

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 7

Friday, February 14, 1969

Price 15c

**Ft. Jackson GIs press
for constitutional rights**

—see page 5—

Bay Area workers and students move toward solidarity in action

—see pages 5, 8



Photo by Ron Alexander



Photo by Dave Warren

Students face cops at Berkeley's Sather Gate (top) and join with striking oil workers (above).

Two episodes in the Mideast

By Harry Ring

FEB. 7—The media in the U. S. and other western countries has been whipping up a hysteria about the hanging in Iraq of 14 people—including nine Jews—on charges of being Israeli agents.

Meanwhile a series of marches and demonstrations have erupted in the Israeli-occupied Gaza area of the United Arab Republic. Perhaps the most dramatic action occurred Feb. 2 when club-swinging Israeli forces savagely attacked a demonstration of several thousand students from three girls' high schools.

So fierce was the attack that 40 girls were hospitalized. Three were reported to have suffered broken limbs.

The girls had poured into the streets to protest the jailing of three young women on charges of aiding guerrilla activity in the Israeli-occupied area. After their protest was brutally smashed, a similar demonstration was reported by schoolboys. Then came adult marches which were also attacked.

Following several of these demonstrations, however, the three imprisoned girls, even though already convicted, were released on bail.

The shocking treatment of the protesting young women somewhat flaws the fine moral outrage of the Israeli government about the hangings in Iraq.

There are no facts available in this country as to the validity of the Iraqi spy charges. Nor is there any information about whether the public hangings were conceived by the Iraq regime as an antidote for popular discontent with its failure to resist Israeli aggression, or even if it represented a factional power move in a divided party leadership.

Socialists certainly do not favor such methods as were employed by the Iraqi regime in the public show hangings and have no interest in glossing over such methods.

But we can only be revolted by the hypocritical and demagogic way this episode has been blown up and exploited by the imperialist powers and their satellite Israeli government. They seize on such incidents to discredit the revolutionary forces in the Mideast and to cover over their aggression against the Arab people.

Armed and financed by the U. S., the Israeli regime may forcibly occupy areas of the Arab world. But the magnificent young Arab women who stood up to the occupation forces told the entire world their liberation struggle cannot be repressed.

Capitalism or humanist socialism?

Finds young Czech rebels fail test

Ann Arbor, Mich. I read with much interest Gus Horowitz's interview with a Czechoslovak journalist (**The Militant**, Jan. 24). Never have I come across such a powerful indictment of an important base of support for the Dubcek forced march toward capitalism. On three of the most important "acid tests" of the day, the Czech "young socialist" college students fail miserably. They show little concern with the struggles in France and Vietnam and are hostile to the Cuban revolutionary government. Hopefully, the editors of **The Militant** are not unaware of the very profound revolutionary implications of these three struggles. It is also interesting that the Czech journalist admitted that the working class was hostile to the "reforms" of the restorationists (reforms that were enormously increasing wage differentials and thus providing financial plums for Czech college graduates) until the Soviet intervention. One might recall that in 1919 the Polish workers were becoming increasingly militant until the invasion by the Soviet Red Army awakened their nationalist sympathies and led them to fight against the liberating army. Congratulations to **The Militant** for strengthening the case of those of us who are attempting to enlighten American progressives as to the counterrevolutionary nature of the Dubcek regime. I look forward to further revelations in your superb newspaper.

Robert Bernard

. . . a reply

New York City The Czechoslovak students are neither cynical careerists nor advocates of capitalist restoration but want a humanist form of socialism, denied them so far. But they have lived all their conscious lives under a system perverting Marxism, even while professing

Letters from our readers

its ideals. Thus they are new to the real ideas of Marxism, and naturally are not 100 percent "correct" on all questions. Any weaknesses they show in analyzing France, Cuba, or Vietnam are due to the years of Stalinist miseducation they have received and the corruption of the ideals of Marxism that they have seen. That, in my opinion, is an indictment of the pre-1968 situation in Czechoslovakia, not of the students. The "acid test" for the Czechoslovak students is in Czechoslovakia. And that test they pass better than reader Bernard. They are looking for a way to combine democracy with a socialized economy; and no one had to "force march" them (or the workers) toward that goal. (Note also that the Soviet bureaucrats, authors of the invasion, don't do too well on Cuba, Vietnam, and France—much less Czechoslovakia.) The economic reforms initially proposed by the Dubcek government were open to serious criticism. They could have led to greater wage differentials, some unemployment, and harder working conditions—but not a return to capitalism. In that sense, the economic reforms were not too different from those put into practice or proposed in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. That is why the Czech journalist I talked with said the workers were "somewhat cautious, a bit suspicious, waiting carefully to see what would develop." The workers supported the democratization process in Czechoslovakia. Among other things, they utilized the chance for freer discussion to develop ideas about economic reforms they wanted, including discussion of real work-

ers' councils and the independence of the trade unions, for instance. The Aug. 21 invasion has delayed the possibility for the workers to create a real workers' democracy and institute economic reforms to their advantage and to the economic advantage of the entire country. That's why the workers opposed the counterrevolutionary invasion.

Gus Horowitz

Observer from Mars reports the scene

Brooklyn, N. Y. I've just come from Mars and have been looking at the newspapers and listening to your radio and TV in order to acquaint myself with the latest developments and problems of your community here in New York. As far as I can make out, then, you have a group of people here, called Negroes, who hatefully oppress another group, called Jews, to whom they deny "due process" and protection from their children. The Jews fear the Negroes but no longer refer to them as "schwarzen" because it's not nice. But the Negroes don't seem to appreciate this at all. Caught in the middle of the whole mess are the white people, who never hated or exploited anybody, and who are trying to do something for the Jews by helping to civilize and control the Negroes. If I have misunderstood any of this, please advise.

P. B.

Why socialists should oppose Zionist state

Detroit, Mich. Yehuda Krantz seems to miss some of the main reasons why revolutionary socialists are opposed to the Zionist state of Israel. Hopefully, I will be able to show in the following letter some of the points he missed in his letter ("Finds Israel less tied to big

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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



powers") in the Jan. 24 **Militant**. We are not saying, Mr. Krantz, that you are to be held responsible for each and every move on the part of Mapam or the Israeli government. But if you do support unlimited and unconditional Jewish immigration into Palestine, if you do support the construction of a Jewish state—as Herzl described it, as Jewish children are taught in their Hebrew schools (I, too, went through this brainwashing experience), as it exists—then you must be held responsible for the racist crimes that have been and must be perpetrated by Israel in order to build and preserve itself. For these crimes are as necessary to the Israeli and American bourgeoisie as are the racist crimes against the Afro-American people to the American bourgeoisie. Mr. Krantz condemns Arab opposition and resistance to Israel. I suppose the Vietnamese, too, should welcome the invaders with open arms? How, Mr. Krantz, should the Warsaw ghetto Jews have acted towards the Nazis? Should they have welcomed them for giving them the "road to freedom through work?" And since when can you pass off the massive foreign aid to the Israelis as leaving them "less tied to the big powers" than are the Arabs? Anyone who has ever been an American Jew knows the massive support to Israel given by American Jews—not to mention the international bourgeoisie. Every Jewish kid in Hebrew school puts his pennies in a canister for Israel at least once a week. They buy trees for Israel to plant in the desert areas. And this is true on an incomparably larger scale for their parents. So who supports the Israeli economy—the suppression of the Arab people—if not the bourgeoisie and Jewish petty-bourgeoisie in America?

Gordon Fox

A 'peace plan' for Mid East

San Francisco, Calif. In any war between Israel and the Arabs, Marxists must support the Arabs. Israeli victory would be a defeat for the notion of pan-Arab union, a necessity for the greater struggle against the Anglo-American oil cartel. But the Al-Fatah must be criticized for its false approach to the Israeli question. Israel has a complete right to a separate existence. Its crimes are no worse than those of the Arabs. The last country on earth with legal slavery is the Sultanate of Oman, a protectorate of Britain. Iraq has waged ferocious war against its Kurdish minority. Egypt puts communists in concentration camps, Saudi Arabia chops off the hands of thieves and still has harems. Until the Arabs revolutionize their own society, union with the Arabs remains a mirage to the Israelis. Revolutionists should propose their own peace plan. It should include: 1) The Wailing Wall to remain in Israeli hands. No Israeli government will ever give it up. To demand its return to Jordan is to call for war over dead stones. A corridor should be granted to connect it with the rest of Israel. 2) The rest of Arab Jerusalem must be returned to Jordan. The Arab nation will never rest until

it is returned. 3) Prior to June 1967, Israel claimed it could not accept any Arab refugees, who would be a security danger. The Israeli victory has exposed this hoax. Now she rules a million-and-a-half Arabs who don't want Israeli domination, and yet Israel has forgotten its argument against the refugees returning. Israel must accept some of them. Since she annexed 60,000 Jerusalemites who want to return to Jordan, let Israel release them and accept 60,000 refugees who want to return to their homeland. Israel is a tiny country, not rich, which lives on handouts from American imperialism and Jewish wealth abroad. She cannot possibly accept all the refugees, especially without further aid from the imperialists, which would just tie her to them even more than she already is now. Israel must compensate those refugees she cannot accept. It goes without saying that the Arabs must recognize Israel and permit free access to the Suez and the Strait of Tiran. We as American Marxists can do far better in our anti-Israeli struggle by exposing the reactionary nature of Israeli society than by giving uncritical support to every demand of Arab ultra-leftists.

L. B. G.

Calls for boycott of United Fruit

Providence, R. I. I am urging all the readers of **The Militant** to boycott all products of the United Fruit Company. The United Fruit Company is notorious for exploiting its Latin American workers. Some of the products of the United Fruit Co. are bananas, Revere sugar and A and W root beer. Let us resolve to end the United Fruit Company's exploitation of the Latin American people. Boycott!

R. M.

'Both sides wrong'

Parkersburg, W. Va. In reply to T. T.'s letter ("Israel's 'socialism,'" **The Militant**, Jan. 31), I must say he is finding a rather poor excuse to rationalize away the problem at hand. True, Israel is not an exactly socialist nation. But it is in a far better position to become one, with fellow socialists' support, than are the fascist puppet governments existing within the Arab world. It appalls me to read how Israel can be so condemned for attempting to live, solely because it is a U.S. ally. For, should Israel have been an ally of Russia, and Egypt of the U. S., I am sure the tables of support would be turned. In a war such as this, both sides are wrong, both sides are equally aggressive, and both sides should be equally condemned. Let us never reach a time when we say Israel's terrorism in a war of defense is unjustified and Arab terrorism in a war of aggression is. Both sides are wrong, both sides are puppets of imperialism—Arabs, of Russian influence, and Israel, of U. S. influence. Let us attempt to view the situation as true socialists, and not as one-sided nationalists.

Steven Glauser

Meet Socialists in Your Area

(If you are interested in the ideas of socialism, you can meet socialists in your city at the following addresses.)

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Don Critchlow, 6929 W. Mariposa, Phoenix, Arizona 85033.

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

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

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 552-1266.

San Diego: San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2221, San Diego, Calif. 92112.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: YSA, c/o Richard Adams, 332 Sherman Ave., New Haven, Conn. 06511.

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

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffet, 209 N. Springer, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

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

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

De Kalb: YSA, c/o John Votava, 329 N. 1st St., 3rd fl., De Kalb, Ill. 60115.

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

Evansville: YSA, c/o Ronald Hicks, 1619B E. Franklin St., Evansville, Ind. 47711.

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

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

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Bill D'Angelo, 712 W. Huron, #307, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

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

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

Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Peter Signorelli, 2075 W. Stadium, #1939, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103.

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

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 17104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N. Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-3977.

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: Adolph Reed, 108 Hillsborough St., Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

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

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

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

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Trainor, 5203 S. W. Pomona, Portland, Ore. 97219. Tel: (503) 246-9254.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila., Pa. 19130. Tel: (215) CE6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Warwick: YSA, c/o Nick Stevens, 44 Brinton Ave., Warwick, R.I. 02889.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Rd., Austin, Texas 78703. Tel: (512) 476-0850.

Houston: YSA, c/o David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston, Texas 77019. Tel: (713) JA9-2236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: YSA, c/o Shem Richards, 957 E. 1st Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah 84103.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: YSA, c/o Terrill Brumback, 1801 16th St. N.W., Apt. 610, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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

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

ELRUM action by blacks hits Chrysler company

By Michael Smith

DETROIT — Chrysler workers belonging to ELRUM, the Eldon Revolutionary Union Movement, brought the only gear and axle plant in the Chrysler complex to a virtual crawl on Monday, Jan. 27. The conditions which forced this response on the part of ELRUM are similar to those which gave impetus to the formation of ELRUM's affiliate, DRUM, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, at the Dodge assembly plant in Hamtramck, Mich.

Discipline of black workers is harsh and arbitrary. Speedup, hazardous working conditions, and poor medical care are a constant plague to workers, who often are forced to work long hours six and sometimes seven days a week. Moreover, blacks have the worst jobs and little chance for advancement. Although 83 percent of the 4,500-man plant is black, this is not reflected in the composition of the union leadership. The United Auto Workers takes little interest in protecting the workers. Their grievances are either avoided by the union or mechanically filed and forgotten. The union bureaucracy is determined that it will do nothing to upset what the National Labor Relations Board calls "the stable bargaining relationship" between itself and the corporation.

The combustible situation caught fire on Thursday, Jan. 23. Instead of reporting for work, over 200 workers confronted the UAW bureaucracy at the union hall with their complaints. The UAW did nothing; one functionary said "he had washed his hands of the matter." The next day the corporation was freely able to punish those workers who had absented themselves from work the previous day. These disciplinary measures ranged from written warnings to five-day suspensions from work.



German students hit Polish jailing

WEST BERLIN (IP) — Some 2,000 students at a memorial meeting on the 50th anniversary of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg voted to send a telegram to the Gomulka government, protesting in strong terms against the imprisonment of the two courageous Polish revolutionary socialists, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. The students demanded the immediate release of the two fighters for socialist democracy. Only a few pro-Stalinists were opposed to sending the message of protest.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the West Berlin Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS) and the Republican Club. The latter acts as a coordinating center for radical activities in West Berlin.

Speakers at the meeting included West Berlin SDS leaders Bernt Rabehl and Christian Semmler; a representative of student groups engaged in forging links with the factory workers; and Ernest Mandel, the editor of the revolutionary-socialist Belgian weekly *La Gauche*.

The aggrieved workers took action immediately. Plans for the strike were made over the weekend. By 5:30 on Monday morning, all three of the Eldon plant's gates were manned by pickets and strikers. To prevent victimization, the leaders of the strike functioned from the background. Picket positions were held mainly by Black Panthers and other sympathizers not working at Eldon. They were very effective.

The dark morning air was filled with shouts: "No work today. Only the Tom works today. No work today. We have sisters out, you're less than a man if you work today." According to a steward active in ELRUM 50 percent of the first shift and 90 percent of the second stayed out. Older black workers showed hesitancy but sometimes turned back from the gate. Younger black workers acted decisively and were the backbone of the action. No attempt was made to dissuade whites from crossing the line. The action at the gates culminated in two gatherings for rallies, the first of which was well attended and spirited.

Chrysler Corporation operates only one gear and axle plant, and this plant produces these parts for the whole Chrysler line. These parts are not stockpiled. Consequently, as one ELRUM militant stated, "A work stoppage here can close their plant in California the next day." With this in mind it is likely that Chrysler will react, as it did against a DRUM wildcat of last summer, with some minor concessions, a stepped-up public-relations effort, and a determined thrust to harass and weed out any member of ELRUM it can identify.

Interview with BSU leader at Sonoma State

By Frances Hus

SONOMA, Calif. — In a recent interview, L. E. Wagner, chairman of the Sonoma State College Black Students Union, described for *The Militant* the complete solidarity that his organization feels with the struggles at San Francisco State.

"We are very concerned about these demands being granted to the students," he said. "Many of these demands are the same as ours."

Discussing the black student struggles which are spreading across the country, Wagner said that it is necessary for black students to organize, "because the educational system will not change without pressure being applied to it." Before such struggles as the one at San Francisco State there was no interest in making education relevant to black people, he said.

Wagner described the efforts of the BSU to institute a black studies program at Sonoma State College: "We have had our main problems with communicating. When we go and talk to faculty members individually they are all for a black studies program and lead us to think that they are willing to help us. But as soon as they are brought together in some form of a group to take action, they begin to back down. In other words, as long as they are just discussing with no authority to make decisions they are all with us, but when it comes to taking action they back down."

"They actually seem to be afraid of black people getting a relevant education," Wagner added. "They refer to the situation as 'purely a racial question,' and make statements like, 'Don't jump the gun.' Can't they realize that it's hard to 'jump the gun' when you're already 400 years behind on it."

Wagner stressed the need for black students to relate to the community and to "gather allies from black people and all other people in the community who are sympathetic."

When asked about the charge that student "violence" had brought about the police repressions at San Francisco State, Wagner commented that "people who say that black people are initiating the violence by their own actions are just seeking to escape the problem. They concentrate on talking about the black peoples' reaction to racism, rather than the causes of racism, and what they can do about it. This is just another way for white people to pretend that everything is fine. As long as you don't look at the problem you won't feel guilty or have to grant the demands black people are asking for."

S. Vietnam: a second, little-publicized war

By Dick Roberts

A war within a war is taking place in South Vietnam and its implications for the future of American politics can hardly be overestimated. This is the struggle of Afro-American GIs against racism in the Army.

"The Other War: Whites Against Blacks in Vietnam" by Zalin B. Grant, in the Jan. 18 issue of *The New Republic*, gives recent details.

Grant focuses attention on Camp Tien Sha, a naval supply base near Danang, which is "a comfortable piece down the road" from the fighting war.

"It is so much like the 'world' — GI slang for the U. S.," Grant reports, "that the camp's biggest threat is race riots, not Vietcong."

"Increasingly, blacks in Vietnam salute each other with the upraised clenched fist of Black Power," Grant continues. "Bitter disputes have flared in some units over whether service regulations permit Negroes to affect Afro-style haircuts."

"Fights between black and white servicemen, the behind-the-barracks variety never officially reported, are on the rise."

Grant runs down typical examples of racism reported by black soldiers. One told him, "In the service you're supposed to give your buddy a ride if he's walking. But many Caucasians won't pick blacks up. Instead they may yell, 'Hey nigger!' as they drive by."

Blacks at Tien Sha have staged demonstrations and formed committees to combat racism. One member — who planned to join the Panthers upon returning to the U. S. — told Grant: "As our session ended two white guys stopped and asked what we were doing. We told them to leave but they yelled 'black mother-fuckers' and threw rocks. So 12 blacks caught them and did a job."

This led to a fracas which eventually forced some concessions from the white commander, Grant reports. But several months later a GI told him: "Nothing has really changed."

A variety of statistics have been printed on the number of black GIs in the service, in Vietnam, on combat duty, and the casualties. They all point to the inescapable conclusion that the majority of Afro-Americans are thrown onto the front lines.

Grant holds that blacks "make up an estimated 20 percent of combat troops



Black GIs bear brunt of fighting and dying in Vietnam.

and 25 percent of elite units, while representing only 12 percent of the total U. S. forces in Vietnam."

It is when GIs are off the battlefield, according to Grant, that Afro-American militancy emerges: "Negroes in units larger than battalions — which are the basic field unit — stick together like Harlem brothers."

"Black groups segregate themselves in clubs and dining halls. All major U. S. enclaves have Negro-only clubs on their fringes . . ."

"Self-imposed segregation is one of the few acts of belligerence possible for militants under the sturdy discipline of military service. They say their rebellion is not against the armed forces . . . but against U. S. society."

Protesting priests hauled from church in Cleveland

By Julia Martin

The controversy in the Catholic Church continues to bubble along.

On Sunday, Jan. 26, two priests were evicted by police from St. John's Cathedral in Cleveland for attempting to celebrate an "unauthorized mass" as a means of focusing attention on their criticisms of the church. Charges were pressed against them by the Cleveland diocese.

Rev. Bernard L. Meyer and Rev. Robert T. Begin led about 50 supporters (including three nuns) from an organization called Christians Who Care into the Cathedral for the 12:30 a.m. mass. The group had decided that the two priests should celebrate the mass while the other members distributed a mimeographed statement to the congregation explaining their reasons for the action.

The statement declared that "with respect to war, the [Church] leadership has allowed the Church to become an agent of the government's propaganda, which under the guise of obedience deludes the people into supporting an immoral and unnecessary war . . . With respect to race, the leadership is guilty not only for imposing but also of perpetuating white racism . . . With respect to poverty, the leadership has sought identification with the economically secure, who assist them in accumulating vast wealth, while disassociating itself from the poor except again for token gestures. . . ."

"Our conscience leaves us no choice but to expose the dichotomy between the words and the actions of the churchmen of our diocese; our Church provides us no channel except this which we have chosen."

As the two priests began to offer the communion, Msgr. Francis W. Carney, who

was scheduled to conduct the services, stepped to the front of the church and told the surprised congregation that the services were over, that everyone should go home and consider their obligation to attend church on Sunday fulfilled. As about half the congregation left, the lights were turned off, but members of Christians Who Care lighted altar candles and continued.

Carney then went to six police detectives who were seated in the front row. (The spokesman for the diocese admitted they had been prepared for trouble at the mass.) The police used a walkie-talkie to call in 24 uniformed cops who marched down the center aisle and cordoned off the altar. As the priests continued to try to serve communion, the cops knocked down one woman at the rail and threw her husband out a side door when he tried to come to her defense.

Meanwhile, Msgr. Carney was apparently shouting that the two priests had been suspended by the bishop and were not authorized to continue the service. The cops then bodily ejected the two priests from the church and took them to the nearest station, where they were booked for trespassing and released. The trespassing charge was later dropped, and the church instead pressed charges for "committing a nuisance in a church edifice." Conviction carries a maximum sentence of \$500 fine and a year in a workhouse.

The two priests are demanding a jury trial.

The religion reporter for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, who had been invited by Christians Who Care to attend the services, was also thrown out of the church by a side door when the good Father Carney pointed him out to the cops.



BURNED TO GROUND. Mrs. Louise Madison and Michael Woff, Indians struggling to preserve traditional culture, view rubble of museum built to house Indian art objects. At left is Militant reporter Elizabeth Barnes.

Indian-American struggle viewed at Minn. forum

By Nancy Strebe

MINNEAPOLIS—"Socialism was the way we had always lived before the white man's system was forced on us," says George Aubid Sr., an Ojibway Indian from Macgregor, Minn. Aubid presented his views at a Jan. 25 meeting of the Twin Cities Socialist Forum. His subject was "The Indian-American Struggle Today."

Indians, he said, do not have the white man's fear of a "communist takeover." Capitalism, with its gross accumulation of great wealth by a few while many go hungry, is alien and disgusting to Indians. The seeming laziness and irresponsibility of many Indians, he continued, is a form of passive resistance to the system, which they were forced into. They were forced into it by superior weapons and by the U.S. government's treachery in not honoring a single one of its more than 100 treaties made with Indian nations.

Not only has the government not honored treaties, Aubid charged, but it has engaged in outright theft of Indian lands. This was done by changing the word "leased" to "ceded" after agreements were signed, while the Indians never received copies of the amendments.

George Aubid was the principal organizer of the wild-rice harvesting protests in Minnesota last fall (see *The Militant*, Oct. 25, 1968) in which the U.S. government once again broke a treaty by cutting down on the time the Ojibway Indians were allowed to harvest the wild rice in the lake on their own reservation. This fight is still being fought in the courts.

Asked what he would propose as a solution to the Indians' problems, Aubid said that a separate Indian nation should be created, encompassing traditional Indian lands in the Northwestern U.S. and extending into Canada. He said they would not exclude any other peoples from the territory, but it would be run for and by Indians. When asked why he chose that particular part of the country, he replied, "That's just a start!"

On war, Aubid said that Indians would fight to protect themselves and would fight should this country be attacked by other countries, but they feel Indians should not be asked to fight in foreign wars for the United States, since they themselves are a captive nation of the U.S. He added that he supports the Vietnamese people in their struggle for liberation and supports their right to decide their own form of government.

An Indian family fights back

By Elizabeth Barnes

JAN. 4—The conservatism, bigotry and narrow-mindedness which characterizes many small country towns seems to exist in concentration in Cornwall, New York. I got a first hand view of this when I visited Cornwall this past weekend to find out more about the struggle for Indian rights which is being carried out by the Madisons, a determined Indian family that has been subjected to continuous racist harassment for the past several years.

The attacks on the Madisons reached a culmination on Jan. 11, when a building containing their irreplaceable collection of Indian artifacts and art objects was burned down. This collection included items saved for hundreds of years by Mrs. Louise Madison's tribe. On some occasions the family had gone without food on the table to purchase objects which she felt would otherwise have been lost to the Indian people.

The Madisons took me to the scene of the fire and showed me the ruins. Everything had been destroyed except a few earthen pots which they were able to salvage after digging through the rubble. The burned building had been part of an old abandoned mill which the owner had allowed the Madisons to use after harassment had forced them to move their collection.

Looking at the scene of the fire, the most striking thing was that the local fire department is located within a couple of hundred yards of the burnt building. The night after the fire a group of Indians gathered at the ruins to hold a traditional Indian tobacco-burning ceremony during which they renewed their determination to struggle for Indian rights. The same fire company that had been unable to effectively deal with the fire raging under their noses the night before was able to spot the tiny glow of the tobacco fire. They brought over their firetruck and rudely interrupted the ceremony, demanding that the fire be put out. The firemen refused to leave until the Indians contacted the owner of the property.

The experience with the firemen is typical of what the Madisons have faced in dealing with various agencies in Cornwall who have either condoned or joined in the racist harassment—the press, the courts, the school officials and teachers who have made life difficult for their 15-year-old daughter Susan, the police, building inspectors, politicians, and real estate operators.

Much of the harassment has reflected the typical terror tactics of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and Minutemen, both which have chapters in the area. (Ku Kluxers recently burned a cross on a minister's lawn.) Susan, a highschooler who shares her parents' active dedication to the fight for Indian rights, has received several threats to her life.

The most urgent problem that now faces the Madisons is the fact that for the third time within the past two years, they have been evicted from their home under pressure from bigoted landlords and neighbors. The weekend I was there the Madisons were frantically gathering up their remaining household goods and distributing them in the homes of friends. After days of searching, they have been unable to get a new place to live because, Mr. Madison explained, "As soon as people find out who we are, they refuse to rent." As of now the only alternative they have is to attempt to move into one corner of the old abandoned mill which at this time has no heat, light or water.

The harassment of the Madisons began several years ago after they set up "The Jules One Arrow Longhouse," a nonprofit Indian cultural center and trading post. Indians of scores of different tribes came from all over the country to take part in the powwows and festivals held at the Longhouse. These get-togethers included discussions on how to win Indian rights and justice, how to combat the exploitation of Indian resources, and how to maintain a sense of Indian identity and inter-tribal unity.

In the Longhouse there was a library with books on Indian history and a craft center where Indians could learn traditional methods of tanning, pottery making, basketwork and beading. The Longhouse was also a kind of hotel where off-reservation Indians could come when they were out of money or needed help finding jobs.

Some of the racists who lived in the neighborhood near the Longhouse were apparently most inflamed when dark-skinned Indians and Afro-Americans came to the center. After they found out that the light-skinned Madison family was Indian (some had apparently thought they were white) they began to organize against the proprietors of the Longhouse and what they called their "Indian Nigger" friends. Finally, under pressure of physical harassment and a court case against them, the Madisons were forced to close down the Longhouse.

Before they set up the Indian center, the Madisons said there was no similar place in the whole Northeast area where Indians could gather to be with their own people. They described how inspiring it was to help Indian youth discover their Indian identity and history and how they tied together an understanding of their heritage with the struggles of today.

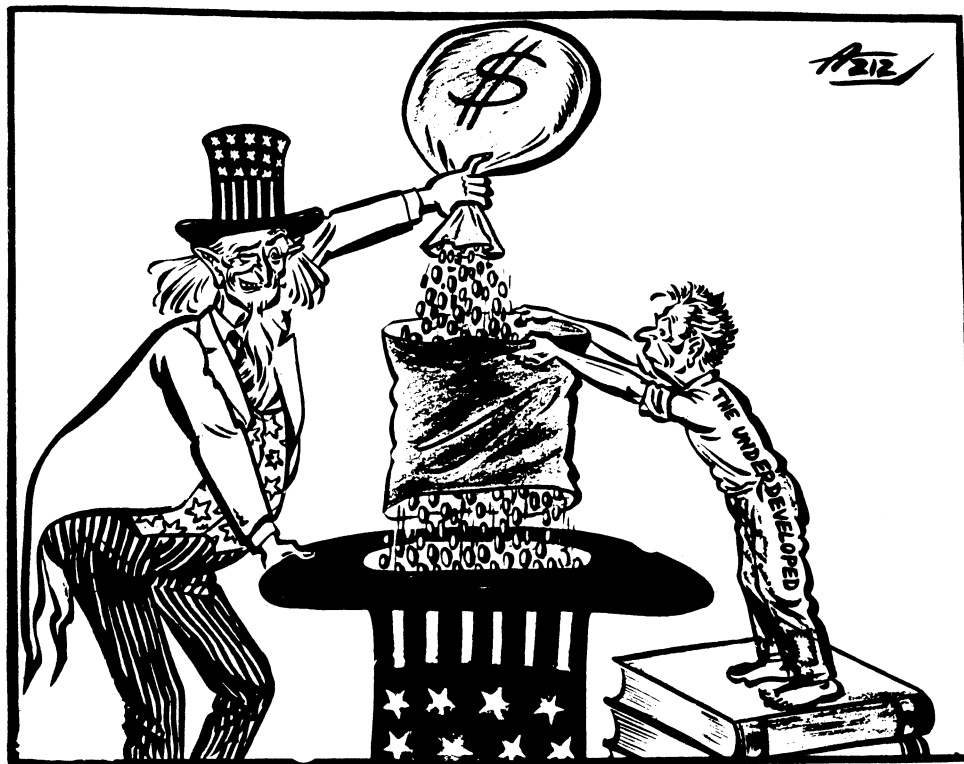
The Madisons are especially interested in those Indians who are opposed to the Vietnam war, and while I was there they got several calls from antiwar Indian GIs.

In rediscovering the traditional Indian values and beliefs, the Madisons have concluded that many of these beliefs are the same as those held by socialists. They point to the concept that the land should belong to everyone and that the necessities of

life should be shared. If Indian ideals were followed in this country, they say, there would be no starvation because "it would not be allowed for some people to have more than they can eat while others go without."

To carry on the fight for Indian rights, the Madisons believe strongly that there must be more unity between tribes and between reservation and off-reservation Indians. During the past several years, they said, consciousness of the need for this unity has increased. Even after the Longhouse was closed they continued to hold powwows and festivals at which Indians from various tribes and organizations could gather to organize for more unified struggles.

The fire and the latest eviction have drained the very meager financial resources of the Madisons, who have only Mr. Madison's paycheck as a truckdriver to rely on. They need funds to get them through their present problems and to help them rebuild the Longhouse. Contributions should be sent to Louise Madison, Director, Jules One Arrow Longhouse, Indian Culture Center, Box 179, Cornwall, New York 12520.



Liberation News Service

THE GREAT HEART OF IMPERIALISM. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has just issued a report on Colombia analyzing how that country has fared under U.S. Alliance for Progress benevolence (\$732 million since 1962). During that time, only 54,000 out of 400,000 landless families have received title to land under the "agrarian reform" program. The report finds that the oppressive, undemocratic social structure has remained unchanged. In reality, U.S. tax dollars have been used to stimulate and supplement the super profits extracted from the colonial world by U.S.-based international monopolies.

Ft. Jackson GIs' petition demands assembly rights

By Matilde Zimmermann

(The following was released in New York by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Matilde Zimmermann is secretary of the committee.)

FEB. 6—Antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson, South Carolina, are circulating a petition addressed to their commanding officer calling on him to authorize and provide facilities for an open meeting on the post where the soldiers can discuss such questions as the Vietnam war and the right of GIs as citizens and soldiers to hold meetings. They also want to discuss whether the rights of GIs have been infringed by authorities at Ft. Jackson.

Essentially, the petition calls on the commanding officer to abide by the U.S. Constitution, which is not supposed to be abrogated for members of the armed forces. The GI demands for the right of petition and free speech and assembly arise out of their discussions of the Vietnam war.

The petition is being circulated by a group of Ft. Jackson soldiers who call themselves GIs Against the War in Vietnam. The group, which has no formal membership and is open to all GIs at Fort Jackson, has evolved as a result of barrage of harassment, attempted intimidation, and arrests by the Army brass.

Army authorities directed their initial attacks against a group of black GIs in "B" Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Combat Support Training Brigade, stationed at Ft. Jackson. The black soldiers, numbering up to 30, had gathered several evenings in the barracks to hear taped speeches of Malcolm X and to discuss the war in Vietnam as it relates to black soldiers.

The brass, apparently afraid to see any GIs get together to discuss the war, and especially concerned if the GIs happen to be black, responded in two ways. First, they informed the company that this was the "upper respiratory infection season," and therefore no more than eight soldiers at a time could congregate in the barracks rooms. These rooms, which have eight bunks, were where the men had been getting together.

Secondly, the officers launched a campaign to intimidate the GIs by arresting three black soldiers, Pvts. Davis, Madison and Toomer, and preparing court-martials against them on trumped-up "assault" charges. A fourth GI, Pvt. Hart, who was not arrested, also faces a court-martial. Moreover, rumors of further arrests and "conspiracy" charges are rampant at the base.

Rather than intimidating the men, however, the attack by the Army authorities has only succeeded in increasing their determination to fight for their rights, as citizens and as soldiers, to discuss the war, to petition, and to hold meetings without fear of reprisals.

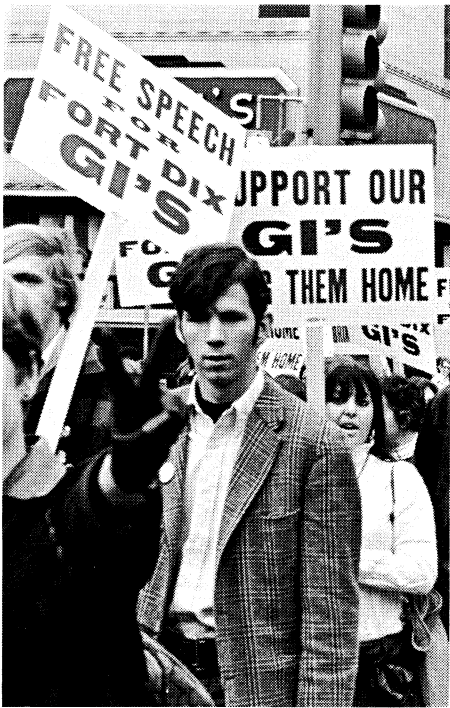
Futhermore, as a result of actions of the Army officers, the number of GIs involved has grown, white soldiers have joined the blacks and Puerto Ricans who were initially involved, and GIs from four different battalions have become active in the group. The men have decided to call themselves the GIs Against the War in Vietnam and to center their efforts in the next few weeks around the circulation of the petition.

The following is the full text of the petition:

"To: The Commanding Officer, Fort Jackson, S. C.

"We, the undersigned enlisted men, stationed at Fort Jackson, request permission to hold an open meeting on post on Feb. 26th, at which all those concerned can freely discuss legal and moral questions related to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens within and outside of the armed forces. It is our intention to hold a peaceful, legal meeting, open to any GI or officer at Ft. Jackson. We desire only to exercise the rights guaranteed to us as citizens and soldiers by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

"We believe that the best way to avoid further incidents such as have occurred at Ft. Jackson recently is by full discussion



Ft. Dix antiwar GIs joined Philadelphia antiwar march. GI insistence on rights is spreading to many bases.

and clarification of our rights as citizens. We hope that the authorities will cooperate with us in determining whether any infringement of the soldiers' constitutional rights was involved in the following specific cases:

"1) The summary arrest of Pvts. Madison, Toomer, and Davis of "B" Co., 14th Btn., 14th CST Brig., and their confinement in the stockade.

"2) The prohibition of group meetings in the barracks on the grounds that it is "upper respiratory infection season," impeding the exercise of our right of assembly.

"3) The hasty dispatch of members of "E" Co., 12th Btn., 3rd Brig., to Vietnam, under armed guard and without the customary pre-embarkation leave. [This point refers to reports that have been circulating at Ft. Jackson concerning a company of men who were ordered to depart for Vietnam without being granted leaves before shipping out and were put on busses under armed guard.]

"One of the purposes of the meeting will be the preparation of a petition to the Department of the Army and to Congress expressing the sentiment of the GIs attending about the the war in Vietnam.

"We would like to have an early response to our request for a meeting so that appropriate arrangements can be made; if for any reason the response is to be delayed, we would like to know when we will have a response.

"Copies of this petition will be sent to the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of Defense, and to the Senators from the home states of the undersigned."

Contra Costa labor slates general strike

By Pat Wolf

(Pat Wolf is a Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Berkeley city council.)

RICHMOND, Calif., Feb. 5—On Jan. 30 the Contra Costa Central Labor Council unanimously authorized a general strike to protest the conduct of the Richmond police department against the striking members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (AFL-CIO). I had a better understanding of this action after joining striking oilworkers on their picket line.

The oilworkers have been on nationwide strike against 20 major oil companies since Jan. 4. They have been demanding a 72-cent raise in wages, fringe benefits over the life of a 23-month contract, a full hospitalization plan, larger pensions and increased shift differentials.

In Richmond, just north of Berkeley and Oakland, the strike has produced particularly bitter confrontations between pickets at the Standard Oil refinery and scab truck drivers and the local cops. One picket has been run over by a truck. Wives and children of the striking workers joining the picket line have been beaten and maced by the cops.

The oil workers had previously complained about the brutality of the police on the picket line. They demanded that the Richmond city council call the cops to order. The council refused to do so, and the 40,000-member Central Labor Council in Contra Costa then decided to call a general strike demanding that the "soldier-police" be removed from the picket lines, that the police apologize for beating up pickets, and that measures be taken to prevent this from happening again.

At the present time, plans for the general strike are going ahead, although no date has been set. Leaders of the oilworkers' union feel that an educational campaign is needed to assure the success of such a strike.

An injunction has been handed down prohibiting more than 12 pickets at any one gate to the plant. But students and other strike supporters in the community found that if they wanted to help out on the lines, they would be welcome. Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, appealed to the Community Conference to Support the S. F. State Strike for moral and bodily support.

Students at S. F. State and the University of California at Berkeley began to organize car pools to take students to Richmond from 5:30 a.m. on each morning.

Early this morning I went with a contingent of two busloads of students from Berkeley. We arrived at the picket line at 6 a.m., just in time to welcome some scab cars that were trying to get through the gates. The drivers were incredibly brazen. However, they faced 150 pickets rather than five this time, and after a few headlights broke, they turned away.

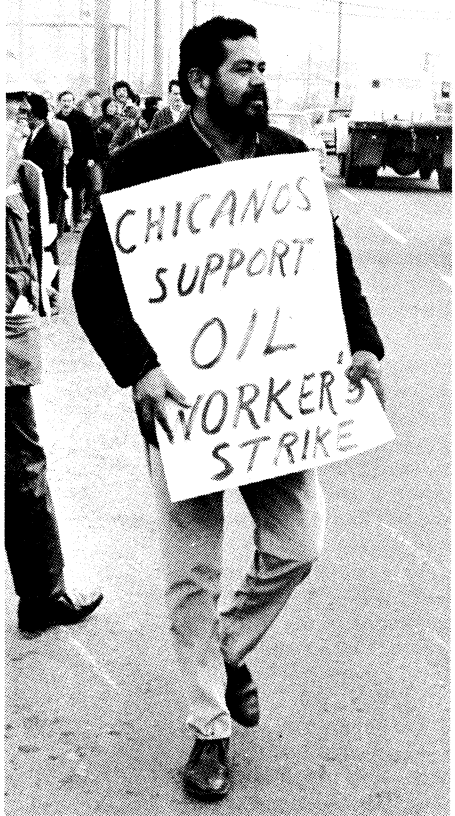


Photo by Dave Warren

ON LINE. Froben Lozada, Berkeley SWP school board nominee, on oilworkers picket line.

At the gate where I was, we turned away about 20 cars altogether. Some went intelligently on their way. Others lost aerials, side-view mirrors, headlights, taillights and windshields in an attempt to get through. At one gate a truck hit a picket, not injuring him, but infuriating the others on the line. Every piece of glass on the brand new truck was broken—headlights, dashboard, everything.

In the past, harassment of the line by the cops has been vicious, but the cops were conspicuously absent this morning. From 6 until about 8:30, when the line began to grow thin (many students headed back to the universities to man picket lines there), not a cop was in sight.

The students on the line were impressed with the spirit and militancy. It gave them more confidence in themselves and in the working class. There was a lot of singing, like "We Shall Not Be Moved," and chanting of "On Strike, Shut it Down." The older workers who were picketing seemed to like the way the students turned away the trucks. The students did take some initiative, but they were letting the young workers set the pace.

Although we all knew that Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of the union local, was a supporter of the S. F. State strike, we were surprised to discover in talking with the strikers that many of the young workers also support the student demands of the State strike. A couple of dozen of them had been to the State campus to support the strike, and the appearance of the students on the picket line was bringing more and more of them to support the student demands.

There was a lot of anger on the line about the way Standard Oil controls the entire city of Richmond. The men were beginning to organize to shut down a few Standard Oil gas stations and cancel subscriptions to the **Richmond Independent** newspaper.

The Iranian Students' Association also came to the line to support the strike and hand out a leaflet defending 14 political prisoners being held by the Shah. One man read the leaflet approvingly and commented, "You've got problems. Standard Oil practically runs your country too."

EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION A MARXIST VIEW BY GEORGE NOVACK

- A history of empiricist philosophy from Bacon and Locke to its most recent manifestations in the work of Karl Popper.
- Written from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, this book is an admirable introduction to the Marxist method in treating the history of ideas.
- Contains an outstanding critique of pragmatism, and especially of the philosophy of John Dewey, that will be of value to all students of American philosophy.

160 pp. paper \$2.45 cloth \$4.95

other works by George Novack

	paper	cloth
Origins of Materialism	\$2.95	\$6.95
Existentialism vs. Marxism	2.95	
Marxist Essays in American History	2.45	
Logic of Marxism (Wm. F. Warde)	1.00	
Uneven and Combined Development in History	.85	
Their Morals and Ours; Essays by Trotsky, Dewey, Novack	.75	
Who Will Change the World?	.65	
Understanding of History	.40	
Long View of History	.35	
Moscow vs. Peking	.25	
Black Uprisings by L. Stewart, D. Morrison, G. Novack	.25	

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

New York State residents, add 2% tax; New York City, 5%

Cuba today -- how it looked to visiting Young Socialists

By Joel Britton

The largest political delegation from the U.S. to attend the Jan. 2 celebration in Cuba returned to New York on Jan. 31. Our delegation of 13 Young Socialists spent four weeks in the areas around Havana and Santiago de Cuba, and on the Isle of Youth.

Our visit came at a significant moment in Cuban history. The tenth anniversary of the triumph of the revolution was one theme of the posters, banners, speeches and newspaper and magazine articles. The many accomplishments of the revolution were summed up. Such fallen heroes as Frank Pais, Camilo Cienfuegos and Che Guevara were commemorated.

The other theme looked ahead: "1969 — Year of Decisive Endeavor," referring to the preparations for the 1970 sugar-cane harvest, when the Cubans will work to attain the goal of 10 million tons of sugar.

Our host, the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples, organized visits for us to schools and hospitals, factories and farms, and many other political, economic, cultural and social institutions. Other articles will report in detail on many of these visits. I will attempt to summarize the most important of our general impressions:

● **The tremendous progress made possible by the revolution.** Before the revolution the great masses of Cubans suffered under the Batista dictatorship and U.S. economic domination. For most, these meant extreme poverty, unemployment or underemployment, racism and disease — all the wretched conditions that are typical of the rest of Latin America today.

Today everyone in Cuba has access to free medical and dental care. Many hundreds of thousands of young people are enjoying free education. There is a growing number of free nurseries for children of working women, free rent for most of the population, free sports events, and even free, local calls from public phones.

The Cubans are also developing aspects of their economy that were underdeveloped or nonexistent before the revolution. The fishing and shipping industries, and citrus fruit and rice production, are examples. It is projected that by 1975 Cuba will actually grow for domestic consumption and export many agricultural products which used to be imported from the U.S.

● **Work, work and more work.** The Cubans may well be the hardest working peo-

ple in the world. Just about everyone who is healthy seems to have a job or is waiting to be assigned. In most factories the workday is eight hours, but the vast majority of workers add 4-6 hours voluntary labor each workday and many hours on weekends.

In some cases this extra work is done at one's place of work; often it is done in the countryside, especially on weekends and for longer periods. A six-month effort of many thousands of people is required to cut the sugar cane and haul it to mills to be processed. This is very hard work done under arduous conditions.

In addition to regular and volunteer work, many also go to school while working, have militia or other guard duty roughly once a week, and participate in meetings and activities of their union or CDR (Committee for the Defense of the Revolution) or the Cuban Federation of Women.

Those who are the most consistent and hardest working revolutionaries are elected to the Communist Party or the Union of Young Communists in their work center or school.

● **Shortages of food and consumer goods.** Most food and clothing are only available in limited quantities, necessitating strict rationing. Distribution is generally equitable under the conditions of scarcity imposed by the U.S. blockade and limited trade with the Soviet Union.

One or more people in each family must spend several hours a day in line at stores.

● **Role of women and black people.** The quality of life for most working people has improved since the revolution, but most dramatically for women and Afro-Cubans. Though some, especially older people, harbor male-chauvinist or racist attitudes, the official, enforced position of the revolution is that discrimination against women and black people is against the law.

We met black workers who told us that they had been excluded from good jobs before the revolution. Now they are technicians and skilled workers, and are leading union and party militants.

As a result of a campaign begun last spring, no job is given to a man where a woman can replace him.

● **The internationalism of the Cubans.** "Solidarity With Heroic Vietnam" was the main slogan on the first billboard we saw after landing at Jose Marti Airport. Factories, schools and ships have been named



WELCOME TO CUBA! Dan Rosenshine of the Young Socialist delegation was hard pressed to answer the questions that flew at him during visit to historic July 26 School City in Santiago de Cuba. The school had been the Moncada Military Barracks, scene of the July 26, 1953, attack by the

group of "Chiantiar" antiwar demo ghetto outbre The visitors

"Hanoi," "Haiphong," "Heroic Vietnam."

This identification with the struggles of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam permeates Cuban life. Fidel is invariably interrupted with applause when he reiterates Cuba's solidarity with the Vietnamese. Children often discuss the progress of the struggle in Vietnam and other countries to start their school day.

The antiwar movement and black liberation movement in the U.S., and the May-June events in France have deepened the Cubans' interest in the politics and revolutionary movements of the advanced capitalist countries. Many times during our visits we spent as much time answering questions as asking them. "What do you Young Socialists do?" "How are you organized?" "How will socialism come to the U.S.?"

Many teenagers (and younger!) offered to come to the U.S. to help us in our struggle for socialism. They said they were willing to die in North America as Che did in Bolivia.

Our visit to Cuba deepened our under-

standing of the processes of socialist revolution in an underdeveloped country. We are now more aware of both the impressive gains that have been made and the enormous problems still facing the Cubans.

About these articles

The articles on this page are the first of a number by members of the delegation of Young Socialists who visited Cuba in January of this year. Coming issues will feature articles on other aspects of life in revolutionary Cuba and the experiences of the Young Socialists while they were there. Other articles will appear in the magazine, the *Young Socialist*.

Joel Britton is the organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Derrel Myers is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance from Minneapolis, and David Prince is a regional organizer of the YSA in Ohio.

Internationalism -- hallmark of the Cuban Revolution

By Derrel Myers

The purpose of our tour of Cuba was to celebrate with the Cubans 10 years of their revolution and to see first hand the fruits of those years of change. An important product of the revolution is the spirit of internationalism it has fostered, which is most clearly expressed in militant solidarity with Vietnam.

One of the first indications that we were in revolutionary Cuba was significantly related to Vietnam. It was a large, colorful billboard we passed on our way from Jose Marti International Airport to downtown Havana. Two silhouetted figures on the sign wielded familiar tools of the Vietnamese Revolution: a hoe and an automatic rifle. The message below the figures read, "Heroic Vietnam: Brother in Work, Example in Struggle."

This sign and other experiences revealed a widespread awareness of the Vietnamese struggle. It indicated an important aspect of the revolutionary consciousness of the Cuban people: the understanding that the future of Vietnam is of central importance to the future of the world revolutionary movement. This internationalist theme was repeated in many ways throughout Cuba.

While visiting a new housing project in Santiago de Cuba, we enjoyed a spontaneous "rap" with about 100 young Cubans ranging in age from five to 15. The gathering became spirited as we began to exchange choruses of revolutionary songs, including a collective rendition of "The Red Banner," simultaneously in Spa-

nish, Italian and English. It ended as we boarded the bus shouting, "Abajo Imperialismo; Viva Cuba!" To our surprise they responded with "Abajo Imperialismo; Viva Vietnam!"

At the 10th anniversary celebration in the Plaza de la Revolution thousands of Oriental shade hats dotted the crowd. Inscribed on these paper hats were slogans lauding the Vietnamese, combining utility and politics. One of the most spirited outbursts of this rally — which numbered nearly a million — was in response to Fidel's salute to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Jan. 6 in Cuba (traditionally "Three Kings" day, a variation of Christmas) is a holiday of the children, complete with carnivals, festivals and parades. "All Children's Day," as it is called, is also a day for getting gifts. Among the most prized toys are dress-up outfits copied from the garb of the Vietnamese guerrillas.

Miramar is a suburb of Havana that once housed the wealthiest and most reactionary Cubans. Today its mansions are dormitories for sons and daughters of Cuban peasants, studying in Havana on scholarships. One afternoon, while touring this area, we passed a playground. With its cyclone fence, basket ball and hopscotch games in progress, it could have been in Los Angeles. What gave it away was a sign on an adjacent wall that said in four-foot letters, "Heroic Vietnam Play Area."



Photo by Evelyn Kirsch

SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM. Che's famous words, "Create two, three, many Vietnams," dominate the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana.

A visit to the Isle of Youth

By David Prince

Visiting the Isle of Youth—seeing the tremendous amount of construction there and the youth and optimism of the people—was one of the high points of our trip to Cuba.

Before the revolution, the island's "fame" came from its use as a political prison. Fidel Castro was imprisoned there along with other survivors of the attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953. Jose Marti, at age 17, was detained there for two months before being deported to Spain for his political activities.

Though best known for its prisons, it was also a center for prostitution and smuggling. For a population of 10,000, there were 13 schools and 100 brothels. Because the island was a duty-free zone, Americans used it as a base for smuggling into Cuba.

The best land, used for growing grapefruit, was owned by Rockefeller.

In the first years after the revolution the Isle was used for rehabilitation prisons. When the first plans for improving the island were mapped out in 1964, many of the prisoners agreed to help implement these plans to further revolution, thereby shortening or even eliminating their sentences. Housing was provided for the families of prisoners so they could stay with them before their time was up.

The plan in 1964 included the planting of citrus fruit and importing cattle. The development of beef and dairy cattle, next to sugar cane, is the most important agricultural task set by the revolution.

In 1966, Hurricane Flora destroyed virtually all that had been accomplished on

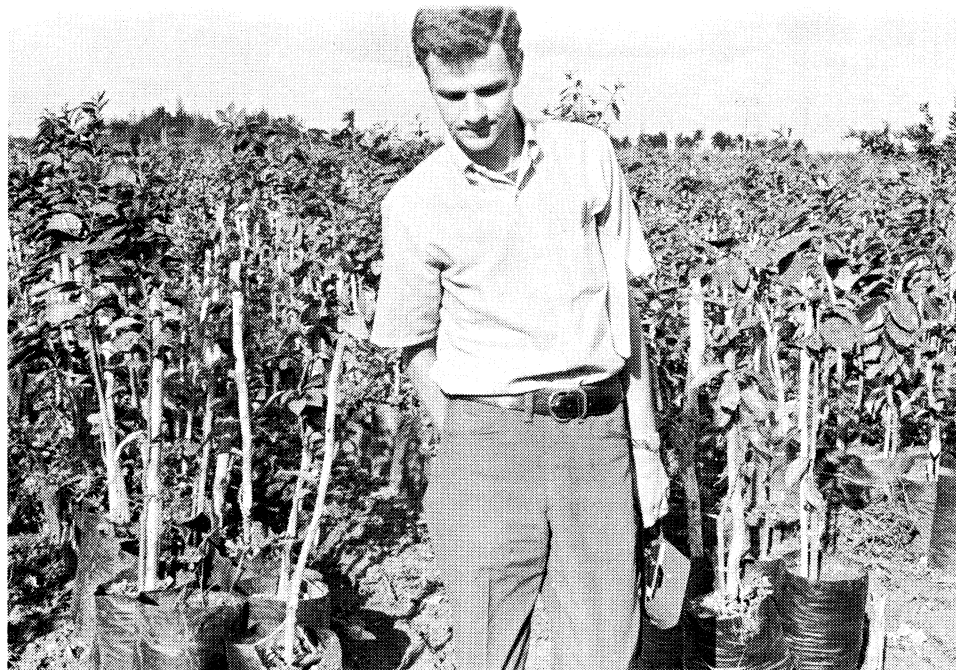


Photo by Linda Jenness

AGRONOMY LESSON. Visiting the Isle of Youth, Young Socialist Will Reissner is shown citrus plants being readied for transplanting.

the island. The Young Communists then asked to be placed in charge of mobilizing the labor necessary to develop the Isle.

At that point the great influx of youth began, and the physical appearance and spirit of the island changed radically. In keeping with the new spirit, the prisons were eliminated, and the barracks were turned into schools or housing for the youth brigades.

Before the revolution, the population never exceeded 10,000. There are now 44,000 people on the island with a stable population of 22,000. The difference is a result of the many volunteer brigades which come temporarily to the island. The present goal requires a population of 120,000 by 1975-80, and the three main areas of work are agriculture, construction of dams, and construction of housing. Before the revolution there was only one dam in all of Cuba. Now it is projected to build some 60 irrigation dams on the Isle of Youth alone.

The brigades, all of which are composed of volunteers, are involved in every aspect of work. For example, the island used to be almost completely covered with trees, and much good land was unavailable for planting citrus fruits. The youth in the Che Guevara Brigade, which takes on some of the hardest tasks, cleared the land. Brigades also helped rid the island of bugs. A Cuban friend who was traveling with us told us that before 1967 you couldn't open your mouth without getting it filled with mosquitoes.

Each brigade is made up of 100 to 150 people who live in camps. When they first started there was a semimilitary discipline. There was a certain time to go to bed and an obligation to study. The youth got a one-day pass each week.

In 1968 all of this was changed. Now anyone can enter the camp at any time, and study is voluntary. The only norms are social regulations of courtesy, like not waking people up when you come in late, and eating times are set for convenience. Educational and cultural activities are organized in each large work area.

Before we went to the island, we had some questions in our minds. In a speech

I called them idols of the youth. This is worth explaining further because they had some pretty strong feelings about what type of art they wanted to create and what type of morality they felt singers should have.

Before the revolution, they said, singers who could be called popular in Cuba didn't have any interest in culture. Under capitalism and "free competition" singers developed strong egos and considered themselves "the belly button of the world." Their incentives were fancy cars, riding in planes, and living in luxury. Sounds pretty familiar. In the final analysis it is the system of everything for a profit, including culture, which distorts every human emotion.

Now, after the revolution, for an artist to want more than the rest of the people seems contradictory to them. Popular song writers should increase their cultural knowledge and create works of art, they feel. They want to save Cuba's folklore and use it, the whole cultural background of Cuba. At the same time they are careful not to be bound by any set pattern and are influenced by everything from Gregorian chants to the Beatles and Bob Dylan. It's all part of their goal to express the deepest feelings of their generation.

What better reason to protest the U.S. government's restrictions on travel to Cuba? The contrast between the demoralizing and destructive cultural atmosphere in the U.S. and the youthful revolutionary spirit of Cuba is something to see. Young U.S. poets and singers should go themselves and have a chance to exchange ideas with young Cuban poets and singers like the three we interviewed.

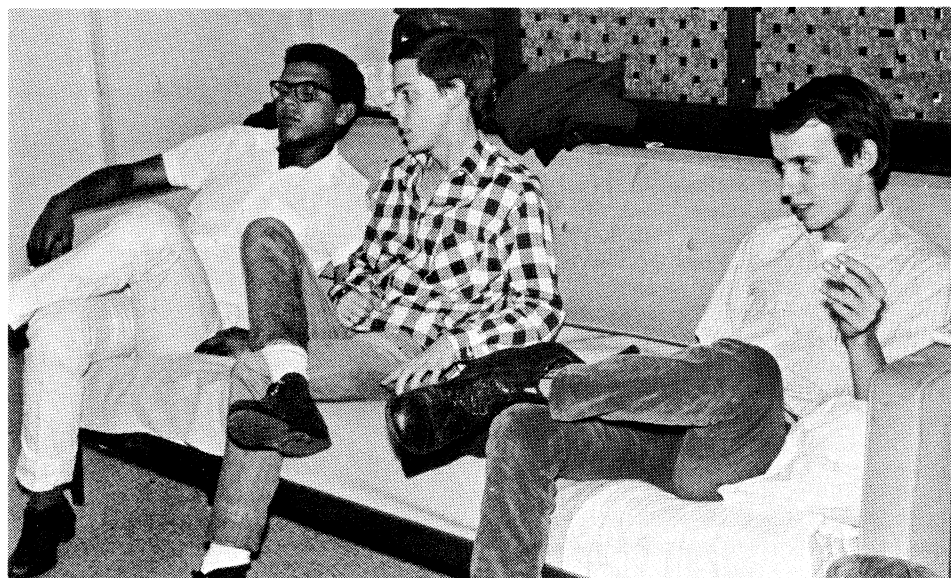


Photo by David Prince

POET PROTEST SINGERS. Pablo, Noel Nicola and Silvio Rodriguez (left to right) discussing their view of popular art in Cuba today.

By David Prince

We had the chance to meet three popular folk singers in Cuba who could be considered, in a rough way, "idols" of the youth: Silvio Rodriguez, Noel Nicola, and Pablo. They represent a new artistic development and are regarded as pioneers in writing sensitive, searching songs that are representative of their generation. Jose Yglesias spoke glowingly of them in his article on Cuba in the Jan. 12 *New York Times Magazine*.

They call themselves "poet protest singers," and their spirit is similar to the young protest singers and poets in this country. Their protest is against all the inhumanity and crass materialism of capitalism and against many of those false social values which still remain as vestiges of the past in the new society of Cuba. In their words they want to create "songs that are about life—against what is against life."

As elsewhere in the world, Che is the hero of all youth struggling to create the man of the future. And one of the most popular songs in Cuba is a song about Che called "Our Age," written by Silvio.

Cuba has had a social revolution. In keeping with the internationalist spirit of Cuba the poet protest singers feel it necessary to write songs condemning injustice all over the world. Pablo has a song called "Why?" written about Vietnam, and they have songs protesting racial discrimination in the U.S.

One of their major concerns is moral vs. material motivation. More than any other country in the world, Cuba is the place where man is placed before the material. The three poet singers view themselves as products of the revolution and see their role in the revolution sweeping the colonial world as one of helping to educate, helping to make a new man.

Their songs deal with all types of attitudes that exist in abundance in our own country and to varying degrees in Cuba. They have songs protesting women allowing themselves to get old too soon when they could still be beautiful. They have a song explaining why men shouldn't act like Don Juans and another on why people shouldn't be self-centered.

Their songs cover about every human emotion under the sun. Silvio has written over 200 and is always going on to the next one. There are songs about love and about memories of childhood. When we asked about translating some of them, they were concerned that whoever did it know something about poetry. I can understand that too. One evening we had a chance to hear Noel play the guitar and sing at a party—and everyone warmed to the lyrical quality of his songs.

in 1967, when Fidel dedicated the Heroic Vietnam Dam on the island, he projected that the island would be a training ground for young technicians and also that it would be the first area of Cuba where a full communist society would be achieved. The formulation seemed to us both somewhat unclear and unrealistic.

But what made the trip one of the high points of the visit to Cuba was the political consciousness of the youth working on the island and their enthusiasm in meeting huge plans for changing the face of the island. Concretely, what typified the island was the consciousness that a revolution means hard work, and that a classless communist society of superabundance is not possible without the victory of the world socialist revolution.

The people on the island view their role in the building of communism as one of setting an example for the rest of the world.

One of the ways of setting an example is the projection of doing away with money. Though it is debatable whether this is a realistic possibility at this point in the revolution, the dedication to the use of moral incentives and moral example in work is tremendously strong.

Everyone who comes to the island chooses his or her own salary. Almost all take a cut, choosing salaries from 60 to 100 pesos per month—pretty much the minimum salaries in Cuba.

Besides this, the youth put in tremendous amounts of volunteer labor. At a dam site we visited, the workers were putting in four hours volunteer labor each day, in addition to their regular eight hours. Volunteers also came from other parts of the island in the evening to help with the construction.

In addition, almost everyone studies from one to three hours a day.

People who come to the island for a temporary stay are often there for as long as two years. But many decide to stay on. They get married or just want to continue working there.

An example of the willingness of the youth to take on the necessary tasks is shown by the composition of the people working at a calf-raising center for the new breed of cattle being developed with artificial insemination. The majority working there are young women under 21, and, even more impressive, virtually none of them are the daughters of peasants. They come from the big cities of Cuba.

The library at this center was in keeping with the internationalism found everywhere. Books included works by Regis Debray, John Reed, and Che; the *Tri-continental* magazine; and American classics like *Huck Finn* and *Moby Dick*.

Before the revolution, the island was always known as the Isle of Pines. When Fidel gave his speech dedicating the Heroic Vietnam Dam, he referred to the island by that name. He was constantly interrupted by the youth who had built the dam with shouts of "Isle of Youth." It was decided to conditionally call it the Isle of Youth, but the permanence of the name depends on the youth meeting the tasks of building up the island. From all that we could see, the Isle of Pines is a defunct name, and the youth are determined to keep it that way.

United rally backs strike at S.F. State

By Henry Martin
SAN FRANCISCO — More than 800 people jammed into the Labor Temple auditorium here on Feb. 2 to hear Third World students, labor and community leaders express their solidarity with the San Francisco State strike. They met under a red banner, "Solidarity Forever." The meeting was called by the Community Conference to Support the S.F. State Strike. The meeting offered dramatic proof that a new plateau had been reached in the campus strike.

The crowd's greatest enthusiasm was shown when speakers from the Third World Liberation Front took the platform as a group. They lambasted not only Mayor Alioto, Gov. Reagan, and the corporate trustees of the college, but all of the agencies of institutionalized racism and imperialism as well.

There were many speakers from San Francisco's Third World community, including Dr. Carlton Goodlet (publisher of the Afro-American weekly *The Sun Reporter*) and Assemblyman Willie Brown, both of whom had spoken for the strike at the height of the confrontations before Christmas. One much applauded speaker was Rev. Lloyd Wake of the Japanese Strike Support Committee, who took care to point out that the Japanese community was on guard against Hayakawa's attempt to speak for it. Also speaking were Sal Cordova and Ben Martinez, from the Mexican-American community.

An explosive new force has been added to the already leap-frogging power of the strike, evidenced when union leaders from throughout the Bay Area took the mike to declare emphatic support for both the labor council sanctioned teachers' strike and the student struggle.

Jerry Hawkins, president of striking AFT



Photo by Dave Warren

San Francisco Sun Reporter publisher Carlton Goodlet addresses rally.

Local 1352, pointed out, "This strike is a vehicle to a much larger battle which we must face and must win." Ed Barlow, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters' Local 9, and Morris Evenson, Secretary of Painters' Local 4, put their support of the strike firmly on the line. Lew Goldblatt, International Secretary of the Longshoremen's Union, announced that ILWU Locals 6, 10, 11 and 34 were all on record in support of the teachers' strike. "Things that are not negotiable" he said "are the right of the union to live and the right of minorities to self-determination."

Strong support was voiced by Tim Toomey, Secretary-Treasurer of the largely black Hospital Workers Local 525; Larry Iltong, who is the Assistant Director of the United Farm Workers, and Jake Jacobs, leader of the striking oil workers in Richmond. Their unions, like the students and teachers at State, have been recent victims of vicious strikebreaking attempts on the part of police and hired goon-squads. Said Jacobs, "Suddenly there is an acute realization of the relationship between students and workers and ethnic groups and we find that we all have the same enemies."

The labor spokesmen pointed out that the very right to strike, especially by public employees, was under attack. Thus the need for common struggle with the State strikers. The militant struggle initiated by Third World students for self-determination has not only drawn a large segment of white students into support of the struggle, but has set into motion the longest teachers' strike in California history. The AFT is in favor of TWLF demands in addition to fighting for the right to organize and the right to a written contract which meets the needs of the teachers.

Further, the public commitment of labor

leaders to the S.F. strike as well as to the AFT struggle was indicative of new ferment within the ranks of labor, brought on in part by the revolutionary outlook taking hold among black workers. The radical traditions clung to by small numbers of older workers in many unions is merging with the militancy of younger workers angered by job insecurity and unemployment. They share many of the feelings of the students on such issues as the war and the draft.

The TWLF students are showing what a minority can do through principled and courageous action. They have opened the door to a broader struggle of oppressed minorities, workers and students against the whole system of exploitation. They have reached out for support wherever they can find it, including the leaders of organized labor, whom they have long distrusted.

Much of that distrust has been justified since the heads of labor have for so long accommodated themselves to the ruling class. The Third World students are not so naive as to have full confidence that such support will remain solid as the struggle goes on. The present trade union leadership has much to lose. But the students have come to appreciate the enormous potential power of the working class organizations and they mean to release it by any means necessary.

The chairman of the meeting, Jim Gallagher, announced the Community Conference now has more than 150 affiliated organizations. A collection of almost \$700 was announced to be used for conference expenses and the strikers' legal defense fund. The Conference's address is 827 Hayes St., San Francisco, 94107. Tel. area code 415, 626- 4599, or 431- 8293.

S.F. strikers standing fast against attacks

SAN FRANCISCO — More than a thousand people massed on the San Francisco State College campus Jan. 30 to support the three-month-old student-teacher strike there. The action took place in the wake of a mass bust of 456 strikers the previous week and in defiance of an injunction issued the day before. The court order forbids any demonstrations on the campus and limits picketing to five people walking five feet apart at each campus entrance.

Striking teachers at S.F. State are holding firm, despite President S. I. Hayakawa's "promise" to "reinstate" all teachers who report to work on Feb. 17, the opening of the new semester. Members of the American Federation of Teachers are manning 24-hour picket lines, and they have been joined on the lines by parents of S.F. State students and members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Reagan sets 'emergency' at Berkeley

By Byron Ackerman and Patti Iiyama
BERKELEY, Feb. 5 — Late this afternoon California's Governor Ronald Reagan declared the University of California campus at Berkeley and the surrounding neighborhood to be in a "state of extreme emergency."

This enables local law-enforcement agencies to draw on other police forces — notably the highway patrol — to step up repression against the student strike called by the Third World Liberation Front two weeks ago.

Gov. Reagan also promised legislation to deal with "campus dissidents." All rallies and assemblies have been outlawed on campus.

Picket lines have been conducted daily at Sather Gate and at Bancroft and Telegraph, main entrances to the campus. On Tuesday, Feb. 4, police and plainclothesmen attacked pickets. At least 20 persons were arrested.

There were over 4,000 marchers and spectators at the time of the arrests — the largest assembly during the strike.

Support for the strike has grown, particularly since the revelation last weekend of a letter from Alameda County sheriff Frank I. Madigan to the university, threatening to withdraw police "assistance" in TWLF strikes unless campus officials agree to clamp down more forcefully on pickets, specifically by taking disciplinary action against known strike leaders.

The executive committee of faculty union Local 1474 of the American Federation of Teachers, called the Madigan statement "intolerable" and asked for Madigan's resignation.

Until this afternoon's "emergency" decree of the state governor, there had been daily pickets and marches through the campus, "snake dancing," and chanting: "On Strike, Shut It Down!" "Third World Power." (At the time of this writing, preparations are being made to discuss Reagan's threats.)

A statement issued yesterday by the TWLF declared:

"Those in power have repeatedly failed to deal with the issues of self-determination and participation in one's own education. One hundred and one years and more of distance, lack of information and educational irrelevance have bred frustration.

"Do not put the responsibility of violence and disruption on the Third World Liberation Front. Only those with real power can frustrate. Those without it are the frustrated."

Antiwar Navy nurse convicted

By Ken Shillman
OAKLAND, Calif. — Navy nurse Susan Schnall, active in organizing the San Francisco GI march last Oct. 12, pleaded not guilty to two charges brought against her by the Navy — impairing the morale of the troops by dropping leaflets publicizing the GI march from a helicopter, and disobeying a direct order not to wear her uniform in the march. After a trial lasting a day and a half, she was found guilty of a felony under general court-martial

proceedings and sentenced to a dismissal, forfeiture of six months pay, and confinement for six months at hard labor.

The only evidence introduced by the Navy was films of the helicopter flight and of the march. Although the prosecuting attorney tried to paint a picture of Lt. J.G. Schnall's "horrifying activities," one film simply showed her emerging from the tiny plane and openly discussing the reasons for the leafleting. The other films showed her speaking to a crowd of thousands in San Francisco on Oct. 12.

The defense introduced arguments reviewing the political nature of the charges, pointing out they were in violation of Lt. Schnall's constitutional rights. She herself testified that she acted not to damage the morale of other military personnel but in line with legitimately using her right of free speech. The argument was ruled out of order.

The Navy was under government pressure to convict Lt. Schnall on the one hand, and under the pressure of strong public sentiment mobilized in favor of Lt. Schnall on the other hand. She was convicted and sentenced, but the Navy refrained from giving her the maximum sentence of five years at hard labor.

In actuality, women officers who receive less than a year's confinement are simply retained at their jobs for the equivalent period of time, and then dismissed. She has been reassigned to the pediatric ward at Oak Knoll Naval Hospital. At his point her case is under review.

Lt. Schnall's own father was killed during World War II when she was little more than a year old. After being sentenced she reaffirmed her opposition to the Vietnam war as well as her determination to participate in the Spring GI action against the war scheduled for April 6.



Lt. J. G. Susan Schnall

CALENDAR

BOSTON
FRANCE IN REVOLT—New England premiere of film of May-June '68 events in France. Commentary by Jean Dupre, participant in the struggle. Fri., Feb. 14, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (One block from Mass. Ave.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES
CUBA AS ISAW IT: An eyewitness account of Cuba on the 10th anniversary of the revolution. Speaker: Joel Britton, Los Angeles organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, just returned from a five weeks' visit to Cuba. Fri., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY, weekly, by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Mondays, 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesdays, 10:15 a.m. KPFK (90.6-FM).

NEW YORK
MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, 1964 Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate. Tape of excerpts from speeches by Malcolm X. Film of Malcolm's activities after his return from Africa. Fri., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.) Contrib. \$1 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Berkeley students, a center of radicalism, demonstrate against honorary degree for Arthur Goldberg in March, 1966.

SDS takes an important turn

By Gus Horowitz

"At this point in its history, SDS is faced with its most crucial ideological decision, that of determining its direction with regards to the working class." These words, from a major resolution passed at its Dec. 26-31 national council meeting, express the widespread feeling in SDS that the organization is at an important turning point in developing its political outlook.

The resolution, "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement," although not without its drawbacks, represents a step forward for SDS. It expresses the need to develop revolutionary consciousness, a working-class approach to politics. The resolution indicates that SDS is grappling with the question of what type of organization is needed to carry out a successful struggle against American capitalism.

This ideological move by SDS is symptomatic of the growing youth radicalization in the United States, symbolized by the massive demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Many protesters have not yet developed beyond left-wing liberalism, it is true; but significant numbers have become consciously radicalized as a result of the previously unconscious action. It is general youth radicalization that SDS responds to, articulates partially, and seeks to speak for.

SDS's mirroring of the youth radicalization is at once the strength and weakness of the resolution, "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement," passed at the national council meeting. Its positive thrust, its movement towards a socialist outlook, is its strength, and it reflects the general mood of the new generation. Its weakness is precisely that it only reflects this mood. Lacking is a clear-cut political analysis of how to develop and transform that mood, the raw material of revolutionary consciousness, into a program for the victory of the American socialist revolution.

Throughout its history, SDS has been pragmatic in its approach to politics. In earlier days SDS even saw its disdain for revolutionary analysis as a virtue. Those days are past, says SDS. The necessity of developing a political program has been stated. Nevertheless, the central feature of the SDS resolution is its pragmatism. It articulates the desire for revolutionary politics, but beyond that it lacks analysis of the most important political questions which are a necessary part of a revolutionary program. The chief characteristics of the SDS resolution are its vagueness, incompleteness, and lack of balance.

Future *Militant* articles will discuss key aspects of the SDS national-council decision on the youth movement. This article will attempt only to present the general features of the SDS resolution and point to certain questions left unanswered by SDS. These questions will be discussed in forthcoming articles.

"The main task now," states the resolution, "is to begin moving beyond the limitations of struggle placed upon a student movement . . . and build SDS into a youth movement that is revolutionary . . . The nature of our struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is **made up of youth and not just students**, and that these youth **become class conscious** . . . Because we see a revolutionary youth

movement as an important part of building a **full revolutionary working-class movement**, we must self-consciously shape our own strategy now with a view to that youth movement." (emphasis added)

Admirable aims. But many more questions are raised by such a statement than answered. What is class consciousness? More precisely, what is our aim as revolutionaries? The mere statement of solidarity with the working class, the mere recognition of the socialist goal is not enough for an organization that aspires to lead a political struggle. Expressions of support to working-class struggles, implementation proposals designed to bring students into contact with young workers, the exposure of the class character of American society—all are worthy aims but do not really constitute a political analysis.

The important national and international issues, prerequisite to developing a revolutionary policy for youth, remain to be discussed. What is the dynamic of the world revolutionary process today? What are the lessons? Where does SDS stand on France? Czechoslovakia? Cuba? Vietnam? What is the nature of the process by which capitalism will be overthrown and socialism established? What are the obstacles and opportunities, the lessons of past experience? Where does SDS stand on capitalist political action in the U.S. or on independent labor or black political action? Revolutionary consciousness should consist not of a phrase but of a specific program which must answer these questions. In short, it is necessary to establish contact with the workers. But the question remains: just what do you say to them?

The youth movement, the resolution states, is "an important part of building a full revolutionary working-class movement." If the youth are not going to make the revolution by themselves, then what party, what organization will? In the working-class movement there are many political groups all of which have different and even directly conflicting programs. There are social-democratic parties, Communist parties of both Moscow and Peking leanings, Trotskyist parties; there are currents— anarchism, syndicalism, Castroism, etc. Are they all to be included in the "full revolutionary working-class movement?" If not, which tendency, if any, does SDS agree with? This question cannot be avoided, for it is the question of revolutionary program. It is, essentially, the issue of reformism vs. a revolutionary program.

The building of a revolutionary youth movement encompassing both students and young workers is easier to seek than to accomplish. It cannot be done mechanically. The SDS implementation proposals, for instance, suggest "organizing on working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools, as well as high schools and junior colleges . . . some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working-class communities . . . drop-out and forced-out youth should be encouraged to join out movement."

Nine implementation proposals are suggested altogether. The proposals are made in the absence of any discussion of how best to build a revolutionary youth orga-

nization in this period. Some of the proposals are realizable, some not. Taken together they are a smorgasbord—something for everybody, but containing no balance, no discussion of proportional importance, no real motivation.

The working class is not homogeneous, in ideas or social stratification. The same automobile plant in Detroit will include black revolutionaries and white racists. The same city will include workers whose wages are five times that of others; teachers and agricultural workers, truck drivers and sanitation workers; those who work alongside of thousands and those who work in small shops; those in unions and those not. Some are young, some old; some will march in demonstrations, others will attack demonstrations. Can all workers be reached equally in this period?

The resolution states that "youth is a critical force which—through struggle—can expose war, racism, the exploitation of labor and the oppression of youth . . . Exemplary actions of the youth movement lead to higher consciousness and struggles among other people."

Events have certainly shown the critical effect that the actions of revolutionary youth can have. By helping to mobilize hundreds of thousands in action against the war in Vietnam and in participation in the black liberation struggle, student youth have been an important factor in the radicalization process in the United States. The same is true for our counterparts in other countries. It might be expected that the SDS resolution would discuss the

specific effect that youth have had in these actions and why—but of this there is not a word.

The desire by SDS to broaden out beyond merely a student movement is understandable. In the process, however, there is an apparent minimization of the specific role of campus struggles—for instance, the concept being discussed in France and Yugoslavia of the struggle for the red university. There are important differences between the student movement of today and that of 20 years ago. This accounts for the tremendous impact that student struggles have had, and it is worthy of some discussion.

In contrast to the black-struggle resolution passed at the SDS national council meeting, the resolution on the revolutionary youth movement says that the black struggle "is at once an anticolonial struggle, as well as being part of the class struggle." Thus the youth resolution implies the validity of national as well as class demands, something in direct contradiction to the PL-sponsored black-struggle resolution, and a big advance over it.

But outside of the statement of support to the black struggle and the suggested implementation proposals aimed at exposing racism, there is no specific discussion of the important demands for black control of the black community, the fights for black studies programs under black control at various college campuses, or the question of independent black political action.

The SDS discussion on the black struggle has already been taken up in past issues of *The Militant*. Future articles on the SDS national-council decisions will discuss some of the questions outlined above: What are the essentials of a revolutionary socialist program? What type of organization is needed to lead the struggle? How can we reach the working class today? Precisely what is the changed nature of the student struggles of today that they produce such a considerable impact on society at large? Given the present small size of the organized revolutionary movement, what tasks should be given priority?

GI-civilian rally set at Rutgers for February 15

NEWARK—New Jersey high-school, college and activist youth have joined in calling a GI-student conference for Feb. 15. The conference will make plans to build the April 6th GI-civilian demonstration and local GI and student antiwar actions.

A keynote speech by Brian Donovan, an ex-Marine with 13 months in Vietnam, will be followed by a GI-student panel. The panel will be moderated by Carl Rogers of LINK. Panel participants include Sp/4 Allen Myers of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement; one of the Fort Hood Three; Jim Oss, a Vietnam Vet in Resistance; other active-duty GIs, and student activists. Workshops are planned on GI-student actions, high school organizing, the draft, and education on the war.

The conference, which will begin at 9 a.m., will meet at the Rutgers Campus Center, 350 High Street, Newark, New Jersey. More information can be obtained by writing to the Committee for the GI-Student Anti-War Conference, 336 Elizabeth Street, Orange, New Jersey, or by calling (201) 483-8513. Other activities the committee is helping to build include Antiwar Basic Training Days at several high schools in New Jersey. These projects are to help build the April 6 Easter demonstration.

The Invasion of Czechoslovakia

- First Balance Sheet
- The Prague Club's Program
- Czech Students' Appeal
- Fidel Castro's Position

By Joseph Hansen

65 cents

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

BOOK REVIEW

More on
why people
hate cops

THE POLICE ESTABLISHMENT. By William W. Turner. G.P. Putnam's Sons. 319 pp. \$6.95.

The scholarly manner in which this book is written makes its conclusions all the more grim.

The author, a member of the FBI for 10 years, hammers home a number of points: Crime is steadily spiraling upward because the police know nothing about dealing with it. The police are generally hated by the population. (If they frequent a tavern they drive everyone else away.) This isolation makes them cling ever closer together in John Birch-oriented fraternities from which the black cops are barred. They share the prejudices of the most ignorant layers of the population. In the ghetto, where the majority of robberies and holdups are committed, they don't even try to protect the inhabitants.

They are mercenaries of the white power structure and, outside of protecting white business interests and keeping the Afro-American in his place, they have no other function.

The ignorance of the average cop is incredible. James Baldwin, the famous au-



thor, describes the police as the hired enemies of the population. They are also, Baldwin observes, "quite stunningly ignorant, and, since they know that they are hated, they are always afraid. One cannot possibly arrive at a more surefire formula for cruelty."

While in training, police are heavily indoctrinated with anti-"red" propaganda. In Los Angeles, recruits are shown the notorious doctored film of the 1960 San Francisco City Hall anti-House Committee on Un-American Activities demonstrations, in which the police savagery is

glossed over and the blame for the violence pinned on "Communists."

They are fanatically anti-civil-rights. A crowd of unarmed demonstrators in which there are women and children can whip them up into a fury of sadistic hatred.

In 1967, at a peaceful antiwar demonstration outside a hotel in Los Angeles where President Johnson was giving a money-raising speech, an amazed attorney reported, "I saw a solid wall of white helmets and billy clubs descending. I heard the sickening cracking sound made by a club striking a man's head and saw men, women and even children fall under the assault of policemen. I saw people injured, bleeding, frightened and crying."

But the Gestapo-like tactics against antiwar demonstrators are nothing compared to the day-in, day-out violence of the police in ghetto communities.

Even in such areas as traffic-law enforcement there is a different law for blacks. An Afro-American driving through Harlem with a CORE sticker on his car was halted for running through a stop sign. Although he had a driver's license, the cop ordered him from the car, frisked him, and searched the car. Then he was marched at gunpoint to the precinct station. He was held for two hours without any charges being made.

Charges of violence brought against police rarely stick. It is axiomatic that trigger-happy cops who plead self defense are never (author's emphasis) indicted.

All is not solidarity within the police camp, however. The *Amsterdam News*, a Harlem newspaper, reported in 1965 that "even Negro police officers suffer injustices at the hands of white superiors within the department which they cannot openly discuss because of rigid departmental policies," and "there is a growing fear by Negro policemen over the rise of John Birch Society attitudes on the part of many white policemen while on duty."

When the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in New York spent the half-million dollars on the campaign to abolish the civilian review board, they freely used dues money paid by black and Puerto Rican policemen, who were on record as being in favor of the board.

The *Police Establishment* is a useful reference book because it describes a whole series of infamous cases such as the Harlem Six and the Gilligan case. The author examines the police departments of nine large cities in the country. Reminiscent of Lincoln Steffens, the famous muckraker whose work has become a classic, Turner shows the similarity in pattern in all the big cities.

A former police commissioner in New York, Michael Murphy, was self-righteously indignant over lack of public support for the police.

"Why are the police regarded in some quarters as enemies and aggressors rather than friends and protectors? . . . Why, for example, in a demonstration aimed at protesting slum conditions, does the attack suddenly switch from the slumlord to the policeman?"

Why indeed?

Constance Weissman

Mideast issue
opens Berkeley
forum season

By Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY — The Militant Labor Forum here opened its new weekly series of talks and discussions on topics of current interest Jan. 31 with a symposium on "Which Way for the Mid East Crisis?" Participants in the symposium were Gerald Caiden and Alexander Levitzki, two Israeli professors visiting the U.S., who presented the Zionist position; George Abed, a Palestinian Arab; and Roger Filene of the Young Socialist Alliance. Over 80 people attended the discussion.

Caiden and Levitski emphasized Israel's right to exist and asserted that Israel is the most progressive state in the Middle East. They proposed a negotiated settlement and more understanding between peoples as the answer to the conflict in that part of the world.

Abed and Filene argued that the state of Israel only exists by virtue of having driven the Arabs off their land and by continuing to oppress them. They insisted that Israel is an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East and that the only answer to the problem is support for the guerrilla movements which are fighting for self-determination for the people against Israeli Zionism and whose policies are independent of the various regimes of the Arab states.

Mexico gives
Rico Galan
8-year term



Victor Rico Galan

(IP)—After spending two and a half years in Lecumberri prison in Mexico City, the well-known journalist Victor Rico Galan and 20 other members of the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Movement of the People) were suddenly taken before Judge Raul Jimenez O'Farril and sentenced.

The condemnation was done swiftly so as to cut down publicity about the way Mexico handles its political prisoners.

Rico Galan, and five others were each sentenced to eight years in prison and fined 10,000 pesos (US \$800).

Under Mexican law, no bail is permitted in cases involving sentences of five years or more. Thus these prisoners must remain in prison while they appeal these harsh sentences.

The remaining prisoners were given sentences under five years and were released on bail.

Victor Rico Galan and his comrades were arrested in August 1966 after the organization ran a candidate for the presidency in opposition to Diaz Ordaz.

Rico, a strong supporter of the Cuban revolution and a frequent contributor to such publications as *Siempre* magazine, spoke out vigorously against the candidacy of Diaz Ordaz.

The Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo organized classes for peasants, workers and intellectuals on the political situation in Mexico, the Cuban revolution, etc. And the classes proved to be a success and began growing.

It was then that the police staged a series of raids and charged the victims whom they arrested with "fomenting rebellion, conspiracy, and storing arms."

Student protest
hits Manila

(IP) Five thousand students stormed the buildings of the University of the Far East in Manila Jan. 24 after negotiations between their leaders and the university authorities broke down. Six youths were arrested and one was injured when the police moved in to disperse the demonstrators. The following day, classes were suspended.

The students were protesting the continually increasing size of classes at this university, which with an enrollment of 42,000 is one of the largest institutions of higher learning in the Philippines.

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
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X Talks to Young People		.35
<input type="checkbox"/> Two Speeches by Malcolm X		.25

By George Breitman

Just Published

<input type="checkbox"/> The Assassination of Malcolm X by Herman Porter and George Breitman	.50
---	-----

	Cloth	Paper
<input type="checkbox"/> The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary	4.50	1.95
<input type="checkbox"/> Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas		.25
<input type="checkbox"/> Myths About Malcolm X, by Rev. Albert B. Cleage and George Breitman		.35

Enclosed find \$ for the books checked.

New York State residents, add 2% tax; New York City, 5%

Name

Address Apt.

City State Zip

order from your local bookstore or direct from

merit

873 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

publishers

SCEF fights McClellan 'red' probe

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas will resume his investigation of the Southern liberation movement on March 4.

He has ordered Alan and Margaret McCurely of Pikeville, Ky., to appear before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on that date and bring with them records of several civil-rights, student, and peace groups. The McCurelys are organizers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), based in Louisville, Ky.

McClellan wants the records of SCEF; Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC); Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); National Conference for New Politics (NCNP); Vietnam Summer, Appalachian Volunteers (AVs), and the United Planning Organization, Washington.

The senator says he needs the documents as part of his investigation of ghetto uprisings in American cities.

He is especially interested in records of a SCEF board meeting held in Nashville, Tenn., in April, 1967, at which Stokely Carmichael spoke. The meeting was held just before an uprising broke out in Nashville.

SCEF has issued a call for friends to attend the hearing at 10:30 a.m. Tuesday, March 4, in Room 3302, New Senate Office Building. Protests have already caused McClellan to postpone the hearings from Jan. 14 to Feb. 25, and then to March. Friends have been urged to write their own senators and ask them to stop the hearing.

A Foolproof System of Justice—Those who feel that it's more practical to beat the system than to abolish it might consider this story. Two Houston cellmates decided to prove witnesses can't tell one assailant from another. When Rester Ballard, 19, was called to trial on a robbery charge his cellmate, Wallace Sims, took his place. (Ballard's court-appointed attorney had seen him but once.) The robbery victim and four cops swore under oath that Sims was the attacker. When the switch was made known, the robbery charge against Ballard was dropped. A charge of perjury was then filed — against Sims.

Calling Dr. Freud — Italy's leading Jesuit publication, *Civiltà Cattolica*, says that adultery by women is worse than adultery by men and should be punished with jail. Scoring an Italian supreme-court ruling that adulteresses deserve no more punishment than adulterers, an article by a Jesuit expert on morals said the ruling could lead to an increase in "murders of honor."

Back at the Ranch — Contemplating tax-time, you'll be pleased to know that LBJ's modest needs are being met. The care includes a \$25,000-a-year Presidential pension; a \$22,000 congressional pension; an office in Dallas with a helicopter pad on the roof for the military chopper that brings him in from the ranch; \$80,000 a year to pay an office staff; free mailings for all items bearing his signature; and to ease the plight of a pensioner, complimentary subscriptions to a dozen major U.S. publications (arranged for by the White House before he left office).

Ultimate Imperialist Penetration — H. J. Heinz ("57 varieties") is peddling pasta in Italy.

Our Mixed Economy — Meanwhile, Campbell's is moving in on the dog food field. Hope they don't get their labels screwed up.

For Old Glory — There has not been a single assault on a Macon, Ga., cop since last July when they began wearing small American-flag shoulder patches on their uniforms, says Mayor Ronnie Thompson. "Some policemen have told me," he reports, "that people they were attempting to arrest gave indication they would have assaulted them and then did not when they saw the flag on their shoulder." Like they used to

Tactical cops didn't stop Calif. hospital workers

Last Dec. 23, 3,400 nonmedical workers at 11 Kaiser hospitals and 15 clinics in California won what has been called "a signal victory" in wage and fringe benefits. A two-year contract will increase wages by 20 to 40 cents per hour retroactive to Nov. 1, 1968, and by another 4-1/2 to 26-1/2 cents per hour next Nov. 1. A new fringe benefit—fully paid dental care for the workers and their children—was also added to the contract.

The strikers were the target of violence by the notorious San Francisco tactical police squad. The cops attacked a picket line at one of the hospitals with their leaded batons, while their foul racial epithets added insult to injury. Most of the pickets were black women.

The outbreak of violence brought swift denunciation by George Hardy, vice-president of the Hospital and Institutional Workers Union's parent union, the International Building Service Employees, who addressed a letter demanding that the tactical squad be abolished to San Francisco's Mayor Alioto through the *Sun Reporter*.

It also shook up Edgar Kaiser, board chairman of Kaiser Industries, sufficiently to send him running to the Oakland Labor Temple to try to get stalled negotiations going again. Kaiser had reason to be disturbed. His entire Kaiser Hospital Foundation (Permenente) is based on the trade-union movement. Almost all unions on the West Coast subscribe to the Kaiser plan for their members through health and welfare plans.

After 21 hours of continuous negotiations, 75 men and women, representing labor and the Kaiser Industries, emerged with a new contract.

A militant wing within the Bay Area trade-union movement has warned the central labor bodies in the area that the tactical squad is using the student strikes, especially the one at San Francisco State College, as a training ground for use against the trade-union movement. Despite the fact that the tactical squad was used against Kaiser strikers, and the further fact that police in nearby Martinez adopted the same tactics against striking oil-refinery workers, there is little evidence that the fat cats who sit on top of the Bay Area labor movement have gotten the message.

* * *

I quote verbatim an interesting letter from a reader in Detroit on the emasculated escalator clause in the latest UAW-auto industry contracts:

"This information concerning the practical results of the new escalator clause, as compromised by the leadership of the UAW in their last negotiations in 1967, in contrast to contracts which retained the old formula is revelatory.

"Under our old formula workers received the following pay increases.

1. Sept. 1967	3 cents
2. Dec. 1967	2
3. Mar. 1968	3
4. June 1968	3
5. Sept. 1968	4
6. Dec. 1968	4
Total	19 cents

"These increases were paid quarterly after the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures of the government are reported.

"In contrast, the workers of the Big Three auto manufacturers received only 8 cents in cost of living increases in the entire period since the negotiations were settled in 1967.

"As I understand it, payments now will be quarterly but not to exceed eight cents annually.

"Inasmuch as a 16-cent ceiling in cost of living was imposed for the duration of the 3-year contract, it follows that the third year will be barren of increases.

"While I know that the workers in our shop are pleased with the old formula, it follows that workers living under the new 'give away' clause should at least have their tempers rising."

V. A.

* * *

The oil-refinery workers' strike which began on Jan. 4 and involves 50,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) is being settled piecemeal, as the 20 major oil corporations one-by-one sign similar contracts with the union. So far all contracts proposed by the top union leadership have been accepted by the affected memberships.

The first break came with the settlement by the Union Oil Co. of California. That agreement has served as a model, with slight variations, for new contracts with Mobil Corp.; the American Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. of Indiana;

say, they might do even better with a flag over their face.

No Bouquets for de G.—During de Gaulles' tour of Brittany, security men instructed householders along the motorcade route to shut their windows and clear plants and flower pots off the sills.

Bare Facts—Ten cast members of Richard Schenker's production of "Dionysus in 69" who appear nude on stage were arrested after a performance at the University of Michigan. The audience included cops and state legislators. State Senator Gilbert Bursley explained: "The dramatic techniques were most unusual and interesting. I enjoyed it. However, the performance could have financial repercussions for the university."

Abby Triumphs Over Nature—A Vietnam GI wrote to Dear Abby about an experience when guerrillas shelled his camp. "I was sitting here reading the *Stars and Stripes*," he wrote, "turned the page and elected to read Dear Abby. I got so interested in it I put off Mother Nature for a few minutes. Lucky for me, it turned out that the latrine was the center of Charlie Cong's vengeance. So because of your article I am still here!" (There may be a moral in this for people who read in the bathroom.)

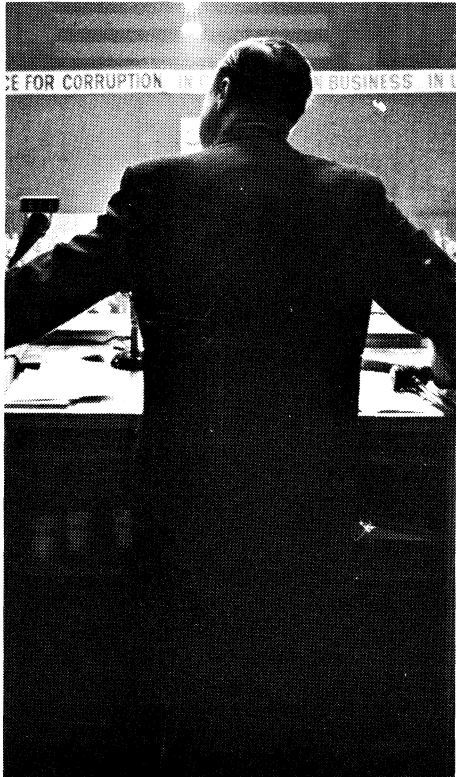
A Bargain, Half Off—Casual Clothes, a not-so-casual New York shop, has unbent and included pants and at-home clothes. A feature: ready-to-wear pajamas with beads, \$425-\$450.

Hounded—Dow Chemical officials have indicated annoyance because, in addition to Dow being bugged about Napalm, scientists are bleating about possible ill effects of the defoliants Dow provides the U.S. forces in Vietnam. (Which reminds us that a while back someone told us they had seen a news item that Dow was merging with a German company that used to provide Hitler with the gas for the ovens. If it's a fact and anyone has the reference, we'd appreciate it.)

Instant Evolution—Vice President Agnew confided to newsmen that within a year people would no longer have the image of him as a "neanderthal man."

— Harry Ring

The National Picketline



UAW President Walter Reuther offers a convention oration. His words out-strip deeds by a significant margin.

Humble Oil and Refining Co., chief domestic subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey; and Cities Service Co. Settlements have also been made with Atlantic Richfield Co., Marathon Oil Co., Gulf Oil, and Sinclair.

The OCAW estimates that direct money increases amount to 69.6 cents per hour, partially in hourly wage raises each year of the contract and partially in increased assumption by the companies of premium payments on hospital insurance and pension funds, most of which had formerly been paid by the workers.

— Marvel Scholl

The cold war vs. the dogma—an issue for a pope

It took Pope Paul VI himself to get the Vatican staff straightened out on the proper ecclesiastical interpretation of the martyrdom of Jan Palach, who chose a fiery death to protest the Soviet occupation of socialist Czechoslovakia.

On Jan. 23, the Vatican radio applauded youths who burn themselves "for freedom" in Eastern Europe, saying this was like the martyrs who have been made saints by the Catholic Church.

An undisclosed Vatican source then said this was a false analogy. "These youths are not doing this as a religious act. They are not even anti-Communists, but Communists of a different faction from the ruling faction." The radio thereupon reversed itself, saying that man cannot dispose of his God-given life.

After this, the pope in an official statement Jan. 26 straddled the issue. He said he could not approve the suicides but "we can treasure the valor that puts above all else self-sacrifice and love for others."

The real source of embarrassment may have been that the Vatican remembered instances in which the person who perished at the stake was not a saint but a heretic. In which category, after all, do you put a Communist like Jan Palach?

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory three-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a 3 month introductory subscription.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.
- ☐ For GIs—\$1 for a 6-month introductory subscription.

NAME

STREET

CITYSTATEZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

The cry of "black anti-Semitism"

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK, Feb. 7 — In a statement made this week to the board of governors of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Rabbi Jay Kaufman, executive vice-president of the League, expressed his attitude toward what he conceives of as the "dangers" of black "anti-Semitism." Anti-Jewish feelings among black people present a new brand of anti-Semitism, he said, one that is "rare to the American continent, though classical in Europe."

"It does not spring from religious roots, but is carefully cultivated, artificially created by demagogic leaders," he added. "Unable to offer any constructive program to mitigate the suffering of deprived Negroes in the ghetto, they offer them jobs Jews attained through training, labor, proficiency and seniority."

Earlier this fall, William Wexler, president of the 500,000-member B'nai B'rith, made a similar statement about what he construed to be a threat by the black community against Jewish people. He said that Jewish communities "cannot shrug off a practice of discrimination in reverse that ousts a school teacher from his job in a ghetto neighborhood to satisfy the new black power criteria for self-segregation."

The views expressed by these men are not untypical of those who have been swept along in the tide of the furor over black "anti-Semitism." An article in the Jan. 26 *New York Times* entitled "Jews Debating Black Anti-Semitism" indicated that many Jews felt that "anti-Semitic utterances and literature employed by a handful of black power extremists is tolerated by too many Negroes as a convenient weapon in their competition for jobs held by Jews in teaching, school administration, and social welfare fields."

These statements all point to what is a central feature of the campaign against "black racism" and black "anti-Semitism." Involved is an attempt to inflame the Jewish

YSAers tell press about Cuba visit

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Feb. 4 — Thirteen young socialists who just returned from a one-month visit to Cuba held a press conference here this morning to describe plans for speaking across the nation in support of the Cuban Revolution.

The 13 young people, all members of the Young Socialist Alliance, were guests of the Cuban government during the 10th anniversary celebration of the Cuban Revolution.

Coming from 12 different cities, they plan to tour college and high-school campuses in their areas when they leave New York. They will be speaking for the YSA, for Militant Labor Forums, and for many other groups interested in hearing a firsthand account of Cuba.

Linda Jenness, from Atlanta, told the press conference: "We were very impressed by what we saw in Cuba. In 10 years' time, in spite of the U.S. blockade, the Cuban people have made fantastic strides forward—economically, in education, in construction, in science, in social relations and in democracy."

"The Cuban people believe in their revolution, they understand it, and they are willing to work hard for it and sacrifice for it—because they understand from experience that only through socialism can they be free."

"We want to make sure that the American youth who are alienated and feel useless in this society hear about the role of youth in Cuba—how the youth are building and leading the Cuban society. . . ."

Dan Rosenshine, from New York, described a discussion the young socialists in Cuba held with Huynh Van Ba, acting head of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam delegation to Cuba.

Rosenshine emphasized that the NLF blamed the war on the U.S. government, not the American people. He said that Van Ba was encouraged to hear about the growth of opposition to the war among GIs and strongly supported the efforts of the antiwar movement to build mass opposition to the war in this country.

community to resist the various demands which have been raised by the black community in the struggle for better schools—demands for black autonomy, for black control of the schools (including the right to hire and fire), for more black teachers and administrators and for a curriculum more suited to the needs of black children.

In mobilizing support for their campaign, the "protesters" against so-called "black racism" are effectively appealing to two contradictory fears which many Jewish people feel because of their special position in American society.

By falsely asserting that somehow the black community could and would play the role of oppressor in relation to the Jewish community—some even go so far as to imply that black people could become the new basis for fascism—the campaigners against black "anti-Semitism" demagogically appeal to the well-founded fears of the Jewish community about the dangers of anti-Semitism in general.

At the same time, they play upon the white racism of many Jews, which is not unlike that of any other grouping of white Americans. This is done by arguing in favor of such things as the "right" of white teachers—based, as Rabbi Kaufman put it, on their "training, labor, proficiency and seniority"—to teach in black schools, whether the black community likes it or not.

The ironic thing is that many of those who are participating in the outcry against black "anti-Semitism" appear to be too blinded by their own prejudices and fears to realize that their very outcry only serves to confirm the need for the very black demands which are under attack.

The demand for black control of the schools is based on what should be an obvious idea: that it is black people who should determine what goes on in the schools their children attend because it is black people who best understand the needs of black children, who are heirs to a history of exploitation and degradation at the hands of whites.

One of the most obvious indications of the need for black control is the fact that many white teachers and administrators including well-meaning ones—are so prejudiced in their outlook that they do not

Candice Van Ellison gets a N.Y. Times ethics lesson

By Mary-Alice Waters

On Jan. 18 the controversial "Harlem On My Mind" show opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It became the occasion for another round in the blistering attack on the black community for supposed "anti-Semitism" and "racism."

The catalogue of the show contained an introductory essay written two years ago by a 16-year-old black high-school girl from New York, Candice Van Ellison. The campaign of denunciation—labeling the essay "racist" and "anti-Semitic"—was led by Mayor John Lindsay and backed up by numerous Jewish organizations.

The *New York Times* played its role too, making sure the campaign got front-page coverage—up to a curious point.

A passage that has been cited over and over again as an example of the essay's "racism" reads: "Jewish shopkeepers are the only remaining 'survivors' in the expanding black ghettos. . . . The lack of competition in this area allows the already exploited black to be further exploited by Jews. Another major area of contact involves the Jewish landlord and the black tenant."

The Museum quickly bowed under the onslaught and printed a disclaimer, written by Miss Ellison, saying that "any racist overtones which were inferred from the passages quoted out of context are regrettable."

The lynch campaign continued. The American Jewish Congress branded the disclaimer "half-hearted" and demanded the catalogue's immediate withdrawal.

This too was prominently featured in the *Times*. Then, oddly, 10 days later, there was a smaller news item in the *Times*, neatly tucked away on page 22. It pointed



Photo by Shannon

THE CUBA STORY. Members of Young Socialist Alliance on return from Cuba hold New York press conference to report what they saw and how they'll spread the word. See story this page and articles on Cuba pages 6-7.

recognize the racism which saturates our society and which is institutionalized in the type of education which black children receive.

In New York, this gulf between white educators and black students has been widened by the United Federation of Teachers' strikes which alerted the black community to the fact that, for now, the majority of the white teachers are against their struggles.

Kicking off the campaign against the so-called dangers of "black racism" was the report by Mayor Lindsay's Special Committee on Racial and Religious Prejudice which studied the racial tensions resulting from the fall strike. After examining a collection of documents gathered by the Anti-Defamation League, the committee came up with the verdict that the "bigotry" of the black community and of the "black extremists" was more "open, undisguised, nearly physical in its intensity—and far more obvious and identifiable than that emanating from whites."

out the "irony" of a new disclosure about the essay. Apparently, numerous passages were direct paraphrases from the 1963 book *Beyond the Melting Pot* by the noted sociologists Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, President Nixon's urban-affairs coordinator.

Yet on Jan. 30 the Museum withdrew the catalogue. Again, it was front-page news for the *Times*.

Then, on Feb. 1, came the final twist of the knife. But the only ones who caught it are those who read the *Times* obituary page. Among the death notices, the *Times* had modestly placed a bit of a scoop.

Miss Ellison, it seems, hadn't simply and slyly taken Glazer and Moynihan's learned sociological observations and given them her own "anti-Semitic" twist.

In her original high-school essay, Miss Ellison had quoted directly—with proper credit—from the Glazer-Moynihan book. Allen Schoener, visual-arts director of the New York State Council on the Arts, and the person who put together the exhibition, suggested to Miss Ellison that, from a purely literary point of view, it would speed up the essay to remove the quotes. This, he assured her, could easily be done by the well-established editorial device of changing or paraphrasing a word here or there and thus eliminating any moral or legal need for the use of quotation marks or source credits.

Mr. Schoener declined comment on the ethical aspect of his advice to Miss Ellison, but, noting that he was Jewish, he did say, "I would not edit an anti-Semitic work."

It was truly ironic for the *Times* to think of burying that story on the obituary page.

Black "racism" and "anti-Semitism" more identifiable than white racism! Maybe so for the members of this committee who are apparently so biased and prejudiced in their outlook that they cannot see that the teachers' strike itself was a racist strike, directed against what should be a democratic right of all peoples: the right to control what goes on in their own communities.

Obviously the demand to replace prejudiced white educators and teachers with black ones will not in and of itself solve the problem of inadequate and racist education. It is not teachers, racist or otherwise, who are ultimately responsible for the oppression of black people, despite the fact that they may oppose some of the struggles being waged against this oppression. But the fact that the source of the problem is elsewhere does not in any way negate the legitimacy of the demand for black community control of the hiring and firing of teachers in the black community and the demands for a crash program to train and preferentially hire black teachers and administrators for jobs in black schools. This is a necessary step in the struggle against the system of racism.

Jewish people certainly have every right to be sensitive to the dread menace of anti-Semitism. But to guard against it effectively, it is necessary to understand its real nature and source. Anti-Semitism is not simply the expression of anti-Jewish prejudice. (If it were the Jews would have died a long time ago of the now politely muted but still virulent prejudice of so many white Americans.)

Real anti-Semitism is social, political and economic discrimination against Jews. It is—in times of deep social crisis—such nightmares as Hitler's ovens.

Such a monstrosity cannot be imposed by America's most oppressed and exploited minority. It can be perpetrated only by the capitalist rulers of America, who are exploiting the fears of Jewish people to turn them against the force they should rally behind—the black community. For regardless of whatever prejudice they may share with non-Jewish whites and no matter how their bitter experiences under this foul system may intensify that prejudice, the black people today are in the forefront of the fight against a system that breeds racism and anti-Semitism.

N.Y. Memorial for Malcolm X

NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Malcolm X will be held by the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Feb. 14 at 873 Broadway.

The meeting will hear Clifton DeBerry and there will be a tape of Malcolm speaking and a movie made on his return from Africa.