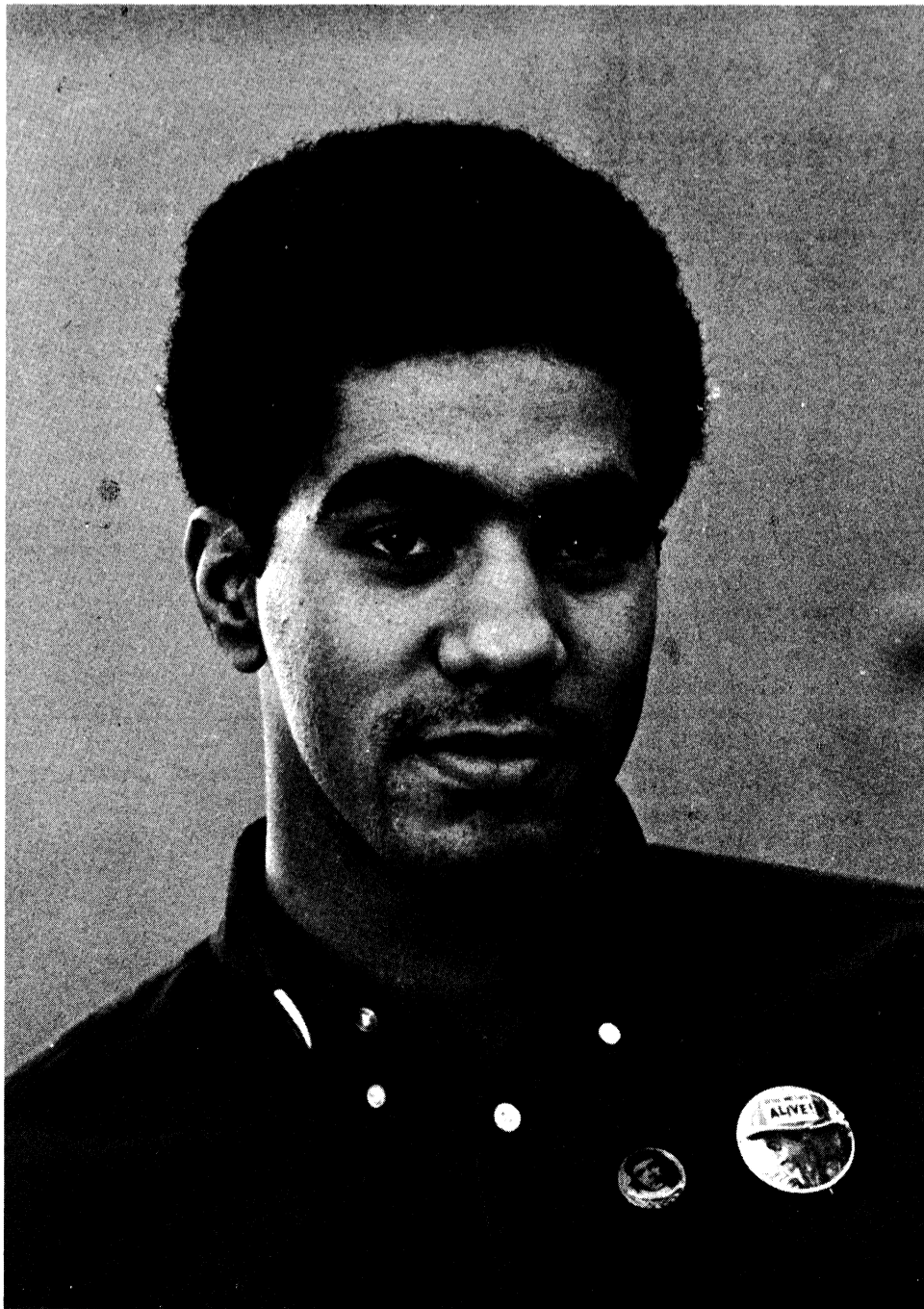
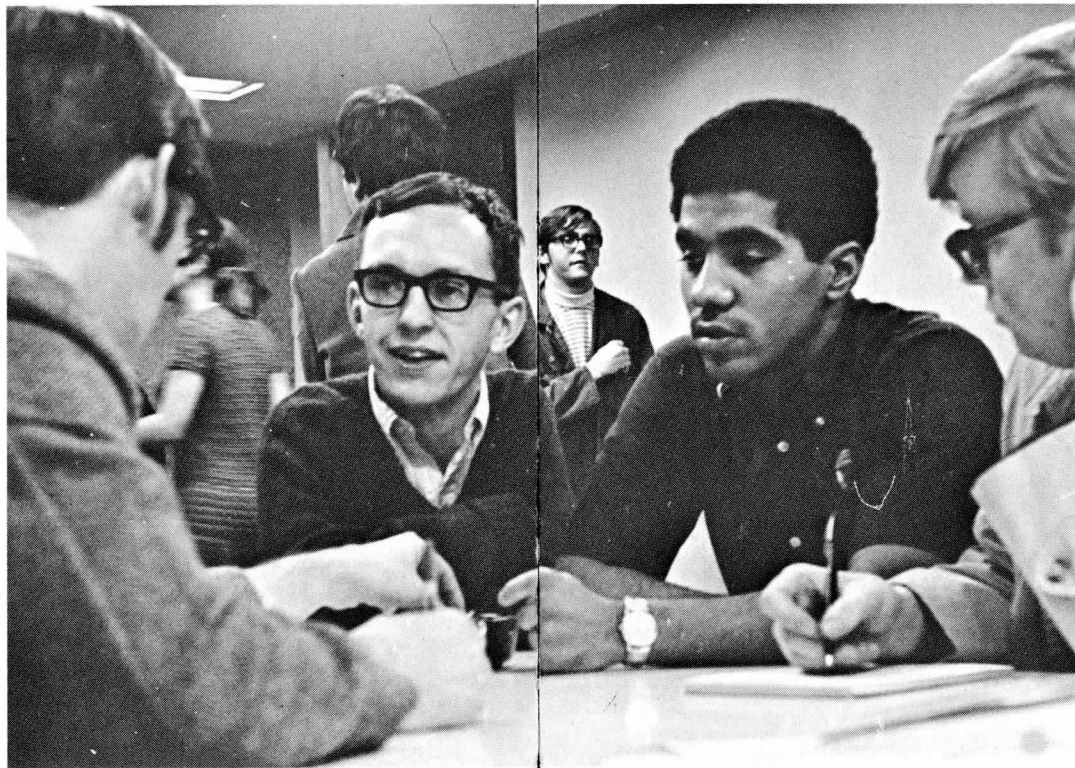


Photo by Shannon

Pvt. Joe Miles of GIs United

Friday, May 2, 1969

Friday, May 2, 1969



MEETING THE PRESS. Pvt. Joe Miles & Pvt. Allen Myers talk with newsmen at November 1968 Young Socialist Alliance national convention.



Joe Miles : Pvt. Allen Myers talk with newsmen at National Convention.

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Committee has done a great deal in helping to get national publicity and in obtaining lawyers. At Ft. Bragg, we've been helping out too. We started circulating a support petition there, and in less than two weeks we got over 100 signatures. A majority of these signatures were Vietnam veterans, and we've got about 50 or 60 guys at Ft. Bragg who support the aims of GIs United.

I'm sure that a lot of people have read about the spy in our group, Pvt. Huffman. I was as surprised as anyone else to find out about it.

But, we try not to let this disorient us or bother us too much—the fact that there's a spy—because we know that they are going to send people in there. They have no right to do this, but we also feel that we don't have anything to hide. We feel that we speak to the needs of GIs, that we speak the truth, that the majority of GIs feel as we do. So, in fact, we jump at any chance we get to speak out, to get on radio, TV, the Militant Labor Forum, and so on. Because we want people to know how we feel. It is the brass that has something to hide, because they're the ones who are lying to us about the war and about the Army.

We feel that the only way we can build a mass struggle is above ground. We can't do it underground, because if you go underground nobody ever hears from you again. So we do it completely in the open. GIs United is open to any GI at Ft. Jackson. We've got petitions circulating, we've got our position paper going around the post, we've got national publicity. A few weeks ago we were on the Huntley-Brinkley show explaining our views.

We want to project building a massive movement based on truth, based on democracy, and based on humanity. One of our objectives, one of the points that comes in our position paper, is the right of blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and all oppressed national minorities to self-determination in this country, and the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. This is a very central focal point in the group. The majority of the guys in the group, both at Ft. Bragg and at Ft. Jackson, are black, Puerto Rican and Mexican.

The Army's the most racist place in the world. I thought it was bad out here in civilian life, but it's just mild compared to what goes on in the Army. It's the worse type of Jim Crow racism. Time and time again, you see a brother get passed over for a promotion; you see him get an extra detail, get that Article 15, get that court-martial. Whereas, the white GI, he just slides by.

In the Army, as far as promotions and jobs are concerned, these things are decided by individuals. If the first sergeant or the captain doesn't like you, well, you're in trouble, and if you're black, he doesn't like you from the beginning.

In Vietnam, there's a tremendous amount of racism on the part of the Army. Whereas blacks comprise about 12 percent of the population, we comprise 20 percent of the fighting force. On the front line, that percentage jumps to 40 or 50 percent in many, many front-line, combat infantry units.

And so we need to keep our struggle going, and a great deal more has to be done. We need help from civilians, especially in organizing meetings in our defense and in sending letters of protest to the commander at Ft. Jackson.

Pvt. Allen Myers, 2; Army, 0

By Joanna Misnik

FT. DIX, N. J., April 23—Sp/4 Allen Myers, the socialist, antiwar GI stationed here who has successfully defended his right of free speech against continuous attack for the past year, today defeated a double-header attempt by the brass to victimize him by court-martial. They tried twice today, and he won both rounds.

Just before the massive April 5 GI-civilian antiwar demonstration in New York, the Ft. Dix brass initiated court-martial proceedings against Myers, who was one of the main organizers of the demonstration's GI contingent, for allegedly pasting a sticker announcing the action on a post stop sign. To justify this patent violation of free expression, the brass cited Ft. Dix Post Regulation 210-27, which prohibits distribution of any material not authorized by the Ft. Dix adjutant general.

Myers, who is a Young Socialist and editor of the Ft. Dix antiwar newspaper, *The Ultimate Weapon*, is due to be released from the Army April 27. A conviction could have meant 30 days in the stockade, which would have delayed his discharge.

Last October, the brass tried to get Myers under the same regulation, charging that he had distributed unauthorized leaflets. Those charges were dismissed at a summary court-martial for lack of evidence.

As Myers' first trial today opened, the courtroom was packed with civilian supporters brought out by the Student Mobilization Committee in New York and Philadelphia, with Myers' GI supporters, with Army lawyers sympathetic to the cause of GI free speech, and with representatives of major news media, including the Associated Press, *New York Times* and *Life* magazine.

Myers' civilian counsel, Michael Kunstler, began by moving for dismissal of the charges. He stressed the unconstitutionality of Post Regulation 210-27 and cited Army Regulation 210-10, which has precedence over any post regulation and

We're beginning to understand the whole nature of the power we have in the Army, in the sense that the very reason the brass and the lifers have power is because they make us think that we're powerless. But we're beginning to understand that actually we're not. That actually we are the power in the Army. That without us the Army is nothing. So we feel that if we can get our thing together, if we can organize and unify our struggle, we can make some big changes, especially about this war.

[From the discussion period]

Q. How long is the average GI at Ft. Jackson, and how does the fact that the GIs move around so much affect your struggle?

A. Most guys are there for eight weeks or so, and then they're shipped out. We feel that one of the jobs of GIs United is to teach ourselves and educate ourselves how to organize and how to be able to be effective leaders. Then as guys leave, they take the word with them. We've had guys that have gone to other posts now, and they're doing work there too.

The biggest obstacle that we face in the Army is not one of getting guys to support us, or getting guys to agree with us about the war, or about the Army, because nine out of 10 guys agree with us. The biggest obstacle that we face is one of fear, is one of guys saying, "Well, will I get put in the stockade for signing a petition?" Because you have a very, very oppressive situation in the Army. An officer told Pvt. Pulley and me—when we went to see him to try to get something done about racism in our company—he told us that the only right we had in the Army was to take orders. And he meant exactly what he said. But we looked at it in a different light. We try to counteract this by saying, "GIs do have rights, and if we get together then we can exercise our rights."

Q. What kind of reaction did you get from white soldiers while organizing GIs United?

A. When we first got started, with an all-black group, the Army officers actually tried to create a race riot in our company. One company commander called a formation and told the guys that there were some "black power Mau Maus" organizing in the barracks, and that they better watch out; that we were going to get them that night. And he told them to arm themselves.

The initial reaction of the white GIs was one of fear, because this is a racist country, and the establishment has succeeded in portraying the movement for black self-determination as being like we're all out to "get whitey," and things like this. But, over time, we explained what the struggle for self-determination is about, that it is the struggle to have control over our lives and our communities. And a lot of white GIs, when we explain this to them, can understand it. They say, "Yeah, you're

clearly provides that commanders allow distribution of all materials through normal channels even if they are critical of foreign policy, unless there is clear proof of danger to loyalty or discipline. The burden of proof rests with the Army. With no deliberation and to the cheers of Myers' supporters, the trial officer proclaimed the case dismissed.

Following Myers' court-martial, Sp/4 Harold Muskat was tried under the same post regulation for allegedly distributing copies of the American Servicemen's Union newspaper, *The Bond*. With a different trial officer than Myers, he was convicted of the frame-up charges and sentenced to a written reprimand and a \$25 fine.

Meanwhile, Myers' commanding officer, clearly distressed at Myers' morning victory, overruled the decision to dismiss the charges against Myers, and the Young Socialist went into his second court-martial of the day—with the same trial officer. This time, a defense motion to dismiss the charges on constitutional grounds was denied, and Myers entered a plea of not guilty. The prosecution halfheartedly presented its case. Witnesses admitted they had not seen Myers paste up the sticker; the copies of *The Ultimate Weapon* taken from him at the time of his arrest had unaccountably been lost. The verdict: not guilty for lack of evidence.

The entire legal tangle left the brass' balancing act quite transparent. The Army was bent on not allowing any decision on the constitutional question. To overturn the clearly unconstitutional post regulation would be to admit that GIs have the right freely to disseminate their views. At the same time, under the pressure of antiwar sentiment both within the services and in the country as a whole, the brass apparently finally decided not to force the issue. So they gave Muskat a minimum penalty and acquitted Myers on "facts" without a decision on "law."

GIs at Ft. Dix reported they were very heartened by the vigorous support Myers received from civilian antiwar forces.

right." And they join GIs United.

The group is still a majority black, primarily because blacks and Puerto Ricans are the most oppressed and catching most of the hell first, and it's logical that we'd be the first ones to move against the war. We see the whole hypocrisy and contradiction of fighting a war for so-called freedom and democracy in Vietnam, and not seeing this freedom and democracy back home. And seeing all the racism that is in the Army. So we move first.

But we began to understand that the white GI is a person who is a potential ally, because this is a guy who's going to Vietnam with us. And this is a guy who is against the war. And with this new generation of young people, we've got a lot of John Brown types running around too. And these are people we can relate to.

Q. You called it "a racist Army." But I'd say this isn't so. The Army uses racism as a weapon to divide GIs. That would be a better way to say it . . . For example, I have a black officer who uses racism, but who also uses liberal rhetoric.

A. Well, I've got to say that this country is one of the most racist countries in the world, and seeing that the Army is a reflection of the society, the Army is also mighty, mighty racist. It is racist in terms of promotions, detail, front line — everything. And not only to blacks, but what about Puerto Ricans! And the Indians! I think in many ways they catch more hell than we do.

They do use racism to divide GIs. And we understand that the racism that's a real threat to us is the racism that comes from the lifers and the brass, not from the ordinary white GIs. But, nevertheless, there is racism among white GIs. We both know this. We understand this and try to combat it by explaining the struggle for black liberation.

Q. Do you have figures on the percentage of black and Puerto Rican GIs at Ft. Jackson? Also, have most of the brothers there heard of Malcolm X, or read him or heard him?

A. Most have heard of him, but haven't really heard his tapes. I think maybe one guy had. The percentage of black in infantry is really significant. I think it's about 30 percent—a tremendous amount of these guys go to Nam.

Q. Would you go into more detail regarding underground organizing?

A. You cannot build a mass movement underground. Barracks organizing is necessary, you've got to start on this level, but if you stay on that level, you stagnate, you don't grow and become effective and get other people involved. And if you don't grow, they just clamp down on you. And that's it, you're finished, and for what? If you don't get people involved there is

no sense in beginning anything. Because you'll just end up with two or three more guys in the stockade.

In our type of movement, although they've got eight guys under arrest, including leading spokesmen, our movement still continues and grows, because this is based on building a massive thing.

Q. What effect did the recent mass demonstrations have?

A. Many GIs were restricted to posts, but many GIs all around the country were demonstrating, which is a tremendously uplifting thing. I think that demonstrations have a big effect upon the thinking of GIs because they see that they're not alone, that there are civilians out there and other GIs who are actively organizing against the war. That will give them a lot more confidence to do things themselves, a stronger reason to say, "We've got to organize." It's certainly not a thing where GIs say, "These antiwar demonstrators are hurting the morale of our fighting men." That's just crap. These big demonstrations are going to get more and more GIs involved, and we'll end this war. I know we will.

Q. What is the depth, the political level, of your discussions? What is the reaction to your socialist views?

A. We see education as a very important thing in our group, in terms of education about the war, about racism, and society in general. We get into very long discussions. The group is based on a common position which we all agree on, but among many individuals there is a tremendous amount of revolutionary consciousness that's developing. When you begin to understand, as a GI, that you're going to Vietnam, not to die for freedom and democracy, but for some chump to make money off of you, well that radicalizes the hell out of you!

You can't talk about the Vietnam war without talking about this whole system. You can't talk about the Vietnam war without talking about capitalism. You can't talk about racism in this country without talking about capitalism.

We encourage all types of political discussion in our group. GIs United is democratic, and we feel that this is very important. Even if you would think the war's OK, you can get up and say it. Guys come around because they are curious, they want to know, they want information about the war.

GIs are not immune to the general radicalization. At the same time there is an information gap.

If you talk about socialism, a guy will ask, "What does that mean?" He's curious. He wants to know. He doesn't say, "You're a socialist, get out of here." I've received a lot of questions about my socialist ideas and a lot of response. This way it's very similar to a college campus. But also, of course, it's very different.

An unvarnished history (III)

Why PL was run out of Monroe, N.C.

By Mary-Alice Waters

On Aug. 27, 1961, a mob of white citizens, including Ku Kluxers and police, attacked a civil rights demonstration outside the county courthouse in Monroe, N.C., injuring several of the demonstrators.

The demonstration would probably have gone into history as no different from many others in the South at the time—except for the famous Monroe "kidnapping" frame-up that arose from it.

During the demonstration, word spread in the black community that marchers had been attacked, and it was rumored that some had been shot. When a white couple, a Mr. and Mrs. Stegall, identified by some as members of the Klan, drove into the black section of Monroe, their car was rapidly surrounded by a crowd of angry blacks. The couple took refuge in the home of Robert F. Williams, militant leader of the black community, well known for his advocacy of self-defense against racist vio-

and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro case, the Rosenberg-Sobell case, just to name some of the most famous.

Many lessons have been learned from these defense campaigns, one of the most important being that public opinion, mobilized in favor of the defendants, can make a decisive difference in the outcome of the legal proceedings. Many times militants have been victimized needlessly because they decided to rely on some "deal" with the prosecutor or judge who promised to let them off easy if they wouldn't "make a lot of noise."

Similarly, a cardinal rule of defense is that no unnecessary risks be taken which might jeopardize the defendants or unnecessarily narrow their base of support.

For instance, while continuing to express their ideas, groups helping in a defense effort must be careful not to impose their own political views on the defense committee itself or act in a manner which will lead to that end. A defense committee has one purpose—to mobilize funds, legal aid, and public support for the defendants.

Without capitulating to red-baiting, radicals must be very sensitive to attempts by the government and press to red-bait non-socialist or noncommunist defendants in order to limit and damage the defense effort.

Broke all rules

Progressive Labor's involvement in the Monroe defense case violated virtually all elementary concepts of defense. As in Hazard, it was clear that PL placed its own sectarian aims ahead of the needs of the struggle as a whole. PL's cynical attempts to obtain easy publicity and make quick organizational gains succeeded only in jeopardizing the defense.

PL apparently "discovered" Monroe in the summer of 1963, some two years after the frame-up was initiated. Several PLers move there, and the July-August 1963 issue of *Progressive Labor* contained their first article on Monroe, entitled "Monroe Youth Organize." The article describes the Monroe Youth Action Committee, the publication of *Freedom*—which was to be a bi-weekly printed newspaper—the establishment of Freedom House as a community center and headquarters for MYAC, and a campaign to organize women domestic workers into the Union County Women's League. More on all this later.

Also projected, and seemingly imminent, was the launching of the Union County Workers League for black workers and unemployed, and the Progressive Farm Workers League for tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

Curiously, Progressive Labor never again mentioned the activities of these supposedly indigenous working-class organizations, leading one to assume that they never really came into being.

Anyone reading that issue of *Progressive Labor* would get the impression that PL was deeply involved in the Monroe defense, had been for a long time, and was rapidly building a base for itself in the area—all of which was patently false.

Police incident

Since PL's "Monroe period" was rather brief, the only other important information published in *Progressive Labor* appeared in the September 1963 issue.

In August PLer Ed Lemansky and MYAC activists Richard Crowder and Frank Butler were arrested in Pageland, S. C., a town about 20 miles from Monroe, where they had been organizing a class on Afro-



Robert F. Williams

American history. They were charged with carrying a concealed weapon and Lemansky was also charged with driving without registration and with improper lights. The three were held for several days, then released upon payment of fines totaling \$270.

It was a typical example of harassment by white Southern "justice." However, the implications for Richard Crowder, one of the defendants in the kidnapping case, were more serious.

Crowder stood to lose his bond by leaving the state of North Carolina, even if it was just to cross the nearby border. He could have been jailed and held until trial. If Crowder felt it was worth leaving the state anyway, the PLers involved should have at least taken the elementary precautions of driving a legal car and not violating other obvious laws which only gave the cops a handy excuse to arrest them.

But more important, once the arrest had occurred, PL was requested by those helping on the defense not to publicize the incident, since that could jeopardize Crowder and increase the chances that the Monroe authorities would revoke his bond. Yet PL proceeded to publicize the

refused, even have hinted retaliatory acts if they are forced out . . .

"I'm asking all sincere individuals and groups for your help in any way, as the Monroe Youth Action Committee and people of the black community here still welcome assistance from sincere individuals and groups. This exploitation of us by PL has not dampened our belief in the goodness of mankind."

At the same time, Vol. 1, No. 7 of *Did You Know?* a community mimeographed newsletter published by Mrs. Ethel Johnson, a Monroe activist, charged: "The newspaper *Freedom* is not published by MYAC. MYAC members are merely used to give that impression . . .

"Money solicited from sources over the country by the 'self-appointed helpers' for the MYAC Movement is not banked in the name of the Movement.

"The rent on Freedom House is two months in arrears, although the 'self-appointed helpers' fly back and forth to their headquarters in New York City frequently. . . .

"The members of Progressive Labor who are here to 'help' the oppressed black people have been asked to leave. We feel that what happened and is happening is damaging the image of sincere white friends who are sincere in the plight of Afro-Americans not only here, but throughout the country.

"The members of PL who are here refuse to leave. The oppressed black people here are confronted with an additional battle."

No reply

Obviously, such charges are extremely serious ones to be leveled against any organization which considers itself revolutionary. Yet PL never even let its readers know that such charges had been leveled against it—to say nothing of attempting to refute them. They simply ceased printing any news of Monroe!

But, in parting, PL had one final stunt to pull. Several months later, when the "kidnapping" case finally came to trial in February 1964, the press stepped up its red-baiting campaign to a fever pitch, uncovering "reds" like aides of Martin Luther King among every new group of people who came to attend or help publicize the trial.

While not hiding their identities or ideas, radicals clearly should have been sensitive to the situation, as most radicals involved in the defense were. Not so PL, which could always spot a good publicity angle for itself, regardless of the wishes or needs of the defendants. PLer Ed Lemansky arrived for the trial to sell *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, pamphlets by Lenin, and other Marxist literature right in the courtroom! With the jury present, the judge called Lemansky up to the bench, confiscated his literature, and read the titles into the official trial record. Quite a sight for the all-white Southern jury, which later convicted the defendants on all counts after deliberating for 33 minutes.

PL, naturally, never explained why it was a matter of revolutionary principle to have a literature sale right then and there.

For those who had seen PL in operation in Hazard, its actions in Monroe came as no surprise—only as further confirmation of their willingness to use serious and genuine struggles for their own ends, despite the consequences for others. Future articles in this series will analyze what it is about PL's political line that leads to such a consistent record of cynical, destructive efforts to manipulate and exploit other movements.

(This serial history of the PLP is appearing on alternate weeks. The next article will be in the issue dated May 16.)



Mae Mallory

lence. Several hours later, the couple left Williams' home, and the next day told a local paper that he had saved their lives.

Out of this incident, however, five people were charged with "kidnapping"—Robert Williams; Mrs. Mae Mallory, who was visiting Williams at the time; Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, two young black militants from Monroe; and John Lowry, a white freedom rider from New York. Williams, knowing he would not be able to get a fair trial in Monroe and fearing for his life if arrested, fled to Cuba.

National defense

Between the fall of 1961 and early 1964, when the "kidnapping" trial finally took place, a nationwide defense effort developed. Monroe was prominent in the black and radical press of the time. The defendants spoke to numerous meetings all over the country. Funds were raised, articles written, leaflets and brochures distributed.

Most radical groups rallied to the aid of the Monroe defendants, including Progressive Labor.

The radical movement in this country has had a whole history of experience in defense efforts. Here in the United States, world-famous battles have been fought to save victims of racism and the class struggle from death or imprisonment—Mooney

Malcolm X next on PL's list?

Two separate reviews of Che's *Bolivian Diary* in the May *Progressive Labor* direct a scurrilous attack on him. One article also drops a broad hint that Malcolm X will be next on PL's smear list. The magazine, which is bitterly hostile to black nationalism, explains the need for the hatchet job on Che as follows:

"The question of this diary and its influence is no academic question for our Party. Che's personality had and still has a tremendous influence on American radicals. (In addition to its influence on honest radicals, fake radicals like the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party have made Che their latest patron saint to stand alongside Malcolm X.)"

entire story in the September issue of *Progressive Labor*—after all, it showed PL's involvement in Monroe, which was for them the most important thing.

Seemingly a minor incident, this was typical of PL's callous lack of concern for the general needs and desires of the defense—and it comes from their own pen.

More damaging is the information reported by activists in the black community of Monroe, after they had a few experiences with PL.

Asked to leave

By mid-October, barely two months after the PLers had arrived, the Monroe Youth Action Committee asked PL to leave town. In a press release entitled "Exploitation of Blacks in Monroe, N. C.," Richard Crowder, president of MYAC, said:

"Here in Monroe, N. C., we welcomed members of Progressive Labor with open arms for we need the help of all sincere people. We worked along with these white 'friends,' introduced them to our people and showed them our inhuman plight. We thought that these people from Progressive Labor really intended to help us. But alas! We've found out that our 'friends' were only using the situation in Monroe, N. C., for their own personal gains. We have asked them to leave us in peace, so that we may regroup ourselves and try to fight our fight unhampered. They have

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Nat'l Chicano parley raised consciousness

By Antonio Camejo and Antonio Rios
DENVER—The Crusade for Justice, a Mexican American civil-rights and cultural organization, hosted a historic Chicano Youth Liberation Conference here March 27-31. The Conference was the first national gathering of Chicano youth to bring together the whole spectrum of Chicano organizations, and several Puerto Rican groups were represented as well.

Participating organizations included UMAS (United Mexican-American Stu-

dents, which has over 2,000 members in California and the Southwest); the Brown Berets, which has chapters throughout the Southwest and California; MAYA (Mexican-American Youth Association); MASC (Mexican-American Student Confederation) and the Third World Liberation Front of the University of California, Berkeley; the Chicano Student Union of Merritt College, Oakland; MASO (Mexican-American Student Organization); LADO (Latin American Defense Organization); Young Lords Organization, a Puerto Rican group which brought busloads of participants from New York and Chicago; and LASO (Latin American Student Organization.)

Total attendance at the conference was estimated at 1,500. Unlike many previous Chicano conferences, which have been marked by the attempt of government agencies and "Tio Tocos" (Spanish equivalent of "Uncle Tom") to throttle discussion, the young participants in this one structured the meeting according to their wishes, and discussion was wide-ranging and relevant. (The Crusade for Justice is totally financially independent of the government and trade-union bureaucracies.)

The first day of the conference—Thursday, March 27—the Northern California Caucus reorganized itself as the Revolutionary Caucus and drew in people from all parts of the country. It issued a statement to form the basis for discussion and to serve as the rallying point for those who considered themselves revolutionaries. Within a day and a half, the Revolutionary Caucus grew to about 250 members and became the most dynamic section of the conference.

A large part of the discussion of the Revolutionary Caucus, and the conference as a whole, dealt with the question of coalitions and alliances. The concept of the Third World Liberation Front was foreign to many of the participants. A vigorous debate unfolded on whether "La Raza" ("The People") meant only Chicanos, or whether it included all Latinos. Lupe Savedra of the Los Angeles Teatro Chicano was greeted with prolonged applause when he stated, "I want the Puerto Ricans here . . . and the Latinos here to know that when it comes down, the Chicano will be right there with you!"

This discussion soon developed to include the entire colonial revolution and the importance of an internationalist perspective. To enthusiastic applause, Manuel Gomez of the Cal State, Hayward, MASC held up Che Guevara as a symbol of

Slate N.Y.-area education meet for May 2-4

NEW YORK—A New York-Area May Day Socialist Educational Weekend will be held here from Fri., May 2, to Sun., May 4.

It will begin Fri., May 2, 8:30 p. m., with a film on the May-June 1968 worker-student uprising in France and a talk on "The Lessons of May-June—Spontaneism vs. Leninism" by Mary-Alice Waters, former national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, who reported the May-June events for *The Militant*.

At 11:00 a. m. Saturday, George Novack, prominent Marxist scholar, will speak on "Reform and Revolution in American History."

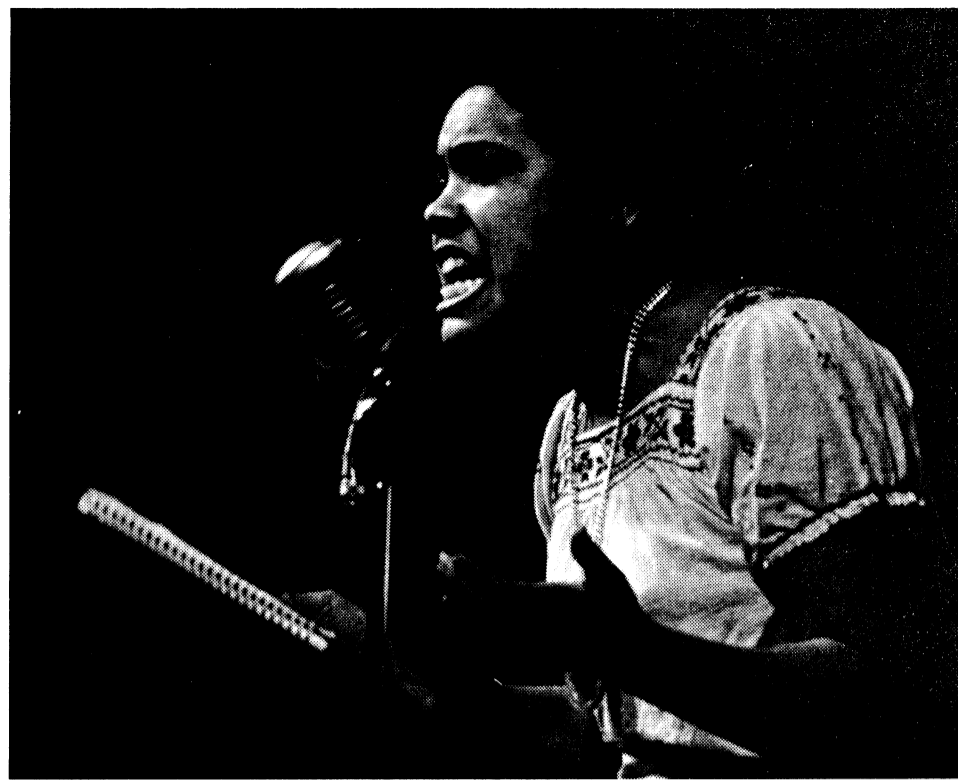
At 2 p. m. Saturday, Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party spokesman and Berkeley student leader, will speak on "Making the American Socialist Revolution."

Saturday evening, a dinner will precede a campaign rally featuring Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for mayor. The dinner will be at 6:30 p. m., and the rally will begin at 8:30.

At 1 p. m. Sunday, Tony Thomas, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, will speak on the "The Black Liberation Struggle and the Colonial Revolution."

All sessions, including the dinner and rally, will be held at 873 Broadway, at the corner of 18th Street, in New York City.

For more information, contact the Young Socialist Alliance or the N. Y. Socialist Workers Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003; telephone (212) 982-6051. Those planning to come from the Philadelphia area should contact the YSA at 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.; telephone: (215) CE6-6998.



M. E. Varela/LNS

Olivia, of San Diego, Calif., reading poems at Chicano parley

internationalism. Gomez went on to stress that "La Raza" has a common cause with the Afro-American people in their struggle.

Several workshop sessions discussed the question of an independent Chicano political party which could unite the people and struggle at every level for liberation. There was general agreement among the participants that the Democratic Party, like the Republican, is the enemy and not a vehicle for liberation.

On Friday afternoon—the second day of the conference—Corky Gonzales led a march of some 300-400 people from the Crusade for Justice headquarters to the State Capitol Building some ten blocks away. The demonstration there was in solidarity with the migrant farm workers of Colorado. At the rally, the Colorado state flag was lowered and the Mexican flag raised. A defense guard was formed around the flag pole, and no one attempted to remove the Mexican flag. The police stayed away.

Although the conference did not vote on any resolutions or propose any concrete plan of action, the discussion was extremely beneficial and helped raise the consciousness of the movement as a whole. Participants left with a profound feeling of brotherhood and solidarity. It is certain that a major step has been taken towards uniting the struggles of all Latinos in the United States.

Tape recordings of the Conference can be obtained from the Latin American Library, 1457 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94606.

Socialist parley held in Midwest

By Naomi Allen

CHAMPAIGN, Ill.—More than 120 young people met here April 19-20 for the first Midwest Regional Socialist Educational Conference. Twenty-three high schools and colleges in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri were represented by participants in the two days of intensive discussion on the major issues of world politics today: the movement against the imperialist war in Vietnam; the struggle of black Americans for their liberation, developments towards political democracy in Eastern Europe, the Cuban Revolution, and the relationship between student radicals and recent developments in the working class.

Featured speakers at the conference included Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, who spoke on the role of the black liberation movement in the struggle for socialism, and Dan Rosenshine, national field secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, who discussed the rapidly growing opportunities for young radicals to spread their ideas.

Major emphasis at the conference was placed on the Chicago Socialist Summer School, to be held June 16 to August 25. For further information on the Summer School, write to the Chicago Socialist Summer School, 302 S. Canal, Chicago, Ill. 60606.

Chicago: walkout -- locked out -- strike back

By Richard Hill

CHICAGO, April 14—Under the impact of increased inflation and higher taxes, and with the union bureaucrats more sensitive to the employers than the workers, the last year has seen a significant increase in wildcat strikes.

The new militancy has been spearheaded by young workers, especially young black workers. Indicative of the militant mood are the night-shift workers at United Parcel Service (UPS), a giant shipping company in Chicago. Since last week they have been out on strike, a wildcat. Today I talked to one of the rank-and-file leaders of the walkout.

I asked him about the job conditions at UPS which led to the strike.

Working at United Parcel is a typical factory job, he said, except that, because of competition with Railway Express and the Post Office, the workers are driven harder. They work from 4:30 p.m. until the job is done—almost always more than eight hours. The average work week is 55 hours.

The supervisors are constantly harassing and pushing the men. The boss expects a constant, fast flow of boxes from the packers and sorters and the supervisors sees that he gets it. As a result, among the inside workers there is a 70 percent turnover rate per year.

"The men are treated like animals," he said, "or at best like flunkys. If you're sick, they don't believe you until you've seen a medic. If he believes you, then you can go home—otherwise, if you leave, you'll be fired."

Around the Easter rush, he said, a lot

of guys brought up their gripes at a union meeting—compulsory overtime and the fact that day-shift openings were being filled by part-time workers, most of whom were college students. But nothing was done by the union.

"The company tried to fast-talk us, he said, promising all sorts of things to soften our militancy. Then the company—and the union, too—backed off, offering only the usual ineffective arbitration." But this was rejected by the men.

Still an informal caucus of workers, the rank-and-file decided to walk out after eight hours. Word spread through the plant, and most of the men went out. That was on a Friday, he said. On the following Monday, the strikers closed down the building.

The next day, when the men came back to the plant, they found all the gates locked—it was a lockout by the company! They were informed that they would be allowed back in only under the same conditions as before.

"But the lockout united all the workers behind our demands," the strike leader said. "We were locked out for eight days, the company hoping to break our will to fight." And the union bureaucrats, while forced to file a suit against the company for time lost, again advised the men to go in and let them arbitrate the issues.

"But when the company opened the gates to let us back in," he said, "we hit them with a strike!"

The whole development was the result of rank-and-file initiative, he emphasized. The union, Local 705 of the Teamsters, largest Teamsters' local in the city, is not backing the strike.

"The Teamsters places itself and its real estate holdings above the needs of its men," he said. "The officers drive Cadillacs and look more like the boss than like workers. They sent a two-bit puppet to 'speak' for us as a representative. He sits in a tiny office and does what he's told by the union heads. If not, he'd lose his job."

"There's no real rank-and-file election of the union officers," he explained. "It's like the Democratic and Republican parties."

The union, he said, doesn't even try to change the rotten conditions and oppose the speedup. They just get fat off the \$100 initiation fee, required to join the union. It's due after 30 days work, but benefits don't start until after 90 days.

I asked what form of organization the strikers have. "The caucus—I'd guess you'd call it that—is informally organized around bettering working conditions. We know that as working men, we've got to do it ourselves," he said. "Most of the guys were glad to see something finally getting together."

The meetings are open to every worker, he explained and that is where strike strategy is worked out.

The caucus is not strictly a black caucus, he said, although the night shift is overwhelmingly black and Third World. Though most of the scabs are white, the strikers have also been able to win many young white workers—despite the company's efforts to hire more whites to try and offset the militancy of the black and Latin American workers.

I asked about the strikers' attitude toward

student support. "We can't thank them enough," he answered. "Most guys can't understand why the students help us, but their support can help us and that's what counts. We've gotten aid from the SDS and the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, among others. They've participated mainly in picketing and publicizing the fight."

Morale is high, he continued. This week the men are going to picket the other UPS centers in the Chicago area—to put the pressure on the company everywhere. "The plan is almost shut down now, and the company is losing money every day." He was optimistic, even though many workers had to get auxiliary jobs and can't be on the picket lines much.

"We know the company and union are trying to roundhouse us," he said. "In our meetings, we keep bringing up a 1967 wildcat at UPS, to help educate the men. That time, the guys went back in believing union and company promises, but things got worse than they were. So we're staying out until they come across. As one of the brothers said the other night, 'We are not going to arbitrate. We are going to take the matter into our own hands . . . We will do whatever it takes!'"

To the demands on overtime and full-time work on day jobs, the workers have added two more demands: full compensation for wages lost due to the lockout; rehiring of four men fired on the first day of the lockout.

"These four demands, we consider one package," he said. "We're only going back in with all of them met . . . And they're not negotiable."

The Kremlin's ouster of Alexander Dubcek

By Les Evans

(IP) The April 17 announcement that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had removed Alexander Dubcek from the post of first secretary marked the end of the long stalemate that followed the Soviet invasion last August. The appointment of Gustav Husak as new first secretary of the party and the removal of Josef Smrkovsky, one of the best-known reformers, from the party's Presidium completed the transfer of power to the officials most amenable to the dictates of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Moscow's military intervention, aimed at throttling the burgeoning movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, proved from the outset to be a major political blunder of the Kremlin. The kidnapping of Dubcek and Smrkovsky immediately after the invasion was clearly part of a plan to install a puppet government of old-line Stalinists. This aim was frustrated by the remarkable mobilization and resistance of the Czech people. The result was to unleash a continuing crisis of confidence among the Communist parties that owe allegiance to Moscow and to buy

time for the defenders of proletarian democracy in Czechoslovakia.

But from the outset the Dubcek leadership adopted a policy of bureaucratic maneuver and compromise rather than struggle at the head of the masses against the Soviet demands. In the name of "realism," the Czech leaders allowed the rights of the workers and the revolutionary students and intellectuals to be whittled away. Dubcek and his collaborators, who feared the mass mobilization as much as they did the Soviet troops, found themselves increasingly in conflict with the Czech people and their own party ranks, as they were obliged more and more to act as transmitters of Soviet pressure.

At no time since August 1968 did the Czech people lack determination to resist the occupation. This was evident on countless occasions, from the demonstrations immediately after the invasion to the student strikes in November, to the huge turnout for the funeral of Jan Palach in January, to the most recent demonstrations in March which served as the pretext for the latest Soviet moves against the Dubcek leadership.

It was above all the unwillingness of the leadership to organize and lead the resistance that inevitably prepared the way for its removal. This outcome was predicted by the Fourth International as long ago as September 15, 1968, hardly three weeks after the invasion. At that time in an editorial in *Quatrieme Internationale*, the official magazine of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, declared:

"The Dubcek leadership were not intransigent Bolsheviks with a political firmness equal to any test, but men with an essentially bureaucratic training, long steeped in the system which had turned against them. . . . [Because] of their bureaucratic training, they lacked any confidence, basically, in the masses. . . .

"By agreeing to 'negotiate' [with the Kremlin], the Dubcek team began sliding down a slope on which it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to stop. The

masses became disoriented, then demobilized; hence a loss in militancy which the occupation is now seeking step by step to turn to its advantage. . . .

"The Soviet leaders will continue this game until they think that they can drop them in favor of opportunists who will relieve them of any need for further worry. The calculation of the Soviet leaders in this matter is based, like the calculation that led them to invade Czechoslovakia, on assumptions concerning the objective reality that are mistaken. But their calculation as to what will happen to the Dubcek leadership is correct. This leadership cannot help but disintegrate. The mass movement in Czechoslovakia will rise again and go forward but not under this leadership."

As a postscript to this prophetic document, it must be added that at the end, Dubcek and Smrkovsky obligingly greased the slope to hasten their own disappearance. Smrkovsky on April 15 humbled himself before the Stalinists by writing in the party newspaper, *Rude Pravo*, "my judgment was not correct." He recanted his view that the chief danger to Czechoslovakia came from the hard-line Kremlin supporters rather than from the reformers, as Moscow alleged. He even denounced the demonstrations of March 28 for having "damaged the consolidation that was just beginning."



L'Express

Dubcek himself formally asked the Central Committee "to be released from the function of First Secretary." Although he was plainly acting under heavy coercion from Soviet officials, nevertheless he chose to submit rather than to put up a fight, thus weakening and disorienting the popular movement. From the time of the invasion the major trade unions, including the million-member Metal Workers Union, had pledged to call a general strike if the party leadership were deposed. By supinely complying with the Soviet demands, Dubcek helped to disarm this potentially powerful opposition force.

Several factors appear to have affected the Kremlin's decision to dump Dubcek at this time. One of the most important was the reconsolidation of pro-Moscow elements in the army and secret police. One of the acts of the Czech reformers after January 1968 that most infuriated Brezhnev and Kosygin was the removal of many old-line Stalinists from their posts in the core of the repressive apparatus of the state. This was evidently an important reason for the decision to carry out the military intervention.

In the initial period after August the popular resistance was too strong to reintroduce these discredited men into their old jobs. But one of the "concessions" made by Dubcek and company has been to quietly reinstate hundreds of pro-Moscow "conservatives" in the secret police and the army hierarchy. After the completion of this reconquest of power for the Kremlin, Dubcek became a superfluous figurehead whose usefulness to the Kremlin had been exhausted.

To be sure, the workers and students have not been pacified or demoralized. The March 28 demonstrations were read by Brezhnev as a sign that he must institute repressive measures if he hopes to disperse this popular opposition before it regrouped around new leaders.

This was the real meaning of the imposition of Husak. Despite the Slovak leader's nine years of imprisonment, begun in 1951 during the Stalinist purges, he has made it plain that he intends to impose Moscow's diktat and repress any opposition. "One does not get ahead with a popular policy," Husak said in his address to the Central Committee April 17. The calling out of Czech troops in Prague and other cities indicated that he would not shrink from using bullets if necessary to enforce an unpopular course.

Even though the fight for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia will now be more difficult, there are already signs that workers and students have taken up the challenge. Student and trade-union leaders are reportedly circulating a petition calling for a boycott of party leaders responsible for removing Dubcek. It declares: "The workers and students reserve the inalienable right to take their own independent stand and adopt the necessary measures." The resolution was said to have received wide support in important factories in Prague.

The elevation of Husak is unquestionably a setback for the forces of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. But by still further unmasking the criminal character of the Kremlin bureaucracy it contributes to the world disintegration of the once monolithic Stalinist current. It also increases the likelihood that a new, revolutionary leadership will be born from this ordeal in Czechoslovakia, not drawn from any sector of the bureaucracy. That new leadership will have to carry through the political revolution against bureaucratic misrule that was begun in January 1968.

Husak warns Arab states

One of the arguments used to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was that a reform regime would move toward the right in the field of international relations, adapting to western imperialism. But one of the very first acts of the Kremlin-imposed Husak regime according to a April 22 New York Times Prague dispatch, was to warn the United Arab Republic, Syria and Iraq against any "provocation" of Israel. Times said the Czech regime feared conflict in the Mideast would "worsen East-West relations."

Black unity solid in Detroit defense

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—This city's black community is experiencing a virtually unprecedented unity in its reactions to the March 29 police attack on the Republic of New Africa convention in the New Bethel Baptist Church. Evidence of this solidarity was the broad range of speakers at an April 18 rally to support the Republic of New Africa (RNA). Police had stormed the church after two cops were shot outside. They wounded four people and arrested 142.

The rally heard speakers from the Booker T. Washington Business Association, Association of Black Students of Wayne State University, Wolverine Bar Association, Black Panthers and Black United Front (a coalition of over 50 groups formed after the March 29 attack). Michigan state representatives James Del Rio and Daisy Elliott addressed the rally along with a representative from the office of Congressman John Conyers.

Over 600 Afro-Americans attended the rally despite a last-minute switch from the St. Paul AME Church to an auditorium at Wayne State University. Rev. William Ardrey, St. Paul pastor, told the audience of the tremendous pressures exerted against the church to force it to cancel the RNA support meeting. Members of the congregation were called by their employers and threatened with loss of jobs and promotions if they didn't halt the meeting, threatening phone calls plagued Rev. Ardrey, and finally, the church's insurance was canceled.

A collection of over \$900 was taken to aid the wounded New Africans and provide legal defense for RNA citizens. Detroiters Alfred Hibbitt and Clarence Fuller have been charged with wounding Patrolman Worobec. At the pretrial hearing for Hibbitt, police produced a secret witness who claimed that he saw Hibbitt and Rafael Viera shoot the two officers outside the

church. The secret witness was Californian David Brown who had attended the RNA convention and had been charged with firing on police from the church loft. After being held in jail for four days, Brown was visited by Brother Imari and told him that the police had beaten him every day.

Rafael Viera, a Puerto Rican living in New York City, has been charged with the slaying of Patrolman Czapski. He surrendered to federal agents in New York on April 18. Viera, a Vietnam veteran injured at Da Nang in 1967, told newsmen, "I am partially paralyzed on my right side. I can't write very well."

Brother Gaidi (Milton Henry), the RNA's first vice-president, regarded by the National Lawyers Guild as one of the top ten criminal lawyers in the country, stated that the RNA plans to use the American court system to "thwart U. S. attempts to incarcerate or chase all separatists or other militants out of the country." Brother Imari, RNA regional vice-president, expressed confidence that the RNA citizens would be proven innocent. He explained, "We want show our brothers—like Eldridge Cleaver, Robert Williams (RNA president) and a few others—that they need not flee the country every time the white man decides to lodge some trumped-up charge against him."

The legal team for RNA citizens is headed up by Brother Gaidi and includes Kenneth Cockrel, Justin Ravitz and O. Lee Molette. Defense attorneys were abruptly cut short in the midst of the pretrial hearing for Alfred Hibbitt when Recorder's Court Judge Joseph Maher suddenly bound Hibbitt over for trial and adjourned the hearing, although evidence of Hibbitt's innocence had not yet been presented.

Maher's action in denying Hibbitt due process, typical of recorder's court "justice" for black people, stands in stark contrast to Recorder's Court Judge George

Crockett's insistence on protecting the constitutional rights of all RNA citizens arrested by police during the church raid. Judge Crockett's action defending due process was attacked by the police, daily newspapers and public officials (including Michigan Gov. Milliken, Detroit Mayor Cavanagh, Wayne County Prosecutor Cahalan and state senators). These attacks were countered by Crockett supporters, who staged several mass demonstrations and published a stream of statements praising the black judge for his courage and fidelity to constitutional rights. The broad support gained by Judge Crockett temporarily halted public assaults on him.

However, the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA) paid \$6,000 to run full-page ads in the April 15 and April 18 *Detroit News* whipping up anti-RNA hysteria and urging people to sign petitions to remove Judge Crockett from office.

The DPOA is now openly acting as the leader of all right-wing forces in the area. Even those public officials who joined in the attacks against the black judge are disturbed by the DPOA's blatant racism and are fearful of a repetition of the 1967 uprising. Mayor Cavanagh said the ad was "unfortunate, ill-timed, ill-advised and doesn't serve any useful purpose." The mayor instituted a policy of silence on all city officials regarding controversies about the March 29 events.

Cavanagh was extremely upset when this iron curtain was broken by Richard Marks, director of the commission on community relations, who issued a statement blasting the DPOA and Detroit's political leaders. "I am asserting," said Marks, "that the direction the DPOA will take us is in effect a police state. . . . The DPOA premises of 'support law and order and remove Recorder's Judge George Crockett' have emerged to symbolize the specter of the police state and paramilitary government of a colonial people. . . ."

The Great Society

Ever principled— Liberal columnist Max Lerner has a long record of consistent support to democratic rights, except where they might prove decisive. For instance, Lerner says he favors the right of antiwar dissent among GIs in training camps. But, "In Vietnam or any other foreign area where American troops are stationed or in battle," he gravely advises, such dissent is "intolerable."

Campaign poster?— We know Vanessa Redgrave has won a lot of respect for her outspoken opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, but we couldn't tell whether it was a friend or foe when the April 15 **Women's Wear Daily** reported that amidst the fancy dresses at the Academy Award ceremony in L.A. was a picket with a placard declaring, "A vote for Vanessa Redgrave is a vote for the Viet Cong."

Grin and bear it— When Saigon vicedictator Nguyen Cao Ky and his wife were in Washington for Eisenhower's funeral, Betty Beale reported in the April 14 **San Francisco Chronicle**, Mrs. Ky told newsmen: "I'm so surprised to see you Americans thinking so much about how to be happy and what you can get. We in Vietnam are always thinking of the suffering of our country." As Mrs. Ky made the remark, reporter Beale comments, she "stood there exquisitely gowned in a flower-printed black silk dress with ropes of pearls around her neck held together by a diamond clasp . . ."

Is nothing sacred?— A bible encrusted with precious stones was stolen from the church on one of the estates of Britain's Queen Elizabeth.

Graspy gold— Old Henry Ford, a keen wit, sued to say the customer could have any color he wanted, as long as it was black. Now, "to go with the times," Henry III offers the new Maverick with these colors: "Hulla Blue, Anti-Establish Mint; Freudian Gilt, Thanks Vermillion and Original Cinnamon." A real card that Henry.

Fortunes of war— "Fed up with the hippies, peaceniks and other irritating agents, base officials at the [Long Beach, Calif.] naval base barred any cars from bearing the stylized love daisy, the ensign popular with anti-warriors, from the installation. One day an officer who was driving a daisy-festooned car was detained at the gate for 15 minutes. He turned out to be the new base commander, en route to his

own welcome-a-board ceremonies in his son's auto. Daisies have since become legal again."—**Time**, April 11.

Sociological note— Americans chew an estimated \$100 million worth of bubble gum annually.

Cause and effect?— Tucked away toward the bottom of page 6 of the April 19 **New York Times** was a one-inch item reporting that the Philippine House of Representatives had slashed a previously approved \$8.75-million appropriation for Philippine forces in Vietnam down to \$1.25-million. It also limited the composition of the Vietnam force to noncombat and medical units. And, tucked away at the bottom of page 16 was another one-inch item reporting that "some 2,000 demonstrators" had marched on the U.S. embassy in Manila protesting U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Big-hearted Blue Cross— The rates may get steeper every year, but a radio commercial for Minnesota Blue Cross advises that the plan permits selecting a doctor of your choice.

Knows which side the oleo is on— California officials are having trouble getting experts to testify in its \$500-million pollution suit against four oil companies in the recent beach damage. For example, Prof. Wilbur Somerton of the University of California at Berkeley, said he would not testify "because my work depends on good relations with the petroleum industry." He conceded doing occasional work as an industry consultant but said the remuneration was only a small part of his income. "I do it," he said, "as an industry service."

The march of science— An Australian firm is marketing a bikini which it claims tans those patches that are covered. They say it's a new cotton cloth that permits up to 50 percent of the sun's rays to pass through. Maybe they'll call it the hot seat.

Thought for the week— "There is nothing less revolutionary than 'do your own thing.' You are only a revolutionary when you become attached to a specific organization and a particular cause. Revolution is not dressing up like Che Guevara and smoking pot." — Father Blase Bonpane, the priest expelled from Guatemala for supporting the guerrillas.

— Harry Ring

Some signs of the times

By Robert Langston

It is not often that one finds financial columnists and professors of international law raising searching questions about the foundations of capitalist society and socially condemning their colleagues in the social sciences for not doing likewise. It is surely some sign of the times that there have been two instances of such critical questioning in recent weeks.

Prof. Richard A. Falk, Milbank Professor of International Law at Princeton University who is the director of a project devoted to "world order in the 1990s" supported by the World Law Fund, was interviewed recently by Israel Shenker of the **New York Times**. His comments appeared in the April 7 **Times**.

"The planet and mankind," Falk said, "are in grave danger of irreversible catastrophe if the political structure that now prevails is not drastically changed during the next few decades."

He analyzed the crisis in terms of what John Maynard Keynes called the "paradox of aggregation" (a notion already fully developed over a century ago in Marx's analysis of commodity production): that the final outcome of the self-interest-based behavior of individuals and groups is by no means in the general interest of society. "This same logic," Falk said, "applies to corporate behavior in the pursuit of profits and to nations seeking wealth, power and prestige."

"Appeals to conscience have very little prospect of success. The only hopeful prospect is some kind of central framework of control to define community interests and to impose them on a global basis. This kind of solution is essentially political and moral rather than technical."

The professor predicted that the movement toward such a "system of world order" will be a serious part of the political life of the community when people are willing to go to jail on its behalf and are put there by those who fear the challenge.

The next step, he says, "is to make people angry about what is happening to their environment, and the prospect for themselves and their children as a consequence of allowing so much public policy to be determined by the selfish interests of individuals, corporations, nations and even regions of the world."

He added: "I think the kind of community reaction that occurred in Santa Barbara recently, as a consequence of the oil slick is the sort of thing that is going to happen more frequently and more dramatically in the years ahead. When it is understood that these occurrences are not isolated disorders but threads in the patterns of disaster, then a more coherent response will begin to emerge."

"The outcome of this confrontation," he says, "will shape the future of planetary history—in fact determine if the planet is to have a future in history. Only a fool or prophet would attempt to predict the exact form of the struggle or its eventual resolution, but only a prisoner of existing political moods would deny that the struggle is necessary."

While Falk doesn't explicitly draw the obvious conclusion from his analysis—that only the end of private ownership of



the means of production on a world scale and the establishment of the broadest workers' democracy can make possible the definition and imposition of "community interests on a global basis"; and while he doesn't seem to have an inkling of the necessary class basis of the movement he hopes for, what he does say goes pretty far for a Princeton professor.

Even more unexpected is an article by the syndicated financial columnist David Deitch, appearing in the March 16 **Boston Globe** under the headline, "Economists duck the real social issues."

Commenting on the absence among economists of a movement similar to the one that has developed among natural scientists in opposition to the proposed antiballistic-missile system, Deitch wrote:

"Once more the economists proved themselves irrelevant by their willingness to deal only with the most marginal aspects of a critical social issue, and refusal to take more than a technical position on a political question affecting the whole society."

In more general terms, and in a fashion reminiscent of the traditional Marxist criticisms of bourgeois economics, Deitch writes: "By keeping quiet, economists are trying to fool the public that they are staying 'neutral,' when in fact they are creating the impression that other alternatives are unavailable. So imbued with the idea that the corporations are somehow sacrosanct, the economists keep coming up with research findings predetermined by their original premise: no other conclusions are possible."

He adds: "If economists were less concerned with the free market (which doesn't exist anyway) and more concerned with democracy, they would be thinking about new economic forms where all the people could participate in the decision-making process."

"A new counterposing of alternatives needs to be developed, publicized and built into mass politics which could move this country away from the autocratic system which gave us the ABM to a more democratic system concerned with a decent life for people."

The movement awaits you, Brother Deitch.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: YSA and bookstore, 187 14th St., Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-3887.

ILLINOIS: 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, c/o Marv Katter, 810 Kimberly #100, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

Peoria: YSA, c/o Mike Ghelfi, 1522 N. Bradley, Peoria, Ill. 61606.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Rick Congress, 207 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

MAINE: Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ted Parsons, Senior Center, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981.

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

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 9251, East Lansing, Michigan 48909.

Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Ed Mattos, 913 Washenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 240, Mpls. 55403. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

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

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt Brod, 425

Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 07104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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. Tel: (607) 798-3977.

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, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510.

OHIO: Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Tel: (216) 791-1669.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Peter Graumann, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387. Tel: (513) 767-5511.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o Sudie Trippett, 412 West Eufaula, Norman, Oklahoma 73069. Tel: (405) 321-2594.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S. W. Pomona, Portland, Oregon, 97219. 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: YSA, c/o Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Rd., Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 476-0850.

Houston: YSA, c/o Fred Brode, 5420 Olana, Houston, Texas 77039.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA c/o Terrill Brumback, 18 Logan Circle N.W., Wash. D.C. 20005. Tel: (202) 387-5979.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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

Oshkosh: YSA, c/o Peter Kohlenberg, Gruenhagen Hall, WSU, Oshkosh, Wis. 54901.

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Ft. Jackson 'evidence' threadbare

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 24 — The Army does not embarrass easily. But their case against the Ft. Jackson 8 presents a sorry spectacle even for a military court. Last weekend the Army conceded its inability to procure evidence against four of the men and excluded them from the Article 32 preliminary hearing. These four — Pvts. Thomas Woodfin, Curtis E. Mays, Edilberto Chaparro and Dominick Duddie — are still under barracks arrest, but the harshest measure the Army can now take against them is to try them in a special court-martial, which can impose at most a six-month sentence.

Four GIs associated with the group, GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, still face the possibility of general court-martial, according to defense attorneys. Military hearings began Tuesday, April 22, to review the evidence and charges against them. Pvts. Andrew Pulley, Joseph Cole, Delmar Thomas and Jose Rudder are charged with disrespect, breach of the peace and holding an "illegal demonstration." In addition, Rudder is charged with disobeying a direct order, and Thomas is charged with threatening a noncommissioned officer.

Lethal grenade is hurled at SWP headquarters

NEW YORK, April 24 — Terrorist bombers attacked the Socialist Workers Party mayoral campaign headquarters here last night. The bomb, identified by police as a grenade, exploded outside the building, after having apparently been thrown at a second-story window, missing the window, and falling back into the street. Windows were punctured by shrapnel, and a car parked on the street was damaged. The campaign headquarters is located at 873 Broadway, in the same quarters as the SWP's New York and national offices and the editorial offices of *The Militant*.

While no one was injured, the attack was obviously murderous in intent: Lights were on, and the rooms were clearly occupied. Fifteen campaign workers were in the office at the time, and if the bomb had exploded inside the building, serious injuries or deaths would have resulted.

There have been several previous bomb attacks on SWP headquarters during election campaigns. On Sept. 24, 1966, during a New York gubernatorial campaign, the party's headquarters here were fire-bombed. And last October, during the presidential campaign, the SWP's Los Angeles headquarters was bombed by Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

A number of months ago, members of the ultraright Minutemen were arrested in New York for illegal possession of arms and explosives. At that time it was



THE NEW SOUTH. Columbia, S. C., federal courthouse is scene of demonstration by University of South Carolina students in support of Ft. Jackson 8. (Their placards were apparently made up before disclosure that ninth

defendant was a planted Army informer in GIs United.) It wasn't too long ago that such a demonstration in the Deep South would have seemed incredible.

All four have been held under maximum security in the Ft. Jackson stockade for over a month.

The charges stem from a spirited antiwar meeting held by GIs United on the evening of March 20. The prosecution has finished calling its witnesses and has failed to sub-

stantiate a single allegation. No one has testified that Delmar Thomas was even present at the meeting, that Joseph Cole ever spoke, or that there was any breach of peace or threat of it. All the government witnesses, with a single exception, were officers or NCOs.

The Army's key witness, Lt. Melwyn Austin, brigade officer at the time of the incident, insisted that the gathering outside B-14-4 barracks was not a meeting but a demonstration. Upon questioning, he defined a demonstration as "a gathering of individuals for the mutual purpose of an accomplishment." Concerning the alleged direct order to disperse, which Pvt. Rudder is charged with violating, the lieutenant conceded that he never specifically gave that order, but that what he said was intended to mean so.

A second important witness, Sgt. Harry Holbrook, observed the meeting for the duration but never attempted to disperse it. He stated that he took no action because the meeting was out of control, yet he admitted that in his only attempt to assert his authority, he met with complete success. He succeeded in getting Pvt. Pulley to stand at attention, tuck in his shirt, and straighten his cap. Thereupon Holbrook told Pulley that he could go on speaking and retired once more to the sidelines.

The giving of the GIs United salute, a raised clenched fist, was made much of by the brass as a sign of disrespect. The prosecution, referring to it as "the black power salute," inquired of defense witness Sp/4 Philip Barboza if he observed the salute given that night. "I don't remember, sir," replied the soldier, "I might have, I might not have. It's like this — I see it all the time. It's no big deal. I saw it yesterday. I'll see it tomorrow. It happens all the time around here."

The prosecution witnesses contradicted themselves and each other on almost every particular. They agreed on a few facts about the nature of the "demonstration," however: They testified that none of the accused advocated violence, encouraged disobedience or disrespect, or suggested any course of action inconsistent with military authority. They said they had not observed any threats or provocative or aggressive action, and most of them conceded they had not felt fearful or angry during the course of the meeting.

In contrast to the open and honest conduct of GIs United, brass trickery has spread even to this courtroom. Pfc. Charles Dozier, 17, from Cincinnati, was a strong defense witness and was the first called to the stand by defense counsel David Rein. Immediately after being sworn in, Dozier was informed by Col. Harold Miller, the presiding officer, that he had just been classified as a suspect and was possibly subject to charges. Referred to by the investigating officer as "accused," Dozier was informed that anything he said might be held against him and advised to see counsel. When the officer then asked whether he would like to make any statement at that time, the GI declined and left,

bewildered by a tactic as irregular as it was dirty.

By this time it was quite apparent why the commanding officer, Brig. Gen. Hollingsworth, had ordered the hearing closed to the press, contravening the initial decision of the presiding officer to open it up at defense counsel's request.

Civil action through habeas corpus petition is seeking to free the soldier-defendants from illegal pretrial confinement. The first two district-court hearings, on April 22 and April 24, failed to decide even the question of jurisdiction. University of South Carolina students demonstrated their support for the Fort Jackson Eight outside the federal building and filled the courtroom on both occasions.

Pvt. John Huffman was produced at Thursday's hearing by court order; the glum looking Army agent-informer-provocateur was flanked by heavy guard.

The pathetic testimony and trial tactics exhibited by the brass this week at Ft. Jackson has served to underscore what GIs United have maintained all along: The Ft. Jackson Eight are victims of blatant frame-up charges launched by a military which is clearly shaken by the actuality and potential of GIs who insist on exercising their First Amendment rights to criticize the war.

Meetings back Ft. Jackson 8

BERKELEY — A University of California campus rally of 400 April 22 heard student activists speak on the cases of the Presidio 27 and the Ft. Jackson 8. Among the speakers expressing solidarity with the GI defendants were former SDS leader Tom Hayden, black Third World Liberation Front leader Jim Nabers, and Lew Jones of the Socialist Workers Party.

The rally also heard Mrs. Ginger Bunch, mother of the GI whose murder in the Presidio stockade set off the "mutiny" there and Reese Ehrlich of the Oakland 7. Bobby Seale was also a scheduled speaker but was unable to attend.

Jean Savage represented the GI-Student Action Committee, which organized the rally. The committee has opened a campaign on behalf of the Ft. Jackson 8.

CLEVELAND, April 23 — A "Free the Ft. Jackson 8" rally was held here tonight at Case-Western Reserve University.

Among the featured speakers was Lovella Thomas, mother of Delmar Thomas, one of the Ft. Jackson 8. She told the audience, "I am in complete support of my son's decision to speak out against this country's involvement in an undeclared war."

Other speakers included Fred Webb, a Navy veteran, and attorney Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

Site of slated L.A. teach-in burned

By Joel Britton

LOS ANGELES, April 23 — Last night a fire of undetermined origin completely destroyed the Ash Grove, a radical forum where a Cuba teach-in, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance was to have taken place Sat., April 26.

This was the second fire at a left establishment here in recent weeks. The Progressive Book Store was fire-bombed on April 6. Nazis or Cuban counterrevolutionaries were suspected of that bombing.

Peter Seidman, Los Angeles organizer of the YSA, announced today that the Ash Grove fire would not mean cancellation of the teach-in. It will take place at the YSA headquarters, 1702 E. 4th St. Sat., April 26.



Paul Boutelle