

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 19

Friday, May 9, 1969

Price 15c

Cornell black students
tell their side of the story

— story page 7 —

Notables urge aid to Jackson soldiers; GIs United spreads to Ft. Bragg

— see page 5



New York Press Service photo



New York Press Service photo

FIGHT VICTIMIZATION: Queens College students in New York hold rally and sit-in to demand halt to victimization of student fighters for a relevant education. Action was part of nationwide campus and high school upsurge. New York high schools and colleges are scene of unprecedented protests. Key issues: black and Puerto Rican control of education, end to complicity with

war in Vietnam. In some areas, the struggle escalated. At Voorhees College, a primarily black campus in Denmark, S. C., National Guardsmen and state troopers were called up to suppress the "liberated Malcolm X University." Recalling the murder of three black students in Orangeburg, S. C. last year, the black students had armed themselves in self-defense.

Mailer in Democratic primary

Author without
a program

New York, N. Y.
I am a student at Columbia University and a supporter of the Boutelle mayoral campaign. On Monday, April 28, Norman Mailer and Jimmy Breslin, who are running in the Democratic primary for mayor and president of the city council, spoke at Columbia. I went to hear what the "opposition" had to say; I had expected some kind of serious political discussion, but was sadly disappointed. About 300 Columbia students came to hear the Mailer-Breslin ticket. Mailer's "political" appeal seemed to rest on his extensive four-lettered vocabulary, which the kids really grooved on. It made up in a small way for his lack of a rational political program.

Mailer declared that if elected he would amend the city charter to allow "neighborhood rule" — the political essence of the Mailer-Breslin campaign. Under "neighborhood rule" any group of people, no matter how small, could declare themselves a "neighborhood" and then proceed to set up their own sanitation service, police force, fire department and transportation network. Each "neighborhood" would set up its own rules, and if "anyone didn't like the rules of the neighborhood he was living in, he could move." There would be a left-wing neighborhood and a right-wing neighborhood, a rich neighborhood, and a poor neighborhood, all operating autonomously.

When asked if this plan would allow discrimination and prejudice, Mailer said, "Yes, it probably would. I don't care if people have their prejudices and racism, as long as they're willing to pay for the privilege. There would be a tax on prejudice." Mailer admitted that "with this plan, there would be a lot more conflict than now, but it would be more authentic." At one point Mailer said, "One advantage of this system is that it would be a direct and frontal attack on the power of the unions, who keep tying up the city." Mailer's whole appeal was to the well-justified cynicism many young people have about capitalist politics in general: "I have enough bullshit to run for mayor." Mailer made no attempt to explain why he is running in the Democratic party or to answer

Letters from our readers

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

any substantive political question in a serious way, which left the feeling with many kids that he, like other capitalist candidates before him, was laughing at their political intelligence.

Paula Reimers

GI in Vietnam

wants it told straight

Vietnam
I am writing this letter to find out a little bit about your paper, *The Militant*. I am a young individual in the armed forces. I hear all this stuff about the United States being such a great country, but they have yet to prove it to me.

If you have any other books, magazines, etc., that you print, would you please send me a list. Thank you.

GI

Florida black militants framed up again

Gainesville, Fla.
Jomo, a militant organization for black liberation, has faced repeated police and court harassment in Gainesville. Recently, brother Charles Monts, Minister of Interior for the Gainesville Jomo, did not show up for his trial. Monts was out of jail on \$8,500 bond. Monts was framed on a number of charges for which he probably would have gotten up to life in prison.

A few days after the disappearance of Monts, Charles Fulwood, state Minister of Information for Jomo and four other Jomo members were stopped by eight Hernando County sheriff's deputies armed with shotguns. The deputies were searching for Charles Monts, claiming that they

had gotten a call from the Gainesville Police saying that Monts was in the car. The "Jomo 5" and their car were searched without warrants. The five were on their way to Sarasota's New College to participate in a Martin Luther King memorial.

After the five were searched, they were taken to Hernando County's jail, where their shoes were taken from them, and were thrown in jail without any charges being preferred.

A few hours later Charles Fulwood's head was shaved by deputies — against his will, of course. Hours later, charges were brought against the five for "transporting obscene literature and film." The "obscene" film was a Black Panther film about the Oakland Panthers. The "obscene" literature was a few Jomo Newsletters. Charles Fulwood, James Wright, Mae Edith Williams, Joe Frank Lee and I are now out of jail on \$500 bond. Each of us faces a possible sentence of one year in prison and \$500 fine if convicted.

After being bonded out of jail, the five returned to Gainesville. The next day, an editorial appeared in a local newspaper calling for the arrest of Charles Fulwood for "inciting to violence." Later on, I was arrested for "resisting arrest with violence" after being falsely accused of "petty larceny." I was brutalized by seven cops and taken to jail and placed on \$525 bond.

Repression is continuing in Gainesville, but is building a movement.

Janice Harvey
Minister of Culture, Jomo

New Zealand army also racist

Toronto, Ont.
Here is an interesting piece from *Te-Hokioi*: "Of the New Zealand army, it is estimated that over half is Maori. Of the New Zealand forces in Vietnam, it is estimated that about two-thirds are Maori. Of the New Zealand forces in Vietnam fighting in the battle zone it is estimated that about seven-eighths are Maori."

Does this pattern sound familiar? Remember that Maoris constitute about the same percentage of the population as do black Americans; i.e., nearly 10 percent.

Keith Locke

Minnesotans protest tax dodges for rich

St. Paul, Minn.
Three hundred residents of Minnesota's Iron Range picketed the state capitol on April 19 to protest high property taxes on homes and minimal taxation of giant mining corporations in this area.

The demonstrators, most of them considerably over 30 years old, were unsympathetic to the claims of several politicians that \$1,000 annual tax on working people's homes was justified to pay for education and other social needs when the mining industry was taxed only five cents a ton on taconite production.

Several legislators and the governor came out to "greet" the demonstrators, trying to cool this protest by contrasting it favorably with the "violence" of other (i.e., more youthful) demonstrations. A Minneapolis *Tribune* writer, however, noted that the marchers treated Governor LeVander's proposal for a "study" of the problem with obvious suspicion.

The corporate capitalist system was referred to with hostility several times by speakers, who named the mining companies and especially U. S. Steel as the cause of their problems.

More than 35 copies of *The Militant* were bought by the demonstrators.

J. G.

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 33—No. 19 Friday, May 9, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was May 2.

Defamation by Anti-Defamation League

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith presents itself as a politically nonpartisan opponent of racial, religious and ethnic discrimination in general, and anti-Semitism in particular. It has exposed and documented the activities of various racist and hate groups.

But now, exploiting its public image as a disinterested opponent of hate groups, the ADL has undertaken a dishonest campaign against legitimate political opponents of Zionism. As reported in the April 21 *New York Times*, Arnold Forster, general counsel for the ADL, charged that "the expansion of Fatah's armed terrorism against Israel coincides with considerable success in mobilizing extremist support in the United States." Without having the honesty to say so directly, the ADL falsely presents anti-Zionism as identical with anti-Semitism.

Among the groups smeared ("exposed" to use ADL language) by the ADL was the Socialist Workers Party, which has had a long, public record of opposition to anti-Semitism — as well as an equally long and equally public record of political opposition to Zionism and support to the Arab revolution.

The ADL's officially stated concern in exposing anti-Semitism — i.e., prejudice and discrimination against Jewish people — is a worthy one.

But the ADL tramples on the facts and oversteps its own bounds when it falsely equates political opposition to Zionism and the Israeli state with anti-Semitism — without even the decency to discuss Zionism politically.

In contradistinction, the anti-Zionism of the Socialist Workers Party, and of this publication, has been politically motivated. It has proceeded from the needs and interests of the Arab and Jewish masses, the struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

Zionism's goal, the creation of an exclusively Jewish national state in Palestine, meant the forcible political and physical dispossession of the Arab majority of that country. Israel today relies for its existence upon the military, political, and financial support of American imperialism. As such, Israel stands as a keystone in counterrevolutionary opposition to the Arab masses of the Middle East.

Those who have scoffed at the idea of an Arab revolution, those who could see only kings and dictators, now have their answer in the Al Fatah and other revolutionary guerrilla organizations. The political differentiations in the Arab world are becoming manifest.

The Palestinian Arabs have launched a revolutionary struggle against the state of Israel, similar to revolutionary guerrilla movements all over the world. Their goal is Palestine free from imperialist domination. Unlike Israel's actions toward them, the Palestinian guerrillas do not propose to drive the Jews into refugee camps and to discriminate against them as a people. Their target is an exclusively Jewish state, which has brutally violated their national rights. Their anti-Zionist struggle has nothing in common with anti-Semitism.

The ADL's smear of the Arab guerrilla movement and its U. S. partisans has been gleefully seized upon by less "reputable" sources. The *New York Jewish Press*, a right-wing sheet, for example, featured a front-page screaming banner headline in its April 25 issue: "U. S. Extremists Aid El Fatah in N. Y." Using the ADL's dishonest report, that paper proceeds to whip up a chauvinistic hysteria.

"Long overdue support for the consistent *Jewish Press* warning of leftist and extremist support for El Fatah Arab guerrilla gangs has now come from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. According to the group, the Arabs are receiving financial, political and moral support from almost every radical left organization — new and old — and has been receiving enthusiastic comments from major extremist black racist groups. . . ."

"Among the leftist groups that have given total backing to the Arab position and aided them politically and morally are: Youth Against War and Fascism, youth arm of the pro-Chinese Workers World Party; the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, a YAWF front; the U. S. Committee to Aid the NLF (Vietcong); the Peking-slaving Progressive Labor Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party.

"In addition, it was reported that the largest and strongest of the leftist groups, the Students for a Democratic Society, has now gone over to an overt anti-Israel stand.

"El Fatah activities have received substantial and favorable treatment in *The Black Panther*, official publication of the Black Panther Party, and *Muhammed Speaks*, organ of the Black Muslim movement led by Elijah Muhammed. . . ."

The *Jewish Press* is filled with tirades against "black extremists," "Marxist and pro-Vietcong groups," "black fascists at Cornell," "left fascists of SDS," racist anti-Arab jokes, etc. It's the type of gutter journal that the Anti-Defamation League's "revelations" were ready-made for.

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Red-baiters beaten down

Oakland Chicano students win fight for studies dep't

By Antonio Camejo

BERKELEY, Calif. — The Chicano Student Union at Merritt College has planned, developed, fought for and won the establishment of a Latin and Mexican-American Studies Department here. The new department, under the direction of Froben Lozada, is offering 11 courses covering topics from pre-Columbian civilizations to Contemporary Latin and Mexican-American movements.

When the department was first proposed by the Chicano Student Union, the administration agreed only to individual courses suggested, using the rationale that there were not enough Chicanos at Merritt to warrant a department.

But the CSU, at a March 10 informational picket line, stated that in the nine years of its existence, "... Merritt College has done absolutely nothing to encourage, recruit and aid Chicano youth, which would have given us a base out of which we could attract Chicanos to enroll in the Chicano program. In all those years Merritt showed neither concern nor commitment toward the large Chicano community in the area, if anything, it has shown neglect, if not contempt."

As a result of the picketing and widespread community support for the students, the Latin and Mexican-American Studies Department was granted the same week. In addition, there is an Afro-American Studies Department, established last year.

Price hikes, budget cuts bring more misery to poor

"Why are they doing this to us? We worked; we produced; we gave them children for their wars."

Thus spoke a little old lady, sitting in her shabby apartment in New York City, in an interview with Liz Trotta of NBC April 24.

Graphically, this woman expressed the problem of the almost 20-million old people living on pensions or other forms of fixed income. That day, the Bureau of Labor Statistics had released its cost-of-living index for March 1969 and a summary of increased costs for the previous year.

Residents of the New York-New Jersey industrial metropolitan complex "maintained their unenviable position as inflationary pace setters." During the past year it has cost 6.1 percent more to live here than it did a year ago. In Los Angeles prices went up by 4.5 percent and in Detroit, 5.1 percent.

Price increases in all phases of living jumped one full percentage point during March 1969 — the highest jump in 22 years.

The major items to climb skywards were medical care, food and clothing.

Another pensioner interviewed by Liz Trotta, a neat, almost dapper old man, told how he manages.

"On Tuesday, in my supermarket, they put out the wilted vegetables they can't sell for us to take free. I buy my clothes either at the Salvation Army store or in

The National Picketline

another thrift shop. I got this suit for \$1.50; my shirt for 25 cents; my ties for a nickel."

They worked. They produced. They gave their children for the wars.

And now they sit, alone, in cold flats or on park benches.

Why their worsening plight? Every governmental body — state, city and federal — is busy "cutting the fat" out of their budgets. And the "fat" they are trimming off is in appropriations for welfare, education and medical care.

For instance, during the very time when reduced appropriations for the New York hospitals forced Harlem Hospital to close most of its facilities, the New York state legislature appropriated \$600 million for a new mall in Albany and \$1 million for a new golf course in Rockland County!

District 65, a union of 30,000 retail and miscellaneous workers, has formally withdrawn from its parent organization, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), and from the AFL-CIO.

The newly independent union, whose membership is largely black and Puerto Rican, said it would now work in close association with the alliance formed last year between the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Basic to this break from its parent union, District 65 said, is a dissatisfaction with the trade-union movement's relationship to minority groups. David Livingstone, president of District 65, declared:

"There is a tidal wave of effort and feeling on the part of the disenfranchised in this country; organized labor had better waken to this fact and its consequences." He predicted that 15 to 20 thousand other workers in the RWDSU would disaffiliate this year and join District 65 in its efforts to organize the unorganized. District 65 has earmarked \$400,000, and plans to add 50 organizers to its staff to work among the unorganized in New York and in the South.

Walter Reuther announced that the UAW will give District 65 an interest-free loan of \$120,000. The loan is granted "without regard to the status of your organization with the RWDSU, for this we consider purely an internal matter in which we have no right to be involved."

Reuther is afraid of raiding charges by the AFL-CIO. District 65 is also cautious on this issue and has pledged not to raid other unions for members.

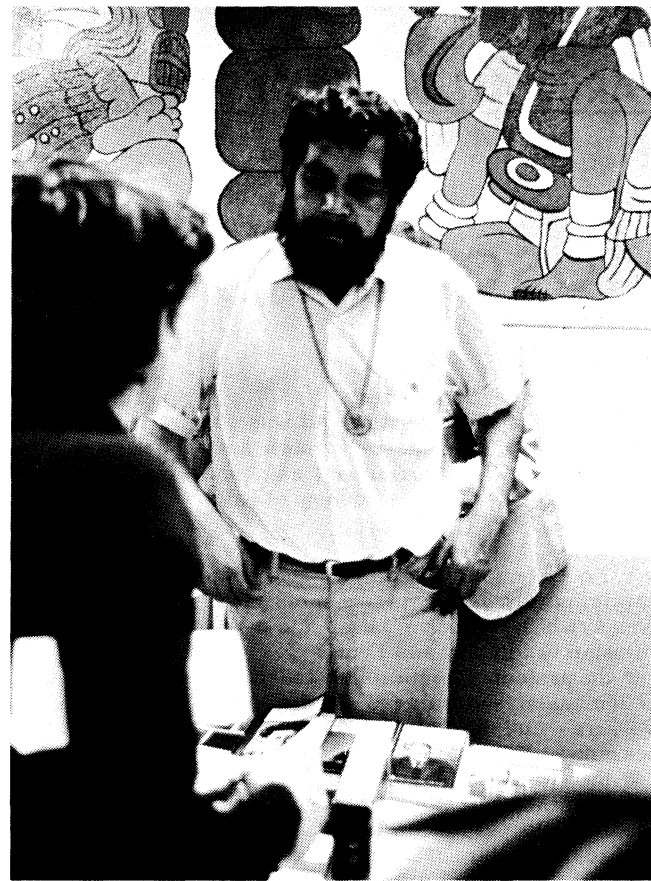
— Marvel Scholl

Photo by Roberto Perez Diaz

Froben Lozada mans socialist literature table at national Chicano Youth Conference in Denver.

Although the department is not completely autonomous, all the courses were developed by students, faculty and community people. Likewise, all instructors for the department have been chosen by the students, who used as a major criterion for employment the degree of involvement in their struggle.

The Chicano students recommended the hiring of Froben Lozada to head up the new department. Lozada had become well-known in the Bay Area for his activities in support of the Third World Liberation Front strikes at San Francisco State and Berkeley. Recently he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for School Director in Berkeley.

Merritt College president, Norvell Smith, the first black junior college president in California, accepted the Chicano Student Union's recommendation that the Board of Trustees hire Lozada on a 100 percent contract.

Red-baiting attack

Immediately there was a red-baiting and racist campaign against Lozada and the Chicano Studies Department. The **Berkeley Gazette** and the **Oakland Tribune** opened their pages to Marion Allred, a right-wing candidate for the Board of Trustees, and proceeded to use her campaign as a battering ram against the Chicano students.

The **Gazette** denounced Lozada as "a member of the Trotskyist-Communist Socialist Workers Party," hoping to whip up an anticommunist hysteria. The Board of Trustees, feeling both strong Chicano community pressure and the right-wing slander attack, voted to hire Lozada on a temporary 60 percent basis.

Lozada began teaching the next day, but not without continued harassment from both the press and right-wing members of the faculty. On April 11, four white faculty members walked out of a meeting of the Merritt Council, protesting the hiring of Lozada.

At this point, the Chicano students had tolerated as much as they could. On April 17, members of the Chicano Student Union spoke before the Faculty Senate demanding that they retract all statements against the hiring of Lozada. When the faculty refused, about 100 Chicano, black and white students blocked the exits to the room where the meeting was taking place. After over three hours, the faculty issued a statement saying they "did not oppose the hiring of Froben Lozada" and that "they wished him well." The students then decided to release the teachers and mobilize for the Board of Trustees meeting the following Monday.

A combined meeting of black and Chicano students then drafted demands going far beyond the initial issue of Lozada. They called for an end to the harassment of the black and Chicano studies departments and faculty, and denounced the high prices of the cafeteria and bookstore.

Speakers at a rally the next day pointed out how the U.S. spends billions in Vietnam and pays farmers not to produce, while black, brown and yellow people go hungry in their very town and school.

One black student stated to cheers from the several hundred students who had taken over the cafeteria that "this is our school. It is in our community and it will serve our needs."

The black and brown students passed out free food to those who couldn't afford it and then proceeded to the bookstore, from which hundreds of books were taken. In an orderly and disciplined manner, the students brought the books to the auditorium and distributed them to those in need. As one student stated, "Our education is a right, and when we can't afford books, it's our right to take them." A central demand of the students was for free books for those who couldn't afford them and community control of the bookstore and cafeteria.

President Smith did not call police onto the campus, stating that he did not want "to place material values ahead of the health and safety of the staff and students." At the Monday meeting of the Board of Trustees, Smith presented a list of demands which met with the satisfaction of the students. He called for a full-time contract for Froben Lozada and funds to continue the program next year. He also proposed finding funds to meet the immediate needs of students who could not afford the cafeteria's prices or books. He requested of faculty members to "be even more sensitive to minority student apprehensions than you have in the past and to problems of low-income students."

One community person after another rose to back the students' demands. They had already made sure that the meeting was moved to a larger hall, big enough to accommodate the several hundred people present.

The issue

Ron Dellums, black city councilman from Berkeley, stated to a standing ovation: "About Ben Lozada. This is the same issue as with brother George Murray [Black Panther Minister of Information] at San Francisco State. The question is whether people with differing opinions have the right to teach in our institutions of higher learning. My answer is 'yes!'"

Fred T. Smith, president of the Associated Students (student council) of Merritt College answered the charges of "vandalism" and "petty theft" which had been leveled by the press and some white students because of the bookstore incident, saying, "Consider for a moment, what prompts a student to go into a bookstore, walk out with 50 books, take them to the auditorium, and then take only one book for himself and go on to his class."

The all-white trustees meeting refused to act on Smith's proposals. The meeting blew up, some students wanting to keep the trustees there until they gave in, but finally deciding to allow them to leave.

On Tuesday, April 22, President Smith held a press conference with black and Chicano community people and stated that unless the Board of Trustees acted that very day he would close the school rather than have it turned into an armed camp.

At 3:30 the same afternoon, president of the board Dunn and two other trustees signed an agreement with Smith, granting all the demands. This is an important victory for the black and brown communities.

The next regular meeting of the Board of Trustees is scheduled to ratify the agreement on May 5 — by coincidence, a date which marks the anniversary of the defeat of the French occupation of Mexico.

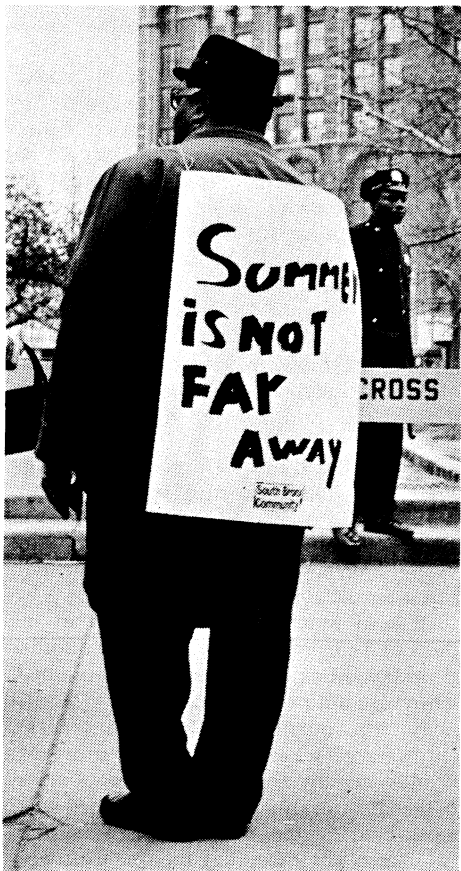


Photo by Alan Mercer

TARIQ ALI DESCRIBES VISIT

Moscow-Peking betrayal in Pakistan

By Dick Roberts

[This interview with Tariq Ali was obtained shortly after the well-known anti-war leader in Britain returned from a one month visit to his native country of Pakistan.]

* * *

Tariq Ali emphasized three things in an hour-long discussion of the momentous events which shook East and West Pakistan in January and February:

- the profoundly anticapitalist character of the massive upsurge of students and workers—and in East Pakistan, also the peasants;

- the absence of a revolutionary leadership which was capable of leading this spontaneous explosion of the masses towards the seizure of state power;

- the blatantly counterrevolutionary role played by both Moscow and Peking during the upsurge and after the military takeover by General Yahya Khan.

Tariq Ali arrived in Pakistan on Feb. 21, the day that former president Ayub Khan resigned in order to pave the way for military dictatorship one month later. He had been invited by students from both East and West Pakistan; he had been able to address audiences of thousands of workers and students.

"If there had been a revolutionary organization to coordinate the three different layers of students, workers and peasants in East Pakistan," Ali declared, "I think you would have the seizure of state power."

The roots of the Pakistani eruption go back to student demonstrations in October of 1968, in West Pakistan.

"They had tolerated ten years of Ayub's rule, they had tolerated fantastic restraints on their university life, on education. They were not allowed to have any political organizations inside the universities, elections to the student union were banned, university ordinances were enforced which empowered the government to withdraw academic degrees from any students who 'misbehaved.'

"In some universities, it was so strict that male and female students seen conversing with each other could be punished.

"But the central reason why the students

erupted was the political censorship."

In October, Zulfikar Bhutto, former foreign minister and chairman of the opposition People's Party, had been invited to speak to students in Rawalpindi, the capital of Pakistan. The government banned this meeting, but the students decided to go ahead with it anyway.

When they assembled to defy the government ban, they were brutally assaulted by Ayub's police, leading to an even bigger student demonstration the next day. The police attacked this demonstration and killed one student. The following day the entire student community of Rawalpindi was out in the streets on strike and the revolt spread to other parts of Pakistan.

Within three weeks virtually every educational institution was on strike including right-wing students.

"What has happened usually in the past," Ali explained, "is that it has always been the students of East Pakistan who have been more politically conscious, more organized, who have always waited for some



Gen. Yahya Khan

C.R. Hedlund, a long-time socialist fighter, dies at 90

By Charles Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS—Charles R. Hedlund, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party died April 8 at the age of 90.

A railroad engineer, C.R. had fought over the years for an effective, democratic union of rail engineers against the reactionary bureaucrats of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen. In 1919, in 1948, and again in 1951, struggles were launched to either merge the various conflicting craft unions in the rail industry or to supplant them with a modern industrial union. Comrade Hedlund was a leader in these fights.

Fifty years ago, when C.R. was on his way to a union conference in Chicago, he met Carl Skoglund on the night train. Skoglund was a leader of both the rail shopmen and of the then fledgling Communist Party. C.R. was impressed as he'd been by no individual he ever met. After an all-night discussion, C.R. realized he was in agreement with the ideas of revolutionary socialism, joined the Communist Party, and became an energetic party worker.

In 1928, when those who opposed the Stalinist degeneration of the CP were expelled from Trotskyism, C.R. was among those Minnesota workers expelled along with Skoglund, V. R. Dunne and others. He then continued with them in building the Trotskyist movement, the continuator of revolutionary Marxism.

C.R. was an exceptionally healthy, vigorous man and skilled at his craft. His union opponents admitted that he was a top-notch engineer. Others called him the best. He always carried copies of *The Militant* in his grip and was a consistent salesman

of subscriptions to the paper, along with other socialist literature.

In his youth, C.R. studied law and got himself admitted to the bar in an effort to more effectively confront the union bureaucrats. He only practiced on one occasion. That was when, in the depths of the McCarthyite witchhunt, the Democrats ruled the 1950 SWP slate off the Minnesota ballot. A local lawyer was necessary to fight the case and carry it to the state supreme court. C.R. took the assignment; the case was won; and the SWP was put back on the ballot.

C.R.'s union activity, along with a work schedule that kept him out of town a good bit, prevented his involvement in the day-to-day work around party headquarters. But he was considerate and very appreciative of those comrades who carried out this committee work, getting out letters and leaflets, fixing up headquarters, etc. He showed great pleasure and enthusiasm when the Young Socialist Alliance was launched and a new generation of young people started to join the movement.

In his last years C.R.'s health deteriorated, and his great frame was wracked with arthritis. Laid low and discouraged by his physical decline, C.R. felt too miserable most of the time to welcome visitors. He had worked so long and hard for the socialist revolution that it was a great disappointment to know that he would not live to see this come about. He then started to develop political differences on how socialism might be achieved. Although his comrades in the SWP could not accept these changed ideas, they still considered him a "grand old man."

A memorial was held for Comrade Hedlund by the Twin Cities SWP on April 16.

actions in solidarity from West Pakistan—and this has never happened.

"So when the revolt started in West Pakistan, this time, when they saw the students in West Pakistan facing bullets, then they knew the revolt was serious.

"This was by the end of November. By the middle of December, the East Pakistani students were out on strike completely, totally shutting down the schools, and leading to the formation of a student action committee."

Despite the most brutal form of repression in the following weeks, the police were unable to crush the student community. "The students fought against police and won, they fought against the army, they began to involve other layers of the population in their movement—and the student uprising became a student-worker revolt."

The workers entered into battle in January. The Ayub government, since October, had been celebrating ten years of power, its "decade of development." But the population "knew Ayub's rule for what it had really been."

"The result was that a complacent government and a complacent bureaucracy were taken completely by surprise at the rapidity with which the events moved.

"In January, large sections of the working class came out on strike, because as far as the workers are concerned, there had been a ten-year wage freeze. Strikes had been banned.

"The workers saw the students fighting on the streets, shouting slogans of 'long live student-worker unity,' and they felt if these people can do it, 'look at us, we are much more powerful than them and we can come out onto the streets.'

"So from January the workers were on strike—every single working-class organization was involved; there was not a single industry which was unaffected; in some cases workers burned down the factories."

But all of this, Tariq Ali stressed, took place without any coordinated leadership of either the workers or the students on a regional, let alone national basis. The two major political parties tail-ended the student-worker revolt.

By February, the student action committee in East Pakistan was virtually in control of the capital, Dacca. "Nothing could happen in Dacca without their permission. So much so that the police deliberately, on the instructions of the central government, stopped intervening in murders, petty thefts, burglaries, hoping that they would increase."

The strength of the students was demonstrated by the fact that they forced the two major political parties, the right-wing Awami League, and the left-wing National Awami Party, to accept the students' radical 11-point manifesto.

Their demands included withdrawal of Pakistan from SEATO and nationalization of insurance companies, banks and all major industrial units.

"By the middle of February, things had become impossible for Ayub. He could either enforce army rule, which, at that stage, would have meant a virtual civil war situation, necessitating the massacre of thousands of people—or step down.

"Ayub met the opposition leaders, promised franchise for adults, at the same time conspiring with the army to provoke a completely unstable situation. They started on these tactics when I was in Pakistan.

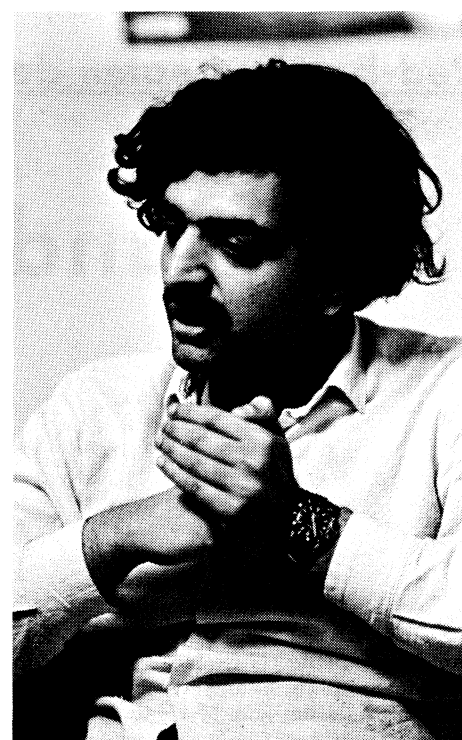
"Every single political meeting that I was to address, they tried to break up. In many cases there were pitched battles.

"Ayub's supporters roamed around the cities in trucks carrying guns and firing into the air to create a feeling of complete anarchy, provoking the movement.

"The extreme right Muslim fanatic Jamaat-i-Islam Party said they believed in creating 'one, two, three, many Indonesias.' They said they wanted to kill every socialist in sight.

"Big business interests, landlords, were saying quite openly that the movement had gone beyond all the limits prescribed for it. 'The only force and power in the country which can save us is the army.' In another month, Ayub called in the army."

Ali felt that the military dictatorship in Pakistan could become worse than the dictatorship in Greece. There are already hundreds of political prisoners.



Tariq Ali

Police opened fire on rebellious coal miners in northwest Pakistan, killing their leader.

The prime responsibility for failure to lead the revolutionary Pakistani masses to power, and consequently allowing them to fall back into the hands of military reaction, falls upon the National Awami Party and the mentors of its "right" (pro-Moscow) and "left" (pro-Peking) factions.

Under the leadership of the 86-year-old peasant fighter Bhashani, the National Awami Party has both Khrushchevist and Maoist factions and is avowedly socialist.

But neither of these factions seized this unprecedented opportunity to bring socialism to Pakistan. Either they supported Ayub, or they flirted with right-wing liberal tendencies, in line with the pro-Ayub policies of both Moscow and Peking.

"Sections of the pro-Peking National Awami Party," Ali explained, "used Chinese friendship with Pakistan to opt out of opposition to Ayub. They were forced to join the upsurge by the strength of working-class pressure.

"Their policy has been one of tailing the masses instead of offering them any perspective or leading them. I have a news report from Pakistan, April 13, in which a Maoist trade-union leader in Lahore recently declared that he was very pleased to see some of the statements made by the new military dictator because these are in agreement with some of the workers' demands!

"This is absolutely monstrous!

"The Peking press has not said anything about the military coup. It is a source of great sadness to us that the Chinese revolution, which is very popular in Pakistan, the Chinese leadership, which is very popular in Pakistan, has not made a single statement about the upsurge.

"There has not been a single comment, whereas if you compare it to what is happening in India, where two men demonstrate, or two schoolboys go and stone a cow, it is reported in the Peking press.

"They had been praising Ayub. Mao had in fact received General Yahya Khan in November, a month after the student struggle started, and there was a picture of him in the *Peking Review* with Chairman Mao, a report of the statement they issued, and no mention of the struggle going on in Pakistan."

Tariq Ali urged that Peking be asked: "What is your position on Pakistan? Are you in favor of a revolution in Pakistan? And if so, why are you supplying arms and military hardware to the dictatorship?"

"And of course," Ali added, "one doesn't expect anything from the Kremlin. They seem to be vying with Peking to win support from Pakistan. April 11, Kosygin sent a message of support to the new military dictatorship in Pakistan, saying he would support anything which would strengthen Pakistani independence and the peoples of Pakistan and wishing him the best of luck."

Tariq Ali said that he hopes to encourage Pakistanis living or studying in Britain, Europe and the United States to begin building an alternative to the bankrupt political parties of Pakistan which can lead it in a revolutionary direction.

Ali said that there was interest in the ideas of Trotskyism. "I met a large number of independent socialists," he explained, "who were not prepared to join any Maoist party, who participated in the movement, who were very keen on setting up some sort of independent and principled opposition to the dictatorship which formulates strategies bearing the situation in Pakistan in mind and not accepting the line from any outside force."



FAMILIAR FACE? Uniformed character in center flanked by Army intelligence men is referred to by Army lawyers as a "certain Pvt. Huffman." "Certain Pvt. Huffman" was an Army-planted provocateur-informer in Ft. Jackson GIs United. He says he is from Oak Park, Ill., and belonged to Chicago CADRE. CADRE members say they

never heard of him. The April 10 New York Post reported that the two families by name of Huffman in Oak Park say they never heard of him. One established fact is that Army cancelled his slated assignment to Germany in exchange for services.

New pain in brass: Ft. Bragg GIs United

At Ft. Jackson, S.C., a group called GIs United Against the War in Vietnam has proved to be a colossal "pain in the brass." The emergence of a second GIs United, this time at Ft. Bragg, N.C., may be not just another pain but a grim portent for the military of things to come.

"Standing on the shoulders of Ft. Jackson"—that is the way soldiers at Ft. Bragg describe their antiwar group. One of the first projects of the new GIs United was the circulation of a petition addressed to the Ft. Jackson commander, Gen. Hollingsworth, expressing the support of the Ft. Bragg enlisted men for their brothers at Ft. Jackson and insisting that the request for a legal on-base meeting be granted.

The Ft. Bragg organization has had a number of successful meetings, with up to 50 GIs in attendance. Last week they adopted the original Ft. Jackson "Statement of Aims" as their own position paper, with a few additions reflecting the special antiwar commitment of Vietnam returnees, who make up a large part of the Bragg GIs United. They pledged continued support to the Ft. Jackson 8. GIs United decided to continue circulating the support petition to Gen. Hollingsworth, but also to draft a petition asking their own base commander, Gen. Tolson, for an open meeting to discuss the war in Vietnam.

Harassment of Ft. Bragg GIs has already begun; the Army obviously hopes to intimidate the antiwar soldiers before they find themselves with another Ft. Jackson on their hands. On April 25, Pvt. Jack Riley of the 406 General Supply Company was stopped while circulating the petition. His petitions and "truth kit" (containing the "Statement of Aims" and reprints of articles on the Ft. Jackson case) were confiscated and not returned

to him until Monday, at which time he was given a direct order not to circulate any more petitions.

About 9 p.m. Tuesday, April 29, MPs suddenly apprehended four GIs who had just attended a GIs United meeting of about 40 men. The four apparently chosen more or less at random from the antiwar soldiers were Privates Robert Mall, Donald Perkins and Karl Fellrough, all of the

82nd Airborne, and Joe Curtis of the 520th Supply and Service Battalion. They were held for several hours at the provost marshal's office. The officer confiscated their petitions, position papers and clippings and gave them no receipt for this material. When they asked what, if any, charges were being made against them, the men were told to shut up. After being released, the three GIs from the 82nd Airborne Divi-

SMC sets spring action program

NEW YORK — The Student Mobilization Committee, organizer of the massive youth participation in the April 5-6 antiwar demonstrations, has announced that its call for a Spring Antiwar Offensive is gaining widespread support.

"There is little doubt that something is going to happen during both the high school and college graduations," said Carol Lipman of the SMC national staff. "A nationally coordinated antiwar campaign can make a very large impact."

The SMC actions will vary from area to area and school to school. Some suggestions already raised by the SMC's constituent groups are:

- demanding the right to run the graduation ceremony to make it an arena for discussing the war.

- demanding that an antiwar GI or Viet Vet be a featured speaker at commencement. Presenting petitions against the war and in support of the Ft. Jackson 8 and Presidio 27 at graduation.

- holding counter-commencements involving underclassmen. Holding antiwar basic training days.

- wearing antiwar armbands and buttons. In Chicago the high school students are planning a citywide Ft. Jackson 8 Week—they'll be having a Ft. Jackson 8 armband campaign in the high schools.

- organizing militant actions against government figures whom the administration gets to speak at graduation. Unfurling antiwar banners at such ceremonies.

- tying in with the black struggle for self-determination and allying with the militant actions of black high school and college students.

- organizing against ROTC and other forms of campus complicity with the war.

One of the key aspects of the SMC campaign will be in defense of the rights of high school students who face continual administration harassment in their organizing efforts.

Julie Miller, a New York SMCer from Dalton High, announced at a press conference last week that "... many high school administrators try to create the image that high school and junior high students don't have political rights to oppose the war. But who has a better right to oppose the war than those whose diplomas this spring mean nothing but a ticket to Saigon University? If the school bureaucracies think that we will sit through the commencements and accept our diplomas without making a visible protest of the Vietnam war and organizing in the high schools for that now, then they had better do some rethinking."

"If the administrations plan to attempt to prevent us from exercising our constitutional rights, then we will back them up legally. A Cleveland high school SMCer was suspended from school for wearing an April 5 antiwar button and we have taken this to court. . . If necessary, it will go to

Many notables urge support for Ft. Jackson GIs

Support mounts daily for the antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson who are refusing to relinquish their constitutional rights in the face of official persecution.

Sponsors of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which is spearheading the defense effort of the Ft. Jackson 8, now include Dr. Benjamin Spock, John Lewis of the Southern Regional Conference, Bob Lucas of the National Black Liberation Alliance, Fred Hampton of the Illinois Black Panther Party, Rev. Ed Riddick of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, C. Clark Kissinger, Pete Seeger, Maxwell Geismar, Nat Hentoff, Norman Mailer and Dwight Macdonald.

Defense meetings and demonstrations have been held in several cities, and many more are planned for May. Two of these rallies were addressed by mothers of men held in the stockade. Mrs. Lovella Thomas spoke in Cleveland on April 23 and Mrs. Doris Rudder led Washington supporters of the antiwar GIs in a demonstration on April 20.

The GI CLDC urgently needs funds to continue its national campaign in support of the Ft. Jackson GIs. Contributions should be sent to the committee at Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Messages to GIs United can be sent c/o the Columbia office of GI CLDC at Box 11222, Capitol Station, Columbia, S.C.

sion were told by their company commander, Capt. Tommy Giles III, that they were restricted, "to make sure that they showed up for morning formation."

The address of the Ft. Bragg antiwar group is GIs United, Box 437, Spring Lake, N.C. For further information, contact them or the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N.Y. N.Y. 10011.

New antiwar paper appears at Ft. Hood

The **GI Organizer**, a new antiwar GI newspaper published for servicemen at Ft. Hood, Tex., has just made its appearance.

The first issue of the **GI Organizer** contains an interesting article on the techniques of waging free-speech struggles inside the services and a brief story on Pvt. Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson 8, in addition to news items on various antiwar activities around Texas.

The new paper is being published with the aid of the University of Texas Committee to End the War in Vietnam by GIs stationed at Ft. Hood. Its address is P. O. Box 704, Killeen, Tex.



Antiwar coalition maps plans in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO — The coalition that built the Easter antiwar march on the Presidio has decided to continue as the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace (GI-CAP). Its next action has been decided: antiwar basic training days, a conference-type activity in San Francisco on May 21 and June 1. The basic training days will attempt to consolidate organizationally the sentiment expressed April 6, when 50,000 marched to bring the troops home and free the Presidio 27 and the Ft. Jackson 8. Workshops are planned on the war, campus work, racism in the Army, GI journalism, and other subjects.

S.F. tac squad attacks Panther headquarters

SAN FRANCISCO, April 29 — The Tactical squad of the police here raided the headquarters of the Black Panther Party yesterday afternoon, provoking an hour-long protest by thousands of ghetto residents.

The incident began when tac squad units started harassing the operators of Panther loudspeaker units that were advertising a May Day free-Huey rally.

Police used the pretext that the loudspeakers in front of the Panther headquarters were being operated without a permit. This was very flimsy, since the Panthers used those loudspeakers quite often without permits and have never been harassed before. The fact that 160 cops arrived on the scene almost immediately proves that the police action was not unplanned.

When the police harassment began, the young Panthers manning the speakers used them to summon ghetto residents to their defense. They pointed out that the cops had no right to be disturbing the peace in the black community.

An angry crowd of young black people built up and responded to the harassment. At this point the police, armed with M-16s, moved on the Panther headquarters, claiming that they had seen someone enter with a gun.

Unable to force their way into the headquarters, the cops began using tear gas on the building. The Panthers inside were arrested as they fled from the tear gas. Police then entered the headquarters and rooted around inside. A squad of cops was stationed outside right in front of the doorway.

Meanwhile, the crowd outside had grown to well over 2,000, and rocks and bottles began flying at the occupying army of cops.

Skirmishes between police and black youths lasted over an hour. The main force of cops finally withdrew and calm began to return to the area. Traffic on Fillmore Street had stood still for almost two hours.

The next morning the racist mayor, Alioto, blamed the whole incident on the Black Panther Party, adding that the city would "continue vigorous prosecution of them."



Photo by Miriam Bokser/LNS

YEAH, YOU, BIG MOUTH! Angered young black woman responds to large-mouthed officer during Long Island City, N. Y., high school protest against jailing of Panthers.

Black workers shut down New Jersey Ford plant

By Derrick Morrison

MAHWAH, N.J. — On Thursday, April 24, black workers of the United Black Brothers shut down the Ford assembly plant here in Mahwah.

The immediate grievance was the firing of a black worker who went into the supervisor's office to inquire about some problem. The brother was greeted with a hail of obscenities, telling him in no uncertain terms that he was not supposed to be in the office, and then summarily dismissed.

This action is representative of the racist treatment that black workers receive in the plant. It is an indication of a deeper problem, which the black workers are now becoming sharply aware of—that they have no real union that represents their interests. Local 906 of the United Auto Workers hasn't held a representative union meeting in a year. The leadership of the union is lily-white, even though 1,700 or 40 percent of the 4,200 workers at the plant are black and Puerto Rican. There is only one black committeeman and there are only three black skilled tradesmen.

Given these circumstances, the Ford management has been able to ride roughshod

over the workers, arbitrarily firing black workers, speeding up the assembly line, and allowing safety standards to slide, thus putting limbs and lives in jeopardy.

Out of this situation arose the United Black Brothers, which was started eight months ago.

So far the UBB has been able to shut down the night shift at Ford. The night shift begins at 4 p.m. and has a high concentration of black and Puerto Rican workers.

Since the beginning of the strike the UBB has taken the initiative in asking for support from black and radical student groups. Organizations that have come out to help are: Black Panther Party of Jersey City, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, and Progressive Labor Party.

At a rally held on Monday, April 28, after the night shift had been shut down, 200-300 black workers gathered at the headquarters of Local 906 to hear speeches by UBB leaders, a Black Panther, and Mark Rudd of SDS. The rally was held outside the union headquarters because the building had been locked up by the union bureaucrats. A handful of white workers showed up for the rally.

Spokesmen for the UBB indicated that they were going to try to mobilize as much support for the strike as possible. They announced that plans were underway for picketing Ford showrooms and dealers.

Charleston hospital strike continues despite jailings

By Howard Reed

APRIL 29 — The strike of 600 Charleston, S. C., black hospital workers entered its seventh week today with more than 525 people arrested and 1,000 National Guardsmen in the city. The strike began March 20 at Charleston Medical College, when 12 workers were fired for union activity. The strikers are demanding reinstatement of these 12, recognition of their union, Local 1199B, Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union, and the raising of their pay scales to those of white workers doing similar work. Most of the black workers get the legal minimum of \$1.30 an hour, while some of the white workers get \$2.05 per hour.

South Carolina's Governor McNair has stated that state law prohibits negotiations with public workers. The only offer to the strikers so far has been to rehire all except the original 12, provided that the union withdraw its demand for recognition. The strikers have also been told that wages could not be discussed, since the state legislature is responsible for determining wages. The strikers, of course, rejected this.

The strikers consist of laundry and kitchen helpers, nurses aides, licensed practical nurses, maids and orderlies at the state-supported Charleston Medical College Hospital and the County Hospital.

Support for the strike has come from the entire black community of Charleston. Black high school students have started organizing boycotts of their schools, and hundreds of students have been demonstrating with the strikers, including some students and nuns from the Catholic school in the city. The black community has also initiated a boycott of white owned businesses in the city. In addition, a number of national civil rights spokesmen are supporting the strike.

The first major demonstration occurred March 31, when Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led a march of 1,500 people. Abernathy returned to Charleston on April 22, and during the next week, a series of demonstrations and rallies, involving thousands of people have taken place. Most of those arrested were charged with violating a court injunction which limited picketing to 10 people, standing 10 yards apart. Charleston police chief John M. Conroy said that he could hold thousands of arrested people in his prison farms. A mass rally is slated to take place today, with Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King as the main speaker.

The reaction of the leaders of organized labor has been abysmal. Verbal support for the strike has come from George Meany and a few other bureaucrats, and a few southern AFL-CIO officials have spoken at the strike rallies. Local 1199 and District 65 in New York have furnished additional support. This is the extent of official labor support six weeks after the strike began. There have been practically no financial donations whatsoever.

During the past year, partly as a result of the victory of the Memphis sanitation workers last spring, there have been scores of strikes by black hospital, sanitation, and other public workers in the South. The gains made have been largely due to the mobilization of the black community behind the strikers. The labor movement in South Carolina is the weakest in the country, with only 40,000 workers, or 7 percent of the work force organized. This handicap, coupled with forces arrayed against the strikers, makes the policies of the bureaucrats criminal.

Ford workers' demands

1. The dismissal or transfer of supervisors with records of repeated acts of discrimination and abuse.
2. The reinstatement of workers who were provoked into violation of company rules by supervisors and were subsequently fired.
3. In view of the number of black workers employed, with related problems, we demand more black representation in the labor relations and hourly personnel departments.
4. Establishment of the United Black Brothers as the spokesman of black workers in Mahwah.
5. If management has not met the above demands by April 29, 1969, we shall begin the second phase of direct action, and will not be held responsible for any actions taken against the oppressive and racial policies of the Ford Motor Company.
6. We demand no reprisals against any workers for acts taken in this fight for our human rights and dignity.
7. No loss of pay or privileges by any workers as a result of actions taken to win the above demands.
8. We as workers will defend our human rights at any cost.

Panther HQ dynamited in Des Moines

By Nancy Strebe

MINNEAPOLIS, April 30 — An explosion early Sunday morning, April 27, demolished a large section of the Des Moines, Iowa, Black Panther Party headquarters, blew out the side of the house next door and shattered windows in a three-block area of the black community. There were several injuries requiring hospitalization, although none were serious. Cops arrested four blacks and maced them and other community people who were trying to help the Panthers salvage what they could from the damaged area.

Sunday night there were several fire-bombing attacks on other buildings in the black community. Although cops were at the Panther headquarters and macing community people to keep them away within a minute after the explosion, they have been "unable" to stop the bombings or find any clues. The cops have even accused the Panthers of the bombings.

The bombing of Black Panther Party headquarters in Des Moines follows the continually worsening harassment pattern of the Des Moines police.

Just two weeks ago, on Sunday, April 13, Panther leader Charles Knox was arrested for using sound equipment at a public rally. This occurred after the mayor of Des Moines had informed them they needed no permit for the rally. When that rally was over, cops who had been on hand all afternoon came up and arrested Knox, the deputy minister of education. Other Panthers and community people there protested this ridiculous charge and were promptly arrested. A number of people who had witnessed all this moved out into the community, telling others what had happened. Fourteen people were arrested that day for protesting the cops' arbitrary action.

The arrests came just three days before Knox, Mrs. Joeanna Cheatom and her 16-year-old son, Marvin Cheatom Jr., were to be tried on arson charges stemming from two fires in Des Moines last October, which cops two months later decided to try to pin on these three activists (*The Militant*, Jan. 10, 1969).

The arson trials began April 16 while prejudicial scare stories of the arrests in the park three days earlier abounded in the local commercial press. But the judge threw the case out of court because the state's case was so weak. That was for the first fire. Another trial is to be held for the second charge of arson, for which the state has no more evidence than for the first.

The trial of the 14 people arrested in the park incident began April 29. The Panthers are circulating petitions demanding the removal of the cops from the black community and an immediate end to cop interference and agitation in the affairs of the black community.

Knox had told *The Militant* just a week ago of numerous bomb threats the Black Panther Party has received and of threats he has received against his life. But as he put it, "We shall win without a doubt."

What's still standing of the Des Moines Panther headquarters is being occupied by the Panthers, who want to rebuild the demolished section if the foundation holds. They are undaunted and even stronger now in their resolve to free the black community. Messages of solidarity and funds to help rebuild the headquarters may be sent to Des Moines Black Panther Party, 1207 11th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50314.

Revolutionary Marxist Students In Poland Speak Out

by

Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuron

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On making the victim the criminal

How the Cornell story was twisted inside-out

By Pat Grogan

ITHACA, N.Y., April 22— The distortions of much of the press and the reaction of the Cornell University administration and politicians in Albany and Washington to the actions of the black students at Cornell is a classic example of making the victim the criminal and the criminal the victim.

In an interview here today with **The Militant**, Ed Whitfield, spokesman for the Black Liberation Front (formerly the Afro-American Society or AAS) which is the black student organization on campus, gave the story of the recent events at Cornell.

Whitfield said the struggle began early in November when the AAS demanded a college of Afro-American studies. He said they felt that Afro-American studies was an entity in itself and "certainly deserves as much attention as business administration or architecture." They requested that a major part of the college should be located in an urban center in close contact with the black community. Cornell has units as far away as Puerto Rico.

"We felt that a college, rather than a studies center, should be set up in order to assure sufficient autonomy," Whitfield explained.

The university administrators flatly refused to consider the proposal. They said they would agree only to a "center" of black studies over which the black students would exercise no control. They also placed five black students under disciplinary actions following demonstrations in support of the original demands.

The judicial committee set up to try the students, Whitfield said, was "totally ille-

gitimate and an obvious violation of our rights to be tried by a jury of our peers, and further, the university administration, as a party to the dispute, had absolutely no right to act as mediator."

Whitfield said the black students became the target of a racist hysteria including threats and actual attacks. He said several black women students were molested. A KKK-style cross was burned on the porch of Wari, the black women's cooperative residence.

Whitfield said: "We called the safety division (campus police). They came, knocked the cross down and left immediately. They didn't return for an hour and a half. They made no attempt to discover who had been responsible, asked no questions, no investigation was held, and no protection provided. When we insisted, the safety officer said he had 'to be elsewhere to protect other lives.'"

Shortly after that, on Saturday, April 19, at 5 a.m. the black students occupied Willard Straight Hall, the student union building. Their demands in the sit-in were: amnesty for the five black students previously disciplined, a 24-hour protection of Wari women's residence, and investigation of the cross-burning incident.

Later that day a dozen white fraternity men armed with sticks and metal clubs entered the building. Whitfield said one black student was injured before the fraternity men were driven out. The campus guards who were stationed around the building made no attempt to prevent the attack but simply looked the other way.

"Later," Whitfield said, "we received a phone call warning us that about a hundred fraternity boys gathered at Norris Center had been drinking heavily and had announced their intention to arm them-

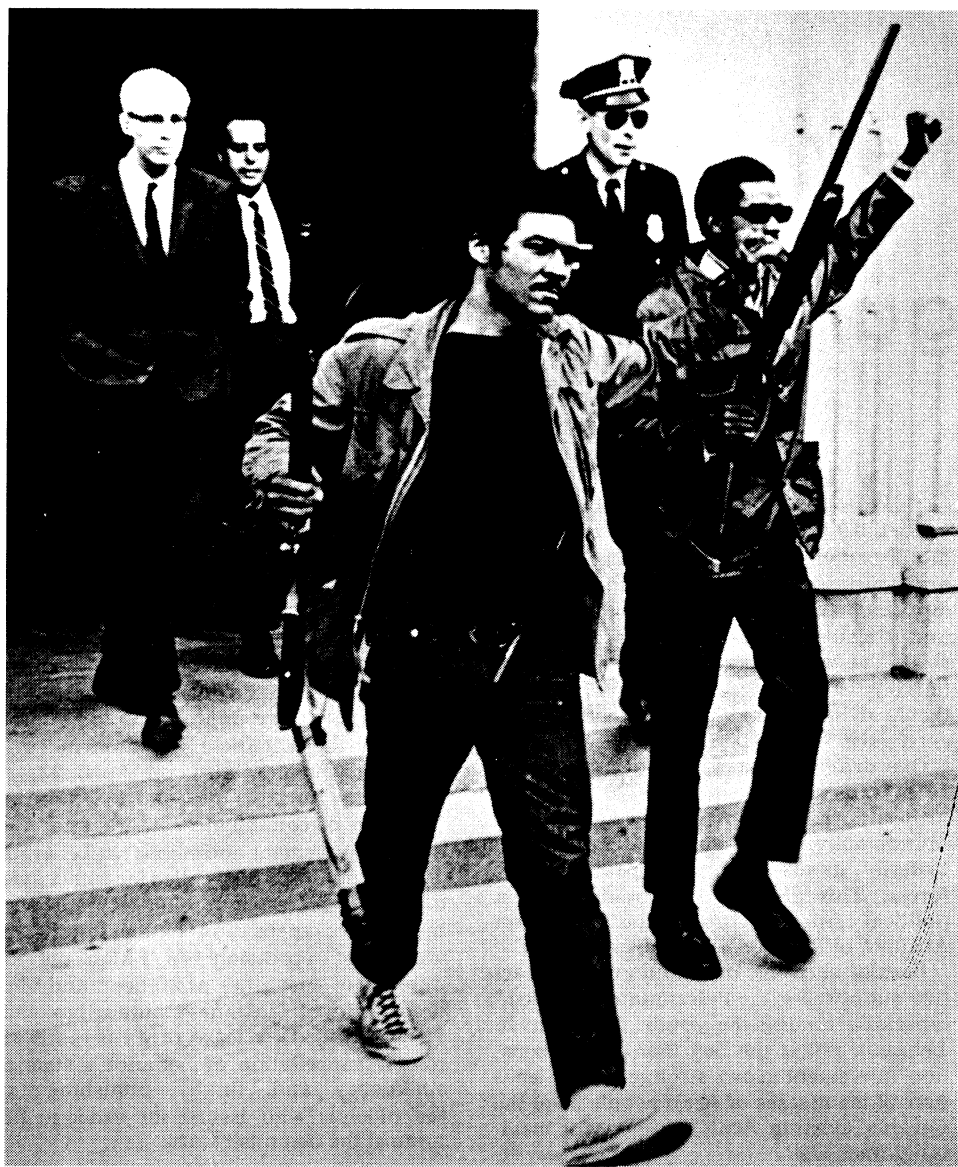


Photo by Cornell Daily Sun/LNS

Cornell black students end occupation

selves and forcibly evict us. We received reports from various sources, including some of our own people in town, that several carloads of whites with rifles and shotguns were on their way to Straight Hall."

The accuracy of these reports was later corroborated by University Vice President for Public Affairs Steven Muller in the April 28 issue of the **Cornell Daily Sun**. Muller was one of those who negotiated with the black students in Straight Hall. When he left he used a university police car to drive him to another part of the campus. Said Muller, "I must say that one thing that sort of reinforces my perspective on the thing is that when we got into the patrol car, over the police radio the driver was told to be on the lookout for a white Barracuda with six white men and four shotguns."

But this was not all. The black students got several other phone calls threatening that if they did not leave the building it would be bombed and that the Wari residence would be burned to the ground. In the light of the attacks they had already been subject to, these reports could not be dismissed as empty threats. "It was only then that we brought the guns into the building," Whitfield emphasized.

Under these conditions the university officials abandoned their original plan to get an injunction and to bring in police to clear the building, and decided instead to negotiate with the black students inside.

They agreed to sign a statement granting the sit-in demands and the black students left the building. Before leaving, Whitfield said, he asked Vice President Muller, "What about the white boys and their guns?" Muller replied, "I can promise you nothing." So the blacks left the building carrying their guns, but not loaded.

In the hysteria that followed, the faculty met April 21 and voted to renege on the agreement. A massive sit-in by thousands of students followed in Barton Hall, a gymnasium. The faculty then met again and reversed their previous vote. Several professors resigned or threatened to resign in anger at the "pressure" put on them. President Perkins issued regulations barring firearms from campus—except for those held by police and the military. He also put police guards in front of Wari and the BLF residence hall.

A group of professors calling themselves the Committee of Concerned Faculty issued a statement April 25 stating that the arms of the black students were for self-defense and deplored any attempt to confiscate them. The committee is composed of 70 to 80 faculty members, according to Prof. Douglas N. Archibald.

The Black Liberation Front has assured the university that their residence hall contains no guns and according to the April 28 **Cornell Daily Sun**, issued an invitation for a search.

In the interview with **The Militant**, Whit-

field said that BLF would continue to use self-defense if necessary. He also discussed future plans of the BLF.

He said: "Now that the university has issued us a formal invitation to become part of the community [the university community] there are some changes that will have to be made before we would want to become part of it, such as the abolition of ROTC, which is used to suppress people all over the world, and the abolition of the Center of International Studies, which develops counterinsurgency techniques to be used against the Vietnamese, black and third-world peoples all over the world and in the U.S. itself. Also, President Perkins is director of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which supports the government of South Africa. The board of trustees is so involved in South Africa you'd think they were Bantus, or more to the point, Boers." (Eleven of the Cornell trustees are also directors of firms with investments in South Africa.)

Militant action by Boston-area students hits war

BOSTON— Several thousand students rallied on the Boston Common April 26 to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and to proclaim their solidarity with the struggle of the National Liberation Front.

The action was called by chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society at Boston, Northeastern and Tufts universities.

Speakers at the rally included Eric Mann of New England regional SDS, Delano Farrar of the Black Panther Party, and Ginny Hildebrand of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Eric Mann stressed the importance of the student movement reaching broader sections of the population while continuing to organize ever larger numbers of students. Delano Farrar pointed to the similarity of U.S. imperialism's oppression of the Vietnamese people to its oppression of black people at home, and emphasized the need for unity of all the oppressed in struggle against it. He urged that everyone present turn out for the Boston rally supporting Huey Newton slated for May 1.

Ginny Hildebrand discussed the growing antiwar sentiment inside the armed forces and the importance of civilian support to antiwar GIs, and she received an ovation when she called for solidarity with the Ft. Jackson 8. She spoke about the work of the Cambridge, Mass., based GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace. After the rally several servicemen expressed interest in joining GI CAP.

Wis. courts, school heads go after student protesters

By Patrick Quinn

MADISON, Wis. April 28— The combined assault of state, city and university authorities on participants in last February's strike at the University of Wisconsin in support of black student demands continued this past week in Madison.

In circuit-court trials, five individuals were convicted and one acquitted of various charges arising from strike activities. Among those convicted was Lew Pepper, a member of the Madison Young Socialist Alliance and the united-front strike steering committee. Pepper was pulled off a picket line during the strike by university police and charged with disorderly conduct. After a two-day trial, Judge Richard Bardwell, found Pepper guilty and fined him \$62.

Although acknowledging that the case involved a "severe case of double jeopardy" because Pepper had to face university "disciplinary hearings" later in the week, Judge Bardwell pronounced a guilty verdict based on a Wisconsin supreme-court decision that defines disorderly conduct as "conduct that need not necessarily be in and of itself disorderly but may, in the opinion of the arresting officer, tend to create a disorderly situation even though that situation need not ever occur."

In other decisions, Robert Reynolds, a black student from Arkansas, was convicted of kicking a smoke-bomb cannister back into the ranks of National Guardsmen, and Arthur Winnig was convicted of "building a barricade of chairs" in a university building.

Phase two of the combined assault has been occurring on the university campus where the Committee on Student Conduct, a star-chamber kangaroo court, has been holding a series of "disciplinary hearings" characterized by the student newspaper, the **Daily Cardinal**, as a "vicious circus."

In an all-day hearing, the committee

attempted to throw Lew Pepper out of the university. The prosecution pitted the conflicting testimony of three university cops against six witnesses for the defense and contended that the testimony of the defense witnesses was invalid because all of the six supported the strike. As of this writing, the committee had not yet given its verdict.

The Committee Against Political Repression, a recently formed political-defense coalition, organized to combat the repression in the wake of the strike, held a noon-hour rally of more than 300 students to support Pepper. Another rally will be held for Arthur Winnig when he goes before the committee on April 29.

Phase three of "Operation Repression" involved the activities of the Joint Legislative Investigating Committee (JLIC), Wisconsin's junior HUAC. JLIC was formed after the strike with a mandate to "investigate the causes of student disorders on campus." After two months of hearing "volunteer" witnesses, the committee appears to be preparing to step up its witch-hunt.

Last week members of YSA, SDS, the Madison Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union received a second "special invitation" from Assistant Attorney General John Armstrong to testify before the committee. (For earlier JLIC actions see May 2 **Militant**.) Included with the invitations were excerpts from the **Wisconsin Statutes** relating to the "liability of witnesses" and the "procedure of subpoena for witnesses." The "invited" organizations announced plans to hold a press conference on April 29 to answer JLIC.

Funds for legal-defense expenses may be sent to Wisconsin Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1082, Madison, Wis. 53601. Letters of support may be sent to the Committee Against Political Repression, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703.

Revolutionary forces gain ground in Mideast

By Elizabeth Barnes

The one thing which Washington and its imperialist allies most fear is beginning to happen in the Middle East. The strength and influence of the Palestinian liberation movement is on the increase, both inside and outside the Israeli-occupied territories. The differentiation between revolutionary and nonrevolutionary forces in the Arab world is developing at a quickened pace.

One dramatic expression of this was the recent mass demonstrations in Lebanon protesting restrictions on Palestinian commando activities. The demonstrations were brutally attacked by Lebanese security forces. This plunged the country into a political crisis and brought the resignation April 24 of Premier Rashid Karami.

Besides showing the rapid growth of active support for the Palestinian "fedayeen," especially among the youth, the events in Lebanon reflect the fact that as the liberation movement grows stronger, the alienation of the masses of Arab people from the various existing Arab regimes will inevitably intensify.

An editorial in the April 26 *New York Times* warned that the resignation of Lebanon's premier constituted what they called "another ominous manifestation of the emergence of the Palestinians as a militant, radical force in Middle East politics, a force that is rapidly becoming as much of a threat to the Arab states that have nurtured it as to the Israelis."

The editorial listed other Arab regimes threatened by the growing strength of the liberation forces. The Iraqi government, for example, has clamped down on the Palestinians by demanding that they work through a newly established Iraqi-controlled "Arab Liberation Front." In line with this, the Iraqi radio has discontinued the daily one-hour program of Al Fatah.

In Saudi Arabia, in order to undercut the appeal of Al Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, King Faisal has set up a rival so-called liberation group nominally headed by the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

The regime of King Hussein in Jordan is the most vulnerable to Palestinian pressure. After a recent trip to the Middle East, James P. Brown of the editorial board of the *New York Times* offered this summary of the situation there: "In Jordan King Hussein still clings to his throne, but popular support—and one suspects, the real power—is rapidly swinging to the Palestinians who comprise roughly half the population and make up more than 70 percent of the population of the capital, Amman."

The growing militancy of the masses of Arab people, which more and more cuts directly across the policies of the present Arab regimes, has begun to pose more sharply for the Palestinian commandos

the question of what their attitude should be toward those regimes in whose territory they function.

Every indication thus far is that the main liberation forces recognize that their only hope of survival and success lies with their ability to rally support from the masses of people on an independent basis.

Al Fatah used the mass demonstrations in Lebanon as an opportunity to put pressure on the Lebanese government. In a broadcast from Cairo on April 23, Al Fatah set forth its demand for complete "freedom of commando activity" and "freedom of movement and supply" in Lebanon. The commandos also called for withdrawal of security forces from refugee camps, payment of compensation to the families of victims of repression (Al Fatah put the number of casualties at 20 dead and hundreds injured; Lebanese authorities said 12 were killed), release of all persons arrested, cancellation of Lebanon's state of emergency and, finally, punishment of the officials who issued the order to fire against the demonstrators.

Assured Nixon

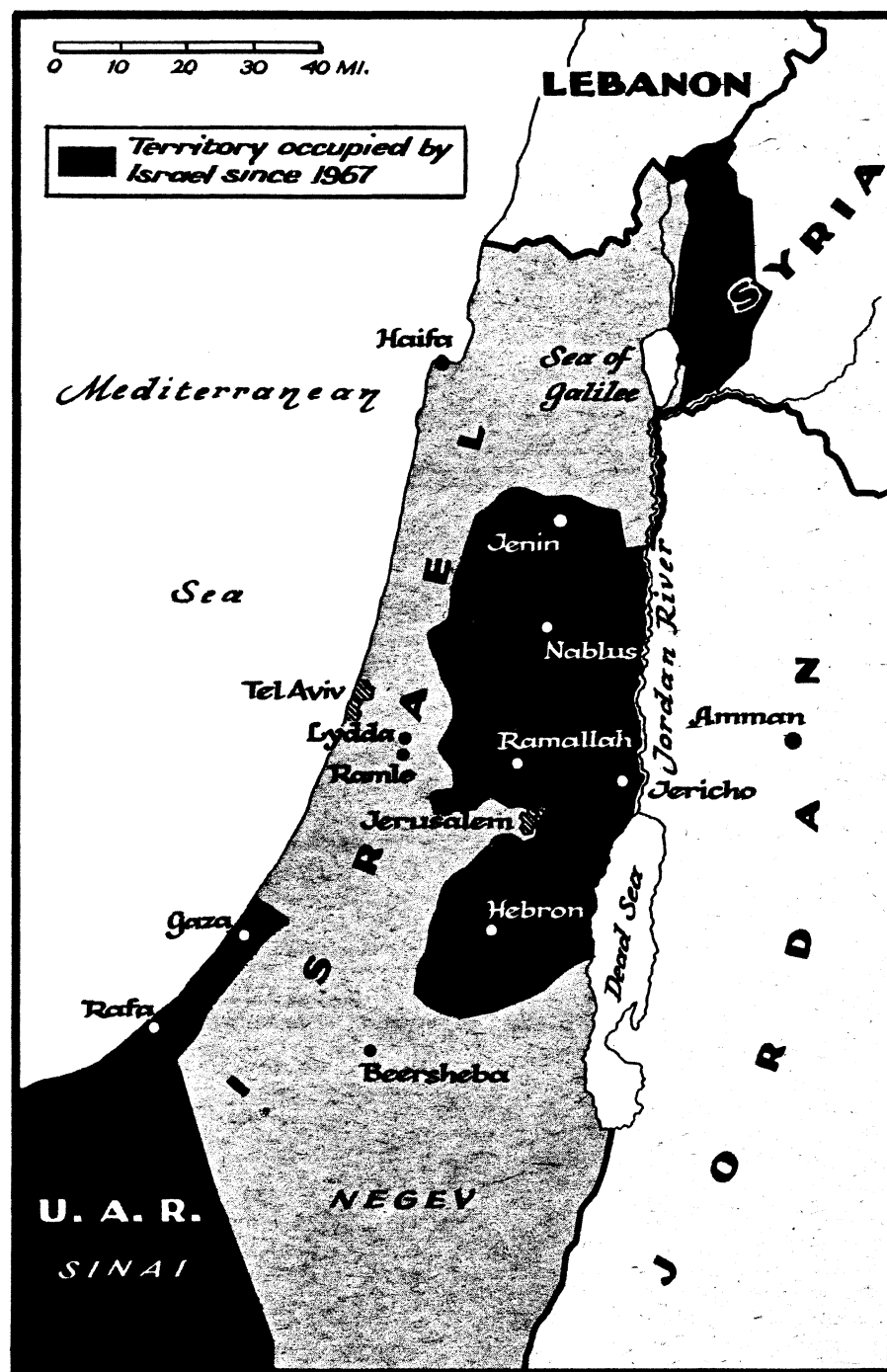
While he was in Washington in mid-April conferring with representatives of the "Big Four" powers, King Hussein assured President Nixon that he could control the guerrilla organizations so long as a "settlement" was negotiated. But only a week before his statement, the commandos defied him by making their much-publicized rocket attack on the Israeli town of Elath. Hussein's orders had been that the commandos should not make any moves in the Elath area, and there is no question that he was not at all pleased with this attempt by the guerrillas to remind the world of their presence during his trip to Washington.

Around the same time, in a broadcast over Cairo radio, Al Fatah made public its view of the "peace" plan announced by King Hussein. They declared, "The Arab masses demand full explanation of what is being said and proposed in world capitals. The Arab people can no longer tolerate being deceived."

A clear voice

The time is obviously long gone when conservative or even liberal Arab rulers can make deals in the name of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples behind their backs. One of the most significant aspects of the growth of the Palestinian liberation movement is that the Palestinians are not only getting out their views on current developments, but, after 20 years of having no clear voice, they are finally able to effectively publicize their view of the whole history of the Zionist occupation of their country.

Even the news reports are beginning to show the influence of the Palestinian movement. A number of articles with a more



objective presentation of the Palestinian view have appeared. An example of this was an article in the April 13 *Look* written by senior editor Christopher S. Wren. After visiting the training camps of both Al Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Wren described what he saw: "The guerrillas have introduced an informal socialism to the Arab world," he writes. "Pay in Fatah runs according to family size and not rank, though it can total more than what a Jordanian soldier earns. Officers and men call each other ach (brother). The whole refugee community is swept along in the cause . . ."

"The guerrillas insist their war is with Zionism and not Judaism. They want to see Israel dismantled as a state," Wren quotes Fatah's information officer as saying, "We are not anti-Semitic because we are Semites. We have no quarrel with the Jews as a people. They are two million. We are the same. They have been here for 20 years. We don't want to send them back. The state we build together will be secular."

In occupied territory

The growth of the liberation movement, which is especially marked inside Israeli-occupied territories, has led to a situation where the Israelis have placed themselves more and more in the role of the hated oppressor. All the characteristics of a classical colonial power are evident in Israeli government policy, including racism, expansionism, identification with the most reactionary imperialist regimes, and—most important—increased reliance on naked military power to put down the resistance among the occupied people.

In the Israeli-occupied Gaza strip, hatred of the Israeli occupation troops is intense among the some 300,000 Arab refugees. Israelis no longer feel safe in Gaza, and Israeli tourists that used to visit the area no longer do so. Describing the situation, an Israeli colonel, familiar with foreign occupation during World War II when he was part of an "underground railroad" to bring Jews out of Austria, told a *Times* reporter that he could understand the feelings of the Arabs. "Nobody loves us here," he commented.

Two Israeli soldiers have gone on trial for firing into a crowd of demonstrating women at a Gaza school and killing one woman. An 18-year-old Arab girl has been sentenced to 20 years in prison—the longest sentence ever given a woman in an Israeli court—for hurling grenades at an army jeep, wounding several soldiers.

According to the April 30 *Christian Science Monitor*, a leading European offi-

cial of one of the Arab relief agencies has said there is no doubt that the Israelis are following a conscious policy of emptying the Gaza strip of Arab inhabitants. "Everything from subtle persuasion to force is being used to reduce the camp population," he said.

As evidence of this, the *Monitor* cites the fact that Israeli sources have admitted to having blown up more than 240 houses in Gaza since June 1967 in reprisal for "real or suspected" aid to guerrillas.

In the occupied territory on the west bank of the Jordan River, the story of Israeli oppression and Arab resistance is the same. An example of this is the town of Nablus, where Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan went April 2 in response to local demonstrations against Israeli security forces who were destroying homes of commando suspects.

Dayan demanded that the town authorities take it upon themselves to insure that there be no more disturbances or "terrorism" in the town. The local officials refused. Dayan, who apparently has been able to get such guarantees fairly routinely in days gone by, reacted by saying that there was no room for patience with Arab resisters. The townspeople, he declared, had two ways open to them: to lead a "normal" life or to war with the occupation authorities, "a process that will finally bring the deterioration of Nablus to chaos and destruction."

The growing pressures of the Arab resistance have had an impact in Israeli ruling circles. The Zionist leaders are involved in heated debate over what to do about the unviable position in which Israel finds herself in the occupied territories. But the differences do not involve any kind of basic re-evaluation of their reactionary role in the Mideast. On the contrary, the debate has occurred over the question of how much additional Arab land should be expropriated by Israel in order to protect Palestine from the Palestinians. The fedayeen's goal of setting up a secular, multinational Palestine, in which the indigenous Palestinian Arabs would share their homeland with the newer Jewish immigrants, is dismissed out of hand.

In the short run, it is possible by dint of pure military power for the Zionists to maintain their occupation of Palestine as an exclusively Jewish state. But as every national liberation struggle from Algeria to Vietnam has shown, there is nothing more potentially powerful than the mass movement of an oppressed, occupied people. Time is clearly on the side of the Palestinians.

Kent students press for rights

By Marta Prince

KENT, Ohio—Two weeks of discussion, mass meetings and rallies at Kent University culminated April 19 in an enthusiastic, militant march of 5,000 students and faculty demanding: 1) the dropping of charges against 60 students arrested on April 16; 2) reinstatement of the SDS charter; 3) a return to procedures in the Student Conduct Code which were grossly violated by the administration in the suspension of the 60 students.

The demands grew out of a confrontation April 8 when SDS attempted to present four demands concerning campus complicity with imperialism. The students were barred entrance into the administration building and seven were arrested on assault and battery charges.

The following week, closed hearings were held to suspend two of those arrested. Demanding open hearings, SDSers marched on the building where the hearings were being held. Once the students were inside the building, police sealed the doors and refused to allow anyone to leave. The administration then claimed the students were "occupying" the building and OK'd

the arrests of all those trapped inside. Sixty students were charged with breaking and entering—later changed to trespassing—and were immediately suspended from the university.

The following day, over 400 students and faculty constituted themselves as an ad hoc committee, Concerned Citizens of the KSU Community. They voted overwhelmingly for the three demands mentioned above.

An outdoor rally was held that evening which later dispersed to circulate leaflets and win support in the dorms. Two hours later, 3,000 students gathered on the Commons. They listened to accounts of the recent events, voted their support to the demands, and selected a delegation to present their demands to the president of Kent State University.

The university auditorium was packed the next morning to hear the administration reply. After the university offered minor concessions and promised a reply to the demands early next week, 2,000 people decided to conduct a march on campus to demonstrate their strength. The march swelled to about 5,000 students.

Columbia teach-in hears anti-Zionist views

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK—One of the first teach-ins on Arab liberation to be held in the United States took place April 18 at Columbia University. Nearly 500 students were squeezed into the Harkness Theater, while hundreds more had to be turned away at the door.

Among the speakers was Mrs. Randa Khalidi El-Fattal, the editor of the journal *Arab World*, who explained the origins and growth of Al Fatah from a propaganda group into an armed mass movement. Dr. Hishami Sharabi, a professor at Georgetown University, contrasted the reformist or bourgeois approach to the Zionist threat, represented by the Husseins, and the revolutionary approach, represented by the guerrilla organizations.

Dr. Ilyas Shufani, also a professor at Georgetown, and a Palestinian with Israeli citizenship, described the political, economic and cultural oppression of Arabs living in Israeli-occupied Palestine. Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party outlined the counterrevolutionary nature of Zionism. Rita Freed of the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation documented U.S. government support for Zionism.

Other speakers included George Tomeh, the Syrian ambassador to the United Nations, Larry Hochman of the Radical Education Project and Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, a professor at Northwestern University.

The meeting was quite lively, punctuated by frequent applause from the majority of those present, and by catcalls and heckling from the Zionists, who had tried to pack the meeting but had mustered only about 100 supporters. The disruptions were unfortunately exacerbated by some of the defense guards from Youth Against War and Fascism; far from defending the teach-in, they initiated several fistfights and shouting matches with the Zionists. Their conduct hindered rather than facilitated the purpose of the meeting—an effective presentation of the viewpoint of the Arab Revolution.

Among the sponsors of the teach-in were the Organization of Arab Students at Columbia, the Iranian Student Association, DEMOKRATIA (a Greek student association), the Ethiopian Student Association of North America (ESANA), the Young Socialist Alliance and Youth Against War and Fascism, all of which expressed solidarity with the Arab Revolution.

Some highlights of the speeches are excerpted below:

Ethiopian Student Association

"We support the struggle of the people of Palestine for self-determination in the same manner that we support the people of Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Black America, etc. We recognize that U.S. imperialism

Slate Southwide YSA educational meeting in Atlanta

By Ilona Stanton

ATLANTA, Ga.—The Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance will hold the First Southwide Young Socialist Conference here at Emory University, Biology 106, on May 10 and 11. The Young Socialist Alliance is in touch with young people and students who are interested in socialist ideas from eight southern states.

The speakers reflect the growing young socialist movement in this country. Regional reports from young socialist activists from several states will open the conference at 10:00 a.m., Saturday, May 10. George Novack, Marxist scholar, will speak on "Reform and Revolution in American History." Tony Thomas, an Afro-American member of the National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, will lecture on "Why Black Nationalism is Revolutionary." A panel of antiwar and socialist GIs will begin at 8:30 p.m., followed by a party.

On Sunday, May 11, Mary-Alice Waters, staff writer for *The Militant*, will report on the 9th World Congress of the Fourth International, which she attended as an observer. Linda Jenness will wind up the conference with an analysis of "The Southern Movement—The Role of the Young Socialist Alliance." Linda Jenness, who recently visited Cuba, is a leading member of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance.



Columbia teach-in

Photo by Robert Vernon

perpetrates a worldwide system of suppression and exploitation by establishing and maintaining puppet governments in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Therefore the popular struggle against U.S. imperialism and against its puppet regimes is one and the same struggle. . . .

"It is with the active assistance of U.S. 'advisors' that Haile Selassie's government is at this very moment hunting down and jailing Ethiopian students in a desperate attempt to break down a popular nationwide student strike which is now entering its seventh week, and which enjoys the support of the workers and peasants of Ethiopia.

"ESANA affirms its active solidarity with all progressive forces that are engaged in armed struggle to ultimately end the exploitation of man by man."

Dr. Hishami Sharabi

"The Palestinians, in the voice of their movement of resistance, say, or rather put forth the cry, absurd to some, 'Revolution until victory.' This is the slogan of Al Fatah.

"Al Fatah and the leaders of the resistance movement are not blind to the strength which the Zionist state in Palestine possesses . . . given the umbilical link between Zionism, its state in Palestine, and the Atlantic community, particularly the United States. . . .

"[But the Palestinians] know that they are not alone in this world—that liberation, like colonialism, is a world system. They know that the victories achieved in Cuba, those achieved in Algeria, and those being achieved in Vietnam are their own. (prolonged applause)

"It has proved—the Palestinian resistance—that for the first time in Arab history the Arabs have finally broken out of their nationalism, of their parochialism, and established a complete base of internationalism—in a sense, of fraternity with peoples fighting for the same goal of liberation everywhere. And this has been established in a genuine way, not in a propagandistic way, for the first time in our history.



Palestinian refugees

"The realization on the part of the Palestinians that they are situated in Palestine, at the crossroads of the world, and not in the Andes, makes it possible for them to profit to the maximum from the situation of international tension and conflict . . .

"Finally, the Palestinian rebels say today that they will not accept a political settlement that would recognize the existence of the state of Israel and which would convert a military bridgehead into a juridically recognized entity. This would bring about not only the recognition of the Zionist status quo, but also of the status quo in the Arab world itself—that is, the status quo of the colonels, of the sheikhs, of the monarchs, of the reactionaries who control the world and who constitute, in an indirect way, the true and natural allies of colonialism and Zionism, and have always done so.

"It is in this sense that the triumph of Zionism in Palestine would be a triumph for conservative, counterrevolutionary elements in the Arab world, whereas the triumph of Palestinian resistance would be a triumph both for Arabs and Jews as well as a genuine significant step in the

5-day study-in wins gains at Albright College

By Jay M. Ressler

READING, Pa.—After a five-day "study-in" at the library by the overwhelming majority of the students at Albright College, the administration met with the student body on April 17 to respond to their 24 demands.

Twelve of the demands were granted by the administration of this small Methodist school, and a number of others were met to the satisfaction of most students.

Demands granted included six raised by the Afro-American Society: for black professors, black studies, an Afro-American cultural center, more black students, recruitment of black students by the AAS, and an open admissions policy for underprivileged and Third World students.

Four of the demands, however, considered by many students as among the most significant, were not satisfactorily met. In its statement to the student body, the administration said that it would set up committees to work out the demands concerning abolition of women's dorm hours, open dorms and abolition of mandatory convocation. The demand concerning free student media, under student control, was not granted to the satisfaction of the students.

At a meeting on April 17, the students in the library voted to end the study-in and work through the committees set up of "all constituencies of the college" for two weeks, stating that if nothing happened, they would resume their study-in.

Four militant rallies are planned during the two-week period to apply pressure to the committees to meet the demands.

direction of the liberation of the Third World."

Dr. Ilyas Shufani

"Even departments which deal exclusively with Arabs are manned by Jews. The head of the department of Arab education, for example, is a person whose familiarity with Arabs amounts to a two-week course in Arabic at the Defense Institute. The chairman of the Arab Teachers Union is also a Jew. . . .

"There are very few high schools for Arabs. Arabs are admitted to the Hebrew University (scattered applause by Zionists)—but any advanced technological training in subjects that have any connection to 'security' are off limits to our students—including geography (laughter). The curriculum and training in high schools are irrelevant. The student opens his geography book to learn about the boundaries of historic Israel, national Israel and the meanwhile Israel; in his history book he learns about the Jewish aspects of his country's history. How he came to be an Arab in that part of the world remains a mystery to him."

Peter Buch

"It is the new current in Arab nationalism that offers an unprecedented opportunity for revolutionary-minded anti-imperialist Israelis to reach out to their Arab brothers, who have been so terribly wronged, and to liberate Israel from the Zionist establishment and from imperialism which victimizes them both. . . .

"King Hussein of Jordan has assured the Nixon administration that he can control the Palestinian guerrilla organizations. I don't think so, not from what I've heard here tonight, he won't control them. (applause). . . .

"According to the *New York Times*, the Kremlin has denounced the guerrillas as 'Trotskyite.' The Soviet leaders like to condemn all revolutionaries, like Che Guevara and the Arab guerrillas and anybody else they don't like who's going in a left-wing direction, 'Trotskyites.' And it's time all of us 'Trotskyites' got together and defeated U.S. imperialism."

Air Force brass tries to frame antiwar activist

By Jim Boggio

LOS ANGELES, April 23—Airman 1/c David Mays, stationed at Norton Air Base, has been charged with "insubordination." This Vietnam veteran is convinced that the charges against him stem from his participation in the Easter Sunday GI-civilian demonstration and rally in Los Angeles.

At the rally, Airman Mays blasted U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. Mays said "We know that organization brings strength. We are willing to sacrifice every spare moment to bring this ungodly lie out into the open."

On April 8, Mays and another enlisted man were cited for "refusing to sweep the floor" even though the two men were off-duty at the time. A few days thereafter, the charges on one man were dropped, but not so for Mays. On the morning of April 14, Mays was notified that he was to be court-martialed that very afternoon. Mays immediately telephoned the offices of the Los Angeles GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which in turn contacted an attorney who obtained a postponement of the court-martial until April 28.

Although Airman Mays' job classification is "air-freight specialist," he has been assigned to "records and reports," a position for which he has not been trained.

Mays has tried on three occasions to see his squadron commander, Col. George W. Johnson. In spite of Col. Johnson's self-proclaimed "open door" policy for enlisted men, Col. Johnson has continued to evade Airman Mays.

GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War pointed out today that Mays was within his Constitutional rights when he spoke at the April 6 rally. The group blasted the harassment of Mays as an attempt by Air Force brass to intimidate enlisted men.

Letters of protest should be sent to Col. George W. Johnson; Commander, 63rd A.P.S., Norton Air Force Base, Calif. 92409.

A Militant interview:

Corky Gonzales on the Chicano liberation fight

During the March 27-31 Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver (The Militant, May 2), Froben Lozada and Antonio Camejo of the Berkeley Socialist Workers Party interviewed Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, head of the Denver Crusade for Justice. The following is an abridged transcript of that interview.

The Conference, the first national gathering of Chicano youth, was preceded a week before by a massive school blow-out in Denver (The Militant, April 11).

Q. What is the Crusade for Justice (Cruzada para la justicia)?

A. The Cruzada is a Mexican-American civil-rights organization that was formed because the leaderships of most other organizations were falling into the conservative bag. They were starting to use their organizations to get into government and government jobs.

Well, you can't go into a house full of disease with a bottle of mercurochrome and cure it. If you try, you become just as sick as the people in the house, and this is what happens with most of our politicians. Many Chicano politicians who run on the basis of nationalism become part of the system, so that they are of no use to us and do not identify with our problems.

We decided that in the area of civil rights there were many changes to be made, and we are committed to nobody. We are independent from any funding. We are trying to remain economically independent, which means that we live off our own resources.

We also provide social services, what we consider our "band-aid" department helping people with their immediate problems. A mother going to juvenile hall wants someone to take care of her child today, not to dream about a philosophy that's going to be successful a hundred years from now. It's a sort of glue, it's a cohesive thing to bring people together. Of course, if we help somebody, we don't demand that he join us; we help anybody.

We also have a cultural thing going here, an identification with our heritage and our history and our people. We are building up self-identification, self-pride and those worthwhile values that are strong in our heritage. This society is suffering from lack of values, and I think this has to be built up.

We are doing this through the arts, through theater, through writing, through poetry, through our newspaper. We are also doing it through the very organization itself, by the way we treat each other and work together, and by our respect within our own group for children, for women and families.

Supporters action follows Presidio 27 to Monterey

SAN FRANCISCO—A rally for the Presidio 27 held in Monterey April 27 served notice on the brass that even moving the frame-up "mutiny" trials from the Presidio of San Francisco to Ft. Ord near Monterey won't keep the antiwar movement away.

The rally, held at Colton Hall (where the California Constitution was signed) drew over 200 persons, most of them GIs from Ft. Ord and the Presidio of Monterey. Some were from Bay Area bases. They had come with a contingent from the San Francisco-East Bay GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace.

Speakers at the rally included Mrs. Ginger Bunch, who told how the Army had tried to justify the shotgun slaying of her son Richard which sparked the sit-in for which the 27 are charged with mutiny; local lawyer Richard Silver; a Ft. Ord GI; and George Johnson of Task Force. The rally was chaired by Alex Pratt, editor of the 79c Spread, an underground Monterey paper.

Information sheets and petitions for the Presidio 27 and the Ft. Jackson 8 were well received, especially by the GIs. A new underground GI paper, *As You Were*, was distributed. Donations at the rally almost

One of the areas where I feel we have really come a long way is our leadership program. You have to develop a leadership that is spread out, because we understand the violence and the viciousness of the establishment. They think in terms of destruction and assassination. But as we develop new leadership, it doesn't matter. They would have to get rid of all of us, and they can't get rid of an idea or a philosophy.

We developed leadership-training meetings—we call them "fishermen's meetings"—which are more like classes where we teach culture, history, the nature of the economic structure of this country and how it developed and how it's controlled. We tie in the political control of the country and the various institutions: welfare, the courts, the church, the prisons.

When our people go out, whether they are children or men or women, they have answers. There isn't one of them that can't go to any university or any barrio and answer questions: who we are and what our movement is, and all the stereotype status-quo questions people raise about, say, welfare things.

Q. How did the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference get organized and how do you view its significance?

A. I thought about all the young people who are confused and who don't want to identify with these old "politicos," those old figureheads. They don't want to identify with the same old answers. They want to get into doing something. I talked to a lot of these young people, and they decided they needed a conference. They wanted to come to Denver.

So, we decided to hold it here, and I expected maybe 300 or 400 young people would come to it. Well, we have a registration which has run over 1,100 and I'm not sure it isn't 1,500.

We had to bring the people together. Many youth who graduate from college leave the community and never come back. They don't offer academic leadership in any form. We had to start breaking this down, so that the barrio bato [ghetto youth] had a relationship with the student. The student couldn't go around just carrying the banner of the issues and the problems of the barrio as his cause and yet never relate to it and never be involved in the mud and the dirt and the blood. I think we saw a coming together at the Conference, and that is probably one of the most beautiful things that happened.

I view the Conference as a tremendous historical first. It was the first time in history that we didn't depend on or go out

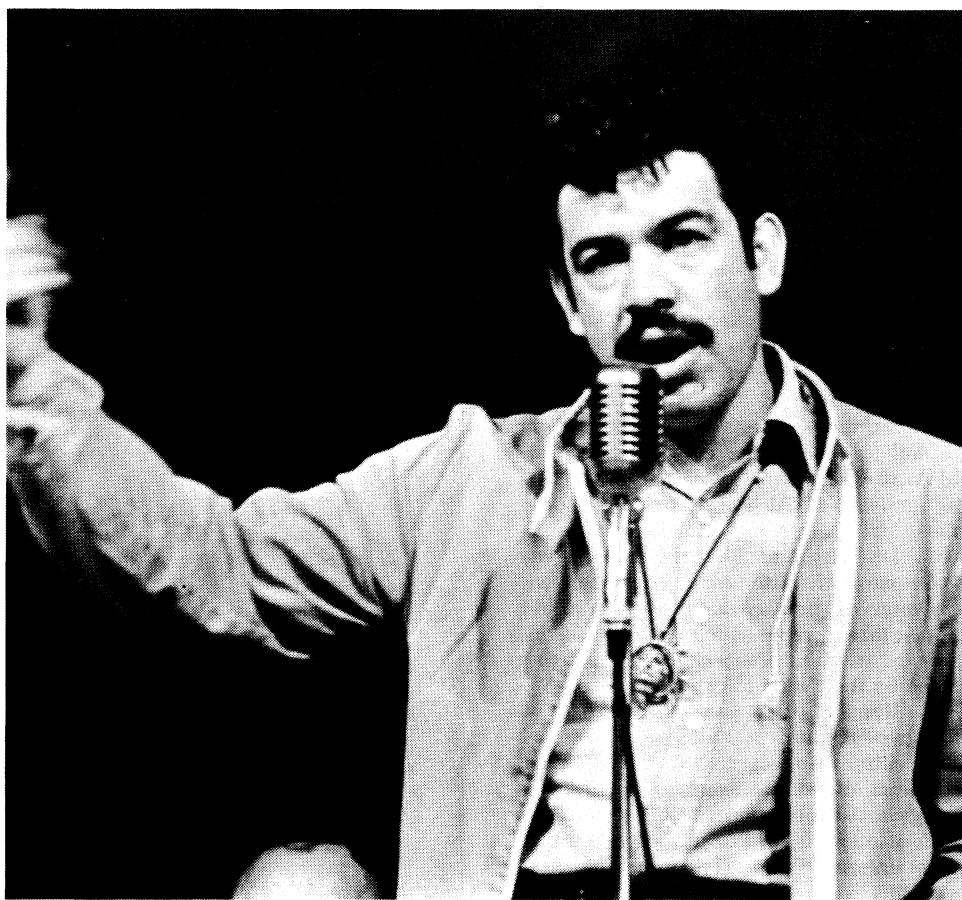
paid for the printing of the paper's entire press run.

The trials themselves are continuing under somewhat looser security than the brass at first felt necessary. There is no longer a helicopter circling over the court, and newsmen have to go through few pass checks.

But the brass is still nervous. On Sunday, the 30th MP battalion was alerted at both the Presidio of San Francisco and Ft. Ord, presumably because of the Monterey rally.

Earlier in the week, Terence Hallinan, lawyer for 14 of the 27, put a surprise witness, Sp/4 Roger Broomfield, on the stand. Broomfield is an MP and had stockade duty on Oct. 14, the day of the sitdown. He laid much of the blame for the unrest in the stockade to Sgt. First Class Thomas Woodring, who, Broomfield said, "was constantly changing standard operating procedure so that neither the guards nor the prisoners knew what to expect from day to day."

Broomfield said Woodring would give the prisoners games and TV sets one day and take them away the next. "He used his gifts as punishment and just made things worse," he said.



Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales

Photo by Roberto Perez Diaz

to foundations for funds and didn't go to the government for funds. We did it ourselves. Our people set the theme, and we did the work.

We didn't ask the establishment press in. Some of the guys said, "You know, we don't want the beauty of this to be spoiled by those people coming in to view what is happening here, because it is ours. We don't want to have it spoiled by the commercial press." So there were only two people from the establishment press there. The rest were the Chicano Press Association, *The Militant*, and the underground press.

Q. Much discussion at the conference revolved around the Chicanos working with Puerto Ricans and the question of alliances with the black struggle. How do you view this problem?

A. We take these steps one at a time. And this is where studying organizations and studying mass movements and educating people into a movement and into an ideology and a philosophy come in. We have to take steps one at a time and our first step is organization and using the theme of nationalism to do it.

In many areas, particularly today, there are issues which are important to black and Chicano and other minorities and to whites—the white radicals, the whites who understand. In those areas, coalitions come about very easily, like in San Francisco and Oakland. Everyone knows who the enemy is.

Except that in what you might call a low economic base the enemy is your competitor. So if your competitor is black, it is easier to call a black man your competitor than call another Chicano your competitor. So if the government, say, through OEO offers one job, two minorities are fighting for it. This even creates divisions among the Chicanos. But when these two people start realizing that the guy that is making them fight over the bone is the guy they have to destroy—and not each other—that job will be there for both of them.

But some problems are unique to the Mexican-American. Other problems are unique to the Afro-American and other problems are unique to the Puerto Rican. Other problems are unique to the Indian. Sometimes each of these has to be dealt with on an individual basis. But where we can get coalitions and common things, we go together. But you can't form coalitions unless you have organization.

You see the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans who come from Chicago fighting each other on a gang level. But so are Mexicans fighting each other on a gang level. So it's not so much racism as "neighborhoodism," regionalism. As they organize into self-defense units working with each other, they learn who the oppressor is and they start fighting the man instead of fighting each other. And the same holds true when our people understand the black man's fighting the same guy. The coalition thing will come about.

Q. I understand you once worked in the Democratic Party. Could you relate some of your experiences there? Do you view either of the two big parties as a vehicle for liberation?

A. I became the first Mexican-American district captain in the history of this town. I was a Democratic district captain for

six years. I pounded on those doors and those walls and banged my head against them for overall changes. I could have gotten liquor licenses under the table, and zone changes for personal profit. I wouldn't. They couldn't understand that type of human being within their political system. They either castrate you, and you become like them, or if you refuse, then they try to destroy you.

I view the two-party system as one animal with two heads; it's the same group. The heads of these two parties eat off the same plate and sit on the same boards and commissions. They have the same vested interests, and the legislation they pass is just window dressing.

Kennedy places a McNamara, an industrialist, in the Defense Department. So we have wars and our economy is based on war, based on the production of war goods and based on the usage of the minorities for the fall guys, for cannon fodder. Now Nixon comes in, and his defense man is a millionaire and an industrialist with the same concerns. McNamara goes from the Defense Department to the World Bank.

It is so obvious, yet people can't understand it. These are things we teach our leadership.

Q. Could you relate some of the results and significance of the high-school blow-outs?

A. On Friday, March 21, we had the biggest demonstration in the history of this city. Things were getting rough, and there were a lot of women and children that didn't know about confrontations with the police. I took them on a march. When we got to West High School, we got a false report that the demands had been met, and the kids started dispersing.

Then they attacked us with mace. The kids had a battle, and 28 police cars were wiped out and 17 cops put in the hospital. One guy got shotgunned bad, Jose Vigil, and there were casualties on both sides.

But the young people actually drove an invading army out. The police used all the mace they had (we heard them on the short-wave radio calling for more). Little kids, 13, 14, 12 years old, faced their shotguns and told them "shoot." The young people drove out an occupying force.

For the first time, the philosophy of a mass movement of Chicanos became a reality. The people came storming out. The kids said 900—that might be an exaggeration—but they stormed out of all the houses, and the police withdrew.

This was the victory that resulted. We proved something to them. They tested us, and they lost.

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The Great Society

Campus program—"Nixon Hopes Youth Turn to Religion."—Headline in the April 28 New York Times.

Nearly prepared—Students at the University of Oklahoma in Norman didn't realize how close they were to a confrontation with the National Guard when they held a demonstration against the Vietnam war April 12. Capt. Ed Livesay, PR man for the Guard, told newsmen, "We thank the Good Lord there was no trouble in Norman that day. We thank the Good Lord we've never had to fight in the streets of Oklahoma. But this is what the National Guard is for—to be prepared for anything."—The good captain forgot to mention the Guard had set out early that morning for Norman from their station at Tonkawa, some 111 miles away. They turned back when they got within about 40 miles of Norman and learned the afternoon rally was already over.

American way—A hippie-type clothing store in Philadelphia offers a ten-percent discount to detectives assigned to the narcotics detail, the Wall Street Journal admiringly reports.

Achtung!—The greatest force for world freedom today, says astronaut Frank Borman, is the "superbenevolent might" of the U.S. And, he adds, don't forget it.



Time for action—The research director of the National Audubon Society says that unless DDT is banned the bald eagle will become extinct.

Flexible whip?—Malcolm Moos, president of the University of Minnesota, told the American Newspaper Publishers April 24 that the great majority of students want major changes, "and if we are not flexible in the face of these requests for change, we will run the risk of radicalizing our moderate students." Apparently Mr. Moos has opted for radicalizing. Black student leaders at the U of Minnesota involved in a January campus sit-in face possible prison terms on trumped-up charges.

Unalienated—We've definitely decided to switch our checking account to La Banque Continental. The checks are embossed in black and gold. They serve tea and crumpets. Such services as paying bills, buying theater tickets or hiring a cleaning woman are included without charge. The only requirement is a \$25,000 minimum balance. (Which would only earn about \$1,250 a year elsewhere.) The nicest touch, we think, is that there are no computers. Checks are hand-posted, which must be a comfort in these troubled times. As one client put it, "Some people think when you have no financial problems you have no worries. But you do."

Ethics dep't.—The British Medical Ass'n ruled that prospective organ donors who are desperately ill should not be moved to the hospital of a waiting recipient. No mention was made of expediting the expiration process.

Rocks the tables—We were puzzled by millionaire Howard Hughes' aggressive legal efforts to block the Nevada nuclear tests until we learned he owns six Las Vegas gambling joints. Maybe the blasts disturb the house margins on their slot machines and roulette wheels.

Thought for the week—"We're protecting and serving the banks, the insurance companies and all the other special interests. The only ones we're not protecting and serving are the people."—An unidentified "disheartened" member of the New York state legislature, as quoted by the New York Times.

—Harry Ring



SAN LUIS OBISPO "PEACE-KEEPERS." What happened to this young man typified brutal police assault on a peaceful be-in near this central California town April 13. Young people were listening to rock music in the park when cops suddenly ordered them to disperse in "two minutes" and 15 seconds later began dragging them by the hair to waiting squad cars. A number were injured and 16 arrested, mostly from California State Polytechnic College. Sheriff E. R. Mansfield said there were "some Communists" among the Free University group which sponsored the be-in, commending his deputies for "the restraint they exhibited."

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

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High schoolers in Detroit map campaign for Lodico

By Sue Swope

DETROIT, April 26—High-school and junior-high students from all over the city met today to organize support for Paul Lodico, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the common council. Most of the students had previously been involved in organizing the April 3 student strike against the war in Vietnam and in commemoration of Martin Luther King.

Discussion centered around a program for the high schools and junior highs. An 18-point program was adopted, ranging from demands for black and Chicano control of black and Chicano education at all levels, to the rights of freedom of speech and freedom to organize for all students and teachers, to free, tasty school meals for all students.

Phil Katz of Southfield-Lahser High

School emphasized the rights to freedom of speech and to organize. During the preparations for the April 3 strike, he and other students had attempted to leaflet their fellow students. After repeated harassment by the administration, Katz met with the principal and pointed out that the Supreme Court had recently ruled that students do have a right to express their political beliefs, and that preventing them from doing so was not setting a very good example of American democracy in action.

The principal replied, "The Supreme Court does not rule over Southfield!"

The group decided to call itself Students for Lodico. It will be open to all high-school and junior-high students who support the socialist campaign for common council. The campaign's involvement in action, in community struggle, was emphasized. One example: recent demonstrations by welfare mothers for clothing allowances, held only a few blocks from Cass Technical High School, is the type of activity to which Students for Lodico could lend militant, youthful support.

A Campaigner will be published. Its editorial board will consist of Dave Blake, Southfield High School; James Holt, Southeastern High School; Phil Katz, Southfield-Lahser High School; Malik Miah, Cass Technical High School; and Eric Sell, also of Cass.

Colorful, hard-hitting, leaflet-sized posters have already begun appearing on the walls around schools and plant gates. Teams of campaign supporters have been going out weekly on paste-up forays to make the socialist campaign visible.

Last week, Lodico spoke to nearly 300 people at Cranbrook, a small private school, where he got an enthusiastic reception. Later in the week he spoke at the University of Detroit. After the talk, a number of people expressed interest in working for the socialist campaign.

Research papers on the specific problems of Detroit, with proposed socialist solutions, are being prepared by supporters of the socialist campaign.

Boutelle asks Lindsay to act on bombing

NEW YORK—Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, in an April 29 letter to Mayor Lindsay demanded to know what was being done about the bombing attack on the socialist election campaign headquarters here. He called attention to the fact that Cuban counter-revolutionaries had claimed credit for the murderous attempt.

On April 23, a bomb was detonated outside the campaign headquarters. Described by police as a "concussion grenade," it sent shrapnel through the lighted windows. The 15 campaign supporters gathered in the building narrowly escaped death or injury.

"We have not yet received a single indication that an investigation is underway," Boutelle wrote to Lindsay, "or that precautions have been taken by city authorities to prevent further atrocities of this nature."

"As candidate for mayor of New York City, as well as in my capacity as an ordinary citizen, I find it irresponsible on your part to maintain silence regarding this injection of assassination attempts and terrorist methods into the current election campaign."

Enclosed with Boutelle's letter was a copy of the April issue of *El Tiempo*, a reactionary Spanish-language New York daily. A banner headline proclaimed, "Exiles Attack N. Y. Party Headquarters with Grenades." The article stated:

"Cuban exiles belonging to a group called 'Revolutionary Action' threw two grenades which failed to explode at an office of the Socialist Workers Party . . . [There was actually a single powerful blast on April 23.—Editor]

"The Cuban exiles who carried out this deed can not be identified or arrested. Following the attack an unidentified source told *El Tiempo* that 'this action was carried out by a secret commando group named Porfirio Ramirez.'"

We Goofed

This week's Calendar of Events was erroneously omitted. Some highlights: **BERKELEY**, Debate on Cuba, Peter Camejo vs. ISCer, May 9, U of C, Le Conte Hall. **LOS ANGELES**, Antiwar GIs, May 9, 1702 E. 4th St. **MINNEAPOLIS**, Spain Today, Spanish student activists, May 10, 704 Hennepin. **NEW YORK**, Crisis in Northern Ireland, Gerry Foley, May 9, 873 Broadway.

Most Frenchmen agree: Goodbye, Big Charley

By Mary-Alice Waters

MAY 1—When the final vote was counted it was 52 percent "no," and 47.65 percent "yes." De Gaulle had fallen.

On the surface the issues involved in the referendum were trivial—basically insignificant reforms in the structure and nature of the Senate and provisions for greater regional autonomy. Few French men or women were very interested in the proposed changes. However, DeGaulle decided to stake his political life on the outcome of the vote vowing to resign immediately if the majority voted "no."

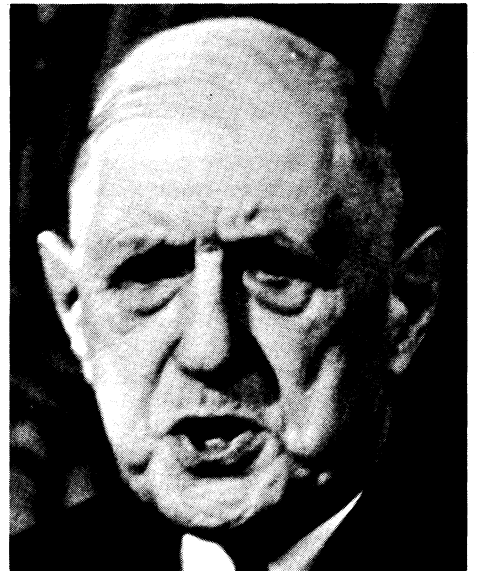
The real purpose of the referendum was a two-fold attempt to stabilize the regime, which had never totally regained its balance after its near collapse in the general strike of May-June, 1968. The referendum was a sign of the regime's weakness.

The voting was designed to divert the still potent working class militancy that had shown itself in the wave of wildcat strikes in January and February 1969 and the massive general strike of March 11. The regime had the active complicity of the Communist Party, which lent credence to the legitimacy of the referendum, even though advocating a "no" vote. Through this focus on the parliamentary arena the regime hoped to dampen the struggles in the plants, and prove that the majority of the population supported DeGaulle's policy of trying to take back the economic gains conceded last June.

Secondly, DeGaulle hoped to reunify the bourgeoisie that had been divided on numerous questions since the monetary crisis of November. He hoped to reassure France and the world of the political stability of his regime and its ability to handle all problems.

The outcome was quite different. First of all the bourgeoisie did not unite behind DeGaulle. Gaullist opponents to the right and in the center called for a "no" vote, and even former premier Georges Pompidou managed to campaign for a "yes" vote in a fashion that made it clear he would not be heart-broken if the referendum failed—in which case he would be the unquestioned favorite in a new presidential election.

For the first time in more than a decade, sections of the ruling class apparently decided they had an alternative to DeGaulle, and that the moment was propitious to calmly vote him out. This was reflected in the final vote, where even the wealthiest



De Gaulle

districts of Paris registered majorities of "no."

Secondly, the depth of dissatisfaction in the working class and especially in the lower middle class was greater than DeGaulle had anticipated. The end result was that instead of stabilizing the Gaullist regime, the referendum only sent it into a new crisis.

While DeGaulle is gone, the Gaullist regime, the Gaullist constitution, and many other things remain. The question being asked by many Frenchmen is whether Gaullism will survive without DeGaulle. At the very least, last Sunday's vote opens up a period of uncertainty and greater instability.

But the crisis is also one for the traditional working class parties in France, especially the Communist Party. So fearful is that reformist party of a new explosion of working class militancy, such as the one that briefly escaped its control last May, that the giant CGT, the Communist-led trade union, canceled plans for its traditional May Day demonstration. The idea of left-wing students linking up with the workers in a militant victory march persuaded the CGT leaders to abjectly support the government ban on all May Day demonstrations.

Last May as hundreds of thousands of workers marched through the streets of Paris they hopefully chanted the refrain "Adieu DeGaulle, Adieu DeGaulle, Adieu." This May it has become a reality.

CP offers a bouquet to Badillo, Democratic machine faithful

By Alfredo Pena

[Alfredo Pena is Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller of New York City.]

NEW YORK—The *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, contained a brief article by Jesus Colon April 5 describing the background of Bronx Borough President Herman Badillo, presently a candidate for mayor in the Democratic primary.

Written like a typical Horatio Alger story, the Colon article recounts how Badillo came from a poor family in Puerto Rico and was able to rise to his present position through sacrifice and hard work. The article strongly suggests that Badillo will be the "progressive" candidate that the Communist Party will support for mayor of New York.

The article seeks to demagogically exploit community sentiment for having a Puerto Rican candidate for mayor. Since Badillo is a Puerto Rican, Colon suggests, all Puerto Ricans should support him.

But the candidacy of Herman Badillo is motivated only by the Democrats' desire to manipulate the Puerto Rican community and thereby generate support for the Democratic Party. Badillo's record as a "leader" of the Puerto Rican community is a fraud.

In the Feb. 14 issue of *Taxi News*, Badillo calls for more cops in the ghetto: "Placing more policemen on the streets will go a long way toward eliminating the lack of confidence . . . which now exists in many sections of our city."

"As a member of the Board of Estimate for the past three years, I have consistently voted for more patrolmen for our force and

have urged that the number of men on beats be increased."

On March 18, in the City Club of New York, Badillo opposed community control as a "solution to problems besetting New York City schools."

When cops attacked students at Taft High School, there was no action by Badillo. When the workers at Lincoln Hospital occupied a hospital building, in support of community control, Badillo was nowhere to be found.

Yet, with all the evidence of Badillo's real role, the Communist Party seeks to paint Badillo as a progressive. This flows from the Communist Party school of politics—their almost invariable insistence on supporting one or another capitalist politician and fraudulently presenting him as a spokesman for the people.

None of the candidates running for the Republican and Democratic parties can honestly represent the Puerto Rican people. None of them calls for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam and support to community control. No matter who they are or what they say, they represent the interests of the rulers of their party—the capitalist class which continues the war and tries to destroy the movement for community control.

The way to raise the level of consciousness, mobilize and organize the masses in the ghetto, is to take political action that is independent of, and in opposition to, the cutthroats and thieves who manipulate this city. It is in this spirit that the Socialist Workers Party is waging its election campaign.



New York Press Service photo

AT BOMBING SCENE. Police examine car which was damaged when bomb exploded under windows of Socialist Workers Party headquarters in New York. Cuban exiles boasted they did it.