

Exclusive from Havana—

A Vietnam interview

THE MILITANT

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NLF official discusses war, GIs, Paris talks with young socialists



Huynh Van Ba, of S. Vietnam NLF Mission in Cuba (right), at Havana meeting with U.S. young socialists.

By Derrel Myers

HAVANA — For the Young Socialist Alliance visitors here, one of the high points of our stay in Cuba has been a series of visits with the spokesmen of the mission of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam to Cuba. From these visits we obtained a better understanding of the Vietnamese people's struggle for self-determination.

The powerful message that came through in these conversations was that Vietnam will win. The only question is, what expense in lives and destruction will the U. S. impose before it is completely halted?

We met with Huynh Van Ba, commercial charge d'affaires and acting head of the mission. He began his fight for Vietnamese national liberation in the 1940s, when he joined the struggle against the French. His militant confidence in the ultimate victory of his people was punctuated with down-to-earth humor and warm hospitality towards his guests.

Van Ba illustrated the strength of the Vietnamese people and the military, political and moral decline of the U.S.-Ky-Thieu regime. "In 1965, we functioned almost totally underground. Today, it is the enemy who must live in holes and behind great fortifications. It is we who mingle freely with our people, and they who must be on constant alert, trusting no one. They cannot move from city to city or even house to house without heavy guard. The Tet offensive and the enemy's willingness to meet with us in Paris conclusively show that they have lost but are

not yet willing to leave our country."

Describing the nonmilitary aspects of the functioning of the NLF, he noted the publication of 38 daily newspapers and nine magazines in the liberated zone of South Vietnam. Other nonmilitary activities include anti-illiteracy campaigns, like the alphabetization campaign in Cuba. "Liberation and freedom require not only armed struggle but also education and culture," he explained.

There are thousands of primary and secondary schools now functioning in the liberated area where the sons and daughters of all the people can get an education. "We have even established a university and a medical school to train doctors and nurses, who, as you can imagine, are very much needed."

In addition to domestic education, which is conducted under constant bombing, thousands of South Vietnamese youth are studying in the various workers states. We met some of these students here. Cubans say they are the best students.

We were treated to a documentary film on the preparation and execution of the Tet offensive. This film is the product of a fully equipped film studio located somewhere in South Vietnam. To preserve and advance the arts in the embattled country, traveling groups of dancers, musicians, singers and actors tour the entire country. We were told that to assist communication between families and friends separated by the war, the NLF has its own postal system. We were given a selection of NLF postage stamps.

The NLF has built and maintains hundreds of hospitals in the liberated areas. Most of the medical supplies come from captured U. S. sources.

Van Ba pointed to the food sources of the NLF and the U.S.-Ky-Thieu regime to illustrate the relative strength of each side. "PLAF (People's Liberation Armed Forces) soldiers are also producers and work side by side in the fields with our peasant brothers. We are dependent on no one for our food. But the enemy, trapped in the cities and their fortresses, must rely on food imported from the U. S. and delivered under heavy guard. In some areas they must even import water. That shows how isolated they are from the Vietnamese people.

"It has become increasingly common for the enemy to park their planes outside Vietnam, on the Seventh Fleet carriers or in Laos, and we notice that more and more U. S. officers spend their nights on the ships of the Seventh Fleet, so afraid are they of surprise attacks by our soldiers."

We asked Van Ba if it was difficult for American civilians to visit the liberated area of South Vietnam. With a chuckle he said, "All one must do is walk 100 meters from an American post and he is in liberated land."

Morale of GIs

He spent some time describing the morale of the U. S. GIs in Vietnam. "They know they are losing, and many of them know they are losing in an unjust cause with no support from our people and lessening

(Continued on page 3)

Feb. 21 -- Malcolm X Memorial Day

'Brother Malcolm is still with us'

Detroit Ghetto, Mich.

To all my black brothers and sisters of racist America:

We have asked our capitalistic society for one day—Jan. 15, the 40th anniversary of Martin Luther King's birth. Well, they gave us our answer: a moment of silence at noon in some of our schools.

We've got to stop crying and begging the man for what we want. It should be clear that anything we want or desire from this country we must take.

I say, let's take and make Feb. 21 our holiday, a day that all black people should recognize, because on this day a man known as Malcolm X, El-Haji Malik El-Shabazz, was destroyed by this racist society.

This is the day that a man of such brilliant and truthful status left us only too soon. Why? Because he exposed the man and told the world that the deal was in colonial America. I often think of the changes that would have been made much sooner with his help in leadership and love for his people.

This is the day parents should keep their children home from school and explain to them why. This is the day I will not meet the man to slave for him. This is the day I will examine myself and determine my role in the black community. This is the day we should remember that Brother Malcolm is still with us. This is the day that we do not celebrate his death but his role in the awakens and awareness of our people in our state of colonization here.

We must do this ourselves. Who will do it for us? The man will not give us this day because he does not want our kids to look at Brother Malcolm as our hero. He does not want us to imitate him, because he knows that when we do, our days of slavery are over and his days are few.

Chain

A criticism . . .

New York City

Ever since the war between Israel and some of the Arab states in June 1967, **The Militant** has displayed a very one-sided, hostile and often seriously mistaken position against Israel and the Jewish people. One of the most objectionable pieces is the article by Elizabeth Barnes in the issue of Jan. 10, 1969. It would be hard to conceive of an article on the Israeli-Lebanon crisis which is more demagogic, distorted and vicious than Miss Barnes' piece.

The reader is led to believe that Israel conceived of this "new aggression" without any provocation; the attack on the Israeli airplane at Athens with its tragic results is not even mentioned. By using a subheadline in boldface type of an Al Fatah quote of "Nazi deeds," **The Militant** seems to make that language its own, recalling similar insinuations by the UN representative of the Soviet Union (a rather strange company for **The Militant**). Since the author of the article blames the Israeli government for using "fascist" methods, I wonder what her definition of fascism is and whether she has even an inkling of the political institutions of Israel.

I very vividly recall the spirited remarks which the editor of **The Militant** once made about the incompatibility of terrorism and Marxism in a meeting of either the [The New York Fifth Avenue Peace] Parade Committee or the Mobilization Committee. I also recall the interview in Cairo of

an Al Fatah leader by Mr. Halstead which **The Militant** published several months ago [Sept. 20 issue], extolling the practices of the Arab terrorists. I wonder whether you distinguish between a Marxist and an un-Marxist type of terrorism — one you disapprove of, while you approve of the other. I also wonder why Mr. Halstead, on his far-flung trip, did not visit near-by Jerusalem, which would have made it possible for him to present to your readers not only the Arab-terrorist position, but also the point of view of Israel.

Otto Nathan

. . . and a reply

New York City

The Militant uses the same criteria in analyzing Israel and the developing Arab revolution as it does in analyzing events in any other part of the world.

Our view of the Mideast situation flows from an analysis of Israel as a state carved out of Palestine against the will of the indigenous Arab majority of that country. We believe that this act—carried through with the support of the imperialists as a counter against the Arab revolution — trampled on the rights of nations and peoples to self-determination. Therefore we support the struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland.

To assert that Israel used "fascist methods" in its attack on the Lebanese airport — as Al Fatah charges and I concurred — is in no way the same as saying that Israel is a fascist state, which it is not.

The government of Lebanon was not involved in the commando attack on the Israeli plane in Athens. The Palestinian commandoes who made the attack had merely used a regular commercial flight from Lebanon to get to Athens.

In Europe during the Nazi occupation, even cooperative officials of occupied areas would be held accountable and punished for the "terrorist" acts of anti-Nazi partisans over whom these officials had no control. The purpose of such reprisals was to compel officials of occupied areas to help stamp out the resistance forces to save their own skins.

Finally, the viewpoint of the Israeli government receives rather adequate coverage in the U.S. media, while views of the Arab revolutionaries are distorted, falsified and flatly suppressed. As revolutionaries we consider it our obligation to bring the facts about them and their point of view to the radical public.

Similarly, we are concerned with internal developments in Israel and do seek out that news which goes largely unreported. For example, we have made special efforts to make available here the views of such movements as the Israeli Socialist Organization, which opposes the Zionist government and favors a united Arab-Jewish struggle against imperialism.

Elizabeth Barnes

On Arab "genocide" and Israeli "socialism"

Seattle, Wash.

Two letters in the Jan. 17 **Militant** caught my eye. One contains the contention of Joel Beinin that the struggle against Zionism equals genocide. The second, by A. K., holds that the Israeli kibbutz is the highest form of socialism yet to be invented by man. Gentlemen, before you start

Letters from our readers

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

your arguments you should define your terms.

The simplest interpretation of the word "genocide," according to the dictionary, is: "systematic measures for the extermination of a cultural and racial group." Now Joel Beinin does not charge the platform or leaders of the Palestine Liberation Movement with this, but accuses them of striving for the obliteration of the state of Israel.

This is fundamentally different from the physical destruction of an entire people. Surely he must know that in the history of mankind, and in the Middle East perhaps more than any other place, states have arisen only to pass away in bewildering succession, whereas the people who comprised those states have persisted in their being.

In fact, using Joel Beinin's logic, it could with more truth be said that Zionism constituted the genocide of the Palestinians because the establishment of the state of Israel obliterated the territory of Palestine for the Palestine Arabs.

As for the myth of "socialist enclaves" in a capitalist framework, Engels long ago pointed out its illusoriness in his work, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

Long before the kibbutzim, there were all sorts of communal setups, notably those of the Owenites and Fourierites in this country, which certainly did not make the U.S. socialist. The kibbutzim were started a long time ago, during the period of the British mandate, mainly for paramilitary reasons. This would presumably make King George a socialist.

Now while those five percent of the people who constitute Israel's kibbutz population live cooperatively to a bigger or lesser degree amongst themselves, their relationship to the rest of society is based on pure, unadulterated capitalism. Another aspect of Israel's kibbutzim is that nearly all of them are financially in the red, and are kept going by government subsidies, loans from private banks and donations coming mostly from America — which makes for some strange socialism indeed.

A. K. mentions the presence of three Japanese on the kibbutz he worked on, and then castigates **The Militant** for opposing a country which fostered a socialist community. A. K. may not be aware that there is a kibbutz movement in Japan (Yamagashi Ki) which actually founded some 20 collective agricultural settlements, mostly in Hokkaido. Should **The Militant** and other leftists therefore stop opposing the Sato government or any imperialistic Japanese tendencies because there are 20 kibbutz-type communes on Japanese soil?

M. R.

The Kennedy myth

Long Island City, N. Y.
Would it be possible for **The**

THE MILITANT

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Friday, February 7, 1969

Militant to write a special on President Kennedy, as far as his meddling in Cuban affairs is concerned and his dealings with Vietnam?

Why did President Kennedy continue the policy of President Eisenhower, when he didn't have to, as far as Cuba's independence from American imperialism was concerned? Was the CIA putting too much pressure on him, or did he decide on his own, in the hopes that he would be successful in overthrowing Cuba and claiming to the world that America represents the "free world"—which is a polite way of saying, satellite nations within the OAS, NATO and such other organizations like them?

These questions I'm quite sure you'll be able to answer.

Was President Kennedy's policy to send advisers to Vietnam, or was this just a cover for troops?

I want you to tell it to the many blacks like it is about these-called crusading-justice Kennedys, as far as black people's rights are concerned, because many misled blacks picture the Kennedys as the great messiah of justice for black people.

When black people were in the streets demonstrating for their rights, President Kennedy and his brother Robert, who was then U.S. attorney general, were saying to black people, whose rights have been long delayed, to "cool it." When more black people realize how the Kennedys really thought, then and only then will black people free themselves of the Kennedy myth!

I. S.

Astronausa over astronauttes

Detroit, Mich.

Well, the Cream of American Manhood did it again! Col. Frank Borman, commander of the Apollo 8 which circled the moon, was asked at a press conference why he thought the Soviet Union had been able to send a woman into space but the U.S. had not even tried. Borman's answer was, "I have never been one who thought it was required that a woman go into space." Then this Finest Representative of American Technical Genius and Pioneer Daring revealed how he felt about women's abilities by flashing a wide grin and telling the reporters that women "are very pretty."

With these public remarks, Borman continued a long tradition of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). In 1962 astronaut John Glenn Jr. and Scott Carpenter undertook the task of explaining to the members of the House Science and Astronautics Committee why NASA was not training any women for space flights in spite of the fact that there were women who had applied and who met all the requirements. After Valentina Terechkova became the first space woman in 1963, Glenn again defended the "men only" character of the U.S. space program by stating that "so far we felt the qualifications we were looking for . . . were best taken care of by men." An unidentified NASA spokesman put it more crudely—and honestly—when he said that talk of an American space woman "makes me sick at my stomach."

This kind of astronausa fills me with overwhelming awe of human beings who are looking for the stars through thick blindfolds.

Evelyn Sell

Hails Militant

Rahway, N. J.

Regarding the letter from the Cleaver Bail Fund Committee[letter, "Cleaver's bailors appeal for aid," **The Militant**, Jan. 24]:

As a supporter of the Cleaver-Mage ticket in the recent election, I would like to voice my support for Mr. Cleaver and the Black Panther Party. I especially think **The Militant** should be hailed for printing the letter and voicing its support for Mr. Cleaver. Obviously, **The Militant** doesn't agree with the Peace and Freedom-Panther coalition, yet it has shown by supporting Cleaver, Newton and the Panthers that we can all work together for victory.

Joseph Williams

National struggle and social revolution

New York, N. Y.

I enjoyed reading Tony Thomas' article, "Why black nationalism is revolutionary," in the Jan. 24 **Militant**. I would like to show the validity of his thesis by giving three examples where nationalist revolutions "grew over" into socialist revolutions. This will help to disprove, I hope, the theory that nationalism of any sort must be reactionary.

A. Yugoslavia is today a workers state. Its revolution began in the early '40s around a very nationalist demand: "Throw the Nazis Out of Yugoslavia." Tito's partisans, however, soon realized that the Karageorgevich dynasty, which ruled in the country, was acting as a puppet government for the Nazis. Therefore, the logic of events forced the partisans not only to defeat the Nazis but to take state power for themselves. Thus a workers state was born.

B. The Cuban Revolution began as a nationalist, radical, petty-bourgeois revolution against Batista. When it became clear, however, that he represented U.S. imperialism's vested interest in Cuba and that in order to complete the revolution in Cuba the means of production (which were largely owned by U.S. companies) would have to be nationalized, a nationalist revolution "grew over" into a socialist revolution.

C. Finally, the most obvious example of a nationalist revolution "growing over" into a socialist revolution is Vietnam. That revolution began as a nationalist revolution in the 1880s to throw the French out of Vietnam. Today they are telling the U.S. in no uncertain terms, "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," a purely nationalist slogan. Yet the logic of events is forcing them to make their revolution into a socialist one.

Thus we see that all of those who hold that nationalism must be reactionary are putting artificial norms over historical fact.

A. G.



HAVANA, JAN. 2. Fidel addresses rally celebrating 10th anniversary of Cuban Revolution. Young Socialist Alliance delegation with its banner. "North Ameri-

cans with Cuba." (inset) evoked tremendous applause. Cubans have become increasingly aware of the significance of the growing U. S. radicalization.

(Continued from page 1)

support for the war from their own people. They are confused because they find the situation in Vietnam unlike the descriptions given in their orientation sessions. We have more contact with GIs than their officers realize. We reach thousands via radio and tens of thousands with leaflets telling the truth about the war. A growing number of them who can no longer tolerate being used to destroy our country and our people come over to us.

"They work well with us and some even fight on our side. But the greatest number of those GIs who come to oppose the aggression remain to speak to more GIs in Vietnam and in the U. S. They don't want to be called traitors, but they don't want to continue the slaughter of our people. Some of them even openly demonstrate their opposition, like the 3,000 who rebelled two days ago. [There has been no report of this in the U. S. Editor.] We understand these aren't the people who started the war, and we don't enjoy killing them, but they and all the American people must understand us. If the only way we can win our liberation is by destroying every U. S. soldier and base, we are prepared to do it. We hope it won't be necessary. We have no hatred for Americans, but like all people, we hate anyone, whether Japanese, French or American, who comes to our country with arms to tell us how to live."

Don't accept words

Turning to the Paris talks, he cautioned us never to put faith in words. "They said a few years ago that the NLF was just a phantom. Then they spent thousands of lives and billions of dollars to destroy a phantom. Now they must negotiate with a ghost before the entire world. The Paris talks are a moral, political victory for us.

"They go to Paris not in good faith, but in humiliation and out of a desire to get from us a part of our liberation, our victory. But the freedom and independence of our country is not for negotiation. The only thing to negotiate is how fast and by what means they will withdraw their troops and dismantle their bases.

"An example of their 'good faith' is their so-called bombing halt. Yes, they stop bombing the North of our country only so they can bomb the South more intensely.

"We do not consider the question settled until the last U. S. soldier leaves our country. We have learned in years of struggle that imperialism is not reasonable. The only power it respects is the armed might of our people. And it is on that strength that we will rely to settle our affairs with imperialism. There are no two ways for peace in our country. The single way is by the withdrawal of all U. S. troops. If they want to leave willingly and alive, we can arrange that with red carpets, champagne and parades. But if not willingly, we will arrange the departure by other means. By any means they must leave."

Exhibition

We visited the Vietnamese exposition at the Academy of Natural Sciences here. On display were destroyed U. S. planes and captured weapons. The most interesting, if chilling, displays were hand-made traps designed to kill and maim enemy troops. As fierce as the traps are, they cannot compare with the methods of indiscriminate slaughter and destruction carried on by the U. S. government.

Van Ba explained that it is not Vietnamese custom to greet visitors with such devices, but they are reserved for unwelcome intruders. "Our borders are open to all people who come in friendship, but no one welcomes aggression."

When we explained the plans for the April 6 GI-civilian actions against the war, Van Ba said, "Every action of yours echoes in Vietnam. We hope you will continue to demonstrate until every U. S. soldier is gone. We salute the Americans

who oppose the aggression against our country and who respect our right to self-determination. You are an important front in the struggle for freedom and national independence. Without you, our war would last much longer."

Once again he cautioned us not to put faith in the Paris talks, "but continue to struggle like us for the withdrawal of all U. S. troops, the dismantling of all bases, and for a Vietnamese Vietnam. Please never shout, 'Long live the Paris negotiations.'"

A statement from the YSA delegation was presented to Van Ba saluting the heroism and determination of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation.

Young Socialists salute Vietnamese

The following is the text of a declaration by the Young Socialist Alliance members visiting Cuba.

* * *

Comrades of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam:

On the first anniversary of the Tet Offensive we salute the heroic Vietnamese people. Your struggles have been an inspiration to revolutionary youth in every country.

Your victories, especially the Tet Offensive of 1968, have had a profound impact in the United States. Sentiment against U. S. aggression in Vietnam has deepened. Lyndon Johnson was forced to withdraw from the presidential election.

American soldiers in increasing numbers have begun to speak out and demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. Five hundred antiwar GIs demonstrated with 12,000 civilians in San Francisco on Oct. 12.

Liberation Radio reported this week that 3,000 American soldiers in Vietnam demonstrated their opposition to further fighting and their desire for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops. This action and others like it could make it impossible for the imperialists to continue their aggression in Vietnam. Such actions can severely restrict their ability to repress the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

As a new spokesman for the U. S. ruling class prepares to take office, thousands of Americans are demonstrating in Washington demanding that U. S. troops be brought home now.

Plans have been made by antiwar GIs and the civilian antiwar movement to hold mass antiwar actions in every city in the United States on April 6. Thousands of antiwar GIs will join hundreds of thousands of civilian supporters in demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Vietnam.

The struggle of Afro-Americans for national liberation will also continue to deepen, further undermining the ability of U. S. imperialism to suppress the workers of the world.

As part of a new generation of revolutionary youth that is arising in the United States, we pledge to redouble our efforts to end U. S. aggression in Vietnam and in other parts of the world. Your struggle is our example.

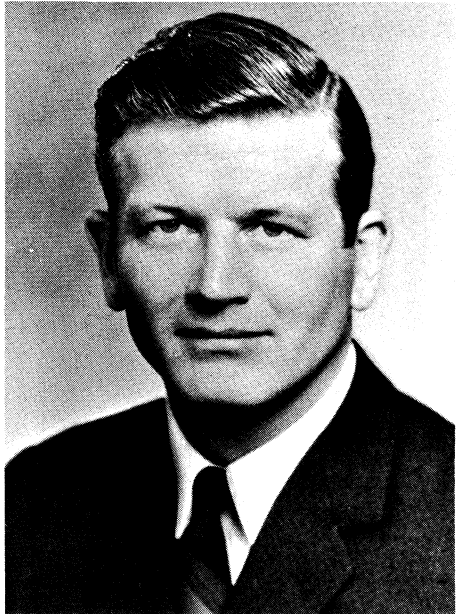
January 19, 1969
Year of the Antiwar GI

Lindsay continues crusade against black community

By Elizabeth Barnes
NEW YORK, Jan. 30—As the Lindsay-sponsored crusade against "black racism" and black "anti-Semitism" continues to get prominent play in the media here, the true nature of this so-called "antiracist" drive as an attack on the black liberation movement is becoming more clear.

The main target of the attack is the struggle for black control of the schools in the black community, and significantly, the first victims of the "antiracist" drive have all been black educators who have been in the forefront of the struggle for black control.

Mayor Lindsay has called on the Board of Education to "act rapidly" on his request that "appropriate action" be taken



Mayor Lindsay

against two of these militants — Leslie Campbell and Albert Vann — both charged with "anti-Semitism."

Vann and Campbell are both on the faculty at embattled I. S. 271 in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, and the charges against them stem from a highly publicized incident which has been blown up as one of the prime examples of the "anti-Semitic danger" arising from the black community.

Last Dec. 26 Leslie Campbell read a poem over radio station WBAI which ex-

pressed the anti-Jewish prejudice of a 15-year-old black student. The poem, which was dedicated to United Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker, reflected the bitterness felt by this student as a result of the antiblack teachers' strike this fall by the UFT.

The poem began, "Hey Jew boy with that yarmulka on your head/ You pale faced Jew boy I wish you were dead . . . I'm sick of your stuff/ every time you turn around/ You pushin my head deeper into the ground/ I'm sick of hearin about your suffering in Germany/ I'm sick of hearin about your escape from tyranny . . . And then you came to America land of the free/ took over the school system to perpetuate white supremacy."

Under attack
As a result of the poem incident, WBAI—a listener-sponsored station — has come under attack. The very existence of the station, which is the only one in New York which provides a free forum for all points of view, has been jeopardized by a formal complaint filed against it by Albert Shanker with the Federal Communications Commission. Shanker has charged the station with "anti-Semitism" and the FCC has begun to prepare an inquiry to consider whether the station's license should be revoked.

Shanker's move against WBAI is particularly odious because since its founding, this station has had to wage a struggle to secure and maintain its broadcasting license from an FCC hostile to the various radical and controversial ideas which it presents.

In response to Shanker's move against them, WBAI has refused to change its free speech policy. In a statement released to the press, the station's publicity director said that "The poem was presented as a reflection of the sentiment existing in a significant portion of the black community. Nothing which has ever been said on WBAI in any way implies editorial endorsement of the opinions voiced in this poem . . . The contention that such opinions should not be broadcast, although they admittedly exist, is in WBAI's opinion, no solution of the problem and a deliberate attempt by the UFT to curtail freedom of speech."

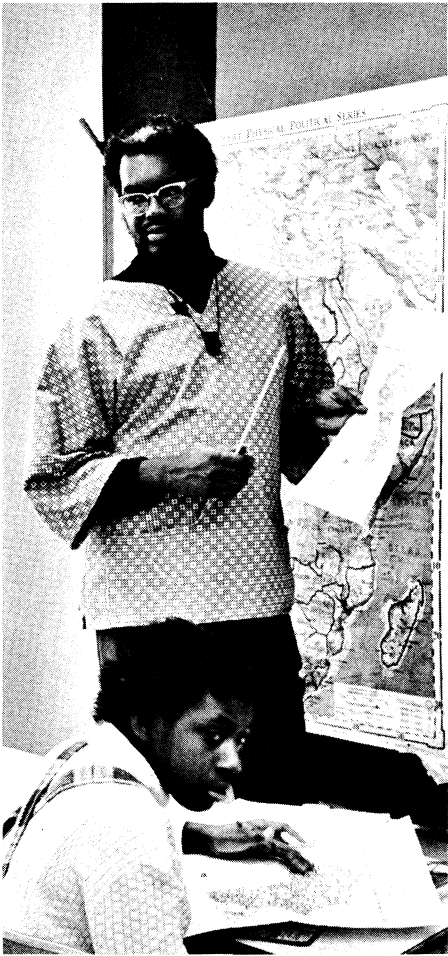
A separate statement by WBAI pointed to one of the significant facts about the current "anti-Semitism" dispute. "From the beginning of the UFT-Ocean Hill-Brownsville dispute," WBAI points out, "the president of the UFT, Albert Shanker, has sought to gain public sympathy for an unpopular strike by raising the spectre of anti-Semitism . . . Mr. Shanker has silenced his opposition within the union and within the teaching profession, and now he is attempting to stifle dissent against his policies from any source, including the news media. . . .

"The role which the present leadership of the UFT has played in exacerbating the bitterness of racial conflict in this city has yet to be fully measured. Its charge that 'WBAI was being used to spread anti-Semitic propaganda in general and attacks against New York teachers in particular' is a patent distortion and an obvious ploy for public sympathy as a false issue."

"WBAI will not be intimidated into silence by Mr. Shanker or his associates. WBAI will continue to air all sides in this controversy—including, as in the past, the official UFT position."

In addition to WBAI, others have begun to blow the whistle on the antiblack campaign. A press conference was held Jan. 28 by 19 Jewish teachers at I. S. 271 to announce their opposition to the victimization of their fellow teachers, Albert Vann and Leslie Campbell.

Referring to Campbell as a "master teacher," and to Vann as "an extremely effective administrator," the teachers pointed to the "years of miseducation, capped by the UFT strike" as stimulating whatever anti-Semitic feeling there is among black youth.



Leslie Campbell

It is a "statistical fact that the educational bureaucracy of New York City is dominated by Jews," the teachers said.

Rhody McCoy, the district administrator of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental district was also present at the press conference. He said that the charges of anti-Semitism were "being blown up all out of proportion" so that they could be used as "a political tool" to defeat the struggle for community control.

Racial tension
There is no doubt that racial tension in New York city has increased. But, by the way the papers talk about it, you would think that it is the black community and specifically these so-called "anti-Semites" in the black community who are to blame. Typical headlines in the **New York Times** this week were, "Outcry Growing Against Bigotry—City Council President Urges Action on Anti-Semitism," and "Mayor Asks Code for Teachers to Curb Slurs Causing Tension."

What is happening is that, as McCoy has pointed out, in the face of their inability to respond to demands for better

schools and black control of the schools, the politicians and the bureaucrats in the educational bureaucracy have sponsored a "white backlash" aimed at turning back the black struggle. Writing to the Mayor about putting a halt to the "anti-Semitism" and "violence in our schools," Francis Smith, President of the City Council, pointed out that he felt these problems were related to other issues, including "crime in the streets."

For the Lindsay administration and the white Anglo rulers of New York City who cannot grant self-determination for black people—the "backlash" is a part of their well-tested strategy of divide and rule. But, the tragic thing is that many of those white parents and teachers who they have sought to inflame really have been duped into thinking that they are physically threatened by the struggle of black people.

The absurd mental gyrations and rationalizations which have resulted in the minds of some of these whites was expressed this week by a junior high-school principal who is faced with struggles at his school which is 40 percent Puerto Rican and 50 percent black. "There is a well-organized and well-financed program to harass white Jewish educators," he observed. "It's happening all over the city."

Lacks 'equal opportunity'

The ever-watchful campaigners against "black supremacy" and "black racism" have discovered a surprising new source for these evils—the government-sponsored anti-poverty agencies.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is "low on equal opportunity," said the chairman of a Congressional committee which has been delving into the matter.

"Besides an over-all pattern of lack of equality," said the Congressional watchdog, "all but one racial group was ignored" in the anti-poverty program.

If he keeps up his diligent campaign, this sleuth may even discover that black people have also established an unfair advantage in the fields of unemployment and in the Vietnam casualty lists.

'Anti-Semitic plot'

One of the highly publicized incidents which were blown up as proof of the imminent danger deriving from "black anti-Semitism" involved an essay by a Harlem high-school student which was included in a catalogue for the Metropolitan Museum of Art show, "Harlem on My Mind."

Mayor Lindsay denounced the essay as "racist," and the outcry against it was so overwhelming that the sponsors of the exhibit were forced to put a disclaimer in the catalogue apologizing for any "offense" it might cause.

Since then, a small article appeared in the Jan. 29 New York Times which revealed that the ideas in the so-called anti-Semitic sections of the essay were apparently taken from *Beyond the Melting Pot*, a book written in 1963 by the famous sociologist Nathan Glazer, and Daniel Moynihan, who is now president Nixon's urban affairs coordinator.

Works by and about Malcolm X

By Malcolm X

	Cloth	Paper
<input type="checkbox"/> The Autobiography of Malcom X	7.50	1.25
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X Speaks	5.95	.95
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X on Afro-American History		.50
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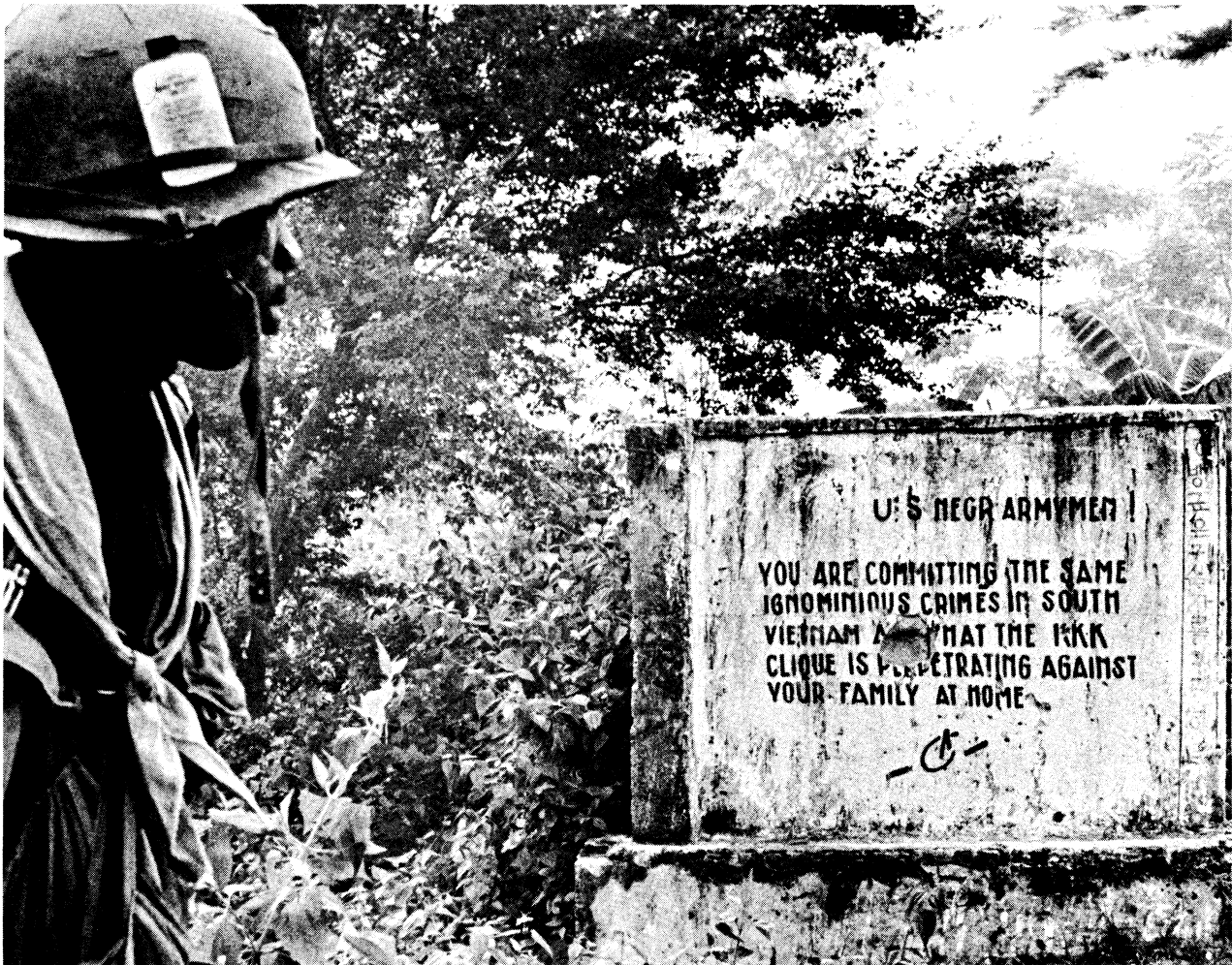
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Chicago News: Half Viet GIs oppose war



PAUSE FOR THOUGHT. GI reads sign posted by guerrilla reminding him his enemy is U.S. racism. Correspondent Georgie Anne Geyer found GIs have more respect for "enemy" than for allies. South Vietnamese guerrillas, while waging implacable struggle, also seek to pose the real issues for U.S. troops (See interview of Young Socialists with NLF representative in Cuba.)

By Dick Roberts

"Fully half" the U.S. troops in Vietnam are "against the war to some extent," the noted **Chicago Daily News** correspondent Georgie Ann Geyer concluded after covering the war for six months.

"Many of these men say the experience of Vietnam has led them to a deep cynicism and skepticism about many of their country's motives and actions."

These highly significant observations about the attitudes and morale of U.S. soldiers in the war were covered in a five-article series in the **Chicago Daily News** beginning Jan. 13. The CDN press service is nationally syndicated.

In essence, Miss Geyer found that the same, but "much more heralded revolutions on the campus, in the ghetto and in American political and social structures" are going on in the Army in Vietnam. "It has an Old Right, a New Left, a large middle ground, some aimless existentialists and a number of confused officers."

There is significant antiwar movement among the troops: "Side by side with the highly professional group which tends to view warfare as a technical endeavor, is a large and vociferous group that frankly does not believe in the war and says so with amazing candor."

This group, which includes "many of the best-educated of the young officers," in particular questions "the rights and wrongs of the Vietnam war and American involvement in it."

The biggest factor that has turned GIs in Vietnam against the war, according to Miss Geyer, is the blatant corruption of the Saigon regime these soldiers are being asked to defend:

"It is certainly one of the first times in history that soldiers have admired the enemy more than they admire their allies."

Notable was this sentiment even among relatively high-ranking officers. "How can you have land reform when all the land-owners are the officials in Saigon?" a lieutenant colonel asked Miss Geyer.

A colonel complained to her "Every day I go into the office of a Vietnamese major to get a pass for my chauffeur. Every day his aide tells me, 'The major's not here.' I see people going in with papers for him to sign and coming out with them signed."

Another officer was asked "But what about the Viet Cong?" He replied, "They're different. They believe in something. They have something to fight for. They believe in equality. They've created a unified society."

Not the sort of brass one runs into in bases around the country! He went even further. Miss Geyer told him, "You sound like you think we're on the wrong side."

"I've sometimes wondered," he answered, "The thing is that I don't think communism is all bad. It's one way organizing life, one way of doing things. What right do we have to tell these people how to live their lives? What right do we have to be here?"

An NCO told Miss Geyer that most Vietnamese are against the U.S. "My area is 95 percent North Vietnamese. You go

into the hills. The people won't tell you a thing."

He described "interrogation": "I go out and pick up civilians—any civilians—and we put them in the chopper and bring them back to interrogate. We take all their rice, so they hardly have enough left to eat."

"Here you're in a state of suspended animation. It's a dehumanized life."

Miss Geyer's report actually is not startling. In Vietnam Washington is using the most advanced weapons of modern warfare in a genocidal assault against a population that continues an irrepressible struggle for freedom. That's pretty hard to swallow—especially when you're staring it in the face day after day.

It is interesting to note that in Miss Geyer's report most of the quotes were from officers—and even some fairly high-ranking brass at that. This suggests that the enlisted men are a bit judicious in talking to reporters.

Enlisted men have the right to speak their opposition to the war—it is guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. Soldiers are no different from any other American citizens in this respect.

But in order to ensure their being able to exercise this right they need the organized support of the civilian antiwar movement. The antiwar movement outside the army can mobilize the legal aid, the public support the EMs need in their fight against the war.

over widely supported by the civilian population.

These points were recently emphasized by an antiwar GI, Sherman Sitrin, who explained them at a GI workshop in Washington, D.C. Jan. 18. Stationed at Ft. Belvoir, Va., Sitrin has been able to ward off victimization for his antiwar views with the support of the antiwar movement.

Sitrin pointed out that after the big antiwar march led by 500 GIs at San Francisco, last Oct. 12, there have been only two victimizations. It's "because it's legal and they know the trouble they're going to get" if they press charges, Sitrin said.

It is this kind of thinking inside and outside the service that underlines the importance of the national antiwar actions which have been set for seven areas for Easter Sunday, April 6.

Futher information on the April 6 action can be obtained from the New York headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Stiff bail is set on 2 New York Panther leaders

By Al Rosenthal

NEW YORK—New York Black Panther Captain Joudon Ford was arrested here Jan. 24 in the latest of a series of harassments of Panther leaders. Ford and another Panther, Tyrone Smith, were taken into custody by FBI agents at Kennedy Airport who charged them with "attempting to carry a concealed weapon onto an airplane." They were on their way to Los Angeles for the funeral of the two Panthers who were killed there.

Ford and Smith were whisked away to Federal Court in Brooklyn where U.S. Commissioner Max Schiffman arraigned them, setting bail at \$50,000 each. "I hate guns," Schiffman said.

Attorneys for Smith and Ford attacked this high bail as "arbitrary, malicious and outrageous." They finally succeeded in getting it lowered to \$10,000 each. But the Panthers have so far been unable to raise that amount and are still in jail. An appeal has been made to aid them in raising bail.

Chuck Moore, Information Adviser to the Black Panthers, commented: "This only shows once again that the 'law and order' which is running rampant throughout the country is only for those who can pay. It's not for the black man. The Supreme Court has ruled against excessive bail; why are these rules not applied to black men?"

Moore also responded to the accusation that the Panther leaders intended to hijack the plane to Cuba. Apart from the fact that the plane was bound in the opposite direction, he commented, "Ford has already gone to Cuba and come back. If he wanted to go again he wouldn't have to hijack a plane."

Viet casualties mounting again

"SAIGON, Jan. 23—The intensity of fighting throughout the country is slowly increasing again, to judge by individual battle reports and weekly casualty figures.

"Last week the number of allied and enemy soldiers killed rose for the second consecutive week. The South Vietnamese lost 292 men from Jan. 12 through Jan. 18, compared with 183 for the previous week.

"American losses last week were 196 men, compared with 151 for the week of Jan. 5 through 11."—New York Times, Jan. 24.

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Antiwar GIs at WSP luncheon

By Joel Aber

PHILADELPHIA — Antiwar GI Allen Myers received a standing ovation when he was introduced to a gathering of 150 at the Women Strike for Peace luncheon here Jan. 25. The women held the luncheon to honor Myers and draft resister Tony Avirgan and to raise urgently needed funds for their respective organizations, the Fort Dix Free Speech Movement and Philadelphia Resistance.

Keynote speaker at the luncheon was Matilde Zimmerman, executive secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. She explained how difficult it is becoming for the Army brass to try to abridge GIs' Constitutional rights. "This country has the tradition of the GI as a citizen-soldier," she said, "so the army cannot silence GIs like Allen Myers who are serious about exercising their rights as citizens."

Miss Zimmerman outlined the importance of civilian organizations, like Women Strike for Peace, which defend the right of servicemen to speak out; she emphasized the necessity for massive publicity by civilian organizations whenever the authorities do attempt any illegal harassment of GIs.

In giving her appeal for funds, Mary Morrell of Women Strike, reminded the audience that financial commitment is not enough, that she expected them all to help build such activities as the national April 6 GI-civilian antiwar demonstration.

The *Ultimate Weapon*, newspaper of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement, has announced plans for a "GI Day" to launch GI participation in the April 6 action. The GI Day will take place in Philadelphia on Saturday, March 1, and will feature an address by socialist and antiwar activist Fred Halstead.

Civilians in Philadelphia appear to be



Antiwar GI Myers addresses Women Strike for Peace luncheon.

establishing a broader coalition to build the April 6 action than has existed for past antiwar actions here. A letter calling for a meeting to initiate plans for publicizing the New York demonstration was sponsored by Mike Sletson of the Philadelphia chapter of SANE; George Hardin of the Friends Peace Committee; Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee; Katherine Kamp, national chairman of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Richard Lesnik of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee and others.

100 percent walk out at Wilberforce College

The following account of the student strike at predominantly black Wilberforce University is from the Antioch campus publication, *Avanti Popolo*.

By Jo Anne Wallace

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — One thousand students at Wilberforce University—the entire student body—walked out on Tuesday, Jan. 14, in protest over 34 grievances, including the suspensions of two students for violation of the school's code of conduct.

A day and a half later, about 2 a.m., the student union building at Wilberforce went up in flames. Student leaders, college authorities and local county officials refuse to speculate on the causes of the fire until after investigations have been completed.

The strike continues.

I talked with Ed Weathers, the president and spokesman of the Wilberforce student body on Saturday, Jan. 18.

The main thrust of the strike is to oppose the suspensions of the two students. During the fall quarter, two men students were charged with violating the school's housing regulations. Both were allegedly found in the rooms of women students on campus. The school's housing regulations separating men and women are very strict. The *Guideline for Students*, for example, warns:

"Women's living quarters are off limits to male guests and men's living quarters are off limits to female guests in University housing. . . . Any student found to be visiting and/or entertaining will be suspended, dismissed, or asked to withdraw."

What angers Wilberforce students is the way the two dismissals were handled. In November the dismissal hearings for one of the accused students began. It was conducted by the Student Affairs Committee. The committee, made up of five students and five faculty members, had been set up with the stipulation that meetings couldn't take place without a quorum of seven members. And so, at least two students had to be present.

Walked out

On Dec. 5 the committee's five students walked out because the committee's chairman, Mrs. W. A. Simpson, refused to allow the defense to cross-examine the person who originally had filed the charge against the defendant.

During Christmas break, however, Mrs. Simpson sent letters to the two students up on charges. The letters said that the two were suspended for the winter quarter.

On Monday, Jan. 13, the whole student body voted to walk out.

Weathers stresses that the two violation-of-conduct suspensions are not the only reasons for the walk-out. The administration has made other illegal suspensions, he explained. For example, students have been suspended for committing civil offenses.

Weathers then handed me the list of 34 grievances which students have taken to Wilberforce president Rembert Stokes and the administration.

Student demands

Students want there to be no suspensions of students without fair trials. The draft says that before a student is suspended, he should be put on probation. And it says that all academic suspensions should be fully investigated. Students ask for more teachers on the faculty. They want a better postal service so that their mail is no longer delayed two or sometimes three days. They want a compulsory course called "cultural development" made non-compulsory. And to satisfy their own interests, they want a "lyceum on black culture." They want better food in the cafeteria. And they want the "closed" housing policy, Victorian in its prudishness, to be abolished.

Students are now negotiating with Stokes on all the grievances. Weathers says there has been little progress.

Weathers says that Wilberforce students will continue the strike until the administration deals with all the grievances in a satisfactory way. "We're very much all together on this. Students won't go back to class until there are some important changes."

Student-faculty at MIT to act on war research

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A combined student-faculty group at MIT has called on their colleagues to participate in a voluntary stoppage of research activity on March 4, 1969, and to join them in an examination of the social responsibility of scientists.

This action is being taken by the Union of Concerned Scientists in order to protest governmental misuses of science and technology. The main goal of U.C.S. is to devise means for turning research applications away from the present emphasis on military technology towards the solution of pressing environmental and social problems. It sees the Vietnam war as illustrating the need for such action.

A program of speeches and panels on March 4 will examine specific issues and suggest means for further action.

U.C.S. is also encouraging the organization of similarly motivated activities at other universities across the nation.

Forty-seven eminent professors at MIT have signed a document stating the position of UCS as original sponsors. They are asking their colleagues to add their signatures, and to join in the symbolic protest on March 4.

Rebellion mounting in Catholic church

The Catholic Church is hardly known as a pacesetter on questions of social progress or reform. But it is clear that a number of priests, nuns, and other church functionaries are becoming increasingly disturbed by the reactionary attitudes of the church hierarchy on important social issues.

One striking example was the recent press conference held by 20 Newark inner-city priests, accusing Archbishop Thomas A. Boland of white racism and lack of concern for minority groups. The press conference was held on Jan. 9, and the issue has been hotly debated since. The priests have refused to back down despite punishments, and they have appealed widely for support.

The reaction against the Pope's ban on the pill and other new contraceptive devices has been worldwide; priests have participated in many antiwar and anti-

draft activities during the last few years; nuns and priests in South America have even joined the guerrilla movements in Guatemala and Colombia. These and other actions attest to the rising ferment and confirm the fact that the radicalization taking place internationally leaves nothing untouched.

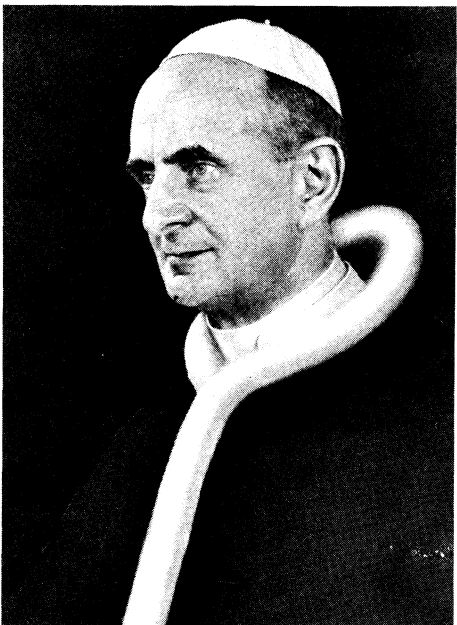
The three-day conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program which took place in New York the last weekend of January, marked another step in this process. Throughout the conference there was strong criticism of Latin-American military regimes, economic and social injustice, and the lack of sufficient United States aid for Latin America.

According to the *New York Times*, one of the high points of the conference was a speech made by the Most Rev. Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife and Olinda, Brazil, who received a standing ovation from the more than 700 participants when he rose to speak. He called on Roman Catholics in the United States to seek an end to the blockade against Cuba, a policy based, in his words, on "sterile hate."

Many of the participants at the conference expressed the view that Cuba's programs of mass education, agrarian reform and rural development were valuable examples for the rest of Latin America.

Another subject of dispute at the conference was the recent order by Pope Paul forbidding all Roman Catholic clergy and members of religious orders from participating in the work of the Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico. The center, which is run by Msgr. Ivan Illich, a progressive priest on leave from the New York archdiocese, has trained many nuns and priests for work in Latin America. It has been attacked by the church hierarchy for its emphasis on social problems, its study of revolutionary tendencies in Latin America, and the criticisms leveled by students at the center of reactionary church authorities in Latin America. Some of the priests and nuns who have joined guerrilla groups have been trained at the Cuernavaca center.

A statement criticizing the Vatican ban on the center was signed by 128 of the participants in the conference.



FACES PROBLEMS. Pope Paul is confronted by unprecedented international development of numerous sectors of church challenging church policy on variety of social, as well as religious, issues.

A rejoinder:

How Mexican students are defining imperialism

By Ricardo Ochoa and David Rocha
The authors were active in the recent Mexico City student battles.

In the Jan. 10 issue of *The Militant*, there was a review of two important pamphlets on the Mexican student movement: **Mexico 1968: A Study of Domination and Repression**, published by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), and **Mexico '68: The Students Speak**, published by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The review was written by Allen Young of the Liberation News Service, and he made an interesting assessment of them. Having read both pamphlets, we can say without hesitation that his general evaluation is correct. They are both valuable sources of information for the people of the United States on the events in Mexico. However, some of his comments on the Mexican student and people's movement of 1968 (and surely of 1969) reflect, we feel, certain misinterpretations on his part of this movement.

Young writes: "The USLA pamphlet, however, which is primarily written by Mexicans, indicates one of the key faults of the anti-imperialist movements in Latin America — their inability to define the workings of imperialism in real, specific terms." The NACLA pamphlet, he says, does fulfill this requirement.

The USLA pamphlet is made up essentially of two documents on the movement which try to define its strategy and tactics — one by the School of Philosophy Struggle Committee dealing with the tactics of the movement and the other by the National Strike Council on the program of the worker-student alliance.

Cloak for conciliation
There has been no lack in Mexico of material defining the workings of imperialism. The Communist Party, for example, has published many pamphlets and delivered many lectures on the subject. But its anti-imperialism is a cloak for its political conciliation with the native capitalist regime. It directs its fire against the imperialists precisely to divert from the struggle against the representatives of the imperialists here at home—to justify seeking an

alliance with the so-called progressive wing of the national bourgeoisie "against imperialism."

It does not present—with all its analysis of imperialism—a program of anti-imperialist struggle within Mexico that can be the basis for mobilizing the Mexican masses against Mexican capitalism.

(Some young people, reading this kind of anti-imperialist propaganda, actually concluded that the only way to fight imperialism was not to struggle here in Mexico, but somehow invade the U. S.!) But precisely as a result of the transformation produced by the great revolutionary upheavals taking place, important changes have occurred in the conception of anti-imperialist struggle held by the revolutionary left. The new spirit of struggle was summed up in this phrase from the "Second Declaration of Havana": "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." It later found brilliant new expression in Che's slogan, "Create two, three, many Vietnams."

The mechanism of imperialist penetration in Mexico—and this can be extended to all of Latin America—has not been unknown to the revolutionary movement. This is evident from the manifold analyses, studies, pamphlets, articles, etc. produced by the left intellectuals and organizations in Latin America. As the Brazilian peasant leader Francisco Juliao graphically put it: "If we piled the books that those theoreticians have written, just in Latin America, one on top of the other, they would reach to the highest peak in the Andes."

Practice
The great historical merit of the 1968 movement in Mexico lay in the fact that it partially resolved the practical problem which had confronted decades of theory: how to tie in the day-to-day struggle of the masses with the anti-imperialist struggle. This movement succeeded in developing such a mass anti-imperialist struggle in accordance with the specific conditions in Mexico City and other cities in the provinces. It did this by organizing a whole body of leaders who clearly understood that in fighting against the local pro-imperialist bourgeois government, against the direct agents of imperialism in Mexico, they dealt imperialism a tremendous blow.



MEXICAN STUDENT STICKER: "Free the political prisoners. Jail those who repress the people."

And we saw that the mass of students and their allies did hold anti-imperialist sentiments to a greater or lesser degree, which were expressed in their slogans, meetings, and demonstrations (support for the Vietnamese struggle, insults to the Yankee embassy, carrying Che's picture, etc.).

Finally, if there is anything that is more than clear in Mexico, not only to the students but to the entire working population, it is the mounting proof that the Mexican economy is an appendage of the U. S. economy; that the exploitation of the country's human and material resources by the imperialists increases every year at an accelerated tempo.

In Mexico City even the dullest see this American influence everywhere. The Mexican bourgeoisie is constantly "modernizing" the country, which really looks more and more like "Americanizing" it.

In Mexico, as in all Latin America, subordination to the United States is not only well "defined" and analyzed but is felt concretely in the daily lives of the broad masses. In spite of everything, these masses refuse to passively accept this spiritual and material destruction of the Mexican (and Latin-American) nation.

Symbol of solidarity
The NACLA pamphlet, with its charts and data, will of course greatly help the American reader comprehend the degree of penetration by "his" government and "his" corporations into Mexico. This pamphlet, of course, will also be welcomed in Mexico, not so much because it shows something new to us but because it represents a living and exemplary symbol of the solidarity of the best elements of the U. S. vanguard with the struggle of the Mexican students.

We would like to conclude by taking up Young's final comment: that it would have been useful if one of the two pamphlets had contained some material on the strategy and tactics of the movement and their relation to the theories of Latin-American armed struggle held by Che, Fidel, and Debray. It is worthwhile to comment briefly on this statement.

In our opinion, it represents another

misconception, a very widespread one, moreover, in some circles in the U. S. who look at the Latin-American revolution from a somewhat romanticized and folklorish point of view. Further, regarding this, Young passed over the National Strike Council document in the USLA pamphlet on the student alliance with the workers and peasants. Precisely in this document, which is a real embryonic transitional program, the programmatic steps are laid out for achieving a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, starting from their present rather primitive political level. At the same time, it projects the approximate organizational forms which this mobilization will take—national workers' and peasants' councils. This strategy might turn out to be incorrect. But no one can deny that it is based on a very important concrete experience, that of the 1968 mass movement.

This experience has been decisive in separating out the grain from the chaff in many abstractly conceived theories. We have in mind most of the "foquismo" theories—theories of the guerrilla focus—which are a series of false and exaggerated generalizations which Debray made on the Cuban revolution. We would venture to say that the 1968 movement finished these notions in Mexico. And thus Guevara's correct conception, which never considered revolutionary guerrilla struggle as excluding the decisive revolutionary struggle of the urban masses, was vindicated.

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A discussion-review

Isaac Deutscher on the non-Jewish Jew

By George Novack

Isaac Deutscher had a flair for going to the dialectical point. That discernment was superbly displayed in his analysis of the non-Jewish Jew — a contradiction in terms. His study of that fascinating social type heads the articles posthumously published under that title by his wife, Tamara.* She has also supplied a sketch of her husband's childhood which illuminates his preoccupation with this subject.

Deutscher defined the non-Jewish Jew as the heretic who went beyond the boundaries of Jewry and yet remained part of the Jewish tradition. It might even be said paradoxically that Jewry's most valuable contribution to world culture since the 17th century has come from those iconoclasts who shook off its trammels. "They all found Jewry too narrow, too archaic, and too constricting. They all looked for ideals and fulfillment beyond it, and they represent the sum and substance of much that is greatest in modern thought."

These men and women "dwelt on the boundaries of various civilizations, religions, and national cultures. They were born and brought up on the borderlines of various epochs. Their minds matured where the most diverse cultural influences crossed and fertilized each other . . . It was this that enabled them to rise in thought above their societies, above their nations, above their times and generations, and to strike out mentally into wide new horizons and far into the future." All were persecuted or exiled for their opposition to prevailing ideas and institutions.

In East Europe these non-Jewish Jews were part of and spoke for the Jewish workers in the ghettos. The Jews of East Europe were largely workers and impoverished middle-class elements. In the ghettos they were forced into, they were often the victims of bloody racist pogroms.

These Jewish ghetto dwellers sought to wage a revolutionary struggle against their anti-Semitic capitalist society and had a high degree of socialist consciousness. They rejected the utopian notion of Zionism, taking the stand that they would win their liberation by overthrowing capitalism and thereby tearing down the walls of the ghetto. They saw the October Revolution as the first great step toward their liberation as Jews and as workers.

The East European Jewish intellectuals were at one with the radicalized workers. They were regarded by the workers as their spokesmen and they in turn regarded themselves as part of the workers' movement.

Deutscher's representative roster of non-Jewish Jews includes such titans of revolutionary thought and action as Spinoza,

Heine, Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky and Freud. These Jews were united, not only by their transcendence of Judaism, but by their shared beliefs in the lawfulness of the universe and history, in the unceasing changefulness of all things, in the relativity of good and evil, in the idea that true and effective knowledge is inseparable from practice, and in the ultimate solidarity of humanity.

The traits of these uncompromising rationalists were likewise characteristic of Deutscher, who saw his own views, values and destiny mirrored in their lives. These essays are, among other things, an effort at understanding not only the historical phenomenon and its finest exemplars, but his own self. They are by-products of a lifelong search for the secret of his own identity. For he belonged to that category of the non-Jewish Jew, and was one of its most eminent representatives in our generation.

Isaac had reason to ponder the question: Who and what am I? His own career spanned incredible extremes. He started out in life as a Hassidic child prodigy in a Polish stetl who became a rabbi at 13; he ended it sixty years later as an atheist, a revolutionary Marxist, a writer of world renown. From immersion in the archaic atmosphere of the East European ghetto, he mounted to a mastery of the most advanced and cosmopolitan knowledge of his time.

He, too, "lived on the borderlines of various national cultures and was in society — Polish, Jewish, German, English — and yet not of it. In this he was in the Jewish tradition, and he never denied it." The tension of the sharp contrast between his Jewish childhood and his secular Marxist maturity vibrates like harp strings, imparting emotional resonance to these essays.

Their central theme is the irreconcilable contest between nationalism and internationalism which counterposes Marxism to capitalism, Zionism and Stalinism. Deutscher staunchly adhered to the positions of scientific socialism on the Jewish question, which he ably expounds and defends in these pages.

Marxism takes issue with the mystique of the chosen people in reference to the Jews or any other nationality. It gives a historical and materialist explanation for the exceptional endurance and peculiar characteristics of the Jews since their dispersion. The Jews have maintained existence and individuality as a nationality primarily because of the special role they played as a people-class in precapitalist society, where they were agents of the money economy among peoples living in a natural economy. Judaism and anti-Semitism had common roots in the distinctive functions which marked off the commercial Jew from the rest of the nations.

The coming of capitalism eliminated the necessity and changed the possibilities and prospects for perpetuating Jewry as a people apart, since its special function became the general condition of the social economy. During the 19th century both liberals and Marxists held the view that the Jews would shed their distinctive traits and separate identity through gradual absorption into an enlightened bourgeois or a future socialist society. Progressive capitalism did institute a certain degree of assimilation in Western Europe and North America, although it failed to complete it there. The process of social and cultural homogenization was barely begun in Eastern Europe because of its backwardness.

The development of world capitalism in this century upset this perspective. Imperialistic, crisis-torn capitalism swung over to an exacerbated nationalism of its own. One of its most malignant manifestations was the resort to anti-Semitism, a ready-made means for diverting the wrath of despairing and deluded people away from

the real authors of their misery by making the Jews a scapegoat for the crimes of a decaying capitalism. This relapse into barbarism was consummated in Germany, the most highly developed capitalist country of Europe, through the frenzied chauvinism of the Nazis capped by Hitler's extermination of six million Jews.

The degeneration of capitalism coupled with the failure of the socialist movement to replace it in time gave the Jewish question an acuteness and urgency unanticipated by the first generations of Marxists. Hitlerism served to spur and fortify the feelings of national solidarity among the Jews which, for different reasons, had been fading in both East and West Europe. The harried Jews had to defend and define themselves anew in reaction to the menace to their very physical existence.

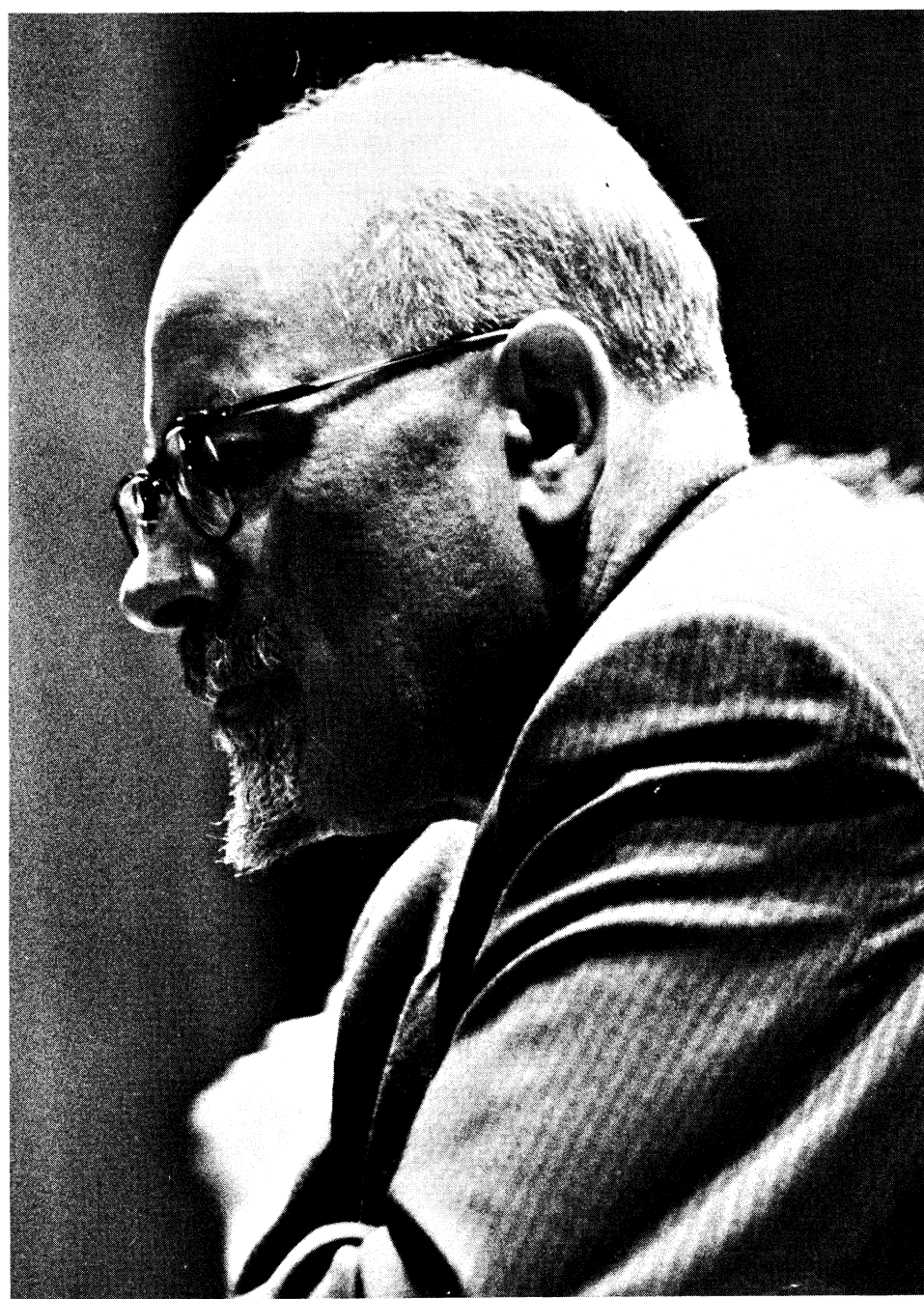
For the sake of self-preservation and national perpetuation, the survivors of East European Jewry who, especially among the workers, had been widely won over to the Marxist ideals of socialism, turned toward Zionism as the last hope of salvation. The project of seeking and securing refuge in a new Jewish state located in Palestine pushed aside the internationalist program and perspective.

There were dreadful pitfalls in this forced decision. "The world has driven the Jew to seek safety in a nation-state in the middle of this century when the nation-state is falling into decay," Deutscher pointed out. The Jewish people, which was denied the benefits of bourgeois nationalism in its best days, was compelled to embrace a bourgeois nationalism of its own and con-

stitute a separate Jewish state at a time when the progressive potential of that form of political organization within the capitalist framework had been reduced to a minimum.

To heap up their ill fortune, the Zionists chose to build their state in a tiny, poor and unfavorable terrain already occupied by another people, slowly awakening to its own national consciousness, which they then displaced by economic and military pressures.

Deutscher agreed that the Jews had the same right to self-determination as any other people on this planet. Indeed, because of their massacre during the second world war, European Jews had a special claim upon the generosity of the civilized world. He had been shaken to the marrow by the holocaust which he considered a unique historical tragedy almost defying explana-



Isaac Deutscher

*THE NON-JEWISH JEW and Other Essays, by Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, 1968. 164 pp., \$5.25.

Zionism and the Arab Revolution The Myth of Progressive Israel

by Peter Buch
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HISTORY. When British Prime Minister Chamberlain and French Premier Daladier (both at left) met with Hitler and Mussolini at Munich in 1938 they were quite content to let Hitler turn all of Germany into a gas oven, provided he didn't threaten their imperialist interests. But he did, and World War II ensued. Above, a



German synagogue in the 50s when neo-Nazis first showed their heads. It can happen again—and here—if capitalist needs demand it. And as long as capitalism and white racism prevail, the way is always open to extend this oppression to such minorities as the Jews.

tion. (Here his feelings got the better of his reason, since Marxism cannot place the tragedy of the Jews in a category different from the long list of other genocidal acts committed under capitalist barbarism.) In his youth he had experienced pogrom terror in his native Poland. He had lost his beloved father and other members of his family in Auschwitz.

He was fully aware of the predicament of the Jews—in which he was so intimately implicated—and he was sensitive to the aspirations behind the Zionist dream. Yet he rose above his individual sympathies and antipathies to take a broad view of the complex and excruciating problem from the vantage point of historical materialism, as a Marxist was obliged to do.

He was sure that Zionism held out no real hope of resolving the Jewish problem in the long run. He compared the Israelis to a man who managed to save his life by jumping from a burning building in which many members of his family had already perished. Unfortunately, he landed upon a neighbor and broke his limbs. Instead of behaving rationally and fairly toward the unintended victim of the unavoidable fall, the Zionists have treated the Palestinian Arabs abominably and made them into a bitter foe.

Zionist chauvinism has had a deadly logic. By expelling the Arabs from their own land and conducting warfare against them for 20 years, the Zionist Jews have transformed themselves from a persecuted minority in other lands into an oppressor nation in their present habitat.

The tragic irony does not end there. The original Zionist experiment was inspired by agrarian socialist ideals embodied in the Kibbutz—small communal settlements which seek to make "the desert blossom like the rose." After several decades, these Utopian colonies are hemmed in by capitalist relations which overshadow their admirable features. The kibbutzim have been converted into armed strong points in the national defense system and, because of the expansionist and militarist course of the Zionist government, take on an aggressive character.

The deformation of the most egalitarian sector of Israeli society is magnified a thousandfold in the country as a whole. Israel does not have an independent, strong and viable economic base; it must live from hand to mouth, depending on the largesse of wealthy Jews abroad—above all, the generosity and business investments of American millionaires. In the pinch, its economic well-being, territorial integrity and national security all hang on what military and financial aid is forthcoming from Washington. Thus, Israel must willy-nilly serve as an outpost of imperialist strategy in the Middle East, and so it is regarded throughout the Arab world.

Deutscher gave his final appraisal of the plight and the policies of Zionist Israel in an interview after the Six Day War of June 1967. He condemned the preemptive strike that brought quick victory to Israeli arms. "Paradoxically and grotesquely, the

Israelis appear now in the role of the Prussians of the Middle East. They have now won three wars against their Arab neighbors. Just so did the Prussians a century ago defeat all their neighbors within a few years, the Danes, the Austrians, and the French. The succession of victories bred in them an absolute confidence in their own efficiency, a blind reliance on the force of their arms, chauvinistic arrogance, and contempt for other peoples. I fear that a similar degeneration—for degeneration it is—may be taking place in the political character of Israel."

The lightning victory was worse than a defeat, he argued, because it paves the way for an eventual disastrous confrontation with the Arab states and the Arab masses. "They [the Jews] now appear in the Middle East once again in the invidious role of agents not so much of their own, relatively feeble, capitalism, but of powerful western vested interests and as proteges of neocolonialism. This is how the Arab world sees them, not without reason. Once again they arouse bitter emotions and hatreds in their neighbors, in all those who have ever been or still are victims of imperialism. What a fate it is for the Jewish people to be made to appear in this role! As agents of early capitalism they were still pioneers of progress in feudal society; as agents of the late, over-ripe, imperialist capitalism of our days, their role is altogether lamentable; and they are placed once again in the position of potential scapegoats. Is Jewish history to come full circle in such a way? This may well be the outcome of Israel's 'victories'; and of this Israel's real friends must warn it."

What is the way out? If the Israelis are not to be caught in a bloody trap of Zionist devising, they will have to abandon the exclusive and aggressive Jewish state and opt for a Middle East federation of the Arab and Jewish peoples. It is true that the Jewish bourgeois-chauvinists and their Anglo-American patrons, as well as demagogues and reactionaries among the Arabs, are equally opposed to such a solution. That is why this desirable political goal cannot be realized except through the joint struggle against imperialism and capitalism in that area under revolutionary socialist leadership.

By a circuitous route, lined by six million dead, which has led from Eastern Europe to Palestine, the Jewish masses today face the same alternative as their fathers and grandfathers: either alliance with the forces of socialist revolution or a bloody catastrophe. There is no third way.

* * *

Deutscher addressed a sober warning about the fate awaiting them if they clung to capitalism and chauvinism, not only to the Israelis, but to those Jews in the imperialist metropolises who complacently live under the mistaken impression that anti-Semitism is a spent force there. They are blind to the fact that such prejudice festers in many crevices of the Western countries and, in the event of acute insecurity, can

burst forth with sudden ferocity, as it did in crisis-ridden Germany between the wars.

"Let this society suffer any severe shock, such as it is bound to suffer; let there be again millions of unemployed, and we will see the same lower-middle-class alliance with the Lumpenproletariat, from whom Hitler recruited his following, running amok with anti-Semitism," he wrote. "As long as the nation-state imposes its supremacy and as long as we have not an international society in existence, as long as the wealth of every nation is in the hands of one national capitalist oligarchy, we shall have chauvinism, racialism, and, as its culmination, anti-Semitism."

Such a prediction may seem far-fetched and unduly alarmist to those privileged and short-sighted Anglo-American Jews who have been sunning in the prolonged prosperity and social stability of the post-war decades. Yet is based upon a keen insight into the ultimate direction of the main motive forces of capitalist development in our time. The warning has direct relevance for American Jews, young and old, who regard the Jewish problem as something remote from them and confined to Israeli-Arab relations or to the recurrence of anti-Semitism in East Europe and the Soviet Union.

They forget that the Jewish question is as pertinent to the United States as to Israel. More than twice as many Jews live in this country as in Israel. (According to the 1967 estimates of the Jewish Statistical Bureau, 5,721,000 live in the United States to 2,669,000 in Israel.) Like many other crucial questions of our era, the fate of the main body of Jewry will ultimately be settled by what happens on American soil.

At the present time there is a deadly symmetry between the attitude of the Israelis toward the Arabs and that of the American Jews toward the Afro-Americans and their liberation struggle. Many liberal and radical Jews have the same difficulty in comprehending why Afro-Americans are hostile to them as they do in grasping why the Palestinian Arabs are enemies of Israel. Are we not also an oppressed people, they anxiously ask; have we not also suffered from discrimination, even faced extermination?

They overlook the actual state of affairs. The amount of discrimination and prejudice encountered by Jews in the United States today is inconsiderable compared to the endemic racism which victimizes the blacks in so many ways. Furthermore, the upper and middle ranges of American Jewry, comfortably ensconced in bourgeois America, some of them bankers, landlords, big and little businessmen, participate in the system of oppressing and exploiting the black masses, just as the Zionists have become oppressors of the Palestinian Arabs. Jewish teachers in New York, reluctant to give up their small privileges, resist the Afro-American demand for control of the schools in their own communities.

Protestations of good-will do not change the decisive factors in the situation. Because

of the social positions they occupy and the economic functions some of them perform, the Jews appear in the eyes of the black masses as an integral constituent of the white capitalist power structure which has held them down for centuries.

"But," Jewish liberals expostulate, "are not the militant blacks also nationalistic, even practising 'racism in reverse'?" They fail to distinguish between the progressive nationalism of an oppressed minority and the reactionary chauvinism of an oppressive power. Black nationalism is justified because it aims at the self-determination and social liberation of 22 million people. It is revolutionary in its implications because the movement is not only fighting against racism, discrimination and inequality but is objectively directed against the foundations of U.S. monopolism and militarism.

If the aggrieved national feelings of Afro-Americans are sometimes expressed in embittered prejudice toward the Jewish people as such, this misguided attitude must be understood as an excessive defense reaction to the injustices constantly inflicted upon the blacks by the present structure of society. But such utterances should not be allowed to stand in the way of supporting the black struggle for emancipation.

While they misjudge the real nature of their relations with the Afro-American community and its nationalism, patriotic Jews cherish the illusion that American big business is constitutionally different from the German industrial and financial establishment that pressed Hitlerism into its service. The grounds for such confidence are very flimsy. The past record of the American ruling class in protecting the Jews from harm is shameful.

During the 1930s Roosevelt's liberal Democratic administration did not heed the cries of the victims of Nazism and refused to open the doors guarded by the Statue of Liberty to more than a handful of Jewish refugees who were lucky enough to find sponsors here. In the last manifesto he drafted for the Fourth International in 1940, Leon Trotsky wrote: "The world of decaying capitalism is overcrowded. The question of admitting a hundred extra refugees becomes a major problem for such a world power as the United States . . . In the epoch of its rise, capitalism took the Jewish people out of the ghetto and utilized them as an instrument in its commercial expansion. Today decaying capitalist society is striving to squeeze the Jewish people from all its pores; seventeen million individuals out of the two billion populating the globe, that is, less than one percent, can no longer find a place on our planet!"

During World War II the democratic imperialist governments did not lift a hand to deter Hitler from consigning the Jews to the gas ovens.

White racism, not anti-Semitism, is by far the most pervasive and powerful current of discrimination and source of per-

(Continued on page 10)

Charles P. Howard dies

By Julia Martin

Charles P. Howard, one of the country's outstanding Afro-American journalists, and a man who spent most of his life helping to advance the black liberation struggle, died in Baltimore Jan. 25. He was 74 years old.

Mr. Howard was born in Abbeville, S. C. His father was a fireman on the Georgia railroads, and his mother a teacher. After studying at Tuskegee Institute for two years, he won a scholarship to Drake University, from which he graduated in 1922 with a law degree.

At Drake, Howard was noted for both his scholastic and athletic achievements. He stood at the top of his class and also won letters in football, baseball, track and tennis. He held the state record for shot and discus.

After graduation, Howard practiced law in Des Moines, Iowa, where he gained a reputation as a brilliant criminal lawyer. During his legal career, which spanned 40 years, Howard won 93 murder acquittals and never lost a murder case. He won his first murder case in 1921, one day after passing the Iowa bar exam, and before he had even graduated from law school. In that case he was defending a black man charged with the murder and rape of a white woman.

In 1931, Howard organized the black voters of Des Moines, Iowa, and put Mayor Parker Crouch out of office. He then became the first black prosecutor in the city's history. At that time he was also active in Republican Party national politics.

In 1948 Howard became one of the most ardent supporters of the Progressive Party. He delivered the keynote address at the convention that nominated Henry Wallace for President on the Progressive Party ticket. As a result of his activities in the Progressive Party he was later victimized during the years of the cold war and witch-hunted out of the legal profession.

Howard's career as a journalist began in the 1930s. Between 1939 and 1949 he headed the Howard Newspaper Syndicate, which published seven midwestern weekly papers. At the time of his death he was the head of the Howard News Service, through which he distributed a



Charles P. Howard

weekly United Nations Report which appeared regularly in 35 papers throughout the world.

Howard was a courageous reporter willing to tell the truth despite the consequences. He was one of the first journalists to visit Cuba after the revolution, and he remained a staunch defender of the revolution ever after. He traveled the country and wrote extensively, telling the truth about the efforts of the Cuban revolutionary government to eradicate racism, unemployment, illiteracy, starvation, slums and all the other pernicious and degrading features of capitalist society. Howard spoke several times for the Militant Labor Forum in New York about his trips to Cuba.

He also made numerous trips to Africa, where he met with and interviewed many African leaders, including Ben Bella, Lumumba, Nkrumah, and Nasser.

Up to a month before his death, when he became ill, he had been enthusiastically planning yet another trip to Cuba and South America.

Russell Foundation slates parley on Czechoslovakia

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced Jan. 24 that an International Conference on Czechoslovakia will be held in Stockholm Feb. 1 and 2 "to defend the people of Czechoslovakia and their struggle to achieve socialist democracy." The Stockholm sessions will be preliminary to an expanded conference to be held in London May 2-5, prior to the congress of Communist parties in Moscow.

The Russell Foundation said that the participants "are all people who have opposed American imperial policy and NATO."

In a statement explaining the aims of the conference, Bertrand Russell said, "In calling this conference and issuing invitations to it, I have been conscious of the responsibility of Western socialists, and particularly those in Western Europe, to respond positively to the events of the past year. It is the widespread failure to do so which makes this conference necessary. The conference will avoid the confusion and hypocrisy of many in the West who support the people of Czechoslovakia because they suppose they were advancing towards not some form of socialist democracy but towards capitalist 'freedom.'"

"The participants will concern themselves with events in Czechoslovakia both before and after occupation, with Soviet pretexts for invasion and its consequences and with the immediate dangers facing both the Czechoslovak people and the world socialist movement. . . ."

The tentative agenda of the conference divides the discussion into four sectors, "Antisocialism?"; "Socialism under Occupation?"; "Prospects"; and the drafting of a declaration.

The first session will pose the question, "What has been 'counterrevolutionary' or 'antisocialist' in Czechoslovakia (January 1968-January 1969)?"

The second session will discuss the consequences of the invasion, the question of anti-Semitism, the implications of the Kremlin's doctrine of "spheres-of-influence," and the effect of the Soviet action on the international socialist movement.

The third session will discuss the future of the reform movement in Czechoslovakia, future prospects for both the Kremlin and the Dubcek leadership, and the character of the popular resistance.

The declaration will summarize the discussion and call for a continuation of the dialogue at the May conference.

Report S.U. bars arms for Al Fatah

The Soviet Union has reportedly refused to sell arms to Al Fatah, the largest of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations. The Jan. 25 **Christian Science Monitor** said the refusal was conveyed to Al Fatah leaders, after a delay of many weeks. The decision has not been made public by the Kremlin but is being widely discussed by Palestinians.

"Sources close to the Palestinian leadership," the **Monitor's** staff correspondent in Beirut wrote, "regard Moscow's negative answer as further proof that the Soviets are pressing Arab statesmen, especially President Nasser, for a quick compromise solution in the Middle East."

The Soviet decision was said to apply to all of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations.

The arms question will be a major point on the agenda at Al Fatah's second national assembly, to be held in Cairo early in February.

At present the People's Republic of China supplies the guerrillas with some light weapons. Al Fatah's major need, however, is said to be anti-aircraft arms, and it hoped to get these from the USSR.

On Jan. 21, Al Fatah announced a new 10-point program, putting heavy emphasis on independence of the "armed Palestine revolution" from all governments, in the Middle East or elsewhere.

...Deutscher and the non-Jewish Jew

(Continued from page 9)

secution in the United States today. But if, with Deutscher, we look beyond the present conjuncture, there is danger for the Jews lurking over the horizon. Should there be a grave social crisis and a strengthening of ultrareaction, anti-Semitism could experience a frightening growth here.

The American ruling class, whose agents dropped the first atom bombs on the Japanese, conduct genocidal warfare in Vietnam, stood ready to use the H-bomb in the Caribbean confrontation of 1962 and maltreat their minorities at home, has shown itself capable of monstrous crimes. In case the survival of its power and profits hangs in the balance, why should it consider the six million American Jews to be less expendable than the six million European Jews it let Hitler exterminate? Inconceivable? So assimilated German Jews of the 1920s

thought, too.

Conservative and liberal Jewry in the West has been given a handy excuse for continued adherence to Zionism and democratic capitalism by the recrudescence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet bloc which feeds their prejudices against socialism. Deutscher deals with this phenomenon in a discussion of "The Russian Revolution and the Jewish Problem." Unlike the conscienceless apologists for Stalinism, he acknowledged that the Soviet Union had not succeeded in solving the Jewish question after 50 years.

In explaining the reasons for this default, he recalls that in the Lenin era the Bolsheviks tried to make good, as best they could under hard circumstances, the pledge contained in their program of equal treatment of national minorities. Under their auspices

Yiddish culture and the Yiddish theater flourished. Zionist ideas were not suppressed and the Left Paole Zion, the Socialist Zionist Party, legally existed up to 1925-1926.

Those years witnessed the beginnings of a tremendous retrogression of the Russian Revolution. In an article on "Thermidor and Anti-Semitism," written in 1937, Trotsky explained how the revival of anti-Semitism was one of the vicious aspects of the Great Russian chauvinism that attended the rise and triumph of bureaucratic despotism.

"The omnipotent bureaucracy stifles the development of national culture just as it does the whole of culture. Worse still, the country of the great proletarian revolution is passing through a period of profound reaction," he wrote. "If the revolutionary wave revived the finest sentiments of human solidarity, the Thermidorean reaction has stirred up all that is low, dark and backward in the agglomeration of 170 million people. To reinforce its domination, the bureaucracy does not even hesitate to resort in a scarcely camouflaged manner to chauvinistic tendencies, above all to anti-Semitic ones. The latest Moscow trial, for example, was staged with the hardly concealed design of presenting internationalists as faithless and lawless Jews who are capable of selling themselves to the German Gestapo."

Since then the virulence of anti-Semitism has waxed or waned according to its covert encouragement or public restraint by the Soviet authorities. Rearoused by the factional conflict with the anti-Stalinist opposition, it reached a crescendo in the Great Purge of 1936-38. Anti-Semitic sentiments were reinforced by the Nazi penetration of the Ukraine and West Russia. They were propelled to the verge of tragedy by the "Doctors' Plot" in January 1953, the last of Stalin's sinister frameups which was nullified by his death.

On the other side, Deutscher notes the following facts. Under Stalin two and a half million Jews were saved from the Nazis

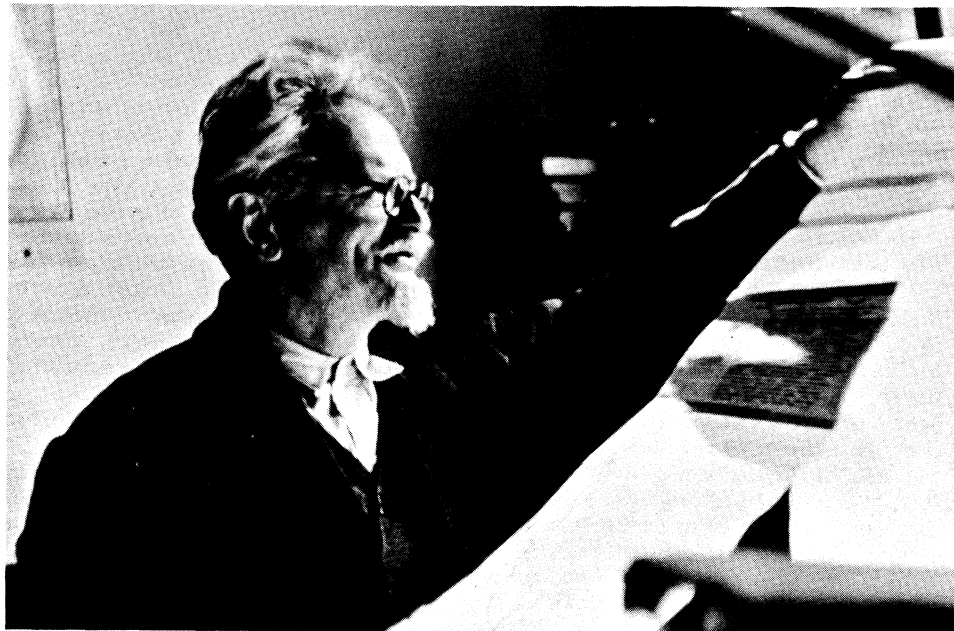
by being transported into the interior from the invaded territories of Russia. In 1948, for its own diplomatic reasons at the time, Moscow helped bring the state of Israel into being.

The protests from outspoken Soviet intellectuals testify that official and unofficial anti-Semitism is still rife and surreptitiously shielded in the Soviet Union. Like many of the major problems of the USSR, the struggle against anti-Jewish prejudice must be an integral part of the slowly maturing movement of the Soviet masses to throw off bureaucratic domination and undertake a thorough housecleaning of Soviet society.

What does this survey of the vicissitudes of the Jewish problem come down to? Deutscher maintained that it confirmed the essential validity of the Marxist program, even though developments have taken a more complicated course than its original adherents foresaw.

The salvation of the Jewish people cannot come from reliance upon Zionist chauvinism, American imperialism or Stalinist bureaucratism. Every expedient short of the struggle for socialism, any substitute for that, will end in calamity for the Jews. They cannot achieve security for themselves or anyone else so long as the root causes of discrimination, racism and reactionary nationalism continue to exist. Indeed, the Zionists have dealt fatal blows to themselves by succumbing to these practices. These curses can be removed only by abolishing capitalism, as the East European Jewish workers formerly believed and the non-Jewish Jews of the Marxist school taught.

The Jews have to link themselves with those forces in their own country and on a world scale that are fighting to overthrow imperialism and striving to build the new society. The solution of the Jewish question is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity that can be brought about only along the road of international socialism.



Leon Trotsky: "The Jewish question . . . is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity. Everything else done can only be a palliative and often a two-edged blade."

S.F. women fire hosed in prison

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO—The central campus at San Francisco State is deserted even at midday. Not even Hayakawa can pretend school is functioning normally. For the last three weeks, students and faculty have manned the picket lines 24 hours a day.

The Third World Liberation Front called a rally for noon on Jan. 23 and everyone realized that we needed to get a lot of people there as our own protection was in numbers. It was a cold, overcast day as we filtered onto the campus, setting up large picket lines in front of each building. At noon the picket lines began to merge until about 1,000 people were gathered around the speakers' platform. As we gathered, the cops began to mobilize. Two helicopters and a piper cub appeared overhead. Spotters manned the roofs.

As the rally began the administration's public address system clicked on and a voice began to say, "This is a . . ." The voice was drowned out by the shout "On strike, shut it down!" The rally began again, and again the voice came on, and again our chants drowned it out.

The cops advanced and we moved in to surround the speakers, attempting to prevent the leaders from being arrested. All of a sudden I saw the Tactical Squad running across the pathway, cutting off part of the crowd. They quickly set up a double line around the area, and we were encircled. Then the arrests began. It took more than three hours to arrest the 456 people who were trapped.

I was among the last dozen arrested. We were taken to the "Hall of Justice" and put in holding cells, which were so crowded that we could hardly find room to sit on the floors. The toilet was in full view of the male cops, so the women had arranged coats as a screen by the time I arrived.

Black students present demands at Poly High

By Laura Dertz

SAN FRANCISCO — Last October over a thousand black students walked out of Poly High School and marched on the San Francisco board of education building protesting a letter signed by 20 Poly teachers charging that the student body was made up of "pimps, whores, and dope addicts." The walkout and march came about as a result of the accumulation of many unresolved grievances of black students. Demands such as black teachers, soul food, new choir robes, new pianos and heat in the school were presented to the administration and the board.

Since that walk-out, little has been done to meet the student demands. A few concessions were made in an attempt to mollify and dull the student struggle, but the administration's stubbornness has prompted the students to gear themselves for a long fight.

A list of 10 demands has been presented to the administration by the newly formed Poly High Black Students Union (BSU), with the promise of a strike in February if action is not taken. To gain support for the demands and the possible strike at Poly, the BSU has been educating the student body and the community about the situation at Poly and the need for immediate action.

San Francisco high-school students have demonstrated their rising political consciousness in another way as well. Recognizing the relevance of the strike at San Francisco State College, the High School Strike Support Committee has been formed. The group is urging all high-school students who can to join the daily picket line at S.F. State and to hold forums and demonstrations to show their solidarity.



"LAW AND ORDER." The United States Constitution guarantees, in the Bill of Rights, the freedom of assembly. This is apparently of little concern to San Francisco's liberal Mayor Alioto who ordered these cops onto campus

to jail 456 students gathered in a peaceful campus rally. The cops simply surrounded students and then hauled them off. Throughout the strike, authorities have tried to smash the movement through acts of violence and jailings.

The cops had tried to segregate Helen Myers, a YSAer and strike activist, just before our arrival, but the women in her cell had refused to let her go. The cops backed down. That pattern of collective action set the tone for our entire stay.

Slowly, the cops began to process us. They tricked one girl into saying she refused to answer any questions, and then began to harass her. We demanded she be treated like all the rest of us. The cops grabbed her and threw her into a solitary cell.

Concerned for her safety, we confronted the cops. Why was she in solitary? They denied she was there, and refused to answer our questions. So we decided to let them know we were serious about sticking together, and began chanting, "Let her out, let her out." We weren't even sure what her name was. We clapped our hands, stomped our feet, beat on the table, and banged our shoes on the walls and thick glass windows. They promised us dinner if we'd be quiet. We told them we wanted the girl out, then dinner.

We heard a gun go off somewhere near by, then a cop yelled, "Watch out, or we'll bring the mace." Five minutes later three guards appeared at the open bars and without warning turned a high pressure fire hose on us. We hid beneath the tables, under our coats, across the room, in the semi-enclosed bathroom.

When it stopped, we began to pick up our belongings and see if anyone was hurt. Suddenly it began again from the other door of the cell. The cops came after anyone who didn't move. A couple of women were clubbed by one cop, and two women were treated for injuries.

The floor was at least one inch deep with water and most of us were completely soaked. We wrung out our clothes and started to clean up the cell. Five minutes later the girl in solitary was released and everyone was given two pieces of white bread for dinner.

The next morning the San Francisco papers assured the community that the hosing occurred because women had been "urinating" in the cells, and that everyone had been provided with blankets and mattresses. The cell I slept in from midnight to 3 a.m. had four mattresses and more than 30 people. It was 10 by 15 feet. The rest of the night I slept in a larger cell on a cement floor in wet clothes without a blanket or a mattress. So did 70 other women. The matron insisted on leaving the windows open, and said she was too busy to get more mattresses from the storage room.

Breakfast consisted of three pieces of bread, watered porridge, and coffee. Lunch, which was supposed to be exceptionally good, was four pieces of bread, tea, and watered tomato-noodle soup. By the time

we were arraigned, I and many others had still not been allowed to make a telephone call.

The last three men were finally bailed out two days later. It had been the largest mass arrest in the history of San Francisco, topping even previous records set during the civil rights battles in 1964.

S. F. student gets treatment at Canadian border

While on a speaking tour about the strike at San Francisco State College, Howard Cohen, a member of the Strike Coordinating Committee and the Young Socialist Alliance, was detained and questioned at the Canadian border near Blaine, Washington. He was on his way to speak at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, B.C. Leaflets and a film about the strike were confiscated.

"They were obviously waiting for me," Cohen said, "and probably knew I was coming from the leaflets passed out in Vancouver advertising my talk at SFU. The customs' official asked me what organizations I belonged to, how I felt about violence, whether there were any scenes of brutality in the film, and 'was I trying to spread the riot to Simon Fraser.'"

They refused to allow Cohen to take the leaflets into Canada with him unless each copy was stamped "Printed in the USA." Similarly, they ruled that the film could be admitted to Canada only if a duty were paid on it. When Cohen pointed out that it had no monetary value, he was told that such a decision was up to the customs officials.

Cohen was given only a 24-hour pass to stay in Canada. He spoke to an audience of about 250 at Simon Fraser. The students, he said, "were extremely interested in what was going on at S.F. State. They asked many questions particularly about the 15 demands of the Third World Liberation Front, the A.F.T. strike, and how we built community support for the student strike."

The film and the leaflets were returned to Cohen when he crossed the border the following day.

Why Poly High students are fighting

The following demands have been made by the Black Student Union at San Francisco's Poly High School.

1) We demand that the percentage of black and Third World teachers equal the percentage of black and Third World students (70 percent in San Francisco).

2) We demand an education that teaches us our true history and our true role in this present society.

3) We demand that no student teachers be sent to Poly for the purpose of experimenting. (Fifty student teachers from S.F. State teach at Poly. Forty-eight are white and most are strike-breakers.)

4) We demand that all shops be properly repaired and that the photography lab be reopened with qualified instructors. (These shops have not been working since the beginning of the school year. Most men students take their major in one of several shops.)

5) We demand a black educational department be set up and run by black people.

6) We demand books about black and Third World people, picked by black and Third World students.

7) We demand a screening board to screen the old and new teachers and administrators at Poly. The board will consist of the principal, students, parents, a black psychologist and a black psychiatrist. This board will have the power to determine whether a teacher is qualified to teach at Poly.

8) We demand a counseling system geared to the needs of black and Third World students.

9) We demand an end to political suspensions, expulsions and intimidation. We demand a review board be set up to determine the nature of past suspensions and expulsions. Political expulsions and suspensions must be revoked and students reinstated.

10) We demand the right to determine our own educational destiny.

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THE CAPITALIST APPROACH. Despite PL's insistence that the struggle of black students for control of their educational system is not revolutionary, the ruling circles of San Francisco have made clear by their massive police violence that they regard it as a deadly serious threat to the status quo.

By Gus Horowitz

To read the press of the Progressive Labor Party, one gets the impression that black nationalism is the worst internal danger confronting the black struggle, rather than a means of mobilizing black people in militant action, as experience has shown. "Nationalism, which is a bourgeois reaction to racism, must be defeated," declares the January issue of its paper, **Challenge**.

Curiously enough, PL's campaign to defeat black nationalism was launched in the course of two of the most important struggles bearing a nationalist character: the New York City fight for black control of the schools in the black community; and the San Francisco State struggle for a black studies department under black control. This is not mere coincidence. PL has criticized both these struggles for their lack of "class content," the reason for which PL says it opposes nationalism in the first place.

The December 1968 **Challenge** criticized the black and Puerto Rican struggle for control of the schools in New York City. An article headlined "Why Community Control is the Wrong Fight" asserts that "the main thing wrong with the demand for community control of the schools is that it hides the class nature of our bad education . . . What the parents really need is for the working class to replace the bourgeois' control of the schools with working class control of the schools." (Emphasis in original.)

The struggle of Afro-Americans has nothing to do with national oppression—it's merely a special case of the class struggle! What a travesty on the facts that is.

Of the 1,200,000 students in the New York school system, more than half are black and Puerto Rican. Yet only four percent enter the municipal colleges. Of the teachers, only 8.8 percent are black. The entire educational system is designed to condition these students for unemployment or the worst jobs. The content of the education comprises the values of white-dominated society. Most teachers and administrators come from a background that is totally alien from that of the ghetto youth of New York.

Certainly the school system is not geared to the interests of the white working class students either. But one would have to be blind not to see that there is a special national aspect to the oppressive nature of the educational system; that the black and

Puerto Rican communities face a special national as well as a class oppression. This national aspect motivates the demands for community control.

To the black and Puerto Rican communities, the idea of control means: that their children will learn their own history, not the racist falsifications they get today; that they will be insured of having black and Puerto Rican teachers who can understand their background and their needs; that racism in education will be eliminated; that adequate education will be received; in short an education that will be a means to assert their national identity. The black and Puerto Rican people feel, and rightfully so, that such demands can be carried out only if they themselves have control of their schools.

PL's blind insistence that these demands lacked "class content" puts it in opposition to the legitimate national aspirations of the black and Puerto Rican people.

Moreover, just to be sure that no one would be misled by PL's call for "working class control," the article itself maintains that working class control is the wrong thing to fight for. It can't be achieved until the socialist revolution, says PL. So black people had better wait, PL implies, wait until the workers are ready to make the revolution before demanding control over their community. Left out of this brilliant analysis is any conception of how workers—white or black—are to develop a socialist consciousness, if not through struggling for control over their lives.

In the meantime? "Instead of fighting for the abstract umbrella demand of control, we feel that parents and teachers should wage united struggle over the real and specific injustices which are the reason they are stirred up in the first place."

What PL ignores is that the black and Puerto Rican people were "stirred up" not only because of specific injustices, but because the injustices are systematic. Who else but themselves could be trusted to eliminate the injustices? That's why they demanded control. Far from being abstract or unreal, the demand for community control was precisely the issue.

As if to imply that part of the fault for the parent-teacher split lay with the black and Puerto Rican communities, PL says: "Under community control the parents on the governing boards will become the apparent bosses of the teachers. This will make it almost impossible for parents and teachers to get together and fight their common enemy."

What prevented unity against the common enemy was the racist policy of the UFT leaders, not the legitimate demands of oppressed people. A progressive leadership in the teachers' union would not have fought community control, but would have allied itself with the demands of the black and Puerto Rican people.

Instead the teachers' bureaucracy whipped up a campaign of hysteria against community control on the grounds that it was anti-working class and anti-union. Whether they realize it or not, PL's own campaign against black nationalism, launched at the same time, is nothing more than an adaptation to pressure from backward sections of the white workers and the

trade-union bureaucracy—not to speak of the mounting social pressure of the capitalist offensive on this issue.

Throughout the **Challenge** article PL smears the demand for community control by equating it with the intentions of Lindsay and the ruling class. The demands raised by the black and Puerto Rican communities have been for their own control of the schools. Lindsay's plan for decentralization was intended, among other reasons, as an apparent concession to this feeling that would still keep real control in the hands of the city administration.

The black and Puerto Rican communities fought to implement a totally different concept of community schools than what Lindsay had in mind. But PL makes no such distinction and brands the community's struggle for control as being manipulated by the ruling class. If every struggle is tainted, just because the ruling class attempts to co-opt it, then militant struggles could never be waged. PL's confidence in the black and Puerto Rican masses is none too high, given that type of approach.

The same themes may be observed in PL's criticisms of the black student struggles. The February issue of **Progressive Labor** says: "The major weakness of these movements is that they don't have a working class orientation. Nationalism is strong, sometimes leading the struggle into the dead-end of 'Black student power.' Basically the goals of the black students are limited to securing a better deal for themselves from the schools and from the ruling class. They are not aimed at defeating the system."

What a denigration of the black student struggles! All they're after, according to PL, is a "better deal for themselves," for their own individual advancement.

To the contrary, almost every one of the black student struggles has been waged with the intention of relating black studies programs to the needs of the entire black community. Not only the students, but all black people see these struggles as a chance of "securing a better deal for themselves." Isn't that what the struggle for socialism is all about? To secure a better deal for the working class and for all oppressed nationalities?

Is it true that these struggles "are not aimed at defeating the system?" PL may think so, but the "system" certainly doesn't. The demands for black history, black studies, black teachers, black administrators have not been raised with the intention of turning over the implementation to the ruling class. The demand for black control strikes right at the heart of the matter—ruling class control or control by those presently oppressed. The demand for control, when raised by oppressed nationalities, challenges the right of the ruling class to rule over them. That is what terrifies the rulers so. But PL is blinded to this central aspect of nationalist demands.

What of PL's criticism of the struggle at S. F. State? Here they are a bit more careful, perhaps because some of the campus PLers might find it most awkward to oppose the struggle on the grounds that it lacks class content. So PL "exposes" only some of the demands, claiming that others do have class content.

Progressive Labor's view:

Holds black's fight 'not aimed at the system'

An article in the January **Challenge**, described as a "working class analysis" of the San Francisco strike demands, says: "The 15 demands of the SF State strike only begin to challenge the basic racism of the school system. In many ways, they are relatively mild. Some of the demands, taken by themselves, could have been easily granted by the Administration [horror of horrors] without altering the basic ruling-class content of their brainwashing 'education.'"

"Demands such as hiring a Black administrator or Black teachers without challenging the basic class role of administrators or teachers could be met simply by changing the color of the brainwasher's face. (Hayakawa himself is, as he never tires of repeating, 'a person of the Third World.') Even demands for Black history or ethnic studies don't necessarily pose any threat to the system, until they begin to get more specific as to what the class content of such a curriculum would be!" (Emphasis in original.)

Aside from the fact that the 15 demands were raised as a totality, not separately, PL's line flies in the face of the black students' own conception of the meaning of the struggle.

Nesbit Crutchfield, a leader of the S. F. State Black Student Union, explained the concept of the 15 demands in the January issue of **The Movement**: "They're about self-determination. Self-determination means the power and ability to determine our own destiny."

In effect, however, PL has said that it will support the rights of the black students to run their own education—provided they decide on a program that is harmonious with PL's peculiar conception of working class content. This approach tramples on the very essence of self-determination.

The essence of self-determination is the right of oppressed nationalities to decide for themselves what they want and need. Revolutionaries have the obligation of supporting this right, regardless of what they may think is best.

Nowhere does PL say where it stands on the right of the black students to decide the content of the black studies program they are fighting for. To the contrary, PL places conditions on the struggle. It will support the right of black students to raise only those demands which PL itself advocates.

A final glimpse of the PL line is in order—their conception of who will be allowed to struggle against oppression in the black worker-student alliance. From the February issue of **Progressive Labor**:

"Such a united front between black workers, including communists, and a section of the middle class will exclude those who rely on the ruling class, which includes those few who parade under the slogan of integration or those pushing 'community control' and 'decentralization.' And because this movement is aimed at the bosses and their government it will limit the indiscriminate 'hate whitey' bunch."

The struggle, you see, is all planned out; from the type of demands that black people are permitted to raise, to the time when demands for control can be brought up, to the type of people allowed to engage in the struggle. That'll be the day.

The Murder of Nigeria —An Indictment

By Obi Egbuna

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— debate at S.F. State

How to fight the courts

Introduction

The total number of students, faculty and community supporters that have been arrested in the course of the strike at San Francisco State College now stands at 629. Defending these victims of the strike has become a central task of the strike forces, and a very crucial one. Already the debate over defense strategy has begun.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), for example, has proposed that the government must be forced to grant a mass trial, or the whole idea of a political defense should be abandoned. The Young Socialist Alliance sees a mass trial as a tactic, not a principle, a form of trial that may or may not be desirable, and may or may not be possible.

Consultation with lawyers has revealed that the state has no intention of allowing mass trials to take place, and since the striking students at S. F. State do not have state power, it would prove rather difficult to implement the PLP proposal. But does that mean that the concept of a political defense should be thrown out? Obviously not.

For more than three months the strikers at S. F. State have been engaged in a pitched battle with the forces that control the state of California. While the state authorities have arrested hundreds of people, ostensibly on charges of a criminal nature, the reasons for the arrests are political—the determination of the ruling class to break the strike, to deny the right of self-determination to Third World students, to destroy the teachers' union. Only a political defense can possibly expose the nature of the charges, mobilize public support for the victims, or win acquittals for them.

The following article is based on a contribution to the discussion on defense strategy by Carl Frank, Helen Meyers, and Ronald Wittmaack, three defendants, and all members of the San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance.

* * *

Even while the strike at S. F. State continues, we find ourselves faced with the task of mounting a defense against the state's most serious attempt to intimidate the movement. A total of 629 people have now been arrested; some face charges as serious as attempted murder. We must develop a defense strategy against these frameups which takes into account the fact that we have mass support for our strug-

gle, and which seeks to prevent victimizations. Our defense must be a political defense, as well as a legal defense.

A purely legal defense would concentrate on answering the specifics of the state's charges. But that is not the essential point. We were arrested because of our politics. To gain public support it is necessary to go beyond the boundaries of a legal "You did/We didn't" defense. We must wage a political defense against a political attack.

We must explain the issues behind the strike. We must continue our battle to win public support. It is only massive public support which has enabled us to continue the struggle up till now; it is only massive public support that will assure the smallest number of convictions possible, and the lightest sentences for those who may be convicted. That is the essence of a political defense.

Everyone should stop and think for a moment—where would Huey Newton be today had not a vast campaign been waged on his behalf? He might well have been awaiting execution on death row.

A political defense is not simply a legal fund, a mass trial, a pamphlet, a demonstration, a speech from the dock, a list of supporters, telegrams, or publicity. No one of these things in and of itself solves the problems of a political defense. Any or all of them can play a part in building such a defense. If we agree that a broad campaign for public support is necessary, we must consider each of these things and how to use them.

S. F. State is a test case. The entire nation is watching what happens here. The power structure is trying to determine just how far it can go in repressing the Third World liberation movement, in destroying campus civil liberties, and in breaking the teachers' union. To allow them to succeed would set a precedent and encourage further attacks on the black liberation movement, the student movement, and the union movement.

Our strike is a result of the tremendous social contradictions in this country, and has revealed the anger and determination of the youth of the oppressed national minorities and the depth of the radicalization among the white youth. Our determination, our courage has scared them. The ruling class wants to smash this movement, even if the price is high. The cops and the courts are their apparatus and will be used as



VANZETTI AND SACCO. Millions of people throughout the world rallied to their defense in the 1920s when they were framed up on murder charges. Broad civil liberties defense stressed "injury to one is an injury to all." People supported them, whatever they may have thought of their anarchist politics.

such. Blind faith [illusions] in the niceties of the law will avail us nothing. A political defense goes beyond the courtroom, without ignoring the courtroom. It says, our cause is popular, and mobilization of popular support is the best weapon against victimization.

We are not the first victims of political repression. In "democratic" America there has been a panorama of struggles, especially labor movement struggles, against an unjust system. Cases have been fought in the courts and in the wider arena of public opinion to establish and uphold the rights to free speech, free association, union organization, the right to strike, and the right to disseminate and fight for unorthodox views on issues ranging from birth control to the socialist revolution.

Many basic lessons have been learned in this process which we should keep in mind.

1. Whatever democratic freedoms the American people, the labor movement and Afro-Americans now enjoy, by statute or in practice, were not generously bestowed upon them as freewill offerings from the good-hearted possessors of property and power. They have had to be torn from the ruling class powers through bitter and prolonged battles, and sometimes with arms in hand.

Laws protecting our rights are written into the Constitution, federal and state statutes not because they are a weapon of the ruling class, but because they have been fought for and won in struggle.

2. The democratic, constitutional and legal rights of the American people are the most valuable political acquisitions of their past struggles. These are indispensable instruments of struggle against any encroachment, assault, or erosion by the forces of reaction. A strong defense of existing rights is a precondition of the fight to extend them.

Our civil liberties have been trampled on in the course of our struggle. Far from getting in the way of our struggle against racist oppression, the re-establishment of free speech and free association at State will help us in the fight. Our defense campaign must not minimize the task of defending those liberties, rather we must point out their intimate connection with our struggle.

3. The right to strike is a crucial democratic gain. It has taken tremendous sacrifice to secure the legality of trade unions and their right to strike. Our right to strike has been challenged. We must point out that those who issue this challenge to us today will challenge the trade unions and other civil liberties and radical organizations tomorrow.

4. At the same time, we ourselves must recognize that the machinery of the state and its repressive agencies are in the hands of the ruling class. They will honor the rights of the individual citizen and the people so long, and only so long, as these do not cut deeply into their vital interests. Reagan, Hayakawa, the trustees, Alioto, and their cohorts cannot be relied upon to adhere even to their own version of "legality."

5. Regardless of their claims to the contrary, these members of the ruling class are the enemies of democracy. They fear its application and resist its expansion.

This imposes the obligation upon us to be the most vigorous and consistent champions of democratic liberties. We must defend all victims of reactionary persecution, no matter what their special beliefs.

We must make our motto the old IWW slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." This applies to all of us as defendants. No one must be abandoned. The press has sought to divide us time and time again. "The teachers are against the students," or "The BSU is split into a moderate and a left wing," they say. Even if we have internal differences, we are all united on this: the state is repressing us all, and we must stand together against that repression.

6. Whatever illusions liberals and others may have, we should place no confidence in the capacity or will of the state, its courts, officials, or politicians to grant democratic rights. The best way to fight their frameups is to develop a broad defense movement based upon those sections of the population which will respond to the issues on behalf of the defendants. Thus the counter-pressure of aroused public opinion can be brought to bear upon the authorities to frustrate their attacks.

7. It is crippling and self-defeating for a defense committee and its campaign to be conducted in a sectarian or exclusive manner. Appeals for support should not be limited only to those in agreement with the ideas of the defendants. Care should be taken to point out how the issues at stake concern and affect the rights of others. Support should be solicited and welcomed from anyone willing to aid the defense, regardless of their positions on other matters. A defense committee should stand ready to collaborate with other groups which have similar purposes in opposing violations of legal or human rights.

This does not mean that the defendants have to hide their ideas from their supporters. On the contrary. A key aspect of the defense is precisely the right of the defendants to hold whatever views they do. Broad public support for civil liberties will be won only on the basis of honesty and integrity on the part of the defendants.

Thus, agreement with the 15 demands is a condition of membership in the strike committee. It must not be a condition for sponsorship of the defense cases. To insist on political agreement as a condition of defense support is to go against the very idea of solidarity among the victims of repression of the state.

It is our belief that a defense committee based on these general principles and drawing on all the lessons we have learned in our experiences defending victims of the black liberation struggle and the antiwar movement, can have a decisive effect on the outcome of the court cases.

But if any of us should be imprisoned, such a defense committee will stand ready-made to insure that we are not forgotten, that we do not become demoralized, that we are not further victimized in prison, that we have books, money, cigarettes, and solidarity.

There are many questions which we must still discuss in this context. But we believe we should start now to build the biggest and best political defense possible, one that can go on to victory.

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Berkeley student strike mobilizing new support

By Patti Iiyama, Jean Savage, Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY, Jan. 29—Thousands of students marched through the Berkeley campus today, "snake-dancing" and chanting their support for the student strike called by the Third World Liberation Front. The strike, which began a week ago, has been gaining support on campus and all indications point to the likelihood of a long battle if the university does not accede to the demands for an autonomous Third World College.

The extent to which the TWLF leadership has been able to mobilize Third World

people has been an important aspect of the strike. The strike call explains: "The fundamental issue of this strike is the right of Third World people to determine the structure and content of the Third World programs on this campus . . . We of the Third World feel that we have the right to be able to decide for ourselves what courses and faculty are relevant to our lives. We don't need to be told what to think or how to do it."

The strikers are focusing on the inter-related questions of control, power, self-determination, and the relevance of the present educational system. "We don't want white people doing anything for us; we can do it ourselves," declared Don Davis of the TWLF. "We don't want to be like you. We want to etch out a destiny for ourselves and you can't determine that."

The TWLF has been organizing meetings, rallies, and convocations and has gone into the community to rally support. Speakers have gone to living groups and classrooms to educate people about the reasons for the strike.

Yesterday, for the first time, the moving picket lines at campus entrances became stationary. Stationary lines were set up at Sather Gate and at Bancroft and Telegraph, the main entrance to the campus. By noon enough people had been mobilized so that anyone wanting to go to class had to go around to another entrance. Frat men and other hostile elements set up a counter-picket, resulting in a tense situation, but the several busloads of cops in the area kept hands off. The picket line dissolved peacefully in the mid-afternoon.

This morning at Bancroft and Telegraph a peaceful picket line grew to several hundred by 11:30, whereupon some 50 cops in riot gear moved in and cleared the line away.

Third World monitors directed students to a large room on campus to explain the strike and strike tactics to the many

new people who hadn't been out on the picket lines before. A token picket line was left at Sather Gate to maintain the TWLF presence.

By this time the number of people militantly in support of the strike had become much larger than before. About 600 people, all pretty well prepared for action, crowded into the room. The meeting represented a cross section of the militants on campus.

The Third World leaders stressed the need for unity in action, pointing out that only if we get together in the fight, can we win. They emphasized the need for calmness and control, and for unified discipline on the line. Individuals who acted on their own, they explained, could put hundreds, even thousands, of others in danger, and that couldn't be tolerated.

After the meeting, everyone marched out and demonstrated on the campus in a militant picket line that grew to as many as 4,000. At 2 p.m. the picketing culminated in a rally at the Pauly ballroom, the largest on campus, which was packed solid by about 1,500 who listened to the Third World speakers. The Third World Liberation Front has asked the University to cancel classes for the rest of this week and set up a mass convocation for the students where the issues in the strike could be discussed.

This afternoon, while the picketing was taking place, the cops came out and marched through the campus several times to intimidate people. Yesterday the cops had gone into campus buildings after the picketing was over, questioning professors and actually disrupting some classes.

The administration has been carrying out a two-sided policy. So far they have not unleashed massive police violence. Their basic tactic appears to be to try to split the students by liberal maneuvers. Chancellor Heyns got in touch with the Leaders of the TWLF and said he was "considering" implementing some of the demands, but that he'd have to sleep on it. Administration officials have said that they will not be "intimidated or coerced into making hasty decisions." At the same time they have offered a black studies program (controlled by the white faculty) in response to the TWLF demands and have attempted to convince the students that the TWLF demands are therefore unnecessary. By these tactics, the administration has tried to split the students and hopes that the strike will peter out.

AFT locals 1474, 1570 and 1795, representing faculty, teaching assistants and librarians respectively, issued a statement saying that "re-establishment of viable working conditions demands that the students' grievances be resolved" and warned "against any action by the Berkeley administration to imitate S.F. State College president Hayakawa by bringing police on to the campus or by victimization or intimidating faculty, staff or students."

The teaching assistants' local fell only a few votes short of the 2/3 majority needed to sanction a strike but will probably consider the question again. Most of the teaching assistants support the demands of the TWLF and also want to strike for union recognition.

Further support came from the Students Association of the Graduate Theological Union which voted to support the TWLF demands and from 33 faculty members of the Social Welfare Department.

GM black workers insist on rights

Assembly lines at the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, N. Y.—one of GM's largest—ground to a halt Jan. 17 when approximately 1,600 workers, mostly Afro-American, took off work to protest reprisal actions taken by the company against hundreds of workers who had been absent Jan. 15 in honor of Martin Luther King's birthday.

Disciplinary actions against those who stayed out in honor of King included punitive layoffs and at least one dismissal.

In protest against these victimizations, a group of workers gathered in the plant parking lot Jan. 17 and shouted, "No work, no work," at cars as they arrived. Enough workers heeded the call to close down the plant.

Slain Panthers saluted at U of Minn. meeting

By William Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS—The University of Minnesota Afro-American Action Committee (AAAC) held a memorial Jan. 24 for the two Black Panthers, John Huggins and Al Carter, who were murdered at UCLA last week. Posters of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and other black revolutionaries were prominently displayed in a somber, dimly lit atmosphere with African music and dress. Panther guards, bearing swords, escorted the speakers who paid tribute to the slain Panthers.

Matt Eubanks, a well known community and rights fighter, referred to Che's famous statement, saying the deaths are not in vain if another hand takes up the arms and continues the struggle. Eubanks, a U of M graduate, was particularly inspired by the black students' solidarity and the rapid radicalization during the past two years. He said the motive for sending black people to college has ended in a "failure of the system to corrupt the spirits of the black brothers and sisters." (The "U" has recently been the scene of a successful occupation led by the AAAC against the administration.)

The overriding theme of the memorial was summed up by one speaker who said "the best way to pay tribute is to continue the struggle until we eliminate it [racist repression]."

CALENDAR

- BOSTON**
- BLACK REVOLT: ON THE CAMPUS AND IN THE STREETS.** Speakers: Tony Thomas of the Young Socialist Alliance; Lloyd Daniels, a leader of the black occupation of Ford Hall at Brandeis University and Rick Johnson, a leading member of the Afro-American Society of Northeastern University. Fri., Feb. 7, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- MINNEAPOLIS**
- CUBA 1969: A First-Hand Report.** Speaker, Derrel Myers, Twin Cities YSA organizer just back from Cuba. Sat., Feb. 8, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. #240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.
-
- PHILADELPHIA**
- CZECHOSLOVAKIA: EYEWITNESS REPORT.** Speaker: Gus Horowitz, recently returned from Czechoslovakia. Fri., Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. (at Fairmount). Contrib. \$1; students, 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
-
- NEW YORK**
- RACIAL TENSION IN NEW YORK — Is the Issue "Black Racism" and "Black Anti-Semitism"?** Speaker: Harry Ring, Editor of The Militant. Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.
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YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN CUBA. The Young Socialist delegation in Cuba: Standing (left to right) Derrick Morrison, New York; Joel Britton, Los Angeles; Paul McKnight, San Francisco; Evelyn Kirsch, Detroit; Lou Pepper, Madison; Linda Jenness, Atlanta; Mareen Jasin, Philadelphia; Dan Rosenshine, New York; Stewart Singer, Boston; Seated: Dave Prince, Cleveland; Will Reissner, Seattle; Derrel Myers, Minneapolis; Robin Maisel, Chicago.

Plan Newton birthday parties

SAN FRANCISCO — Birthday celebrations in honor of jailed Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton will be held in approximately 20 cities across the country during the second weekend in February, according to the Bay Area Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee. Locally, the second annual Newton Birthday Party will take the form of a massive program combining entertainment and guest speakers on Sunday, Feb. 16 at 7 p.m. in the Berkeley Auditorium. Similar festivities are planned in Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle, New York, Omaha and other locations.

Speakers who will be featured at the event here include Kathleen Cleaver; George Murray, Black Panther Minister of Education; Berkeley City Councilman Ron Dellums and Dr. Carlton Goodlet. A growing list of entertainers who have volunteered their services include the Ballet Afro-Haiti and singers Gale Garnett and Big Red. Three films about Panther activities will be shown, one of which, "Prelude To Revolution," has not been seen before in the Bay Area.

In addition to the main program the exhibition of photographs of the Panthers done by Pirkle Jones and Ruth Marion Baruch which was recently shown at the De Young Museum, will be mounted in the lobby of the auditorium.

Formal sponsorship of the event has been received from over 35 organizations.

Among them are the American Federation of Teachers, Oakland Local 771; American Federation of State, Municipal and County Employees, Local 1695; Asian American Political Alliance; Agricultural Labor Support Committee; American Federation of Teachers, Local 1570; Alameda County Peace and Freedom Organizing Committee; Brown Berets of Northern California; Berkeley Chapter, YSA; Black Student Union Central Committee; Black Caucus, UAW, Local 1364; Berkeley Women for Peace; National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Chapter; Oakland Women for Peace; Phillipine American Community Endeavor (PACE); Socialist Workers Party, Bay Area Chapter; Teachers for New Alternatives; UHURU Enterprises; Youth Against War and Racism; YSA, San Francisco Chapter.

Proceeds from the Birthday Celebration will go towards various activities of the Bay Area Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee, including the Eldridge Cleaver Bail Fund. Tickets are \$2 in advance and \$2.50 at the door. They are on sale in the East Bay at Moe's Books, 2476 Telegraph; Gramma Books, 2509 Telegraph; Campus Smokeshop, 2300 Telegraph; and Black Panther Party National Headquarters, 31 06 Shattuck; in San Francisco, at More's Books, 1435 Fillmore; and Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1419 Fillmore.



Huey P. Newton

Chicano students at Hayward State press their fight

By Sharon Cabaniss and Steve Chainey

HAYWARD, Calif — Mexican-American students at Hayward State College, supported by a coalition of campus organizations and widespread community sympathy, are pressing their demands for an educational program relevant to their needs.

On Jan .6 the Mexican-American Student Confederation (MASC) presented a "Program for Self-Determination" to Interim President McCune. Among their demands were the creation of a Council on Mexican-American Affairs to determine and deal with the needs of the Chicano community, the appointment of three Chicano administrators to help in Chicano student recruitment, the admission of atleast 300 Chicano students by the fall of 1969, the establishment of a Mexican-American Cultural Relations Center, a Chicano studies department, and active help in recruiting low-income students.

Mexican-American students and Chicano community leaders have been negotiating with the college since last Oct. 30, during which time the administration has repeatedly tried to isolate MASC from its community support and from the other campus organizations. But as Manuel Gomez, MASC spokesman, explained to a Militant reporter:

"The Chicano community has become aroused and angered and demands that the college relate to them since their money and taxes support it. It is a college in their city. Hayward State perpetuates the tragedy that makes Chicanos strangers and foreigners in their own land. The system always solves and explains our problems rather than letting us articulate and define ourselves."

Florida student fights bum rap

Roy D. Carlson, a student at Florida State University, was arrested by Tallahassee city police on Sept. 20 last year when he attempted to enter a George Wallace rally at the county fair grounds. He has been fighting the case ever since, and supporters have formed the Concerned Americans for Carlson to help him raise funds.

Carlson decided that as a concerned citizen he should express his opinion. As he peacefully entered the fair-ground gates carrying a sign saying "Racism is destroying my country," he was met by a police officer who asked Carlson where he thought he was going, and escorted him to the exit gate.

Carlson decided that the offending officer wasn't really giving the First Amendment a fair interpretation, and he returned to the entrance gate. He was then arrested for disturbing the peace — somewhat absurdly, considering he had not spoken or been confronted by any of the people in attendance.

At his trial on Oct. 24 Carlson was convicted and sentenced to the maximum penalty of 60 days in jail or a fine of \$250. None of the bondsmen present seemed to have any money available, but friends were able to raise the bond later in the day.

The American Civil Liberties Union has stepped into the case, as have several campus organizations which are helping to raise funds for defense. Contributions can be sent to Concerned Americans for Carlson, Box 6813, Tallahassee, Florida.

Proportional?

Forty percent of the population of Hayward is Chicano, yet the College has only 35 Chicano students out of an enrollment of 10,000!

On campus, a coalition has been formed consisting of MASC, the Black Student Union, Students for Ethical Progress, Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, the Iranian Students Association, and Students Against Racism. The coalition has held many rallies (declared "illegal" by McCune) which have drawn wide community support.

On Jan. 16 Chicanos and supporters marched to the administration building after a huge rally and presented a press release on McCune's refusal to negotiate in a meaningful way. A few concessions have been made, but they do not touch the root of the problem— Chicano self-determination and the responsibility of the college to meet the needs of the surrounding community. For instance, McCune has magnanimously agreed to recognize MASC and community leaders as legitimate negotiators for the Chicanos— after three months of negotiations!

As Manuel Gomez put it, "We want to have the ability and the freedom to determine our own destiny. That's the essence of it. We are going to continue to fight until we gain what we need, what is essential for our actual survival as a people."

The Great Society

New Movement—Prof. Sidney Hook (NYU, Ret.), a spokesman for the left wing of the right wing, says he's building a nationwide faculty group of partisans of "militant moderation" to combat "campus violence." Thus far the group has a small but steadily diminishing following. An economist, Gerald Pinsky, is coordinator. "Only the shadow of a structure now," reported the Jan. 26 **New York Times**, "the group uses the law office of Mr. Pinsky's father as its mailing address." The group does have the endorsement of S. I. Hayakawa.

Communicable Disease? — "Continued communications failures between college students and educational leaders have stimulated a big worry among businessmen. They wonder if they will be able to communicate with college graduates joining their organizations. Campus riots and demonstrations strike fear in company top management." — From an editorial in the January issue of **Modern Office Procedures**.

They Must be Kidding — A **New York Times** headline advises: "Nixon's Brand of Quakerism De-emphasizes Pacifism."

Last Bastion of Equal Rights — Another **New York Times** headline states: "North

Carolina U. Answers Negroes — Rejects 'Unique' Treatment for Any Race."

Clip Artist — Jerry, who operates a barbershop in New York's Bergdoff Goodman store, specializes in a fluffing-up technique that makes thinning hair look thicker. His fee is \$35 for the first trip and \$25 thereafter. (Trimming mustache, sideburns, eyebrows or beard, \$5 extra.) Composer Alan Jay Lerner, a Jerry enthusiast, says, "A good haircut is worth every penny." We agree. And if Jerry can make hair grow on a billiard ball, we may even give him a try.

Alliance for Progress? — The president of Israel sent LBJ a note of thanks for his support to Israel and invited him to come for a visit.

Social Planning — As part of the campaign to persuade India's poor to stop having babies, an elephant is plodding through remote villages dispensing, via its trunk, packets of condoms at the government-subsidized rate of three for a penny.

Continuing Bi-Partisan Program— President and Mrs. Nixon have decided to retain LBJ's White House cook.

Police State — The chief of police of Bensalem Township, Pa., ordered six of his cops to trim their sideburns. Five did. The sixth said he was quitting.

Base Hit —Joe Namath fans,who may have been disheartened by Bart Starr's nomination as sports' chairman of the Easter Seal Campaign, will be cheered to learn that the Professional Football Writers Association selected Namath as the "most courageous" player of the year. (P. S. We never heard of him either.)

Political Disclaimer — We have been asked to note that the "we" in the above item is of the editorial variety and refers solely to this writer, not to other staff members.

On Fitting the News — "We try to cover all aspects of the news that are of interest to our readers, a somewhat special breed. Prosperous. In New York we're not writing for the Puerto Ricans of East Harlem but for Park Avenue, and so on. Across the country, the paper is widely read by the local banker, the leading minister, the governor, the senator." — Clifton Daniel, managing editor of the **New York Times** in the **New Yorker**.

— Harry Ring

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POLITICAL HYGIENE. Distributed to GIs, back of this card warns against "subversive materials or publications," etc. It was sent from an Atlanta GI with a note explaining they're passed out something like the cards warning against venereal disease.

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Resist moves to smash S.F. strike

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 28 — The strike at San Francisco State College resumed yesterday following last week's arrest of 456 strikers for holding a peaceful on-campus rally in defiance of a ban on freedom of assembly by acting president S. I. Hayakawa. The mass jailing was the largest in San Francisco's history and brought the total number of arrests in the almost 3-month-old strike to 629.

Most of the strike activists were arrested at the Jan. 22 rally, but their morale is high on the line this week. On leaving jail, Nesbit Crutchfield, a leader of the Third World Liberation Front and the Black Student Union, shouted in defiance, "Not only will there be masses as there were yesterday [at the rally], but they will be doubled and tripled."

Support is growing here and on other campuses to back up Crutchfield. Another on-campus rally is planned at State Jan. 30. In Berkeley a related Third World strike is continuing. The American Federation of Teachers, which is striking at State and other campuses both in support of the students and for bargaining rights, staged a one-day strike at all but two of the state's colleges (separate from the University of California system).

The state-wide Academic Senate is threatening a walk-out against any dismissals of striking teachers. At San Jose State College, a sit-in is continuing to protest the suspension of 28 striking AFT members. A broad community support group in San Francisco is planning a press conference to expose police violence. The longshoremen's union, ILWU Local 10, has sent pickets to help man the State lines, as has Painters' Local 4 and other groups. A parents' group plans to picket at State at night.

The AFT picket line continues despite a court injunction against the strike, granted on the remarkable grounds that no state law says teachers can strike, (there is none

Strike injunction

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 31 — A superior court judge yesterday issued a sweeping restraining order to bar mass picketing or rallies by student strikers at San Francisco State College. The order names 29 officers of 15 organizations including: Third World Liberation Front, Black Student Union, Black Panther Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Peace and Freedom Party, SDS, Progressive Labor, and the Friends of the Irish Republican Army.

The order would limit picketing to five people per area at the perimeter of the campus, with any attempts to persuade people from entering forbidden.

saying they can't) and despite police attacks designed to pick off strike leaders for arrest.

Broad support for the strike at State has been one of its key strengths. The BSU has strong community ties through tutorial and other off-campus community programs. It has also gained support in the black community among liberal and professional elements. This, in turn, helped to bring in labor and other non-Third-World support for the strike.

Hayakawa's tough "law and order" line has not worked out too well, as is shown by the morale of the strikers at State. Dr. Nathan Hare, on emerging from jail after the mass arrest Jan. 22, angrily told reporters he had no intention of accepting the appointment to start the black studies program until the fifteen demands are met. "I am not going to break the strike," Hare said. "To hell with Hayakawa."

GIs face 'mutiny' frame-up in Presidio court-martial

By Ken Shillman

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 28 — A court-martial on mutiny charges is beginning for six of 27 GIs who staged a sit-down inside the Presidio stockade to protest the cold-blooded murder of one of their fellow prisoners. The officer who conducted the pre-trial hearing recommended against the mutiny charge, but the brass decided to go through with it anyway.

The charge carries the death penalty. The army says it won't press for the death sentence, but even so, the last conviction for mutiny resulted in a fifty-year sentence. That was during the Korean war, when some prisoners refused to dig a sandtrap at an officers' golf course during a down-pour.

That the brass has changed little since is shown by its ignoring of the pre-trial recommendation of Captain Richard Millard, who said the most serious charge should have been for willful disobedience, which carries a six-month sentence at hard labor. Millard said the mutiny charge "has its roots in the harsh admiralty laws of previous centuries," and added that "for demonstrating against conditions which existed in the stockade, [the charge] is, in my opinion, an over-reaction by the army and a misapplication of a statute which could lead to a further miscarriage of justice." (emphasis added)

The brass has kept silent about the earlier miscarriage of justice that Captain Millard referred to. There have been several in this case. The worst was Oct. 11, when an unidentified guard killed Pvt. Richard Bunch. The brass said Bunch was trying to escape, but reports filtering out from the stockade say the guard provoked Bunch, who had a history of mental disturbances. His mother had tried to get psychiatric care for him, but the brass threw him in the stockade for AWOL instead.

On Oct. 14, the 27 sat down, refused to go on a work detail, linked arms and sang

freedom songs. They have since been held in maximum security away from the press. I was threatened with arrest if I tried to talk with them. Terrence Hallinan, attorney for the 27, has brought suit against the army, charging cruel and inhuman treatment of prisoners in the Presidio stockade. A federal judge has ordered the brass to show cause that the charge is untrue.

Millard called grievance procedure for prisoners at the stockade "shoddy and inefficient," and recommended that four of the first six to be tried should be discharged for psychiatric reasons. However, Col. John Ford, Presidio provost marshal, said "These allegations are just the result of prisoners having it too easy. They have too much time to sit around and try and build up a case that they should be let out."

He called the court-martial "an unfortunate attempt to tie up officers and men that could be in Vietnam helping us end the war."

A group of priests, including the Episcopal and Methodist bishops of California, has urged that the army drop the court-martial proceedings. Others, including a contingent of students from San Francisco State College picket lines demonstrated Tuesday in front of the Presidio. But no observers except press were allowed in the courtroom. Another demonstration, called for by the Oakland Seven, whose trial is also proceeding, is planned for Friday, Jan. 31.

Conditions inside the Presidio stockade are still bad. Hallinan has been told by his clients that a guard beat one of the defendants, Pvt. Roy Pulley, to the ground and then bent his fingers back until they broke. Hallinan says the guard is still at the Presidio stockade, but Pulley has been transferred to the Treasure Island brig and charged with assaulting a noncommissioned officer. And the brass, of course, are not on trial, as they should be, for murder.

Cracks have appeared, however, on the other side of the class line. The trustees have backed down on their threat to fire striking teachers out more than five days, and now say individual cases will be reviewed—which requires attendance reports, something most departments are reluctant to turn in.

Mayor Joseph Alioto has retreated from his own "no amnesty for anyone" position to say amnesty "is possible for minor offenses." Alioto controls police operations at State—if they can be said to be under control.

And the trustees' solid front at State has broken. Several Bay Area trustees, including Edward Lee, the only black or labor trustee, are meeting with the teachers to discuss their grievances. Lee has defended the 15 TWLF demands before the board and has clashed sharply with Reagan, who opposes any negotiations with either students or the AFT. The split in the trustees reflects differences between the state and city administrations over tactics to break

the strike. Republican Reagan favors an inflexible approach, while Democrat Alioto wants to use a carrot with his riot baton.

Meanwhile, the ruling class is trying to show its support for Hayakawa. A four-man team from the Justice Department's Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice is here to "search for new ways of preventing both individual and mass violence." And a thousand Bay Area bourgeois, members of the plush Commonwealth Club, cheered Hayakawa when he defended his tough policies in a speech before them.

Hayakawa said academic freedom includes freedom of speech, but not action. As an example, he said he'd like to see a seminar on State "with Joan Baez at one end of the table and Gen. Westmoreland at the other." Semanticist Hayakawa brought the Commonwealth Club members to their well-shod feet when he said the strike was a failure "although sometimes augmented by pin-heads from Sonoma State, knuckleheads from San Jose State, and savages from Berkeley."

Socialist slate to run in Berkeley elections

By Lauren Charous

BERKELEY — The Socialist Workers Party announced the candidacy of Peter Camejo, Antonio Camejo, and Pat Wolf for the Berkeley City Council and Froben Lozada for a seat on the Berkeley School Board.

Speaking for the candidates, Antonio Camejo told a Jan. 27 press conference that the campaign would be used, "to explain to people why it is in their interests to support the struggle of black and Third World people, and show how both the war and the state of our educational institutions are a direct result of the present economic system which puts property rights above human rights."

The campaign will help build mass support for the current strikes led by the Third World Liberation Front and American Federation of Teachers on the San Francisco State College campus and at the University of California at Berkeley. It will also aid in mobilizing support for the GI-civilian antiwar march planned for April 6.

Froben Lozada, who the Berkeley Gazette calls a "firebrand" in the TWLF movement throughout the Bay Area, is a Chicano educator and activist. After obtaining his M. S. in Spanish he spent several years teaching at Highlands University and the all-white University of Southern Mississippi. He was fired because of his civil rights organizing among students at Southern Miss.

He moved north and taught at the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh, and in 1967 went to South Texas where he was employed in the public schools. Again,

his antiwar and civil rights activity in the Chicano community led to harassment and loss of job. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union he was able to win his job back. Most recently he has been teaching at Napa College, in addition to his active role in the TWLF movement in the Bay Area.

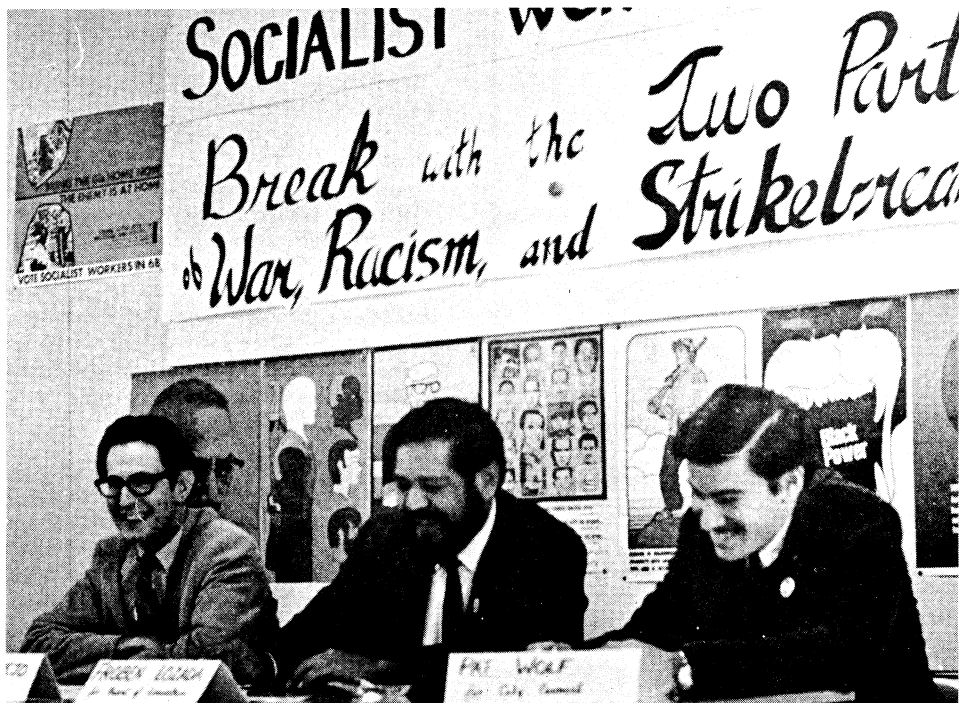
Peter Camejo, an SWP candidate for Mayor of Berkeley in 1967, is a former National Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the national committee of the SWP.

Peter Camejo, who is currently in Cuba, sent a message of solidarity to be read at the press conference on behalf of the Cuban people to the black and Third World liberation fighters in the U. S.

Pat Wolf, 24, is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He has been active in the antiwar movement since its start, helping to found the Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California. He was a volunteer worker for the Delano grape strike and is an active member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695.

Antonio Camejo, 27, is a longtime member of the YSA. He was active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, has toured Latin America interviewing revolutionary leaders for *The Militant* and other radical publications, and in 1964 he helped produce and direct a documentary film on the guerrilla struggle in Venezuela, "FALN."

He is a member of the Executive Council of the Berkeley AFT Local 1078 and has been active in building the TWLF strike on the Berkeley campus.



SOCIALIST NOMINEES. Announcement of Socialist Workers slate was made at Berkeley press conference. Participating (left to right) were: Antonio Camejo, Froben Lozada and Pat Wolf.