

Jackson brass in partial retreat

— story page 12

THE MILITANT

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Why the Columbia SDS
suffered setbacks

— See page 5 —

Battle Madison cops



Photo by Chuck Shoengrund

When University of Wisconsin students tried to hold a street dance in a student neighborhood, Mayor William "Bull" Dyke ordered his cops into action like they were an invading army. Students and townspeople alike were

attacked with clubs, mace, tear and pepper gas. Students and other citizens reacted with rage (cop in upper left corner stepped spryly to avoid ash can) and a series of street battles followed. Story, page 6.

Threat of jungle prison for Blanco

Life in jeopardy again for Peru revolutionary

New York, N.Y.

News has just been received that Hugo Blanco is threatened with being sent to a prison camp in the jungle region of eastern Peru named El Sepa.

The camp is completely isolated, being linked to Lima solely through military planes that bring in supplies and relief guards.

The hot, humid climate is extremely oppressive and the area is noted for the insects that make life virtually unbearable for those confined to the camp under the most primitive conditions.

Lacking in medical facilities, with the prisoners at the complete mercy of brutal guards, it is obvious that anyone sentenced to being held there has few chances for surviving long.

The official reason for transporting Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners to this hell hole is that El Fronton, the prison island where they have been held up to now, is to be closed down.

The government made this decision in view of the ability of the prisoners to call national and international attention to the scandalous conditions prevailing in the prison and the shocking treatment afforded the inmates.

The current military junta is carrying out this "reform" initiated by the regime they overthrew.

Protests are in order on an international scale. They should be addressed to the Peruvian embassies and consulates and to the military dictator, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Presidential Palace, Lima, Peru.

Copies of protests should be sent to CODDEH (Comite de Defensa de Los Derechos Humanos), Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

Richard Garza
U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)
P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001

Free Huey Newton demands SNCC

Los Angeles, Calif.

We demand the freedom of Huey P. Newton. We feel he is an inspiration to the true lovers of liberty everywhere.

Huey Newton stands against white racism, capitalism and imperialism. He has understood the indivisible nature of our oppression in this country.

Huey Newton is our brother, our comrade-in-arms. By his action and political writings he has made our path to liberation more clear.

When the racist system strikes at Huey, our brother, it also strikes at SNCC. He is among the very best in our common ranks.

There can be no "preventive detention" for Huey Newton. His valor has set us on the road to black power and human dignity. History will absolve him.

Phil Hutchings
First Secretary to the Central Committee, SNCC

On Guardian-variety revolutionaries

Atlanta, Ga.

I'd like to add a comment to Gus Horowitz's excellent critique of the *Guardian's* anti-imperialism. [The Militant, April 25] Several *Guardian*-variety revolutionaries have tried to tell me that antiwar demonstrations are passe, that they aren't revolutionary enough, even that Vietnam is a dead issue, that it is no good as an "organizing issue."

I don't think any rational being could defend the position that the war is a dead issue, so I'll skip that one. As for whether people can be "organized around" the

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.

issue, I recommend a reading of *Red Flag, Black Flag* by Seale and McConville, which describes how anti-Vietnam-war organizing laid the basis for the revolutionary movement which paralyzed France last summer.

Most important is the question of whether the antiwar movement should be of concern to American revolutionaries. To these rrrReal rrrRevolutionaries who answer "no", I counterpose the resounding "yes" of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (who hold pretty good credentials as revolutionaries). If that isn't enough, then we can add the voice of Lenin, who held that it is the absolute duty of revolutionaries in an imperialist country to support the colonial countries' wars of liberation by propaganda and by action. He laid down the iron rule that any party which failed to actively support such struggles in the colonial world could not join the Communist International. Condition number eight of 21 conditions for admission to the Comintern, drafted by Lenin and passed by the Second Congress of the Comintern on August 6, 1920, says: "Every party which wishes to join the Communist International is obliged to expose the tricks and dodges of its imperialists in the colonies, to support every colonial liberation movement not merely in words but in deeds, to demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from these colonies, to inculcate among the workers of their country a genuinely fraternal attitude to the working people of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and to carry on systematic agitation among the troops of their country against any oppression of the colonial people." (emphasis added)

What more is there to say? BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW!

C. C.

Political harassment at Arizona State

Tempe, Ariz.

The issue of abolishing ROTC at Arizona State University has led to more political harassment here. Wednesday, April 23, a rally, sponsored by RSU (Radical Student Union), YSA and SDS, was held to emphasize the need for abolishing ROTC. A legal sit-in began at the ROTC by 10 individuals who were fasting to dramatize the issue.

By Friday, April 25, when the sit-in had grown to about 50 students, the fasters were arrested for displaying a red flag and "causing a near-riot situation."

University officials have stated that the students were arrested for their own protection. Bail was set originally at \$660 each but was lowered at the arraignment to \$330 each. They are all still in jail, now being threatened with solitary confinement unless they allow their hair to be cut.

These arrests and the fact that faculty members have been harassed by firings, economic reprisals and threats prove that the people who rule ASU will try any method they think will stifle dissent on this campus.

An example of economic reprisals against faculty members for political reasons is Dr. Morris Starsky's salary problem. Dr. Starsky is the YSA's faculty adviser and has been publicized locally for his radical views. He is a tenured professor and the only member of the philosophy department whose "merit pay" increase was deleted from the budget.

The *Phoenix Gazette* reported that "Regents President W. P. Goss today denied that the regents had ordered a 'squeeze play' on Starsky, controversial because of his far-left political views."

Starsky said, however, "It looks as if they consider these pay increases as rewards or punishments for stepping out of line. I think they see the salary scale as a way of keeping you in line."

Lindley Garner

Socialist advertising in Cuba

New York, N.Y.

A day or so ago I was reading some of the recent issues of *Bohemia*, one of the widely-circulated Cuban magazines, and it struck me that *Bohemia* is showing very graphically one of the results of a socialist revolution—what happens to advertising after capitalism is abolished.

It's such a common experience when you're trying to win people over to socialism to use the example of the fantastic waste that takes place under capitalism to convince people to buy Brand X because it will make you smell better and make you more socially acceptable or to buy Brand Y because it will make your aged sheets look whiter. So, for all your readers who want some good examples to counter this practice of capitalism, here are a few examples from the Cuban press.

All of the ads I saw are aimed at educating the Cuban people on how to improve their society. There are a number of ads that deal with health problems, for example. One ad on this subject shows a woman working in a factory, a young boy playing and an elderly man making shoes. It says, "Tetanus affects all ages. For that reason it is important that you be protected with tetanus inoculations."

Another ad that struck me was one on saving fuel. It says that Cuba has had to import oil which means the investment of a lot of work and resources. It relates the value of oil to sugar and says that to grow and harvest one ton of sugar costs the same as to buy six tons of oil—or that the Cuban people must produce around 810,000 tons of sugar each year just to pay for the oil they need. For that reason, they conclude that the participation of the people as a whole is needed to conserve fuel.

Judy White

Hairy error

New Brunswick, N.J.

Your issue of Feb. 21 includes in its column, "The Great Society," a story about the Wyoming state senate which a member of that body (and, I believe, the chairman of the relevant committee) assures me is simply incorrect. It appears that a bill such as the one you mention was indeed introduced, but was voted down by a large margin.

E. T.

[The bill referred to would have lowered the voting age in Wyoming, with a Senate amendment limiting this privilege to those with short haircuts. Our report was based on a news clipping reporting that the bill had passed the Senate. Since we keep the clippings used in the column for only one month after the item appears, we are unable to check further, and do regret the error.

—Harry Ring]

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The closing news date for this issue was May 9.

An admission of bankruptcy

Growing unemployment, rising international indebtedness, declining shares in world trade, and declining per capita growth rates: that is the balance sheet of the Latin American national economies—except for Cuba—eight years after the launching of the Alliance for Progress.

The evidence is surveyed in a series of reports prepared by United Nations experts and recently submitted to a meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in Lima, Peru.

According to the UN studies, while population in Latin America has been growing some three percent per year, the ability of the economies to absorb the growing labor force has not increased since 1961. As a result, the number of unemployed men and women between the ages of 15 and 65 has risen from 18 million in 1960 to 23 million this year—out of a labor force of 83 million.

This rising unemployment is a direct consequence of the sluggish economic growth. Alliance plans projected a 5.5-percent annual increase in gross national product. But the GNP grew less than 4.8 percent per year, as compared with an annual average increase of 5.1 percent during the 1950s.

While unemployment is rising and growth rates declining, Latin American governments and capitalists are becoming increasingly indebted to foreign lenders. The external debt, both public and private, rose from \$10 billion in 1960 to almost \$20 billion today.

Since 1950, Latin America's exports have increased at an average rate of three percent annually; world exports during the same period increased an average of seven percent per year. As a result, since 1950 the region's share of world trade fell from 11 percent to 5.1 percent.

With the exception of four or five countries, not even nominal land reform programs have been put into effect, and in those countries where they have been adopted they have remained purely nominal.

"It cannot but appear a startling paradox," one of the reports says, "that while so many millions are poor and ill-fed, so high a proportion of the region's resources are standing idle and so many millions of peasants are unemployed."

From the standpoint of satisfying human needs, the situation in Latin America is indeed "a startling paradox." But from the standpoint of the logic of world monopoly capitalism, there is nothing paradoxical about it. Resources are standing idle while so many millions are unemployed because that state of affairs is profitable to the foreign, especially U.S., monopolies that dominate the Latin American economies and to the native ruling classes of the area.

Aside from its purely propagandistic, public-relations aspect, the Alliance for Progress was intended to solve a double problem confronting American capitalism. In the first place, the extreme underdevelopment of Latin America severely constricts a potentially highly profitable market and field of investment for U.S. monopolies. In the second place—and of much greater immediate importance—the extreme misery of the Latin American masses, taken together with the achievements of the Cuban Revolution, posed and continues to pose the threat that socialist revolution will remove the area from the sphere of U.S. imperialist domination altogether.

Thus the Alliance aimed first of all at achieving a series of reforms in the region that would pacify the masses. Secondly, it aimed at creating the economic conditions for more extensive U.S. capitalist investment in and trade with the area.

The dismal failure of the Alliance, documented by the ECLA studies, confirms the Marxist estimate that these goals were and are self-contradictory. Politically, the Alliance sought to rely on the established ruling classes to bring about the necessary reforms, recognizing that any genuinely popular movement would tend to pass beyond the limits of the envisaged reforms and to tear the region out of the sphere of U.S. imperialist domination. But these ruling classes are the very groups—the only groups—in the Latin American countries that benefit from the existing situation. To ask them to be the agents of land and tax reform is to ask the wolf to protect the sheep.

At the same time, any degree of economic development that could significantly and quickly raise mass living standards and realize the region's potential as a market and investment field would threaten the superprofits now being drawn from the region. It would threaten them in the short term because it would require that these superprofits be accumulated locally and invested in a way that would most rapidly raise the area's labor productivity. It would threaten them in the long run because such development of the underdeveloped countries would undermine the monopoly positions of the advanced capitalist countries on which these superprofits depend.

The record of the Alliance during its first eight years compellingly testifies to the truth of the Marxist thesis that the world's productive forces can no longer develop within the narrow limits of capitalism, that the alternatives confronting the underdeveloped countries remain: either stagnation and growing misery or socialist revolution.



Charleston hospital strikers and supporters of Ft. Jackson GIs greet Nixon at Columbia, S. C. airport.

S. Carolinians back Jackson GIs

By Helen Schiff

COLUMBIA, S. C. — An intensive, widespread campaign to defend the Ft. Jackson 8 has been going on in this small, usually quiet and very conservative city which has Ft. Jackson on its outskirts. In the past three weeks there have been four major demonstrations, a petition campaign and support meetings of students and GIs.

High point of the support activity came May 4 when backers of the victimized GIs, largely from the University of South Carolina, joined with striking hospital workers to meet President Nixon at the local airport. About a hundred striking black Charleston hospital workers and their supporters had travelled the 120 miles to Columbia to present their demands to the president. They and the Ft. Jackson 8 supporters exchanged union caps and picket signs and, in effect, joined their protest actions.

Seven who joined the contingent were brutally beaten and arrested by cops for carrying a red banner which the cops said was a "Viet Cong flag." Three of the seven have been charged with assault and batte-

ry and have been in jail for four days.

Plans had been made to present Nixon with an open letter and petition from GIs United and the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. The letter said in part, "On June 5, 1966, in the London Sunday Times, Gen. James F. Hollingsworth, commander at Ft. Jackson, stated, 'There's nothing I love better than killin' Cong, No Sir.' He was never arrested for expressing his political ideas. The Ft. Jackson 8 want to stop the killing, bring the troops home now—alive, and spend our country's treasure to aid the poor. For this they are under arrest. As commander in chief you have the power to free these men and thereby reaffirm the rights of all Americans, including our citizen-soldiers to free speech and assembly. Millions of Americans are concerned about the Ft. Jackson 8 and await your action."

Nixon, of course, did not make himself available to the antiwar contingent. The petition demanding immediate release of the Ft. Jackson 8 and signed by over 300 GIs and civilians from Columbia and Ft. Jackson was finally sent, via certified mail, to President Nixon and Gen. Hollingsworth.

On the evening of the Nixon demonstration, Michael Smith, one of the attorneys for the Ft. Jackson 8, had spoken on the case at a rally in support of the Charleston hospital workers.

GI interest and support for the Ft. Jackson 8 has been widespread too. Despite continued harassment by the brass and warnings not to talk to the press about the case, GIs have been signing support petitions, meeting every Sunday at the UFO coffee house to hear the latest on the case, and of course, talking to the press, which has been flocking here in droves, representing such media as the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *Playboy*, *Washington Post*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *New York Times Magazine*, *UPI*, *NBC*, *Educational TV*, *West German television*, and the *London Daily Telegram*.

GIs from other bases in the South, including Ft. Gordon, Beaufort Air Station, and Shaw Air Force Base have come to Columbia to find out more about the GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson and what can be done in defense of the eight at their bases. There is now a thriving chapter of GIs United at Ft. Bragg. A Ft. Jackson "graduate" stationed in Vietnam wrote back for organizing literature in preparation for forming a GIs United in Vietnam, thus internationalizing the organization.

Grape boycott to hit Safeway

By Virginia Kaye

FREEMONT, Calif. — A boycott against the national chain of Safeway supermarkets will be launched here May 10. It is part of the continuing struggle to win a decent wage for California farm workers.

Safeway Stores are a prime example of the "agribusiness" monopolies. They operate 2,222 retail food stores, including major subsidiaries in Canada and overseas. Thirty-three Safeway Drug Centers are operated in California. It is the largest handler of California table grapes in the West.

Safeway buys over \$1 million worth of grapes from the Guimarra Vineyards alone, the scab operation which is the central target of the present farm workers' strike.

At the same time, the directors of Safeway also sit as the heads of agribusiness corporations, banks, utilities and farm equipment companies—playing a pivotal role in California's \$6 billion farm industry.

As the largest food buyer in the West, Safeway can force out smaller farmers and establish monopoly food prices. In 1966, for example, an analysis of meat prices revealed that chain supermarkets in the Denver area—where Safeway controls 42 percent of food sales—were boosting beef prices to make 46 percent profits.

The boycott will last for the duration of Safeway's phony "neutrality" in the California grape struggle. A leaflet issued by the San Francisco Citizens Don't Buy Grapes Committee reads:

"There are many individuals who feel that the famous 'S' of Safeway represents a red serpent. It fattens itself by the struggle, sweat and bloody violence which the poor farm workers of Delano continue to suffer for social justice!"

Antiwar airman scores partial victory in case

LOS ANGELES—Airman 1/c David Mays won a partial victory at court-martial proceedings at Norton Air Force Base April 28, according to a statement released here by the GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Student Mobilization Committee.

Mays was tried for allegedly disobeying a direct order. He could have received up to one month of hard labor. He was sentenced to reduction from airman to airman basic, forfeiture of part of one month's pay and restriction to the base for three days.

The court-martial can be traced to Mays' participation in the April 6 GI-Civilian Antiwar March at McArthur Park. Monday following the demonstration, Mays was given three extra work details, all of which were janitorial type duties, such as scrubbing floors, emptying waste paper baskets and cleaning out the latrines.

Mays was required to ask permission to get a drink of water or go to the latrine.

April 9, Mays and another enlisted man were carrying out their regular work detail of scrubbing and waxing the floor. When they were finished, they were told the job was unsatisfactory and would have to be redone.

Mays refused to comply with what he saw as an unlawful order although he offered to redo the waxing the next day if his NCO would stay and supervise. When this suggestion was turned down, Mays was informed that he would be charged with insubordination.

On April 14, he was formally charged with disobeying a direct lawful order of an NCO. He was also told that his court-martial would be later the same day. Mays immediately contacted the GIs and Vietnam Vets, who arranged for a lawyer and won a postponement to April 28.

Many telegrams were sent to the commanding officer at Norton demanding an end to Mays' harassment and there was a supporting demonstration the day of his trial.

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By Ernest Mandel

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Photo by Shannon

AT SOCIALIST YOUTH CONFERENCE. Peter Camejo delivers speech on "Making the American Revolution" which received rousing ovation at East Coast May Day Socialist Educational Weekend in New York May 2-4. Over 200 people participated in the weekend which featured a banquet and campaign rally for New York Socialist Workers candidates. Other speakers at conference included Militant staff member Mary-Alice Waters on "The Lessons of May-June," George Novack on "Reform and Revolution in American History," and YSA leader Tony Thomas on "The Black Liberation Struggle and the Colonial Revolution."

Seek to disbar New Africa leader

[The following are excerpts from a statement issued May 3 by the Republic of New Africa.]

DETROIT—The action of a Pontiac Municipal Judge in barring Attorney Milton R. Henry (Brother Gaidi), First Vice President of the Republic of New Africa, from practicing law in his courtroom on grounds that Henry is not a citizen is part of a concerted attack upon fighting black lawyers and justices, according to New African Officials. But it may also represent the first crack in the dam of United States refusal to recognize the independence of black people as put forth by the Republic of New Africa.

Brother Gaidi told the press here today that the Judge's action "was not intended to assist black people in their struggle for freedom and independence. It was, instead, a part of the campaign that has recently intensified in the Detroit area to take from black people their most vocal and effective lawyers and judges." Gaidi cited virulent attacks upon Recorder's Court Judge George Crockett which followed the New Bethel incident of March 29th. In that incident a white police officer was killed and a small army of police then stormed and shot up New Bethel Church, without warning, and brutalized and arrested some 150 men, women and children. Judge Crockett, aroused from bed, promptly forced the Police Department to produce those arrested and release most of them. . . .

Brother Gaidi pointed out, however, that if the state Supreme Court were to sustain the action of the Pontiac Municipal Judge it would represent the first time that a governmental agency in the United States has accepted the position of the Republic of New Africa on the independence of black people. The position of the Republic of New Africa—and this is the position stated by Brother Gaidi in court—is that no black person in America has legal citizenship. New Africa reasons that after the slave in America was freed by the 13th Amendment, he was denied choices to which every freed man is entitled. Those choices are (1) whether he would wish to become a citizen of the United States; (2) whether he would wish to go to another country; (3) whether he would wish to go back to Africa; or (4) whether he would wish to set up his own country. Instead of these choices, the ex-slave was told by the 14th Amendment that he was a citizen. He was told—not asked. The very fact that the white man could tell a supposedly free man that he has to be a citizen wipes out the original grant of freedom, and without freedom in

Lodico urges News boycott

DETROIT—Paul Lodico, Detroit Common Council candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, has urged support for the boycott of the Detroit News.

This boycott, coordinated by the Black United Front, stems from the March 29 police raid of a Republic of New Africa (RNA) meeting in which four were wounded and over 100 persons arrested.

The Detroit News has whipped up racist hysteria around the situation and encouraged police repression. A prime target of the right-wing slanders is Recorder's Court Judge George Crockett who insisted on safeguarding the constitutional rights of the arrested black people.

the United States there is no citizenship. . .

What the Pontiac judge did was to accept the New African argument and ignore the formal procedure called for by the United States law when one wishes to renounce one's citizenship. If the Michigan Supreme Court upholds this judge's position, then New Africa will have achieved a major victory, because it would mean, in the contemplation of the state of Michigan, that no black person has any United

States citizenship. The ramifications are immense. In the particular case of a lawyer, a lawyer is barred from practice in the United States Federal Courts if he is barred from practice in the state courts. This means the United States unless it acts otherwise, will be in the position of accepting the Pontiac Municipal Judge's view that black people have no United States citizenship.

One of the ramifications of such a decision by the Michigan Supreme Court would be that black people as a group would become entitled to negotiate their status with the state of Michigan and the United States government the same as Indians as a group negotiated theirs, the same as Filipinos as a group once negotiated theirs, and the same as Puerto Ricans had theirs negotiated.

In other words, black people would become entitled, as New Africa has contended all along, to have a black nation make a settlement with the United States government for land, money, trading credits, and other materials as compensation for slavery and all the discrimination black people have suffered in America since slavery. Black people become entitled, through a black nation, to make all sorts of treaties affecting their relationships with the United States, and these treaties would certainly affect such things as the payment of taxes.

Obviously if we are a people without United States citizenship and, until now, without a government recognized by the United States . . . it would be an act of



Brother Gaidi

sheer tyranny unsupported by justice and international law for the United States to apply a tax law to us before the United States has settled with us for what they owe us for slavery and subsequent discrimination, and/or before an explicit accord between our two peoples is worked out.

New African officials therefore eagerly await the action of the Michigan Supreme Court on the recommendation sent to them by the Pontiac Municipal Judge that Brother Gaidi be barred from practice in Michigan because he is not a United States citizen.

Boutelle urges student control fight

High school rebellion rocks N.Y.

By Al Rosenthal

NEW YORK—Student uprisings of unprecedented scope have been rocking New York City's schools. Strikes, occupations, and student-administration confrontations occurred last week at over half the city's high schools and many junior highs. These upsurges promise to continue.

The fundamental issue in the New York City schools is community control. The demands of the black and Puerto Rican communities for control over their schools have been met by police occupations and arbitrary administrative rulings. The students have no voice at all in running their schools, the administration having the last word over even the nominal student governments.

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, has denounced the present school system and has made "Black and Puerto Rican Control of Black and Puerto Rican Education" a key issue of his campaign. He pointed out that under the present system, where the capitalist government controls all decisions on education, the New York state legislature cut 20 percent of the education budget, while the federal government spends billions on the war in Vietnam.

The physical condition of the schools is appalling. Some schools operate at over 150 percent capacity, which results in dangerous fire hazards. Many schools are listed by the board of housing as unfit for human occupancy! High School Students for Boutelle, in its 18-point program, calls for a "crash school construction program to end overcrowding and replace all dilapidated buildings." Such a program will be possible when control over school spending is in the hands of the people of New York.

Jeff Mackler, SWP candidate for president of city council who is a city school teacher active in the New Coalition, the UFT opposition caucus to Shanker, ripped the curriculum of the city's schools:

"At most public schools, there is no education going on. Not only is teaching thoroughly inadequate, but the programs are useless and geared to class and ethnic backgrounds totally alien to many high-schoolers. Afro-American history and culture is still only taught at those few high schools still under the city's 'experimental' decentralization programs.

"Education can only become relevant when the communities and the students decide curriculum for themselves."

Student struggles around the most elementary demands have been met with police violence and legal crackdowns. Lindsay reacted predictably to last week's protest by calling in the police. Every high school in New York was assigned a police detail.

In some high schools, police guards are assigned to walk students to the toilet.

On April 22, the state legislature passed a bill making it a crime to "disrupt the normal functioning of classes" in any public school, punishable by a year in jail. House speakers talked of the need to "curb disorders" in the same spirit that Lindsay has sworn to use "the full resources of the police department in the high schools."

These conditions are compounded by the attitudes of the Shanker-led UFT. The UFT brass has campaigned for years to

stop any measures for community control. Teachers are encouraged to seize upon imagined offenses to provide grist for the UFT's racist mill. Demagogic charges of "anti-Semitism" are hurled at all those members of the black and Puerto Rican community who are struggling for control over their schools.

In Paul Boutelle's view, the solution for New York City's schools is for students to link up with the black and Puerto Rican communities in a joint struggle for community control.



Photo by Liberation News Service

Black Panther demands freedom for Huey Newton at Long Island City, N.Y. high school.

New ISR features Mandel article

Should workers fight for positions on management control committees in their plants? To what degree should workers participate in such committees if employers are willing to grant them positions?

"The Debate on Workers Control," featured in the May-June issue of the **International Socialist Review**, is a discussion of these questions by Ernest Mandel, the noted Belgian Trotskyist economist.

At first sight the answers might seem obvious. But Mandel shows that they pose the question of class-struggle vs. reformist program for trade-union activity. He uses the opportunity of this debate to explain the transitional approach of revolutionary Marxists to workers' struggles.

Also included in the new issue of the **ISR** is an article on the role of banks in the United States, "The Financial Empires of America's Ruling Class," By Dick Roberts, a writer on economics for **The Militant**.

Roberts takes up such questions as: How great is the power and wealth of the richest families? What role do pension and mutual funds play in stockownership? How does this compare with the role of banks?

There are also three shorter articles on the "convergence" of Social Democratic and Stalinist political movements in Europe. These take as a pivot the ideas of Otto Bauer, once the leading theoretician of the Austrian social democracy.

Bauer's theories are shown to contain what is an essential ingredient of reformism—in any variety—distrust and contempt for the working class.

The **International Socialist Review** can be obtained for 50 cents a copy form 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. A subscription, for six issues, is \$2.50.

The decline of SDS at Columbia

By Paula Reimers

(The author is a student at Barnard, the women's college of Columbia University.)

The Columbia University SDS today finds itself in a political and organization crisis—a crisis that is part of a larger one now developing in SDS on a national scale. The symptoms are internecine factional warfare, lack of political direction, loss of political prestige on campus, a sense of despair and frustration among the members. This in a time of mounting student radicalization.

Columbia provides an instructive example of the problems now besetting an increasing number of SDS chapters. The situation at Columbia is summed up in the fact that last spring SDS led the nation's most publicized campus revolt. This spring, despite deepening antiwar sentiment, Columbia SDS found itself unable to carry through an effective action against ROTC.

In a single year, the chapter has deteriorated from a movement capable of mobilizing significant sectors of the campus body to a relatively small group of radicals, isolated and alienated from the mass of the students.

The war issue

Along with the black liberation struggle, the war in Vietnam is central to American political life today. It is the central present-day confrontation in the world between imperialism and the world revolution. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese must be defended by everyone who considers himself a revolutionary.

Also, the war in Vietnam has radicalized more students than any other single issue. The antiwar movement has mobilized hundreds of thousands of college and high school students in opposition to American imperialist aggression, and in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Yet SDS nationally has stubbornly pursued an abstentionist policy in relation to the organized antiwar movement, viewing it as an organizational "competitor." Excepting the first one in 1965, SDS has not helped organize a single one of the mass mobilizations against the war in the past four years.

Columbia SDS has justified its abstention from the organized antiwar movement, with the argument that the antiwar move-



THE HIGH POINT. Scene in front of Columbia's Low Memorial Library April 29, 1968, day before the brutal bust that made headlines around the globe. During that occupation SDS had tremendous campus support. But

lack of clear political orientation and frustrated politics of ultra-left adventurism reduced support to point where attempted building occupation this spring drew only a few hundred.

ment is not consciously "anti-imperialist" and that therefore revolutionaries cannot work with it. While the consciousness of the broad antiwar movement may not be uniformly anti-imperialist, the actions it carries out, mobilizing the American people to oppose the war, are objectively anti-imperialist, in that they significantly impede imperialism's attempt to crush the Vietnamese revolution. It is also the duty of every revolutionary to intervene in this mass movement precisely in order to raise the level of consciousness from antiwar to anti-imperialist.

SDS at Columbia has carried out the same narrow policy in its agitation against NROTC (Naval ROTC) and military recruiting.

Columbia students are almost entirely opposed to the war and opposed to any kind of military training that would aid that war. But SDS has demanded that everyone subscribe to its concept of "anti-imperialism" to be eligible to oppose the military on campus. This has alienated large numbers of students and faculty members whose support could have been enlisted in a drive to force NROTC and military recruiters off the Columbia campus.

Instead of consciously attempting to mobilize the thousands of students who oppose NROTC and military recruiting, SDS chose to initiate commando-type tactics in which a tiny group of "conscious anti-imperialists" participated.

When military recruiters came to campus in February, SDS called a demonstration which drew about 500 students. This demonstration rapidly dwindled to less than 100 as SDS led the group into adventurist actions. They threw stink bombs into Casa Hispanica which missed the recruiters and hit the library. Then they invaded a campus office tearing out phones and smashing typewriters.

These unmotivated actions succeeded only in antagonizing the great majority of students and faculty, including a great many of those who opposed recruiting on campus, and SDS found itself isolated.

The next action was a non-disruptive sit-in, which could have attracted a great deal of support. It attracted only about 100 students, however, because most students by now viewed SDS with suspicion. SDS had acquired a reputation for manipulating people into confrontations.

Finally, SDS called for a one-day strike to show support for its demands. But it was so ill-conceived as to assure in advance it would be ineffective. First, the strike was called for the middle of mid-term exams week, a very difficult time to convince students to support a strike. Secondly, SDS made no attempt whatsoever to enlist the support of the many campus organizations which supported the issues of the strike. The outcome was dismal.

Then SDS abruptly abandoned activity on the NROTC and recruiting issues. The demands around NROTC and recruiting were subsumed into the more general SDS demands.

The "antiwar" orientation, such as it was, had developed originally during a factional struggle with Progressive Labor

within Columbia SDS. PL took the position that the Vietnamese had "sold out" by negotiating with the U.S. in Paris, and that students should concentrate their activity on "local issues" and Columbia expansion into the neighboring black community. The anti-PL SDS leaders, having no long-range political perspective of their own, were forced to find a counterorientation or let leadership of SDS fall to PL. This was probably the strongest motivation behind SDS' limited antiwar drive.

The black struggle

The other major crisis of American capitalism is the growing militancy of the black liberation struggle.

Black students are in the forefront of the student movement today, pressing their demands for control of their education in nearly every college and high school in this country. Clearly, every revolutionary organization must relate to the struggle now being waged by black people for self-determination.

Yet SDS has had a very difficult time adopting any coherent, thought-out policy with regard to the black struggle. SDSers have felt a sense of solidarity with black people. But SDS is now learning the hard way that a political program cannot be based on "feelings" alone.

The question of support to black nationalism has thrown SDS into internal turmoil time and again. There have been numerous vicious faction fights between Progressive Labor which brands the demand for black self-determination as reactionary, and the SDS independents who disagree.

But even while opposing PL's false position, SDS leaders contradict the principle of self-determination by denying the right of black people to lead and direct their own struggles for their own demands.

In a number of instances, SDS has not only denied in action the right of black leadership in the black struggle, but has even tried to co-opt that struggle and use it to build SDS.

For example: a series of struggles were initiated this spring by black and Puerto Rican high school students and by the Columbia Students Afro-American Society. The leadership of SDS reacted to these struggles in a way that can only be characterized as at once both opportunistic and sectarian.

They have tried to use the struggles of other groups to "spark" the campus into political action under SDS leadership. The clearest expression of this was in SDS's relation to the high school student movement and to the demands of the Students Afro-American Society.

High school struggle

The High School Coalition, a city-wide organization of black and Puerto Rican high school students, presented a series of 15 demands to the Board of Education. The demands centered around the establishment of courses on black and Puerto Rican history and culture, the hiring of more black and Puerto Rican teachers, open admissions to area colleges, and similar issues.

Columbia SDS made the demand for open admissions to Columbia from neighboring high schools one of its primary demands for the spring. However, SDS's main ob-

jective in working with high school students has been to build the movement at Columbia, with little concern whether this would actually serve the interests of the high school students.

The High School Coalition declared April 21 as "D Day," the day on which city-wide action would be taken in response to the Board of Education's refusal to grant the demands. Columbia SDS invited the students to Columbia for a rally in support of their demands.

Three days later, it became evident that the alliance between SDS and the high school students had broken down. The following article, entitled "Brandeis Denounces SDS," appeared in the Black Student Union's newsletter, **Quick News**:

"Thursday (the 24th) saw the circulation of a leaflet by Puerto Rican and Black students of Brandeis HS denouncing the Students for a Democratic Society. It charges SDS with using black and Puerto Rican students in their fight against Columbia University and of destroying their efforts to organize Brandeis around the 15 DEMANDS by using the demands as a lure to Columbia. The black and Puerto Rican students also said that SDS had not consulted any of the black or Puerto Rican groups involved in the HS D-DAY OFFENSIVE. POWER!!!!"

Students Afro-American Society

Nearly five months previous, the Columbia Students Afro-American Society (SAS) had presented the administration with the demand for an all-black Interim Board. The board was to be composed of students, faculty and community people, and was to have the power to create a Black Studies Institute and to establish other programs to deal with the black experience at Columbia. SAS carried out an extensive campaign and won considerable support from all sectors of campus opinion.

While SDS leaders paid lip-service to the need for black leadership of the black struggle, they carried out actions which cut across black leadership.

On April 17 SDS occupied Philosophy Hall. The demands of the occupation were open admissions—and the SDS demands!

Ironically enough, at the same time, SAS was trying to hold a previously scheduled teach-in in support of its own demands. SDS's sit-in diverted many radicals from the SAS teach-in.

The occupation, in support of the SAS demands, was carried out without the knowledge of the SAS. Whether intended or not, the objective result of this action was to undercut black leadership. It implied that black students did not know how to lead the struggle for their own demands, that they were not militant enough, and that white students could show them "how to do it right."

SDS recently issued another leaflet which reaffirmed the right of black leadership for the black struggle. But actions speak louder than words.

(This is the first part of a two-installment article. Next week: the factional struggles in Columbia SDS.)

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

BRADLEY: PRO & CON. Speakers: Ken O'Duna, Youth Committee for Bradley; George Davis, Socialist Workers Party; Walter Lippman, Young Socialist Alliance; a representative of the Black Panther Party. Fri., May 16 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1 Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

COLOR SLIDES OF CUBA: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Hear Dan Rosenshine, recently returned from Cuba. Fri., May 16, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1 HS students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.



University of Wisconsin students resist police attack.

Photo by Chuck Schoengrund

An effective mass action

Student s

By Rick Congress

BLOOMINGTON, Ind., May 6— For the last week and a half Indiana University has been involved in one of the longest mass protest actions in the history of American campus activism. Seven rallies in 11 days have drawn three to ten thousand students to discuss and plan action to prevent a 68 percent increase in student fees for the coming Fall semester. The accomplishments to date offer valuable lessons on organizing effective campus action.

The drastic increase in fees was the result of a general budget cut in appropriations for education recently passed by the Indiana legislature. Purdue University, also hit hard by the budget cut, initiated action in the state with a boycott of the student union, a sit-in at the administration building and a boycott of classes.

Purdue students contacted student leaders at IU to arrange for a support rally. On April 24, Purdue students addressed a rally of 2,500 on the IU campus organized by a broad coalition including the student government, YSA, SDS, New University Conference (NUC) and others. IU students took the initiative by demanding the right to examine the university budget to determine where budget priorities lay and what possible alternative sources of income were available to the university besides increased student fees.

That night the student senate elected a seven-man committee, including YSA spokesman Russell Block, to go over the budget with administrators. In a five-hour meeting with administrators the following Sunday the student budget committee ran into a solid wall of opposition.

On Sunday night the student leaders met and decided on four demands: 1) rescind the fee increase, 2) a student budget committee with parity and veto power over the budget, 3) a graduated tuition based upon income by 1970 and 4) free tuition by 1972. These demands were presented to administrators at a rally in the athletic field house attended by 10,000 students.

The battle with the Madison cops

By Harriet Ashton and Bob Wilkinson

MADISON, Wis., Tuesday, May 6— Southern Wisconsin riot police, under the direction of Madison Mayor William "Bull" Dyke, are waging a riotous assault against residents of the neighborhoods surrounding the University of Wisconsin. Students and townspeople alike have been gassed, beaten and jailed.

The police riot, now entering its fourth day, began when Madison cops decided to bust up a street dance students wanted to hold in a residential area near the campus. Claiming that there was no city ordinance permitting street dances, city officials refused to allow the party, which was to have begun on Saturday afternoon. The events that afternoon set off a pattern of steadily escalating police violence which has terrorized this community from fraternity row to the homes of factory workers and old people.

Determined to exercise their rights, campus-area residents have defended themselves with barricades, and have hurled missiles at cops who were attempting to beat students. In addition, many people have engaged in diversionary actions, such as garbage-can fires and shop-window breaking, to scatter the savage cops.

As of Sunday night, over 100 people had been arrested, mostly students, but also several young workers and two city aldermen. A third alderman was gassed and had to hide in a student apartment to avoid a beating by police. Also as of Sunday night, 37 people had been taken to hospitals for injuries, including 15 cops.

As of this writing the cop riot area covers about two square miles.

Last evening began with a meeting at the corner of Mifflin and Basset streets, near the spot where the street dance would have been held. "Bull" Dyke tried to convince a crowd of some 1,500 that he could do nothing for the students because the "law" had to be enforced. At one point during this meeting, a landlord demanded amnesty for all those arrested.

After the mayor left, a half-hour moratorium was announced to allow people to consider his offer that they disperse. In reply, the students erected a four-foot high barricade across Mifflin St., ignited it, and awaited the police. Throughout the rest of the evening, dozens of smaller barricades went up, and thousands of students and others moved through the streets and alleys of Madison, several hundred of them throwing rocks. Some of the heaviest barrages came from fraternity houses.

Police violence was much more massive

and widespread than on previous nights. Arrests were relatively few, the cops preferring to exact punishment on the streets. People walking down the streets, singly or in groups, would be beaten, maced, or gassed by gangs of rioting cops. Each such incident would result in a hail of rocks and bottles in the direction of the nearest squad car, police wagon, or knot of police. By 1 a.m., the Mifflin Street area had been "pacified," but several hundred people were left on State Street, the main business area near downtown Madison.

Despite an atmosphere of tear and pepper gas, those remaining showed no desire to go home as long as the cops were around. Bone-weary, the police left, their war of attrition lost, at least this time around.

What had started Saturday night as a peaceful street dance by a couple of hundred people, has been paralyzed by the police attack into a major physical and political confrontation with no end yet in sight. Residents of the east and southeast campus area are demanding that police withdraw, that charges against all those arrested be dropped, that there be no further reprisals, and . . . that permission be granted to hold a street dance on Mifflin St. They are supported by ministers, faculty members and even some landlords.

On Saturday, students, some shouting "Paris lives" and "No more brothers in jail," had constructed barricades against the rampaging cops who had invaded their neighborhood that afternoon.

Cops were sent to break up the dance on the pretext that the students had no permit. The mayor had refused to grant a permit for the party because he didn't want to "set a precedent." He did, however, set a precedent as cops arrested the ward's alderman, Paul Soglin. Cops went after people indiscriminately (one person was arrested for throwing a frisbee across the street) and students reacted. Rocks flew and soon the fight was no longer over just a dance, but rather over whom the street belonged to — the cops or the people. As the cops escalated their violence and began gassing a three-square-block area with gas canisters and fogging machines, the issue became one of self-defense.

Students constructed six barricades. At one main highway several hundred people, aided by a truck driver, pushed a huge construction truck into the intersection thereby blocking traffic and diverting the cops' attack.

On Sunday, people were still determined to show the city administration that it could not commit such aggression again and get off easily. Students attempted once more to hold a street dance in the 500 block of Mifflin Street, in the heart of the student ghetto. A repeat, on a larger scale, of the last night's performance followed. Cops beat people, gassed the whole area with CN tear gas, driving many people from their homes. On several occasions police invaded houses with gas and clubs and made numerous arrests. Alderman Soglin was rearrested, and Eugene Parks, the city's only black alderman, was arrested when he attempted to aid a student being beaten by police.

The firemen, although harried by the increase in fire calls, seem to share some

of the students' feelings toward the cops. Just last month Firefighters Local 311 carried out a militant strike for pay parity with the city cops. In a return gesture of solidarity for the student support of that strike, the firemen paid the \$507 bail for Alderman Soglin. It is also reported that firemen refused a police request to hose down the "rioting" residents of the Mifflin St. community, saying they would hose down the cops first.

University of Wisconsin officials are trying to fake neutrality by deploring the lack of student-cop rapport. They have offered a University parking area for a dance. Residents are expected to insist on their right to have the original side street near their homes blocked off for the dance, and also the right of amnesty for those arrested.



Photo by Chuck Shoengrund



Photo by Chuck Shoengrund

ENCOUNTERS. On Madison's State St., cop hurls gas grenade. On side street, cop car crashes one of numerous minibarricades thrown up to impede police traffic.



Strike hits U of Indiana

Once again the administration concentrated its efforts on a justification of the budget and refused to answer the demands. The trustees of the university, representatives of the major banking and manufacturing interests in Indiana, were invited to the meeting but declined to attend. The students delivered a 48-hour ultimatum to the administration.

A Tuesday night rally to discuss tactics drew 4,000 people. The rally ended with a march to the main auditorium steps, where Frank McKinney, Indiana's biggest banker, the boss of the Democratic Party and chairman of the IU board of trustees, was burned in effigy.

On Wednesday an outdoor rally was held to receive the answer to the demands. Once again the administration stalled. Students did not delay any longer, but immediately called for a boycott of classes to last through the weekend and be reconsidered at a meeting on Sunday.

On Thursday another rally was held to receive the administration's answer to the four demands. Forty-five minutes before the scheduled 1:00 p.m. start of the rally, fire broke out in the graduate library. A pall of smoke from burning books hung over the crowd as Acting Chancellor John Snyder delivered the administration response to student demands. Snyder tried to use the fire to break the student strike. He said that people all over the state would blame the fire on student dissidents and demanded that the boycotters return to class. His ploy fell short of the mark as students reacted with rage against Snyder's innuendo. A chorus of boos swept through the crowd, and defiant students shouted, "You set it yourself." Snyder, who had apparently expected the students to crawl back to class, was forced at the end of the meeting to retract his statement and make it clear that he believed the boycotting students were not responsible for the fire.

During the meeting, 300 black students marched in together and demanded exemption from the proposed fee increase.

Everyone was surprised by the immediate and decisive effectiveness of the strike. During Thursday and Friday the strike was 80-90 percent effective. Free universities were set up in the dormitories. Classes were moved outside, turned into discussions on the fee increase, the role of the university in society, etc. All over campus meetings, caucuses and discussions blossomed.

A mass movement of totally unexpected size had been unleashed. YSAers and other radicals were kept busy running from dormitory to dormitory for speaking engagements. Mass action had opened the minds of thousands of students to revolutionary ideas. Red armbands became the symbol of strike unity and were in evidence all over the campus.

A May 4 rally to decide whether to continue the strike drew over 10,000. They voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike and called a rally for Friday to re-evaluate the situation. The leadership, as in any mass struggle, involved people of different political tendencies. Any attempts at small, vanguard ultraleft activities were isolated and subsumed in the mass rallies and the power of the strike. More importantly, the attempts by the administration and opportunistic elements centered around the student government to derail the strike have so far been put down by the momentum of the action. Crass attempts to manipulate the microphone at the mass rallies and cloud over the clear determination of mobilized students to shut it down until the fees are rescinded have badly damaged the credibility of the so-called responsible student leaders.

The Campus Caucus, which includes YSA, SDS, NUC and other political groups as well as dormitories and fraternities, has emerged as the strike steering committee committed to continuing the struggle. The rightward elements have been forced to participate in this Campus Caucus by the pressure of the movement.

A very important effect of the mass nature of the movement is the incredible rise of political consciousness on the campus. The issue of the students being forced to pay for a budget cut, instead of the businesses which run and exploit the university, raises the central question of power and class exploitation. Discussions about the class nature of the university, the theory of mass action against a ruling class, socialism, and the need for a revolution are being participated in by students who two weeks ago would not have listened to these ideas for five minutes.

At a meeting today some 500 of the 1,300 teaching assistants met on campus and voted by an overwhelming majority to strike if any of the students were penalized for their activity in the present shut-down. On a campus with a generally conservative faculty, this was a very encouraging development.



Photo by John Fulton/Indiana Daily Student

URGES CONTINUING ACTION. Russell Block, Young Socialist Alliance spokesman, addresses May 4 rally of 10,000 University of Indiana students. Rally voted overwhelmingly to continue strike action against tuition hike.

Harpur YSAer is elected student body president

BINGHAMTON, N.Y., May 6—Running on a socialist program, Gary Wurtzel, candidate of the Young Socialist Alliance, was elected president of the Harpur College United Student Government yesterday. He polled 1,306 votes as against 850 for his opponent. The victory came after an attempt by student government officials to prevent him from taking office on the basis of an earlier election where he had won by a plurality. Andrea Baron, a YSA running mate, was elected secretary.

Wurtzel's victory in the first election was arbitrarily voided on the basis of claimed, unspecified "irregularities" in the election. The second vote brought a record turnout of students—86 percent cast ballots compared to about 50 percent the first time—and the returns made the victory unmistakable.

Wurtzel and five other YSA candidates ran for student government posts on a socialist platform, and utilized the campaign to educate to socialist ideas. Their program included opposition to institutionalized racism; support of self-determination for black students, with a special admissions policy to boost black enrollment; opposition to campus complicity with the war machine and to university cooperation with the selective service.

In the course of the campaign a red-

baiting attack was launched against the YSA, twisting its support for the Arab revolution into the claim that it supported Arab "violence and bloodshed." It was apparently assumed that this would be effective since there are many Jewish students on the campus. But when the YSAers explained their principled support of the Palestine liberation struggle, they won over many students.

This debate and discussion of YSA policies was carried on the campus radio station and in public forums. A good number of subscriptions to *The Militant* were sold in the course of the campaign. Election leaflets effectively concretized and related socialist concepts to the campus.

The Harpur YSA will utilize its elected positions to initiate militant campus actions and to further the education of students in the principles of socialism.

In addition to the winning candidates, the YSA ran Peter Gellert for first vice-president; John Smith for second vice-president; and Arnold Weissberg for advocate; They polled between 300 and 800 votes.

Gary Wurtzel is a junior who has been active in the radical movement for three years, formerly as a member of SDS. Andrea Baron is also a well-known campus radical.

How to cope with the attacks on the campus struggles

By Elizabeth Barnes

The student upsurge reached an unprecedented intensity during the past several weeks. At the same time, attacks on the movement have also intensified. On a number of campuses, militant actions have ended with the isolation and defeat of the demonstrators.

It is thus becoming more urgent to consider how best to defend the movement against such defeats, of how to protect it from the onslaughts of cops and courts as well as the more sophisticated—and sometimes more dangerous—double-dealing of college administrators.

The attacks are coming from two directions. On the one hand, there are the "hawks" whose ranks include the more conservative politicians, including numerous state legislators and Congressmen, who are trying to outdo each other in their cries for "cracking down" on the students. Seven state legislatures have rammed through laws specifically aimed at student demonstrators. Three different Congressional committees are vying for the opportunity to spearhead investigations of student organizations.

On the other hand, the movement is under attack from sectors of the ruling class who favor an emphasis on a more flexible strategy. Many college administrators fall into this category, and their use of what could be called a more "liberal" approach has been fairly effective thus far in containing some student actions.

The essence of this liberal strategy was summed up in a *New York Times* editorial May 5. The editorial warns against the development of a "mindless, vindictive backlash movement" which would "play into the hands of the disrupters." Calling in the cops, it asserts, is likely to result in "overkill" as happened last spring at Columbia and this spring at Harvard. What the *Times* recommends as an alternative is a "combination of concessions to justified demands, improved communications among students, administrators and faculty, and firmness where required." With this approach, they say, university administrators "can regain the initiative from the wildest dissenters and even mobilize student majorities to back campus order and peace."

The emphasis in this more sophisticated approach is on "divide and rule," on attempting to isolate the activists while either neutralizing or winning over the majority of the students to the side of the administration.

In defending the movement against these liberal tactics, as well as the more obvious oppression of the "hawks," it is important first and foremost to realize that the only effective protection the students have is the development of mass support. Every step taken in the struggle must thus be calculated to win over the greatest possible number of people.

In attempting to win support for student protests, it is of central importance to understand that the very same issues which are moving masses of students into action are

also the issues which are of concern to the masses of American people. These issues are not difficult to pinpoint. The overwhelming majority of student actions have either been initiated by Third World students around issues such as open enrollment or Third World studies programs or around issues related to the Vietnam war.

It has been proven concretely that if intelligent tactics are used in organizing actions around these issues, the masses of students, as well as people in the community, can be won over.

A series of discussions held at Amherst College recently resulted in a letter from the president of the college, Calvin Plimpton, to President Nixon. The letter criticized Nixon's recent attack on the student movement on the grounds that Nixon had disregarded the real issues involved. "The pervasive and insistent disquiet on many campuses throughout the nation," the letter said, "indicates that unrest results, not from a conspiracy of a few, but from a shared sense that the nation has no adequate plans for meeting the crisis of our society."

As the Amherst letter points out, the opponents of the student upsurge are always trying to divert discussion from the real issues involved. They are forever harping on such familiar themes as "the demonstrators only represent a tiny minority," or "the demonstrators are denying other students their right of free speech," or "they are just demonstrating for the sake of demonstrating and causing a nuisance."

This type of distortion is one of the strongest weapons the rulers of this country have, and the movement cannot afford to let them get away with it. Every protest action should be planned from the point of view of showing clearly that it is the ruling class which is in reality denying the rights of the majority, that it is the ruling class that tries to repress the student movement because it cannot face up to the issues of war and racist oppression.

Emphasis in any struggle should be on actions which show clearly the democratic nature of the student movement, as well as its power. This means organizing mass meetings where decisions regarding the struggle can be made democratically, and such actions as strikes, mass rallies or mass demonstrations which make the numbers of people involved most visible.

There is no such thing as "instant revolution" on campus. Winning people to an understanding that war and racism are caused by the basic nature of the system and that the system must be abolished, is a drawn-out process. The present upsurge is part of that process.

Any attempt to cut corners in the course of the struggle by turning away from the key issues which continue to radicalize whole new layers of people will only short-circuit this process. On the other hand, if the lessons of the present upsurge are absorbed, the "spring offensive" can lay the basis for even more massive actions in the future.

An unvarnished history (IV)

Progressive Labor and the Cuban Revolution

By Mary-Alice Waters

Progressive Labor's attitude toward the Cuban revolution has gone through essentially two stages—pro-Cuban revolution and anti-Cuban revolution. Or one might label them "early PL" and "later PL." The policies followed during the two periods, the differences between them, and the reasons for the shift are important, as they offer an instructive example of PL's basic political approach. Fundamentally, neither position was based on an understanding of the needs of the Cuban revolution, or of the role it has played in the international class struggle in the last decade. Their position has been based primarily on the sectarian needs of Progressive Labor and the policies of the Chinese Communist Party.

During the early period, which lasted roughly from the time PL began in early 1962 until the Tricontinental Congress in January 1966, PL attempted to identify itself closely with the Cuban revolution. Then, as now, defense of the Cuban revolution was a dividing line between revolutionary and nonrevolutionary, and PL was interested in the thousands of students across the country who had not been

taken in by the volumes of slander printed about the Cuban revolution.

In a manner not unlike the pattern seen in Hazard and Monroe, PL set out to utilize this sentiment—not to build the most effective united-front defense of the Cuban revolution, as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee had done earlier—but to make quick gains for PL. In late 1962 PL announced its first Cuba trip. Close to 70 people signed up to go during the Christmas vacation, understanding they had been invited by the Cuban Federation of University Students, that the ACLU had volunteered to defend any of them who might be victimized for violating the State Department travel ban, and that all the details had been worked out with the Cuban government.

In reality, the travel details had not been arranged, the ACLU had made no such promise, and it is highly dubious that the Cuban government even knew of the proposed trip until it was reported in the U.S. press. Not surprisingly, the trip never materialized, as, among other things, the Canadian government refused to grant a landing permit to the plane that was to have taken the students to Cuba.

Two trips

Two successful trips to Cuba were organized in the summers of 1963 and 1964. Between the two trips almost 150 young people were able to see Cuba for themselves and return to help spread the truth about the Cuban revolution. Despite the State Department ban, hundreds of students were willing to take the risk of losing their passports, fighting long court cases, and facing up to \$5,000 in fines and five years in jail. This was the sentiment PL based itself on.

However, instead of trying to involve and unite all the forces which supported the Cuban revolution, thereby contributing to a broad united-front defense effort for the revolution—and for those who might be victimized for traveling to Cuba—PL's policy was to screen out any applicants for the Cuba trips who were known members of other radical organizations. This was true not only of YSAers and SWPers, but DuBois Club members, CPers, and anyone else who politically disagreed with Progressive Labor. Thus, in the name of fighting the travel ban, PL established its own political ban.

When the first group of students returned from Cuba in September 1963, their passports were immediately invalidated, HUAC scheduled a two-day hearing and subpoenaed the organizers, and a federal grand jury rapidly indicted four PLers, three for violation of the McCarran Immigration Act and the State Department ban, and all four for conspiracy to violate both. Many students recognized the importance of breaking the ban and wanted to support those indicted and deprived of their passports, but defense committees never got off the ground. PL was intent on excluding other political tendencies from participating in them, and did not agree that the purpose of the defense committees should be solely to mobilize defense support—and not be mere appendages of PL. The Committee to Uphold the Right to Travel (CURT), for example, held one or two successful rallies and public meetings in the Bay Area, and then folded. After several years of litigation, and a number of court rulings in favor of freedom to travel, the charges against the four PLers were finally dropped.

Throughout this "early" period, **Progressive Labor** printed frequent articles correctly describing the important basic social advances made by the Cuban revolution. Typical was an editorial published in the March 1963 issue reproducing the text of



SCORES PEKING'S POLICY. On March 13, 1966 Fidel Castro denounced the decision of the Chinese government to renege on its trade agreement with Cuba. "It is a real felony, real blackmail, a real betrayal of the international working class to deprive us of almost half of our rice at a time of great difficulty for us."

a broadcast made by Milt Rosen, PL editor.

Lauded Cuba

Rosen enumerated facts—such as the elimination of racism in Cuba, the expansion of education, and health facilities, the elimination of hunger, the destruction of the profit system, and many others. He pointed out that "Socialism is forging ahead in Cuba, and that people all over Latin America and elsewhere see clearly Cuban progress, despite being forced to build Socialism while holding a gun in one hand." He commented that much of the rising tide of revolutionary activity in Latin America was "spurred on by the success of Socialism in Cuba."

Progressive Labor also carried frequent reprints of articles by Che Guevara during this period.

Exactly when the shift in PL's policy toward Cuba and the Cuban leadership occurred is difficult to pin down. Several articles intimate it was as early as 1964, making vague references to a Havana conference of Latin American "revisionist" parties that year.

PL today charges that the Cuban leaders have definitively "put themselves in the revisionist camp" (PL, May 1969, page 63). When did this qualitative change occur, and how and why?

Position murky

Unfortunately for those who follow PL's press, the answers to such questions have never been clearly spelled out—though I'm sure many besides ourselves are wondering. PL now says that a formerly "socialist state"—one that followed a policy of deepening and consolidating the revolution at home and a policy of politically and materially aiding revolutionary movements abroad—has placed itself in the camp of the "revisionists," i.e., is now attempting to halt the progress of the world revolution. No serious Marxists would make such charges without attempting to thoroughly document and explain them. On what do they base these charges, and how do they explain this shift in policy?

The best one can do is to try to reconstruct PL's version of the history of the Cuban revolution from a series of articles appearing between October 1967 and the present, both in **Progressive Labor**, and in **World Revolution**, which is edited by PL members, but contains primarily reprints from articles appearing in the Maoist press around the world.

It seems clear that the decisive turning point for PL came in early 1966, around the time of the Tricontinental Congress, when Fidel Castro charged that the Chinese Communist Party and government were guilty of economic blackmail of Cuba. China had abruptly reneged on trade agreements which were extremely important to the economy of Cuba. As a result, the rice ration in Cuba had to be cut in half for the coming year. On February 6 Castro apologized to the Cuban people "for ha-

ving believed in the internationalist spirit of the Chinese government." When he returned to the subject in a speech on March 13, he reiterated, "It is a real felony, real blackmail, a real betrayal of the international working class to deprive us of almost half of our rice at a time of great difficulty for us."

Economic dependence

Cuba's very existence depended, and still depends, on massive economic aid from the Soviet Union. This has posed delicate problems for the Cuban leaders numerous times during the last decade, when they have spoken out against the reformist policies of the Kremlin or Kremlin-inspired parties around the world. Their condemnation of Soviet aid and diplomatic relations with Latin American dictatorships, and the condemnation of the antistruggle line of the Venezuelan CP are obvious examples.

Despite the unquestionable pressure to line up with Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute, Cuba remained silent, a fact that was generally understood to indicate non-support for the Kremlin's factional attacks on China. But this was not sufficient for Peking. If Cuba did not line up publicly and unequivocally with the Maoists, despite the consequences, which might even entail the destruction of the revolution, then Cuban had joined the "enemy camp" of the "revisionists" and deserved to be isolated.

Certainly, the Cuban revolution has been compelled to pay a price for its economic dependence on the Soviet Union. Within the revolutionary movement the necessity for one or another particular concession can be discussed. But Peking's policy toward Cuba has been no more revolutionary than the Kremlin's.

If the Chinese policy had been one based on the needs of the Cuban revolution, on the needs of the world revolution, and the central importance of supporting and reinforcing the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere, Peking would have recognized the difficult position of the Cuban leaders, and rather than attempting blackmail, would have sought to increase its aid to Cuba in order to help free the Cuban revolution from its economic straits. Instead, Peking's break with Cuba served only to reinforce the Kremlin's influence on Cuba's future, and gave Cuba less room to maneuver and carry out revolutionary policies in opposition to the Kremlin.

Such considerations, however, were of no more concern to PL than they were to the Mao regime.

The next article will deal with PL's "anti-Cuban revolution" period and the charges that the Maoists have leveled against the Cuban revolution and its leadership.

(This serial history of the PLP is appearing on alternate weeks. The next article will be in the issue dated May 30.)

N.Y. court stalls on lowering bail for Panthers

By Derrick Morrison

NEW YORK, May 5—A bail hearing for the Panther 21 got underway today, as helmeted cops stood on the sidewalk, in the corridors and hallways, and in packed rooms adjacent to the courtroom.

Of the 21 Black Panthers accused on trumped-up charges of plotting to blow up department stores and a police station, 14 were present. In the courtroom, behind each of the defendant's chairs, stood a cop. The audience of 40-60 people raised clenched fists as the defendants walked in.

At the beginning of the hearing, Assistant D. A. Joseph Phillips moved that the trial of the 14 take place, stating that the charges amounted to mass "terrorism." His real motive, however, was to assure the existence of such a highly charged hysterical atmosphere around the case that a verdict of guilty would be returned automatically by any jury, despite the lack of evidence.

Defense attorney William Kunstler stated in reply that the motion for an immediate trial was totally unrealistic for preparing an adequate defense. He said there were still several motions to file on reduction of bail, on inspection of the state's evidence against the 21, and on the unconstitutional treatment of his clients while in jail. He asked for at least three months before any trial came down. To rush the case, Kunstler stated, would deny the defendants complete due process of law.

Defense attorney Gerald Lefcourt ran down the backgrounds of six of the defendants, arguing the case for bail reduction. He attempted to counter some of the obvious lies that had been presented by the D. A. In reference to Richard Moore, for example, the district attorney's office had said that he was not married. Attorney Lefcourt simply produced the marriage certificate.

Presiding Judge John Murtaugh decided to continue the hearings rather than summarily deny a bail reduction.

To support the Panther 21, contributions can be sent to: Legal Defense Fund, Black Panther Party, Box 1224, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202.

REPORT FROM PARIS:

Revolutionists act on May Day

By G. Vergeat

PARIS, May 1—In spite of the fact that the Communist Party-dominated CGT (Confederation Generale des Travailleurs—General Confederation of Labor) called off its traditional May Day demonstration, and in spite of an order forbidding any demonstrations in Paris today, a May Day march did take place in the Red Belt Paris suburb of St. Denis. The demonstration was organized by the newly-founded Communist League, French section of the Fourth International.

For years the CGT has organized May Day demonstrations, which have tended to be more like holiday parades than militant mobilizations of the working class. The political content of these parades reflected the class-collaborationist politics of the French Communist Party. Before it had become apparent that the "no" vote in de Gaulle's April 27 referendum had a chance of winning, the CP and the CGT had planned to hold the same kind of demonstration this year.

But the outcome of the referendum changed the political situation, and put the CP into a quandary. The victory of the "no" vote was interpreted by the mass of workers as a victory against the Gaullist regime. The CP bureaucrats feared that this feeling of confidence among the workers could be expressed in a massive demonstration on May 1 that could slip out of the bureaucrats' control, and possibly trigger further independent struggles by the workers. The CP tops feared a repetition of the kind of thing that happened last May 13, when a massive march of workers and students, held after the student barricade battles, signaled the beginning of the occupations of the factories and the greatest general strike in history.

Adding to the nervousness of the CP leadership was the fact that groups to the left of the CP, including the Communist League, have won much greater influence among the vanguard section of the workers than was the case before May 1968. The participation of these groups in the May Day march, coupled with the developing feeling of confidence among the workers after the "no" vote, threatened to transform the march into a militant action with an anticapitalist political thrust. This would run counter to the CP's class-collaborationist political line projected in the current election campaign—for a "democratic" alternative clearly within the limits of the capitalist system.

Goon squad meets

On April 29, the CGT held a meeting



PARIS RALLY. Mass meeting during revolutionary events of last May. Meeting was organized by the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), which, along with other anti-

capitalist groups, was banned by De Gaulle. Many of those associated with the JCR helped launch recently founded Communist League, French section of the Fourth International.

of its strong-arm squads set up to maintain discipline on the May Day march. It was common knowledge that the meeting was called to discuss how to "deal" with the "leftists" in the demonstration. However, they apparently decided that under the circumstances, they couldn't maintain their grip on the demonstration, and the CGT announced that night that it was calling the whole thing off.

The official reason given by the CGT for its retreat appeared on the front page of the CP newspaper, *l'Humanite* April 30. The CGT bureaucrats claimed they "received precise information that a big political provocation is being prepared against the working class on this occasion."

"Smarting from the defeat they received on April 27, the statement said, 'and fearing above all the unity of democratic and workers' forces, reactionary circles and especially the 'civic action committees' are organizing, under the cover of the decisions taken by leftist groups to degenerate the Paris demonstration into riots. Once more it turns out that leftism serves the worst enemies of the workers. One can imagine what kind of capital the Gaullist and reactionary forces could make in the case that serious incidents should occur on May 1 in Paris and what advantages they could win on the political field to overcome their present crisis."

The Communist League immediately an-

swered the CP in a statement released April 29 (both the CL and the CP statements appeared in the May 2 issue of *Le Monde*). The CL charged that the reason given by the CGT for calling off the workers' march was a pretext. "The organized worker militants represent a considerable force," the Communist League pointed out, "which is capable of handling" provocations from the reactionaries.

"The true motivation of the CGT leadership is clear," the statement continues. "After the victory of the 'no,' a central demonstration of the working class" could be of huge size and trigger a strong strike movement. "It is to avoid the direct intervention of the working class for its own objectives and with its own methods of struggle, which could disturb the 'peace' of the presidential election campaign, that the leadership of the CGT canceled the May 1 demonstration.

De Gaulle ban

Fearing that many workers would demonstrate at the call of the groups to the left of the CP in spite of the CGT retreat, the government announced April 30 that it was banning all demonstrations in Paris on May 1.

Facing this situation, the Communist League decided to hold a symbolic demonstration. With only a few hours preparation last night, 1,200 people were

organized to go to St. Denis this morning. St. Denis, technically outside Paris, is one of the "reddest" of the Red Belt suburbs, with a working class that votes consistently and massively for the Communist Party.

The demonstration began at 11:30 a.m. with a march through the main streets of the town with red flags and banners reading "Long Live May 1—Workers' International Holiday." The marchers chanted "De Gaulle is gone—the struggle continues!"; "De Gaulle, Pompidou, no—workers' power, yes!" and "For a Constituent Assembly!" On the steps of City Hall (where the CP city government presides), the marchers held a meeting.

At 12:30, the special forces of the notorious riot police, the CRS arrived in full battle dress, with clubs and gas grenades. The meeting was calmly brought to a close, and the demonstration dissolved before the police could attack.

The reaction of the St. Denis workers was at first one of curiosity—here were the "leftists" their leaders have been warning them against (an interesting contrast to the militant march was provided by CP activists on the sidewalks who were selling flowers for May Day). After the march and arrival of the police, Communist League militants who melted into the cafes found the general opinion of the townspeople to be favorable to the demonstration.

In passing . . . views and reviews

King of Hearts is a delicate, mood-provoking, genuinely human movie set somewhere on the borderline between fantasy and reality.

It poses the sweet and playful innocence of the escaped inhabitants of a lunatic asylum against the absurd but homicidal juggernaut of imperialist war.

The British and German armies are in combat over a small town in the north of France at the end of World War I. The Germans retreat, leaving a time bomb which, if it is not disarmed, will blow up the entire town. The British are informed of the time bomb by a member of the French resistance and send an ornithologist (played by Alan Bates), who is charged with caring for carrier pigeons, into the town to disarm it.

In the process of fleeing from a few left-over German soldiers, our ornithologist inadvertently frees the inhabitants of the local asylum. Thereafter, he finds himself drawn more and more into their fantasy life and away from the ridiculous reality of the war.

Reminiscent of Peter Weiss's *Marat/Sade*, **King of Hearts** utilizes the device of contrasting the insane with the supposedly sane in order to expose the absurdities of "normal" bourgeois thought-patterns.

Charly is a warm, engaging, somewhat

melodramatic motion picture about a mental retardate who undergoes an operation that makes him a genius. Unfortunately for him, his emotional development does not quite keep pace with the development of his intelligence, and he is made to learn the hard way that a grown man cannot face the world with the unalienated openness of a child.

In the process, he makes some painful discoveries about what the drive for individual status and recognition can do to pervert and corrupt even so altruistic an enterprise as the medical profession. He also learns about the cruel process by which people take out their frustrated feelings of social inferiority by ganging up on those less fortunate than themselves.

On the other hand, Charly also learns about precious things like love and human warmth.

Since there are people around who are ready, or almost ready, to advocate the use of atomic weapons in Vietnam, the "war is hell" theme is still a valid filmic enterprise. However, one would have hoped for something more from the sensitive and unquestionably talented Swedish film director Ingmar Bergman.

Shame, a new Bergman film, is set up as a conflict between two anonymous European nations. It focuses in on a happily married couple who are suddenly thrust

into the tensions, horror and terror of war.

Shame is supposed to be Ingmar Bergman's antiwar statement and as such it is disappointing. When one thinks of an artistic antiwar statement today, it is difficult not to make an analogy with the war in Vietnam, where it is not enough to be horrified by the war—it is also necessary to take sides against the U.S. aggression causing that horror.

Shame does not take sides. It is a typically liberal-pacifist exercise, although without doubt as powerful an example of that genre as you are likely to find. Bergman very poignantly portrays the conflicts of his young couple as they try to maintain their love for each other while they are forced to compromise their moral principles in order to survive.

The young woman has first to play up to the local mayor who has the power, on the one hand, to dispense small material privileges and, on the other, to send them to a death camp. Later the husband kills a young Army deserter to get his boots. The dehumanizing actions that each comes to find necessary for survival shock and dehumanize the other.

But one can only hope that Bergman did not intend any analogy with Vietnam, where the liberation fighters are motivated by the high aspirations of freedom and justice as the very best immunization against the dehumanizing aspects of war.

—Malachi Constant



For a free copy write to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Anti-community school bill rammed through in N.Y.

By Howard Reed

NEW YORK — The New York city school "decentralization" bill passed April 30 by the New York State legislature has as its object to destroy and eliminate the attempts by the black and Puerto Rican communities to control their own education.

The bill was passed with the active support and connivance of Albert Shanker and his cohorts in the United Federation of Teachers, along with his allies, the racist school principals and AFL-CIO bureaucrats.

The major provisos of the bill are:

1) The abolition of the three experimental school districts — Ocean Hill-Brownsville, I. S. 201 in Harlem, and Two Bridges — where the black and Puerto Rican communities have tried to institute control over their education. These districts will be absorbed into 30 to 33 "community school boards." Members of these boards would be elected every two years by parents in the districts, who are registered voters, have children in the schools, have 90 days residence, and who are 21 years of age. The boundaries for these districts will be set by the central Board of Education and will thereby be subject to gerrymandering to hamstring blacks and Puerto Ricans.

2) The central Board of Education will be retained, and will consist of five representatives, from each of New York's five boroughs. This "nonpolitical" board will be appointed by the machine-committed borough presidents. In addition, the mayor will appoint two board members. Such a stacked board will have the power to decide and alter community district lines, exercise ultimate control over courses, curriculums, budgets and personnel selection around the city.

3) Local boards will be given such token responsibilities as selecting textbooks from a list approved by the central boards; and contract for repair and maintenance up to \$250,000 annually. Thus the boards would be the thinnest kind of window-dressing for an attempt to palm off destruction of decentralization as something resembling it.

4) But not even this token concession will be tolerated in the high schools, where student unrest and discontent have been very great. These will remain under the direct, unchallenged control of the central board.

5) The local boards will have to appoint their teachers from a centrally approved list.

6) Each year, the community boards can submit budget requests, but a Board of Education chancellor has the power to increase, decrease, or modify requests, while compiling a citywide budget for the schools.

With a straight face, Shanker said he considers this bill a "fair compromise." He declared, "We're supporting it. We think it has some pretty strong features on teachers' rights and due process, and some pretty strong features delegating powers to community districts."

Clearly, the reason Shanker is enthusiastic about the bill is because it abolishes any pretense of community control, and does away with the three demonstration districts Shanker struck eight weeks to get rid of. It should also put to rest the lying claim that the UFT heads are not really "opposed" to decentralization.

Shanker organized absolutely no opposition to the drastic budget cuts just enacted in the field of education, nor did he fight against the crippling Taylor Law amendments which further restrict the powers of public employee unions. The UFT brass is doing nothing except fighting against black and Puerto Rican efforts to win control of their education. In the process, this corrupt gang of bureaucrats is disgracing unionism by supporting any measures, including more and more cops in the schools, to thwart community will.

How did this setback for the black and Puerto Rican communities come about? Largely because the black and Puerto Rican communities were not able to mobilize sufficient political power to defeat this bill. This lack flows from the absence of a mass political force representing the black and Puerto Rican communities and standing up in basic opposition to the racist Republican and Democratic parties.

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, scored the law and called for a renewed, massive fight for black and Puerto Rican education. He pointed out that the Republican and Democratic politicians will only give the people of New York more laws like these, and urged support for the Socialist Workers ticket in its campaign to establish the rights of the black and Puerto Rican peoples to control their schools and all other decisive aspects of community life.



"FREE AMERICA." Cops patrol corridors in Brooklyn's Franklin Lane High School. Unprecedented action was demanded by teachers' union bureaucrats.

Latin America meeting is held in New England

By Mike Kelly and Roger Sheppard

BOSTON — A conference on Latin American solidarity and several meetings between Latin American and American radicals took place the weekend of April 25-27 in Boston and Cambridge.

Prime objective of the conference was to promote better communications and coordination between the groups and individuals engaged in anti-imperialist campaigns around Latin America. With such groups as COLAS (the Committee on Latin American Solidarity), the Boston-based host group, the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA), the USLA Justice Committee, the Committee of Returned Volunteers, AVILA (Against another Vietnam in Latin America), CEPA (Circulo de los Estudiantes Puertorriquenos Autenticos), the Maryknolls, Quaker Action and other groups, a wide range of first-hand experience in Latin America and of organizing in the states was utilized to plan future actions.

Workshops for the weekend emphasized agencies and mechanisms of U.S. imperialism, the colonial status of Puerto Rico, and Cuba as a social alternative.

The proximity of Puerto Rico, its colonial status, the fact that it is used as a major base of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, the large Puerto Rican minority in this country and the viable independence movement in Puerto Rico made it a natural focus for the conference. Accordingly, Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), accepted an invitation to attend the conference. At a plenary session Friday night he spoke on the agencies and mechanisms of imperialism. Saturday, he led a workshop with Rodolfo Rodriguez, a local member of CEPA and the MPI, on Puerto Rico.

This workshop, like the others, also treated the practical problems of organizing here in the States. Individuals specializing in Latin American affairs such as James Petras, James O'Connor, Norm Diamond, Tom and Margie Melville, Dick Garza and others, addressed themselves in plenary and workshop sessions to such things as socialism in Cuba, Cuba as a social alternative, the role of the working class, religion's involvement in imperialism, etc.

Besides raising the general level of consciousness, with regard to the mentioned topics, the conference stimulated a number of groups present to meet Sunday morning and laid the groundwork for an administrative organization to facilitate communication and coordination of the groups working on Latin America to make the general movement more effective and further reaching. Since this weekend represented the first contact between Juan Mari Bras and the Boston area radical movement, the opportunity was taken to broaden his contact in two special meetings apart from the conference itself.

On Sunday, Juan Mari Bras and Rodolfo Rodriguez met in Roxbury with the Black Panthers, Puerto-Afro, CEPA, and members of the United Front, a coalition of Roxbury community groups. In the meeting, set up by Chuck Turner, co-chairman of the United Front, Juan Mari Bras told of the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico and put himself in solidarity with the liberation struggles for self-determination here in the United States. He called for further meetings of movements, such as those of the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos, and the black people to further the cause of mutual support against a common

enemy, U.S. imperialism.

In a public meeting sponsored by CEPA, the Young Socialist Alliance and COLAS, Sunday evening at Harvard University Juan Mari Bras made a major address. He traced the development of the Puerto Rican independence movement under the impact of first the Spanish and then the American imperialists. He reiterated his militant call for support to and participation in the world revolutionary struggle.

He stressed the importance of the role of the working class in the Puerto Rican struggle and in the American struggle. The revolution against American capitalism, he pointed out, is of extreme importance to the cause of social change and justice throughout the rest of the world.

He also noted the revolutionary impact that Cuba has had in this hemisphere. The MPI had acknowledged this by participating in the founding of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). Juan Mari Bras, representing the MPI, is the head of OLAS' colonial bureau and is fifth vice-president of OLAS.

Those wishing further information concerning the new Latin American coordinating body, can write to: COLAS, c/o Bob Pearlman; 49 Lee St.; Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

Gilly, others sentenced in Mexico

Adolfo Gilly, the well-known Argentine journalist arrested in Mexico City three years ago has been sentenced to six years and three months imprisonment and fined 5,000 pesos. The results of his trial in Mexico City April 18 were announced by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) in New York.

The USLA reported that nine others were given sentences ranging from two to eight years. Seven were members of the Mexican Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party) with which Gilly was associated.

They were among the first arrested, in 1966, at the beginning of what has proved to be a massive witchhunt and jailing of political opponents of the supposedly democratic Diaz Ordaz regime. The fact that the trial occurred three years after the arrests and allows no bail is a sample of this government's "justice."

Originally charged with organizing Marxist meetings, inciting to subversion, conspiracy, criminal association and similar "crimes," Gilly was charged only with conspiracy at the time of sentencing.

The POR first fell victim to government repression when scapegoats were needed to explain student unrest in 1966. It was the all too familiar case of "foreign agitators."

USLA chairman Paul Sweezy sent a letter to the Mexican president protesting these patently absurd charges and excessively harsh sentences. The USLA has called for renewed protests against the Ordaz regime's police-state tactics.

Further information, including subscription to the USLA newsletter, can be obtained from P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001, 516-221-8543.



Photo by Shelley Ramsdell/New York Press Service

SET PRECEDENT. Attorney Juan Mari Bras, Puerto Rican independence leader, addresses unprecedented rally in front of federal building in New York. Rally was part of a "Law Day" demonstration staged by New York lawyers and law students to demand respect for justice and legal rights. Apart from a lawyers' demonstration in Italy last year, it is said to be the only known public demonstration by attorneys.

The Great Society

Transitional program—A "Veterans' Column" in the May Camden, N.J. **Observer** warns of the current relevancy of a set of "Communist Rules for Revolution" reportedly unearthed by Allied forces in Dusseldorf in 1919. For instance: "Corrupt the young, get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex . . . Get people's minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays and other trivialities . . . Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of importance." Sounds like a great program, but how in the world do you get young people interested in sex?

Better bring 'em home— "DETROIT, April 29 (AP)— A psychiatrist says the Vietnam war has produced more 'Dear John' letters than any previous conflict. Dr. Emanuel Tanay, who made a study of what he calls the Dear John Syndrome, blames the increase on a lack of popular support for the United States military position."

Familiar symptoms?— When a person is subjected to an unexpected or unwanted noise, says noted ear surgeon, Dr. Samuel Rosen, "the pupils dilate, skin pales, mucous membrane dry, there are intestinal spasms and the adrenals explode secretions." Haven't experienced that yet? Give it time. The background noise level has more than doubled over the past 40 years and is expected to double each decade from here on in. Until, we take it, there's either one big bang or a socialist reorganization of society.

For chopped liver fans— When in New York, drop in a La Seine for a bite. According to the **New York Times** eating specialist, Craig Claiborne, "the most remarkable morsel sampled at La Seine was . . . a heaping spoonful of truffled fresh foie gras from an earthen crock, succulent and rich . . ." \$7 the spoonful. Crackers, we assume, extra.

Opium substitute?— A **New York Times** advertisement advises: "Thousands of people now studying Christian Science have quit smoking. And they didn't use candy, gum or willpower to do it. They turned, instead, to God. And through Him they found happiness and satisfaction they never really got from smoking."

A hot rooster, with!— "All meat" frankfurters containing no more than 15 percent chicken will no longer have to use

the word "chicken" in big type, according to Agriculture Dep't plans. Meanwhile the department made public its definition of "meat" as relating to "all meat" hot dogs: "The edible part of the muscle of cattle, sheep, or swine or goats, in the diaphragm, in the heart, or in the esophagus, with or without the accompanying and overlying fat, and the portions of bone, skin, nerve and blood vessels which normally accompany the muscle tissue . . . It does not include the muscle found in the lips, snout or ear."

Grilled eyeballs, no mustard— We don't mean to press the point, but you can still call it a frankfurter (though not "all meat") if it contains "meat by-products," to wit: "Any edible part other than meat which has been derived from cattle, sheep, swine or goats."

Lucky A&P, always in the middle— Retail food prices keep climbing, while increased productivity reduces the unit costs of farm products. Last year retail food prices were 23 percent higher than they had been back in 1952. But farm prices were nine percent lower. "All the increases—and more—goes to the middle man," a House Agriculture Committee report explains.

Social progress— A British ironsmith reports a brisk business in hand-forged chastity belts. Indicative of present strides toward equality, he's getting orders for a belt fashioned for men, as well as one for women. Apparently esthetically inclined, he says the one for women "has flowers on the front and a little bell to jingle." The one for men, we assume, is fur-lined.

It figures— Just in case you wondered why the U.S. is aloof to proposed UN penalties against the racist South African regime, current reports show 263 American companies doing business in South Africa, with a total investment of \$756-million. South African imports from the U.S. virtually doubled in a five-year period.

Thought for the week— "We rely on a system of rewards and punishments to provide either motivation or restraints. Well, post-modern youth neither fears our whip nor lusts for our carrot."—William Boyd, president of Central Michigan University, in an **Iron Age** interview.

—Harry Ring

Young Socialists describe Cuba on many campuses



IN CUBA. Young Socialist delegation discusses with North Vietnamese army officer during visit to Cuba in January.

SAN FRANCISCO— Paul McKnight, a member of the Young Socialist delegation that spent a month in Cuba during January, has just completed a speaking tour of colleges in northern California and Oregon.

As a result of the tour, well over 1,000 students have been able to listen to a first-hand report about revolutionary Cuba and see color slides taken there.

Meetings were very well attended, a sign of the growing interest in Cuba among young people in the United States. In California, there were meetings at the College of San Mateo, University of San Francisco, Sonoma State College, University of Santa Clara, Cal Poly, St. Mary's College and others.

McKnight reported meeting a total of nine Cuban "refugees" during his tour. Only four of them were hostile to the Cuban revolution now. The others were very interested in hearing about the latest developments in their homeland.

By Herman Porter

PORTLAND — Paul McKnight spoke and showed slides of Cuba at the three state universities in Oregon: At Oregon State University in Corvallis, 180 people turned out for a meeting sponsored by the departments of history and political science. At the University of Oregon in Eugene and at Portland State University, he addressed meetings sponsored by the universities' speakers bureaus.

McKnight addressed other meetings at Lewis and Clark College and the University of Portland. Some 120 students heard him at Mount Hood Community College in Gresham, a suburb of Portland. The Resistance also organized a meeting in Portland.

McKnight had a two-hour radio interview on the Fenwick Show, Portland's best known talk show. Another radio interview was taped while he was here.

The audiences were interested and generally friendly. Almost no hostility was shown the staunch defender of the Cuban revolution.

PHILADELPHIA— Approximately 400 people attended meetings and discussions

on the Cuban revolution at Indiana Penn State University in Indiana, Pa., and at Marshall University in Huntington, W. Va. Mareen Jasinski, one of the Young Socialist delegation that was in Cuba recently, spoke and showed slides illustrating the achievement of ten years of the Cuban revolution.

The only problem at the meetings was lack of literature—enroute to the meetings, she was in a car accident and the cops impounded all her literature when they came to report the accident.

After hearing about the Cuban revolution today, many of the people were inspired to learn more about socialism and the socialist youth group in the U.S., the YSA. Several bought subscriptions to **The Militant** and the **Young Socialist**.

At one of the Marshall meetings, the town's leading conservatives attended, expecting to create a commotion by red-baiting the speaker. They were unsuccessful, and a few of them finally even had to agree that the Cuban revolution was a positive achievement.

Students at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn. heard a report April 17 on the progress of the Cuban revolution. Linda Jenness, one of the Young Socialist delegation that visited the island recently, spoke at a meeting sponsored by SDS and attended by approximately 40 people.

"The Cuban revolution is the most progressive development in the Western Hemisphere since the abolition of slavery," the Young Socialist told the audience. Linda Jenness said she was particularly impressed by the Cuban peoples' hard work and devotion to the revolution, their strong feeling of internationalism and the revolutionary spirit of the youth.

She also attacked the U. S. government's economic blockade of Cuba. That, and Cuba's continuing need to maintain military preparedness against the threat of U. S. attack, are the main reasons for the economic squeeze in Cuba.

But, she said, "nobody is starving in Cuba. There is strict rationing of food due to the vicious blockade of the island by the United States, and supplies have to be evenly distributed among the people."

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Ft. Jackson brass beats partial retreat

No trial for several antiwar GIs

COLUMBIA, S.C., May 8—The Army has made a partial retreat in its efforts to victimize servicemen associated with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The Ft. Jackson brass announced May 2 that it had dropped charges against Pvt. Dominick Duddie and Curtis Mays. The two men have been returned to their usual company routine. Another of the original Ft. Jackson 8, Pvt. Edilberto Chaparro, was discharged from the Army on May 1. The Army has also indicated that it will give Pvt. Delmar Thomas a discharge in lieu of court-martial, although he is still in the stockade.

Still pending against four men (Thomas until released) are charges of disrespect for an officer, holding an illegal demonstration, and breach of the peace. The charges against Pvt. Joe Cole, Jose Rudder, Andrew Pulley and Tommy Woodfin stem from a March 20 meeting on the war issue held on base.

In addition, Mays has been found guilty on the separate charge of breaking restriction and given a maximum sentence of 30 days in the stockade.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has issued a statement saying: "The Army's retreat substantiates the argument of defense attorneys and civilian supporters of Ft. Jackson GIs: that all of the accused were and are innocent of any crime and have been prosecuted and confined solely to prevent them from continuing to carry on constitutionally-protected activities." By its backdown, the statement said, "the Army is confessing that it has no case against the antiwar soldiers." The defense committee pointed out that the Army's case was too weak even for "a court conducted by the Army itself."

The committee pledged to continue a "vigorous defense" of those GIs who still face the threat of court-martial.

Last week Pvt. Woodfin was released

from barracks arrest, but restricted to post. The other four are still under administrative security in the stockade, having been confined illegally for seven weeks.

The legality of their confinement was again contested in the courts on May 7, where a writ of habeas corpus for their release was sought. No decision was reached, despite the fact that attorney Dorian Bowman pointed out that a petition for a writ of habeas corpus implies a timely decision and that nearly four weeks have elapsed without reaching any decision on the matter.

The argument to the federal court of appeals came after attorneys had exhausted military administrative remedies by going through the army chain of command, had argued twice in district courts without reaching the merits of the case, and had been refused jurisdiction by the Military Court of Appeals.

It is expected that Lt. Col. Miller, the investigating officer of the pre-court-martial hearings, will make his recommendations on the disposition of the cases against the remaining men during the week of May 12.

Pvts. Cole, Rudder and Pulley still face the possibility of general court-martial, which could levy stiff sentences. Pvt. Tommy Woodfin confronts a special court-martial that same week, although there exists the possibility that the army will again shrink from a confrontation and bring him up before a lesser body.

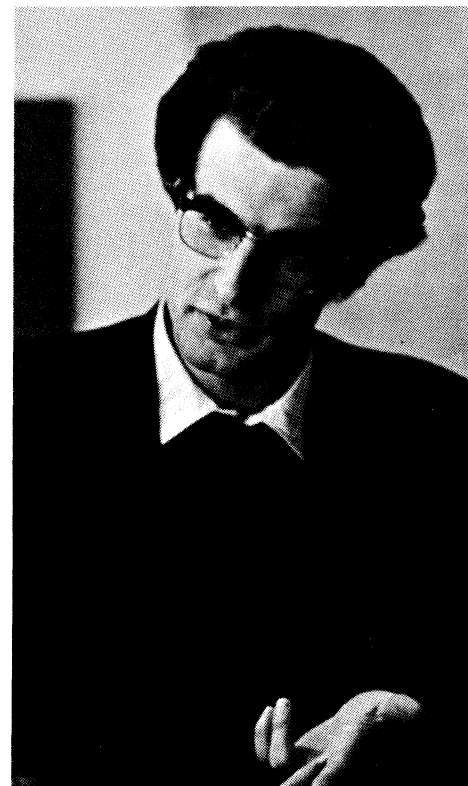


Photo by Hermes

As we went to press it was reported that the newly formed Communist League of France has just announced that it is running Alain Krivine for President of the French Republic. Krivine, who is currently serving an 18-month tour of duty in the army, was the main spokesman for the JCR during last May and June, and one of the foremost leaders of the revolutionary student movement in France. For earlier story on events in France, see page 9.



Jose Rudder



Joe Cole

Arab students stage protest at Lebanon UN mission

By Joel Aber

NEW YORK—The growing differentiation between the revolutionary and non-revolutionary forces in the Arab world was hit home here May 3 by a protest sit-in at the Lebanese U.N. embassy.

The sit-in was sponsored by New York area students from the various Arab countries. They were protesting the armed attacks by the Lebanese army on Palestinian guerrilla fighters in southern Lebanon and brutal suppression of recent mass demonstrations in Lebanon.

The sit-in began at 10 a.m., and continued until 6 p.m., an hour beyond the embassy's closing time. It was made clear to the ambassador that any move on his part to have the protesters arrested would create an international scandal, which would only serve to expose the position of the Lebanese government.

Telegrams of protest to the embassy were sent by Arab Student Association chapters around the U.S.

A press statement by the Arab students in

New York was sent to all the Arab missions here to make it clear that all Arab governments must refrain from interfering with the revolutionary fight for self-determination. The statement said in part:

"The heroic stand of the Palestinian refugees and students in outright rejection of these efforts [by the Lebanese government to hinder the commando operations] was met with bullets and outrageous acts of violence that left scores of dead and wounded, and which prompted Israeli Defense Minister Dayan to arrogantly assert that Lebanon must have witnessed a lot of 'soul searching' since the Israeli attack on Beirut airport. Recent reports of military confrontations and ensuing casualties are even more disturbing and ominous, and signify a new and dangerous stage of the conflict. . . .

"In condemning and deploring these outrageous acts of violence, we take note of the fact that they cannot be viewed in isolation. Recent indications from various Arab countries betray what seems to be a concerted effort to clamp down on the Palestinian freedom fighter organizations. Let it be known therefore that we are not oblivious to these attempts. We thus wish to serve notice that the appropriate response will be made."

Specific demands of the sit-in included: "1) Complete freedom of activity for the commandos, 2) Freedom of movement and supplies, 3) Withdrawal of security forces from refugee camps, 4) Release of all persons arrested, 5) The cancellation of the state of emergency, 6) Compensation for the families of the victims, 7) Punishment of officials who were responsible for the perpetration of the flagrant acts of violence and 8) Immediate disengagement from any confrontation—military or otherwise—with the commando organizations." The first seven of these demands are the same ones issued recently over Voice of Fatah Radio in Cairo.

Fatah sets terms for Lebanon talks

A New York Times dispatch from Beirut May 5 said: "The top commando leadership has snubbed a Lebanese government bid for negotiations, according to a broadcast on the Fatah radio." Fatah's conditions for negotiating, the dispatch said, were "release of all persons arrested in connection with recent demonstrations in Beirut; cancellation of arrest warrants issued in connection with the demonstrations; and lifting of the siege around refugee camps."

Bradley race shows futility of Democratic party politics

By Walter Lippman

LOS ANGELES—As the hotly-contested mayoralty campaign continues here between black Democratic Party councilman Thomas Bradley and incumbent Democrat Sam Yorty, Bradley, like Yorty, is exposing himself more clearly as a candidate who will not represent the interests of the masses of people of Los Angeles.

A feature of the campaign has been the Yorty efforts to label Bradley, a 21-year veteran on the police force, as being "anti-police." Bradley has responded to this with the comment, "We have the best police department in the nation. There's no question about it."

Yorty has also attempted to characterize Bradley's campaign as "pro-Communist," charging that two of Bradley's campaign aides are ex-Communists. Here's how the Bradley machine answered:

On April 23 Abe Tapia, president of the Mexican-American Political Association and a top Bradley campaigner, held a press conference in which he "revealed" that Yorty was supported by the Communist Party newspaper when he ran for the state assembly three decades ago and that Yorty once shared a platform with two alleged Communists. "We aren't saying

Yorty is a Communist just because he was endorsed by a Communist newspaper or because he shared a platform with Communist speakers," Tapia said. "But we feel he now must know what it's like to be criticized by red-baiters."

On April 26, a "key Bradley aide," was quoted in the L.A. Times as saying, "Some of us were mighty anxious to give Yorty some of his own medicine. We hated to see our guy answer one charge after another. We wanted him to start using some of the information we have on the mayor."

Bradley remained silent about the red-baiting attacks on his opponent. Apparently he believes that red-baiting will be useful to him, just as it is useful to Yorty.

Bradley also equivocates on the school issue. In a recently-issued position paper, he says, "The citizens of each community must have the responsibility and the power to help determine the quality of life in their neighborhoods." Bradley is opposed to community control of education. He merely wants the facade of community participation without genuine power.

Both Yorty and Bradley represent the ruling class in Los Angeles—only with different ways of expressing the same goal: maintaining capitalist law and order. Bradley falsely presents himself as a genuine representative of black people, Chicanos and other oppressed people. His special function is to corral their votes into support for the Democratic Party.

The fact that a black candidate for mayor has a good chance of winning an election in the third largest city in the U.S. is indicative of the increased political power of black people. But it also shows that as long as the masses of black people continue to support Democratic Party candidates, this power will be ineffective.

The key political lesson to be drawn from the Bradley campaign is the need for a mass independent black political party, rooted in the black community, which can expose and provide an alternative to the Democratic Party.

Big Denver antiwar action

By Mary F. Walter

DENVER—Over 1,500 people participated in Denver's largest and most militant march and rally against the war in Vietnam on April 26, 1969. About a third of the participants were high school students, and another large percentage were of college age. Chants and the general attitude were much more militant than at previous antiwar events.

Rally speakers included "Corky" Gonzalez, leader of the Denver-based Crusade for Justice; Lauren Watson, of Denver's Black Panther Party; Bernadine Dohrn, SDS; Tom Hayden, a Chicago indictee; Harry K. Nier, a Denver attorney; and Joan Anderson, law student organizer of the National Lawyers Guild.

The march was coordinated by the Denver Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a broad coalition of groups.

LOS ANGELES—The Militant Labor Forum will sponsor a panel discussion on "Bradley: Pro and Con," Fri., May 16, 8:30 p.m. at 1702 E. 4th St. Speakers will be Ken O'Duna of the Youth Committee for Bradley; a representative of the Black Panther Party; George Davis of the Socialist Workers Party; and Walter Lippman of the Young Socialist Alliance.