

THE MILITANT

Is black nationalism reactionary?

—a reply to Progressive Labor

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—see page 7—

New York officials initiate racist drive against blacks



CENTER FOR ANTI-WHITE REPRESSIONS? This is a typical New York ghetto street. To believe the New York press, the people hemmed into this ghetto present a "racist danger" equal to, if not more virulent than white racism.

NEW YORK— Using Hitler's "big lie" technique, the administration of Mayor John V. Lindsay is carrying on a propaganda drive to establish the idea that white New Yorkers live in a vast ghetto about to be overrun by hordes of hate-frenzied blacks.

The purpose of this drive is to whip up an antiblack hysteria that can be used against the black liberation movement. Among the first targets are such militant fighters for meaningful school decentralization as Leslie Campbell, Albert Vann and Luis Fuentes.

Unless it is stopped in its tracks, this antiblack campaign will spread to other cities.

See story page 6



Photo by Shannon

"Counter-Inaugural" March in Washington, D. C., Jan. 19. See stories page 8.

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Frame-up of black leader in Fla.

The case of Andre Shellman

St. Petersburg, Fla. The "city of sunshine and peaceful retirement," St. Petersburg, is as full of racism as the Ku Klux Klansmen's heaven. Being an "all American city," St. Pete has a black ghetto. Exploited and suppressed like other black ghettos, St. Pete has a revolutionary organization called the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO).

The existence of JOMO (which is a year old) has been sustained by Zeke Kenyatta and other committed young black men. The organization was founded by black nationalist Joseph Waller Jr., a long-time suppressed militant who was determined to set up a black defense group in his home town after serving jail and prison sentences.

During the St. Pete rebellion, a JOMO squad leader, Andre Shellman, was arrested with two JOMO sisters for breaking and entering an auto. Shellman, being a committed brother, pleaded guilty to get the sisters acquitted. The sisters were acquitted and, after Judge Charles Holley insisted upon questioning Shellman in court about JOMO and its activities, he gave Shellman 10 years.

There have been many protest activities led by JOMO, including a protest in support of Shellman at Florida State Prison, where we were greeted by roadblocks and armed guards who refused to let us through the prison gates.

Shellman is a political prisoner, arrested, framed up and convicted unjustly—to say nothing of the inhuman prison sentence. JOMO, being a statewide organization, has continued to carry its Shellman protest all over the state. JOMO hasn't forgotten and won't forget about the Shellman case, and the racist establishment will pay for this injustice.

JOMO has experienced a history of suppression and is still experiencing this now. The director of the organization has a new trial

coming up, appealing a 75-day sentence for vagrancy.

Those who wish to donate to the Shellman Defense Fund may send contributions to the Minister of Information, c/o The Junta of Militant Organizations, 2450 Harrington Ave., So., St. Petersburg, Fla. 33712.

JOMO intends to set up other chapters around the country in black ghettos where there aren't any defense groups.

**Charles Fulwood,
Minister of Information, JOMO**

"No withdrawal without peace"

Philadelphia, Pa. I am always grieved by your "pro-Arab" articles and letters, because always is dismissed the right of self-determination of the survivors of Nazi genocide. You contribute to the pitting of Jews against the world's colored peoples.

Israeli Jews are not nihilistic. They will never depart from the former land of Palestine—not as individuals and not as a nation. Arab extremism has been at war with the Jews, not in the interest of Palestinian Arabs, but in the vein of a reactionary crusade against the presence of a post-feudal living style.

It was the pro-Nazi mufti of Jerusalem and his imperialist backers who convinced most of the original Palestine refugees to leave their land while the so-called intruders were dealt with in a "strangle the baby in the crib" war that failed in 1948.

The slogan accepted by the great majority of Israeli Jews is: "Peace and Security, Yes; Annexations, No!" While it is recognized that there can be no peace without withdrawal, it must be insisted upon that there can be no withdrawal without peace.

As long as Arab governments tolerate, encourage and applaud terrorist activity, as long as 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.

Arab line is for a military, forceful settlement—for so long the Israeli people cannot surrender military positions presently occupied. No true Jews anywhere will accede to the liquidation of the Jewish and Hebrew nation. There will be no socialist mankind without its Israeli member.

Arabs and Jews at war is an insanity like the Nigeria-Biafra conflict, where colored die at the hands of colored. That is a conflict instigated by imperialism, exploited by native bourgeoisies, played upon by Stalinist and Maoist calculators.

Let anti-imperialists seek national liberation and national preservation, not national elimination.

Hana Niel

Israel's "socialism"

New York City A. K. (letter, "Finds in the kibbutz ideal form of socialism," *The Militant*, Jan. 17) claims, "Israel has actively demonstrated the values of socialism through the institution of the kibbutz." He claims there is a "strong Arab party" in Israel, but does not name it.

The fact is that only a small minority—about 50,000—of Israel's population lives on kib-

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butzim (communal cooperative farms.)

The kibbutz dream degenerated a long time ago. "Socialists" on a real kibbutz would not hire unfortunates to do their work.

Members of the Israeli parliament and Ben Gurion are "free-loaders" on the kibbutz, because their main work is not done there.

A real socialist country—which Israel is not—has real separation of church and state—unlike Israel, where the religious laws and sabbath observance are enforced in the armed forces. A Jew is defined as one who had a Jewish mother.

A socialist country does not have a religious party dominated by clergymen (rabbis), as Israel has.

A socialist country has a socialist economy, while Israel would collapse tomorrow without large donations from Jews abroad and American aid.

T. T.

Militant does what Hitler did?

Los Angeles It is astonishing that *The Militant*, which is so right about so many things, should be so wrong about Israel. If Israel were an imperialist aggressor surrounded by socialist states, your writing could not be more one-sided. The only reason Israel napalms Arabs is because the Arabs have promised to napalm them, and they got there first.

Israel is not all bad, and far from being surrounded by socialist states, it is surrounded by Nasser, who outlaws the Communists. *The Militant* must realize that even Jews can have national borders—you have a double standard, one for Jews and one for Arabs. The real test of the situation is what would happen if an Israeli soldier followed the Leninist principle to turn his guns against his oppressors in Israel. If he helped the Arabs by turning his guns against the Israeli government, he could not establish socialism because Israel would be overrun by the Soviet-supported anticommunist army! And he would be destroyed. Why do you never suggest that the Arabs turn their guns against their oppressors at home? By telling them that their first enemy is in Israel, you are diverting them from the real enemy at home—which is exactly what Hitler did in Germany.

B. M.

Cuban emigration

New York City Your editorial in the Jan. 24 issue mentions that 131,000 Cubans have emigrated to the U.S. in the last three years, a figure the U.S. uses to try to claim that Cuba produces an extraordinary number of refugees.

In a one-inch column buried at the bottom of the page, the *New York Times* carried a Jan. 14 A. P. dispatch:

"The United States Border Patrol reported today that it had deported 146,000 aliens, mostly Mexicans looking for jobs, in 1968, an increase of 34 percent over 1967."

That one-year figure for deportations is larger than the total number of immigrants that are allowed into the U.S. from the entire Western Hemisphere in any one year—120,000. Among the categories of people excluded by the restrictive immigration laws are those designated as "paupers."

The U.S. neglects to mention that Cuba and Puerto Rico are the only Latin American countries to which the restrictive laws do not apply.

It seems to me that a lot of the talk about Cuban refugees is pure baloney. If the U.S. permitted the poor from around the world to enter, as it used to, then Cuban immigration would be but a small fraction of the total.

J. B.

Philosophy of doom

San Francisco, Calif. Due largely to the fact that under our economic system and our national philosophy, the automobile is more important than the individual human being, San Francisco has become a stench and an abomination. All day and far into the night our city is a shrieking, stinking hell of traffic congestion, while our public housing and our schools are decaying before our eyes.

Beer cans, wine bottles and paper trash pile up in gutters and on sidewalks until there is more garbage in the streets than there is in garbage receptacles.

In the midst of abundance, a multitude of winos and other derelicts, emaciated and unshaven, stumble around aimlessly or lie half dead in the streets.

We look forward to the end of the war in Vietnam, but realistically we know that peace there will solve nothing. The war will almost immediately begin in some other part of the world because industrial capitalism and war are Siamese twins.

Unless there is a complete change in our national philosophy, and human life becomes more important to us than money or machines, we are a doomed civilization.

Dale Rasmussen

All that glitters . . .

New York City Here are excerpts from an item that appeared in the Jan. 16 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"Moscow is discreetly cultivating Johannesburg.

"The Russians are interested in South African metals, especially uranium ore, which they purchase through intermediaries.

"Although politically at opposite poles, the Soviet Union and the Union of South Africa always have had one major interest in common: both want to see the price of gold raised.

"Recent upward movements in the European gold market are reported to have been influenced by concerted moves by Moscow and Johannesburg, again through intermediaries.

"At a recent session of the United Nations, it was noticed that the Soviet Union for the first time abstained from voting for a black African resolution condemning the racist policies of South Africa."

R. J.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: YSA, P.O. Box 6262, Atlanta, Ga. 30308. Tel: (404) 873-1368.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Carol French, 194 Jay St., Albany, N.Y. 12210. Tel: (518) 434-6094.

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

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: Adolph

Reed, 108 Hillsborough St., Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

NORTH DAKOTA: Grand Forks: YSA, c/o Lee Hamond, 2420 9th Ave. N., Grand Forks, N.D. 58201.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



VICTIMS OF RACISM. Mrs. Louise Madison, left, and friends at Cornwall, N. Y. court hearing where she and her family were ordered evicted from their home. Then racists destroyed by fire irreplaceable tribal museum collection she had maintained.

New York racists destroy Indian museum collection

By Elizabeth Barnes

A building containing a valuable collection of Indian museum items and art objects was burned to the ground in Cornwall, N. Y., Jan. 19. The collection belonged to the Madisons—a courageous Indian family which has been in the forefront of the fight for Indian rights in Cornwall. The fire was the latest—and the most vicious—of a series of racist attacks against them.

Some of the items in the collection belonged to Mrs. Louise Madison's own tribe and had been painstakingly saved by her people for hundreds of years. They are irreplaceable.

The day after the fire, the Madison's 15-year-old daughter, Susan, called *The Militant* to tell us what happened. She said her parents had driven over to check on the collection early that morning, as they often did. When they got there, the building and all it contained was destroyed.

Mrs. Madison, who is suffering from heart trouble, was too upset to talk about the fire. But her husband took the phone from his daughter and told me, "We've been fighting before—but with this, what we've done before is nothing, we've just begun to fight."

The racist harassment of the Madison family began over two years ago when they set up the "Jules One Arrow Longhouse," a non-profit Indian cultural center and trading post. The aim of the center was to achieve Indian rights and justice, to combat exploitation of Indian resources and to maintain and build a sense of Indian identity and intertribal unity.

Racist attacks

For awhile the center thrived, but when some of the racists in the neighborhood realized that the Madisons, whom they apparently had assumed were white, were half Indian, they opened up an unrelenting attack against their efforts.

First a suit was filed against the post on a zoning technicality. Then some of the white children who had previously been participating in the post's activities (some of them had even had meals with the Madison family) were egged on by their parents to vandalize the center.

The family came home one day and found that their dog had been beaten. The next day when their daughter Susan got on the school bus, she was greeted with, "Hey, how's the dog, you Indian? You Indians better get out of town if you don't want more."

When the Madisons complained to the police, they were told by an officer, a Mr. Pignataro(!), "Well, you should not have things outside to tempt the children."

Then the Madison's son Billy was picked up by police on a charge which was later dropped. He had to spend a week in jail because there were no funds to bail him out.

Persecution intensified

After the family was forced to close the center and move to a new place, the persecution intensified—phone calls, police investigations, harassment by building inspectors and school officials, complaints by neighbors, and most serious of all, the orders of their new landlord that they must leave.

The Madisons had paid their rent regularly and in addition had spent their meager

financial resources to renovate the new property so that their collection of Indian cultural items could be stored there. But the landlord—a Miss Leach (!!)—told them they had to move.

At the time of the fire, the Madisons were fighting a court battle against Miss Leach for housing discrimination. They lost the first round in court Dec. 27, when the magistrate ruled they had to vacate by the end of the month. They have appealed the decision and the Newburgh Human Relations Committee is still investigating the case.

At the Dec. 27 hearing, a number of the Madisons' supporters gathered to show their solidarity. Several members of a newly formed Afro-American Association came from nearby Newburgh. Chief Hail, a Sioux, was there in full headdress and read an Indian prayer.

Despite all that has happened, the Madisons plan to continue their efforts to rebuild the Longhouse Center. They are badly in need of funds to do this. Contributions should be sent to Louise Madison, Director, Jules One Arrow Longhouse, Indian Culture Center, Box 179, Cornwall, New York 12520.

L.A. Chicano students fight racist abuse at high school

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Chicano students at Roosevelt High School in East Los Angeles have let it be known that they will no longer accept abuse from racist instructors. Hundreds of students left their classes on Jan. 8 to demonstrate with signs reading, "Chicano Control of our Schools! Racists Out!"

A student at the school charged that on Dec. 10 John Hogan, a business education instructor, called her a "dirty Mexican." She and her witnesses filed a protest with school authorities and demanded that Hogan be transferred.

When their demand was ignored for weeks by the board of education, hundreds of students left their classes at noon on Jan. 8 to demonstrate in front of the school. The demonstrations were repeated for three days in spite of attempted intimidation by a show of force by the police, with six police cars and a patrol wagon lined up near the school on the third day of picketing.

Other signs in the demonstrations read, "Hogan: Racist of the Year," "Viva La Raza," "Unite For Better Schools," and "By Any Means Necessary." The students were supported on the picket line by college students of United Mexican American Students and parents and ministers from the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee.

An executive session of the board of education decided on Jan. 13 that there was a "misunderstanding" and "insufficient evidence" to transfer Hogan.

Rev. Vahac Mardirosien, head of EICC, commented that Hogan "hired a sharp attorney and attempted to make the girl into the accused. But the fact remains that there is a feeling in the community that

The killing of the 2 L.A. Black Panthers

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Two leading members of the Black Panther Party were killed by gunshot at the University of California at Los Angeles Jan. 17 at the conclusion of a meeting of the Black Student Union which was open to all black students to discuss a proposed black studies program.

The victims were John Huggins, 23, and Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter, 26, both UCLA students.

LOS ANGELES— George Stiner, 22, a suspect in the killing of two Black Panthers here, turned himself over to the police Jan. 20. Police said he is associated with the black group led by Ron Karenga, called US. The Panthers have charged that the Karenga group—which they characterize as "pork chop nationalists" for its acceptance of federal funds—is responsible for the killings.

Shortly after the assassinations, police raided the home of Huggins and arrested 17 people, including Huggins' widow, Ericka, 22, mother of a four-week-old girl.

The 17 were charged with "conspiracy to commit assault," and a number of weapons were confiscated. (The Black Panthers advocate armed self-defense.) The police alibi for the arrests was that they feared the Panthers would retaliate for the deaths of Huggins and Carter.

Five of the 17 were released, but 12, including Huggins' shocked widow, were held in lieu of \$5,000 bail.

Shermont Banks, head of the Los Angeles Black Panthers, told *The Militant* at the Panther headquarters the day after the shooting: "We know who killed Brothers Huggins and Carter and we are going to present the evidence to the police and let them deal with it."

"And we are asking, why were only Black Panthers arrested? Thirdly, for those who would like to help the people, we are asking them to send donations to the Black Panthers at Box 3065, Compton, Calif. 90023."

"Courageous, revolutionary" deaths

David Hilliard, Black Panther chief of staff from Oakland, Calif., told a Los Angeles press conference the day after the

shooting that Huggins and Carter died "courageous, revolutionary" deaths.

As for who might have been responsible for the deaths, Hilliard said, "There are a lot of enemies within the assemblies of the black people themselves. Pigs [police] are only a facade and act as a distraction."

"Provocateurs and agents move in and do the dirty work. Historically, this is the pattern."

Hilliard said that the Panthers would continue to bear arms against "any aggressor—policemen, whites or blacks."

He called the arrests of Panthers and confiscation of their arms part of the usual police "modus operandi."

Huggins had addressed a UCLA rally for solidarity with San Francisco State strikers just two days before he was killed on the campus.

"What we want is a black studies program which teaches us what we need to know about racist America," Huggins told the rally. "When we say a black studies program we're dealing with real things—with the survival of a race of people who have been brought to this country, brutalized and miseducated. We need this information to take it into the communities."

"We are not against white teachers as long as we can control what is taught. We need an educational system that we can relate to. We're calling for black students, Mexican-American students and white students to unite, because you don't have any power either and are being used by the people who oppress you."

"We expect you white students to say 'Hell, no!' to the board of trustees if you are to regain your humanity, as the black students have had to do."

Huggins emphasized, "We have two major enemies in this country, capitalism and racism. We understand capitalism. A black capitalist is no better than a white capitalist; he is a traitor because he uses and exploits his own people."

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg forum slated in New York

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum will sponsor a meeting Jan. 31 to commemorate the 45th anniversary of Lenin's death and the 50th anniversary of the martyrdom of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The discussion at the forum, under the theme "Message to the Youth from Three Great Revolutionists," will center on the teachings, the deeds and the deaths of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

This meeting revives the tradition seldom observed in recent decades, of celebrating each January the achievements of the great "Three L's" of revolutionary Marxism.

Lenin, one of the greatest theorists and practitioners of Marxism, built the Bolshevik party and led the Russian workers to the victory that in October 1917 abolished capitalist oppression for the first time in any country.

Luxemburg, one of the foremost economists of her time, and Liebknecht were leaders of the struggle within the pre-World-War-I German Social Democratic Party against reformism and bureaucratism. Liebknecht was the only member of the German parliament to vote against the government war budget that in 1914 financed German imperialism's war. During the war, both Luxemburg and Liebknecht were imprisoned for their antiwar, anti-imperialist stand.

In January, 1919, during the proletarian Spartacist uprising climaxing the revolutionary wave that engulfed Germany after its military defeat, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were shot in Berlin by right-wing army officers acting under orders from the new German Republic's Social Democratic government.

Speakers at the New York "Three L's" meeting will be Susan LaMont, national executive committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance; Robert Langston, staff member of *The Militant*; and Joanna Misnik, a national executive committee member of the YSA.

The forum will be chaired by John Tabor, veteran socialist and unionist.

The meeting will take place at 873 Broadway, near 18th St., on Fri., Jan. 31, at 8:30 p.m.



Photo by Della Rossa

Chicano pickets.

The good soldier Pyle

A day in the life of an antiwar GI

By Pvt. Don Pyle

FT. BENNING, Ga.—I came off of leave at 10 p.m. on Jan. 9. While I was signing in at the orderly room, I was told I was on orders for Ft. Ord, California. I said that this was impossible because I had put in a request to stop action on that transfer three weeks earlier.

The next morning I went into the orderly room and was greeted by my smiling first sergeant. He said, "Pyle, you're leaving for California today. I bet you're going to run all the movements and riots. Huh?"

I knew he was happy when he told me that I had to get all necessary papers cleared for transfer in one day. Then there was a phone call from Col. Luck, the battalion commander, giving a direct order to have me cleared and on my way to California by 3:00 p.m. So they appointed a man to drive me around to make sure I got cleared in a hurry.

While I was going through the process of clearing base, I was able to get into a judge advocate general's office. When I explained to him my situation, he said that he would see what he could do.

Did it again

Thinking I still was on my way to California, I went to the battalion headquarters to clear. When I entered I was approached by a sergeant who said "Pyle, you've done it again. All hell broke loose."

The next thing I knew a captain came



ASSERTS HIS RIGHTS. Pvt. Don Pyle, at Young Socialist convention GI panel, is in hot water with brass for exercising his constitutional rights as citizen. With him is Matilde Zimmermann of GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

in and told me to report to the colonel. I entered his office and he told me to shut the door. "Pyle, I don't know how you did it or who your high falutin' friends are, but in all my 23 years in the service I have never seen a man receive orders one day and get off them an hour later just because he wants to."

He went on to tell me that he would make sure I would pay the price. He asked me if I had attended the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference in Chicago. I said, "No. I was in California on a leave." He said he didn't believe me, and I couldn't help but laugh because I really had been in California and not at the antiwar gathering. He told me to wipe the grin off my face, and when I found it difficult he ordered me out of the office.

Shrinks' view of Paris table

By Alex Harte

It always pays to be patient. For example, a lot of Americas were getting irritated about the way the great table debate was dragging on in Paris. Some began to voice the notion that it was just a dodge by the Washington and Saigon politicians to drag out the talks. Some were so jaundiced as to point out that soldiers were dying while this was all going on.

Such gripes should now be laid to rest. Behind that seemingly meaningless dispute, it is now revealed, were some very deep questions—questions of vital psychological import.

The whole thing is explained in the Jan. 17 *New York Times* by reporter John Leo who described the response of some of our most brilliant minds in the field of psychology and social science as the table design was finally approved. Their analysis should give the man on the street something to think about.

Leo reports: "Every table shape, they say, exerts its own psychological pull on discussions—a round or oval table encourages flexibility, while a square or rectangular one tends to emphasize ideological opposition and divisiveness."

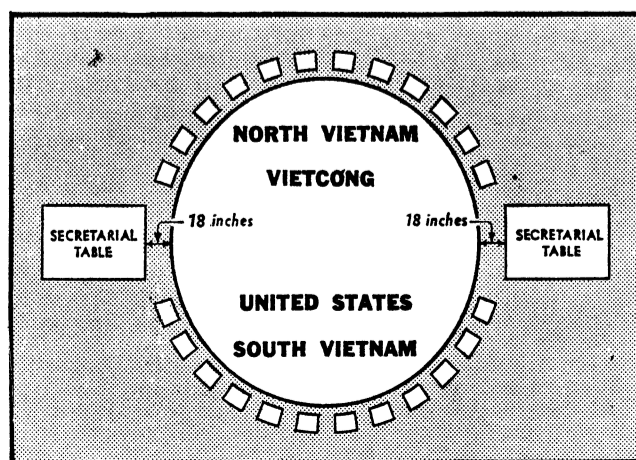
"Rectangular tables generally do that," says Dr. Robert Sommer, chairman of the psychology department at the University of California at Davis. "They produce cliques or sides, and if the sides are already chosen, you tend to get a fixity of position."

This may explain the Communist outlook on seating arrangement. It is designed to catch the free world off guard and strike a psychological blow at its vitals. As Leo reports, "In negotiations since World War II, the United States has generally favored a round table, while Communist governments have usually insisted on a rectangular one."

Delving even deeper, Leo points out that "many books have noted the Chinese preference for ritualized quarrelling over seating arrangements at dinner, as they try to give each other the places of honor." All along many were inclined to suspect a nefarious Chinese influence in Paris.

But nevertheless, the table dispute is over and the circular argument has carried the day. The positive significance of this is clear; Leo reports that "Dr. Sommer, whose new book *Personal Space* deals with the psychology of spatial arrangements, said the symbolic message of the table chosen yesterday was basically an optimistic one."

Although he succeeded in bringing this new information to light, Leo neglected to inform his readers of the credentials of these scientists: was their cranial design block-shaped or pointy?



The United Press reported that about 8,000 American servicemen died in Vietnam while the haggling was going on in Paris about such problems of negotiations as the shape of the negotiating table, etc. During this period there were also 52,937 GIs wounded.

Army threatens socialist GI with punitive action

Socialist GI Edwin Glover has apparently proved too much for the Army to handle. Despite a perfectly good service record, they are now trying to get rid of the antiwar soldier by means of an "undesirable" discharge because of his political beliefs. Glover has been notified to appear at a field hearing which can be the instrument for such a discharge.

Ft. Benning authorities question whether it is "consistent with the interests of national security" to retain Pvt. Glover in the armed forces. Their only charge is that Glover is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Their evidence for this "crime" is the testimony of fellow GIs and officers, the report that Glover possessed socialist literature, and the fact that he was seen wearing a "Che Lives" button.

Pvt. Glover readily admits his membership in both organizations. They Army knew that when they drafted him.

At a field board hearing slated for Monday, Jan. 27, Glover will be defended by Rowland Watts, noted civil-liberties attorney and president of the Workers Defense League.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which has been publicizing the Glover case, has informed its supporters of these recent developments. It is hoped that antiwar activists and civil libertarians around the country will voice their demand that Glover be given an honorable discharge. In or out of uniform, he has every citizen's right to express his own political views and maintain the organizational links which reflect those views. He must not suffer the stigma of an "undesirable" discharge solely for exercising his right.



Pvt. Ed Glover

I was ordered to wait in the headquarters until 1 p.m. I was sitting there relaxing when the executive officer came in. "Pyle what are you doing here. You're supposed to be clearing," he said.

"Sir," I said, "I am trying to get my transfer order revoked."

"Why?" he asked in total bewilderment.

"Because I like it here. I really do. You and Capt. Greene are pretty good to me and I really dig this outfit."

At that he just stared into space.

The Colonel then came out and said he had called the brigade headquarters and had me put on a Vietnam levy. The brigade staff, however, was drawing up two levies at the time—one for Vietnam and one for Thailand—and in its usual manner goofed and put me in the Thailand levy. I am scheduled to leave in March for Korat, Thailand.

Of course this action is a totally unwarranted punitive measure against me. All I did was ask that a transfer to Ft. Ord be revoked, which it was by the Pentagon. I went through all the correct channels and have violated no orders. I am going to the judge advocate general to have the orders to Thailand revoked. If this is not successful I will seek civilian counsel.

The main reason, of course, for the attempts to transfer me from Ft. Benning is that I have openly expressed my antiwar and socialist views on the base and have made a lot of friends here. The brass commonly tries to combat the antiwar movement among GIs by continually trying to transfer them, sometimes to Vietnam. We must fight these illegal and punitive transfers in order to maintain the right of GIs to express their views.

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Black students fight Ohio State frame-up

By Charles C. Green and Shirley Pasholk

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Thirty-four black students face long prison terms here as the result of a frame-up directed against a campus movement for black rights. The following is an account of how this ominous situation developed.

Last year black students at Ohio State University here met almost daily with university administrators and faculty members to discuss the problems and grievances of OSU black students. These grievances related to the recruitment of black students, faculty members and administrators (of the over 3,000 faculty members and administrators at OSU, less than one percent are black); black history courses; housing discrimination (a student-faculty committee survey of housing discrimination in the campus area said that "overt and significant discrimination was detected and documented in 129 or 66 percent of the available rental units surveyed"); recruitment of black athletes; placement of foreign students; and university recognition of National Negro History Week. But the black students achieved few results by "going through proper channels."

After university police manhandled several black girls and university officials failed to take any action against those responsible, an administration building teach-in took place April 26. A Black Student Union member announced that the administration building doors would be closed at 1 p.m., that anyone who wished to remain in support of the BSU demands was welcome, but anyone who wasn't willing to remain indefinitely should leave. However, people were permitted to enter and leave all afternoon. Over 200 persons, including both black and white students, faculty, ministers, and community leaders stayed in the building.

Negotiations were conducted throughout the day. After the administration conceded several BSU demands, the doors were unlocked and the press was admitted.

Administration reneges

The administration later claimed that since these agreements were made under "coercion," it was not obliged to respect them. It did not honor its agreement to publish in the campus newspaper a list of programs to aid the black students or to have members of the black community present on the committee investigating the police incident which led to the April 26 demonstration.

On April 27, the Columbus *Dispatch*

reported that "with the exception of a television cameraman who was forced to hand over his film, no incidents of violence or destruction were reported in the student occupation." However, the local press later began a series of attacks on participants in the demonstration and was joined by members of the OSU board of trustees who made statements demanding that the "anarchists" be immediately expelled and that legal action be taken against them.

The result was that of the over 200 people in the administration building, 34 black students were indicted on four charges, including kidnapping, and, if convicted, they face up to 305 years in jail!

Despite the recommendations of a faculty investigating committee that no students be dismissed, the university dismissed eight black students. No action—either in the courts or in the university—has been taken against any white students.

Repressive rules

The university also responded with repressive demonstration rules which, in effect, outlaw any demonstration of which the administration disapproves. Ohio State president Novice Fawcett began this academic year by stating that OSU will not become a "soapbox" for "exhibitionists" to display "their ludicrous and revolting self-expression."

Unsuccessful attempts have been made to have the dismissed students reinstated, the new demonstration rules repealed, the original BSU demands acted upon, and the university use its good graces to influence the county prosecuting attorney to drop charges against the 34 black students. Apart from President Fawcett's comment that he will not give in to "absurd" demands, the university's response has been one of silence.

The response of the OSU administration and the Columbus public officials in handing down these vicious indictments is the most reactionary taken in dealing with legitimate campus dissent. It is a clear attempt to cover over 98 years of university negligence, indifference, and racism by a "legal" lynching of 34 black students.

The broadest possible support is being sought to enable these students to win their fight against these racist charges. Letters of protest should be sent to Gov. James A. Rhodes and Prosecuting Attorney C. Howard Johnson, Columbus, Ohio.

Contributions for legal expenses should be sent to NAACP, Rm. 308 Ohio Union, 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43201."



Photo by Manuel Russell

CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE. Afro students at Brandeis as they ended their occupation of Ford Hall, which they renamed Malcolm X University. They are now mapping plans for the development of an educational system in the area relevant to the needs of black people and shaped and controlled by black people.

GI withdrawal figure shrinks

Although North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front agreed in Paris Jan. 18 to procedures for expanded negotiations with Washington and the Saigon dictatorship, there were clear indications that the war was far from over.

President Thieu of South Vietnam made a bid for U.S. public opinion the same day by holding out the hope of a reduction of U.S. troops in Vietnam in 1969. It was rumored he planned to propose a cutback of 150,000 to 200,000 men. After a hasty consultation with his superiors, he suggested a more modest figure of "under 50,000." The American military command corrected the president by lowering the figure still more, to "one or two divisions." A U.S. division contains about 15,000 men. Even this minimal reduction, it was explained, would not mean any reduction in the fighting. The troops would only be released when South Vietnamese conscripts could "effectively" take their places. U.S. military officials had let it be known a few days before Thieu's "proposal" that they were opposed to any U.S. cutback whatsoever before July.

Lyndon Johnson, in his Jan. 14 State of the Union message, bequeathed the war to his successor. He made it plain that he envisioned no early resolution through the

Paris talks—because he still clung to the central aim of imperialist policy in Vietnam, the crushing of the Vietnamese revolution. "There may be hard fighting before a settlement is reached," Johnson predicted, "but I can assure you it'll yield no victory to the Communist cause."



Muhammad Speaks

Afro students at Brandeis shift the focus of struggle

WALTHAM, Mass.—After 11 days of uncompromising struggle, the Brandeis University Afro-American Organization ended its occupation of Ford Hall Jan. 17. They left the building declaring that their leaving did not indicate an end to the fight for self-determination at the liberal school.

In a statement to the press, Randy Bailey said that the Afro-American Organization recognized that even Brandeis, well-known as a liberal university, proved incapable of dealing with institutionalized racism.

At issue, essentially, was the nature of a projected department of African-Afro-American studies, in particular, the type of person to head the department.

Discussion between Afro and Brandeis' president Morris Abram centered around the issue of black representation on the committee to choose the department head. As reported in last week's *Militant*, the demands of the Afro-American Organization were presented last April. The only demand which was even partially implemented was the recruitment of black students, and even that was not done in the full year-round manner which the black students had requested.

American imperialism rules with the ideology of liberalism. Morris Abram provided a fine example of the glib, double-dealing liberal holding on to control and the status quo. One example was when, in the middle of discussions with the black students, Abram issued a press statement that the Afro demands had been raised from 10 to 32. After the presses were rolling, he "clarified" the statement that the 32 were in fact points of implementation listed under the original 10 demands. But this was not until after the headlines were shouting: "Black demands increase to 32. Shocked Abram says 'No.'"

To combat press distortions and to get support for the 10 demands of the Afro-American Organization—in addition to food, company and moral support from the black community—those who unconditionally supported the AAO and their 10 demands formed the Boston Area Ford Hall Solidarity Committee. The solidarity committee raised money for and put out, at the request of the AAO, the *Brandeis Black Bulletin* written inside Ford Hall. Various campus committees distributed over 10,000 copies of *Bulletin* #1. From Ford Hall, thousands were distributed in the black community. Issue #2 was put out after Malcolm X University was set up, with the board of trustees from the black community, including Charles Turner, co-chairman of the United Front. The Afro-American Organization then put out a button featuring a picture of Malcolm X with "Malcolm X University" at the top and "Brandeis X" at the bottom.

The Brandeis students who supported the Afro-American Organization and the 10 demands called a student strike and began getting strike pledges signed. After two evenings nearly 400 (of a student body of 2,600) had signed the pledge even though it was the eve of final exams.

At Boston University, the Boston Uni-

versity Students and Faculty in Solidarity with Malcolm X University circulated a petition against the suspension of the black students and demanding amnesty for anyone supporting the ten demands.

At a meeting at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a spokesman from the solidarity committee outlined future support actions and the continuation of the *Bulletin*. Two representatives from the Brandeis strike committee addressed the meeting. The featured speaker, Lloyd Daniels, communications director of Malcolm X University, exposed the connection of Morris Abram to the CIA. Abram helped organize the African-American Institute (AAI). The AAI was set up in 1957 as a part of CIA planning for Africa. Its program was to get young Africans to attend American colleges and universities. After returning to Africa, many of the students involved became high-ranking figures in the police or armed forces of their countries. (The facts about this were reported in the *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1967.)

Apart from educating the white students about the true role of Abram, the liberal administration and the wishy-washy faculty, there are several gains from the struggle. Seizing the building was a tactic, and once it became clear that the university had no intention of implementing the black student demands in a satisfactory way, the Afro American Organization left the building with plans to get, by whatever means necessary, the type of education needed. The fight has not ended. Malcolm X University has simply been moved from the Ford Hall of Brandeis—away from the essentially incompatible surroundings—to the black community in Roxbury.

CALENDAR

BERKELEY

SYMPOSIUM ON MIDEAST CRISIS. Speakers will include a left Zionist, an Arab nationalist and a revolutionary socialist. Fri. Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 2519A Telegraph Ave. Donation: 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ROSA LUXEMBURG AND KARL LIEBKNECHT. Speaker: Lee Warren Smith. Sat. Feb. 1, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, #240. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

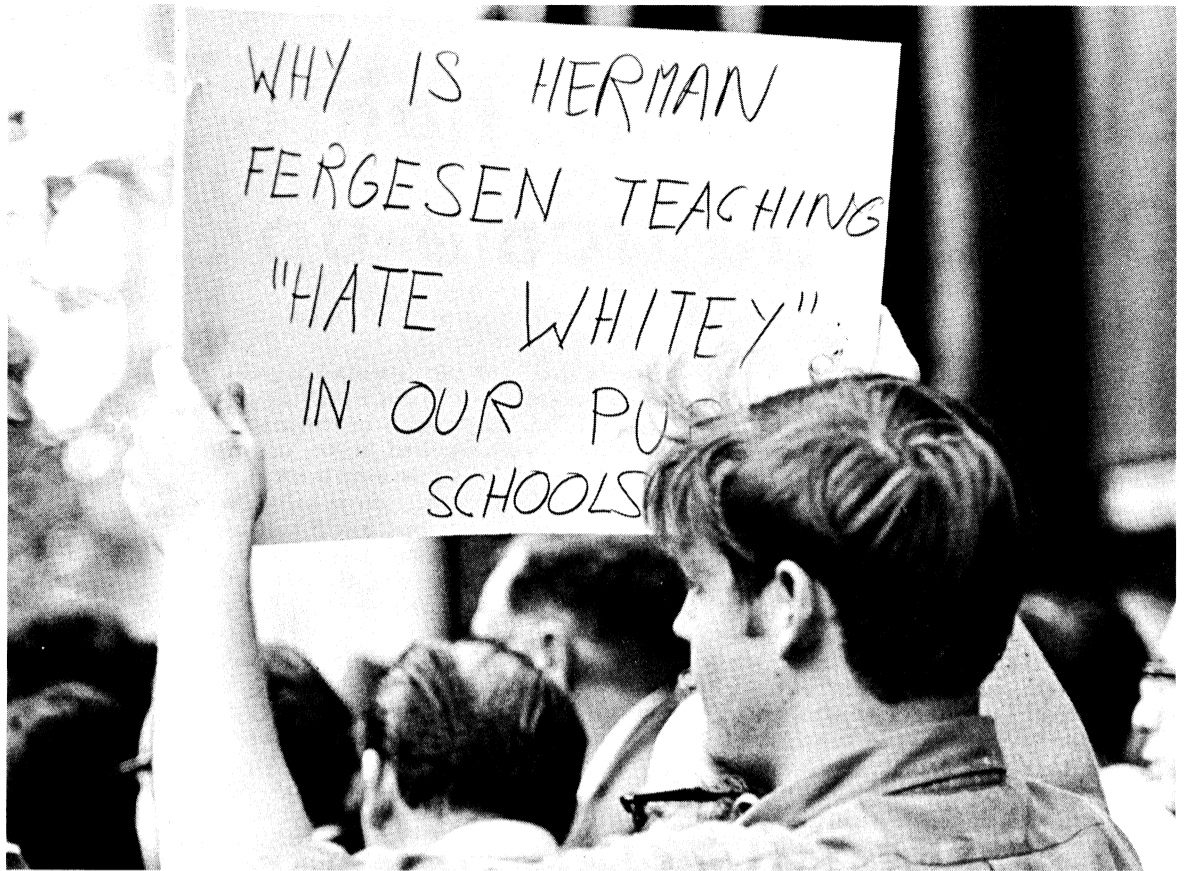
NEW YORK

MESSAGE TO YOUTH FROM THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONISTS — IN COMMEMORATION OF V. I. LENIN, ROSA LUXEMBURG, KARL LIEBKNECHT. Fri., Jan. 31, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

CUBA: 10 YEARS OF REVOLUTION. Speaker, Paul McKnight, Young Socialist Alliance, just returned from Cuba. Fri., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Contrib. \$1 students, 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

On making the victim the criminal



'BROTHERHOOD' ADVOCATE?—Sign held during a City Hall teachers demonstration during UFT strike. The "Fergusen" referred to is apparently Herman Ferguson, the black teacher convicted on a trumped-up charge of "conspiring" to kill Roy Wilkins.

By Elizabeth Barnes

NEW YORK, Jan. 23—For those non-New Yorkers who haven't heard about it, there is a major campaign going on here in all the media against what is demagogically described as "black racism," "black extremism," and dangerous tendencies toward "black supremacy." As Malcolm X explained, the victim becomes the criminal and the criminal the victim!

This campaign represents, first and foremost, an attack on the struggle for black control of the black schools. If successful here, the racists will certainly extend this drive to other cities where black people are fighting for control of their communities.

Leading the pack is pious, "nonpartisan" Mayor John V. Lindsay and his nine-man "Special Committee on Racial and Religious Prejudice." Joining in on the attack have been Albert Shanker, racist president of the United Federation of Teachers; some of the city's most prominent liberal columnists; the *New York Times*; the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; the American Jewish Committee; Democratic Congressman Emanuel Celler, and many more.

The "ideological" framework for the campaign was included in a report from the Mayor's "Special Committee," which stated its alleged findings about the role of "racism" and "bigotry" in the New York City school crisis last fall.

Basing their report on documents and "hate" literature collected by the Anti-Defamation League, the committee concluded that "an appalling amount of racial prejudice—black and white—surfaced in and about the school controversy." Moreover, they say, the "countless incidents, leaflets, epithets and the like in this school controversy reveal a bigotry from black extremists that is open, undisguised, nearly physical in its intensity—and far more obvious and identifiable than that emanating from whites." Especially empha-

sized in the report was the "dangerous component of anti-Semitism issuing from the black community."

A Jan. 18 editorial in the *New York Times* demanded that city officials act against black "hatemongers" and "black supremacists" in the schools.

"Hatemongers?"

Pointing to an alleged "failure of the City Commission on Human Rights to grapple effectively with . . . the elimination of hatemongers from public employ," the *Times* angrily asserted that the commission "has more often seemed concerned with defending black supremacists than deposing them."

This *Times* editorial appeared at the time of two highly publicized incidents which were demagogically blown up as proof of the eminent danger deriving from "black extremism."

The first involved a high-school essay written by a Harlem student. The essay was included in a catalogue for the Metropolitan Museum of Art show, "Harlem on My Mind." It included such statements as, "Behind every hurdle that the Afro-American has yet to jump stands the Jew who has already cleared it. Jewish shopkeepers are the only remaining survivors in the expanding black ghettos . . . The lack of competition in this area allows the already exploited black to be further exploited by the Jews . . ."

"A large portion of Harlem's black women serve as domestics in middle-class Jewish homes. Perhaps this would explain the higher rate of anti-Semitism among black men than women."

These observations by a black high-school student (she rejects the assertion of anti-Semitism) were condemned by Mayor Lindsay and others as further proof that New York's Jewish population faces some grave threat from the black community.

Simultaneous with the museum-essay incident, a storm was whipped up by Shan-

ker and his associates over the fact that Leslie Campbell, a militant black teacher, read a poem over radio station WBAI written by a 15-year-old black student. The poem expressed the anti-Jewish prejudice of an embittered youth reacting to what he saw as a Jewish-led teachers' union which conducted an antiblack school shutdown.

Dedicated to UFT President Shanker, the poem began: "Hey Jew boy, yarmulka on your head/You, pale-faced Jew boy—I wish you were dead."

Demanded action

Again Lindsay intervened, calling on the board of education "to take appropriate action" against Campbell, who is a teacher at the embattled I.S. 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and—for good measure—Albert Vann, another alleged "anti-Semite" who heads the Afro-American Teachers Association.

And at the same time it was announced that Luis Fuentes, the city's only Puerto Rican principal, had been rejected for the post of district superintendent of the predominantly Puerto Rican District One. For months the Puerto Rican community has fought to have Fuentes appointed to that vacant post.

Webster's dictionary defines racism rather aptly as "a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to dominate over others."

That certainly describes white racism, which has been used to justify the subjugation of black people in this country. Whatever antiwhite feelings or hatred of white people black people may feel, it stems from the opposite source. It is a reaction against subjugation. As Malcolm X explained, "If the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us."

Obviously, in the struggle to end centuries of oppression black people have developed one or another degree of hostility to whites in general. Is that so surprising?

And is it surprising that such feelings become exacerbated when at every turn their efforts to achieve a decent life are blocked by whites—including some of the very white people who are themselves exploited by the ruling class.

To equate the antiwhite feelings of black people with the racism of their oppressors is the worst kind of hypocrisy. It's almost as if the mayor of Capetown opened a drive to stamp out antiwhite prejudice among black South Africans.

Clearly double standards are at play here. Did liberal Americans whip up a campaign against the virulent anti-German prejudices which Jewish people felt during the Hitler era (and which many still do)? Did the expression of such anti-German sentiment—which failed to distinguish between the German people and their fascist rulers—call for denunciations of "Jewish supremacy," "bigotry," "hatred," etc.?

Source of prejudice

Anti-Jewish prejudice does exist in the black community. But it does not spring from a vacuum. Compared to the black and Puerto Rican communities, the once highly exploited Jewish population of New York is now in a relatively privileged

position. Yet many Jews now show a pronounced lack of sympathy, understanding and support for a people struggling against oppression.

It is wrong to confuse Jews as a people with the real perpetrators of racism in this country. But the Jewish people—who have every legitimate right to be concerned about genuine anti-Semitism or persecution—must think out the consequences of the present situation.

Consider this single fact. A majority of the pupils in New York's public schools are black or Puerto Rican. But the majority of the teachers are Jewish. The only way anti-Jewish prejudice can be effectively combated in such a situation is if the Jewish community demonstrates that it is a genuine partisan of freedom and justice for all and not simply concerned with preserving jobs or privileges at the expense of the black and Puerto Rican people who are seeking nothing more than their rights.

The present antiwhite, anti-Jewish sentiment in the black community is directly related to, and a product of, the strike just carried out by the United Federation of Teachers—a strike that was a crude power play against the movement of black people for control of their schools.

Day after day during the strike, full-page UFT newspaper ads attacked the movement for school decentralization and community control.

The following sample of the UFT viewpoint is from an ad that appeared in the Oct. 8, 1968, *New York Times*.

"Action to restore teachers' rights have been too long delayed. This failure to act promptly has opened the door to every activist to 'do his thing' at school doors. Vigilantes, racist extremists, and ordinary crackpots have been emboldened to abandon other pet projects and direct their concentrated, bizarre efforts toward the school-system . . ."

"In Harlem, in a new separatist, secessionist twist, a group has called for complete separation and independence from the city school system. . . ."

In a paean to "our democratic society," the ad went on to advise:

"General Motors owns its factories and manages to 'control' them very nicely without having to resort to arbitrary dismissals of employees without just cause . . . This kind of protection is the irreducible measure of human dignity, almost universally recognized wherever people are employed under civilized conditions."

Every racist in town got the message, and people who spent a lifetime breaking strikes were championing the UFT cause.

"Vigilante," "racist extremists," people not ready to function "under civilized conditions"—black people got the message too.

In a sense, the racist abuse hurled at black people in the name of "antibigotry" does express a genuine concern. It is not the concern of antiracists who really think that Afro-Americans are about to establish racist rule here. Rather it is the fear of the oppressors who see the rising determination of the oppressed to get them off their back. It's the kind of fear that, for example, the French in Algeria had for the people in the Casbah.

'We'll annihilate or neutralize them'

NEW YORK — While Mayor Lindsay and others launched their drive against the eminent dangers of "black racism," the real racist crisis in the New York school system was reflected in events at the crowded ghetto Franklin K. Lane High School. The following excerpts from an editorial in the Jan. 23 *New York Post* affords an insight into that situation: "In the aftermath of a vicious attack by three Negro youths Monday on a chemistry teacher at the school, a time-out has been called at Franklin K. Lane High School. The time will be used to look for routes to peaceful settlement of at least some of the long-chafing conflicts which threaten open warfare . . ."

"The intention to regroup and reevaluate, even if belated, is present and merits further encouragement by city school officials. [Previously white teachers had demanded and obtained police occupation of the school.] But, it is confronted by many threats, including one white teacher's outburst: 'I think that if the black people don't get into line, then we'll either annihilate or neutralize them.'

"Early this week, a young woman who is a reporter for this newspaper was on assignment at Lane. She was accosted in a corridor by a school official who demanded to know, in sharp and challenging terms, why she was not in class. She was directed to return to her classroom.

"The official was unaware that she was a reporter, and a university graduate. He did know she was a Negro.

"The incident illustrates some of the underlying reasons for the continuing tension and eruptions of violence which now plague the school. One teenager there said: 'The aides jump on the black kids more than the whites. They look at you like you're dirt. If you're late for class, they don't give you a chance to explain. But it's different for the white kids.'

"Lane's enrollment is overwhelmingly Negro. The faculty and administrators are chiefly white—a fact that would not necessarily be indicative of anything if there were not disturbing evidence that many are fearful and suspicious of the black students as a group and manifest their apprehension and hostility often."

PL's attack on black nationalism

By Gus Horowitz

Simultaneous with the growing radicalism of the black liberation struggle a stream of invective is pouring forth against the ideological power behind this radicalism — black nationalism. These vitriolic attacks come from two quarters: from the ruling class, whose response is none too surprising, and from self-designated friends, allies, and tutors of the black struggle.

The latter opponents of black nationalism include the Progressive Labor Party. In the past few months, this Maoist grouping has waged a campaign to warn students, workers, and black people of the manifold dangers of black nationalism, as PL sees them.

In the January 1969 issue of *Challenge*, organ of Progressive Labor, an editorial proclaims that "nationalism, which is a bourgeois reaction to racism, must be defeated." "Nationalism," they assert, "is a bourgeois idea and is opposed to internationalism (the unity of oppressed people throughout the world). Nationalism is also a barrier to a united working class domestically."

In the course of its campaign against black nationalism, PL succeeded in winning a majority vote at a recent SDS national council meeting for a resolution containing its line of opposition to black nationalism. That resolution went even further. Under the heading "Defeat Nationalism," the resolution says that "nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the black liberation movement." (Emphasis added.)

In the Jan. 24 *Militant*, Tony Thomas

S.F. strikers reach unionists

The strike led by black and Third World students at San Francisco State College has provided numerous opportunities to reach the labor movement. When the Strike Support Committee went to the executive committee of Local 1364, United Auto Workers, with a request to present its case to the local's membership, it got the cold shoulder. Angry members of the Union Action Caucus then distributed a leaflet to the entire membership. It said, in part:

"We were humiliated and ashamed at this poor display of manners on the part of the board and its blatant refusal to just listen to young people whose parents built and participate in this labor movement. For years the labor movement was in the forefront of the struggle for free speech and the democratic right of the platform . . . and now, today, employer organizations will at least listen to the youth, but the labor movement slams its doors shut. Is this democracy? Is this what we struggled to build our union for?"

The leaflet pointed out the particular brutality of the S. F. cops, particularly the notorious "tac squad," which "has been using S. F. State as a training ground to assault the labor movement."

The Union Action Caucus called upon all members "regardless of their point of view to join us in the demand that at least these people be heard. We are proud of our democratic tradition and we intend to keep and maintain it."



PARTISAN OF NATIONALISM. One of Lenin's most important contributions to Marxist theory was his explanation of the justice and revolutionary potential of the struggles of oppressed minorities and nations for self-determination.

took on this fraudulent PL theory and pointed out the revolutionary significance of black nationalism. It is not necessary to repeat his argument here, but only to note that nationalist demands have been the backbone of a series of militant struggles.

These include the New York City struggle for black control of the schools in the black community, the San Francisco State struggle, the struggles at other colleges for black control of black studies departments, and struggles in many high schools. Black control of the black community — the central demand — is a nationalist, not a working class demand. And it is a progressive demand. Lenin explained that the nationalism of the oppressors is reactionary, but the nationalism of the oppressed is progressive.

How then do the PLers square their opposition to black nationalism with the Marxism they profess?

Inconsistent view

First, it is useful to note a certain inconsistency in PL's position on nationalism. Though they say that nationalism must be defeated, they mean this to apply only to black nationalism. It is possible, for instance, to find examples in *Challenge*, where support to national liberation struggles is urged and where nationalist demands are encouraged, specifically, in the case of the colonial revolution.

Most radicals readily see the nationalist aspects of revolutionary movements in the colonial world. In Cuba, the nationalist desire for independence, for freedom from U. S. domination, led to a revolution which became socialist in character. In China, the revolutionary model for PL, the same desire for national independence was one of the impelling forces of the revolution. The same is true of Vietnam today. "Vietnam for the Vietnamese," a nationalist slogan, might well be restated as Vietnamese control of the Vietnamese community.

History has shown that in the colonial world national struggles contain a powerful revolutionary thrust. Although a Marxist program is necessary for success, the revolutionary thrust of nationalism exists even when liberation struggles do not have a socialist or working-class program. To say otherwise would mean to condemn most of the national liberation struggles going on in the world today. This aspect of nationalism is present, moreover, even though the majority of people in the colonial world are peasants, not workers and where in some countries the working class is but a tiny fraction of the population.

So clear are the nationalist aspects of revolutionary struggles throughout the colonial world that PL has not had the audacity to declare such nationalism reactionary. Would PL dare say that Chinese, Cuban, Vietnamese — or Arab, African, In-

donesian — nationalism is reactionary, "a bourgeois idea" that "must be defeated" or "an ideology that the ruling class relies on to split the movement?"

Black struggle peculiar

PL's opposition to nationalism is really an opposition to certain nationalisms, in particular black nationalism. What then, does PL think is so peculiar about the black struggle that it makes black nationalism reactionary, while the nationalism of oppressed nations throughout the world is progressive? Their answer twists the reality.

"Black students," says *Challenge*, "are usually consciously impelled into struggle around nationalist feelings. (Emphasis added.) But this is objectively based on working class oppression."

"Usually," says the SDS resolution, "a nationalist feeling is the initial conscious impetus towards struggle among black people. But the material basis of this struggle is class oppression." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, black people suffer oppression as workers, as the most exploited section of the working class, period. "The class aspect of imperialist oppression is primary," says the SDS resolution. Any national characteristics to the struggle are merely feelings, secondary in importance; a passing form, but not the essence. The black liberation struggle, both the SDS resolution and *Challenge* summarize, "is national in form, and working class in content."

PL does not think that black people suffer national oppression, that black people are oppressed as black people, not only as workers. Black people, according to PL, more accurately black workers, are merely a specially exploited section of the American working class. For PL, the struggle of Afro-Americans is solely part of the class struggle.

Thus PL's problem of reconciling their opposition to nationalism with Marxist theory is neatly solved. Lenin's theory of self-determination applies only to oppressed nations, and thus is irrelevant to the black liberation struggle, according to the logic of their analysis.

Theoretical reversion

PL's theory is a reversion to that held in the earliest days of the American socialist movement, before the lessons of the Russian Revolution were learned. At the time, the left wing of the socialist movement held that black people suffered the worst form of exploitation, but purely a class oppression nonetheless. As a multiclass national minority, black people did not really exist. Therefore, the early socialist movement felt no need to deal with the special forms of oppression that black people suffer. Solve the problem of class oppression, they said, and racism would end.

The victory of the Russian Revolution taught its lessons about the revolutionary

implications of national liberation struggles and caused American Marxists to re-think their position on the black struggle. The conclusion was that in all essentials black people were nationally oppressed. Not only black workers, but all black people, suffered such oppression, just as do all people of the colonial world, not merely the workers. In history, tradition and culture — and in common racial oppression — black people have a well-delineated character as a national minority.

Though this view of the oppression of black people was not widespread at the time of Debs, even among black people, today it is clear that black people do see themselves as nationally oppressed and are increasingly conscious of a black identity. Afro-Americans identify with one another not only as workers or by other class ties — they identify and solidarize themselves with one another as a people. And today they are demanding rights — and power — as a people!

Material basis

PL does correctly state in *Challenge* that it is "capitalism's drive for profits which is the basis of racist super-exploitation." The SDS resolution states that "the material basis of racism is capitalism's driving need to maximize profits." Not only are extra profits derived from the superexploitation of black workers, but "low wages for black workers and black unemployment are used to keep down wages for all workers."

Though the above is correct, it is also one-sided in analyzing the cause of racism. Racist oppression developed because of capitalism, because of the material gains capitalism derives from it. But all black people suffer oppression, not only black workers. The fact is that to carry through its superexploitation of black workers, capitalism must necessarily maintain the entire black people in a subjugated status.

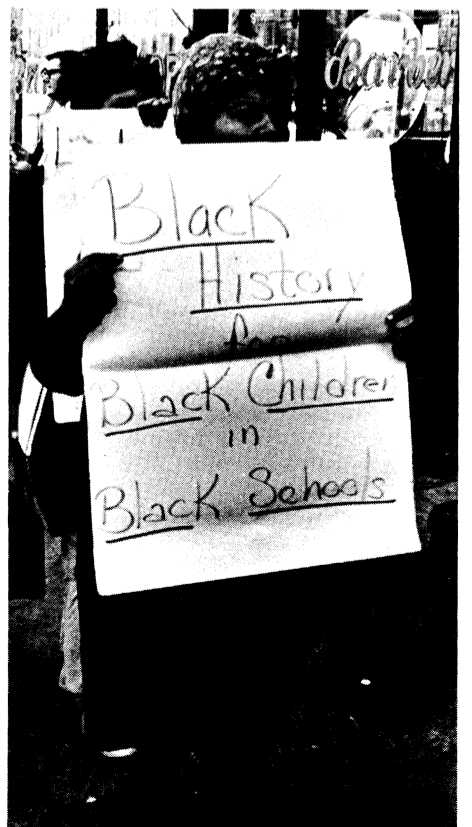
The dynamic of the black struggle is thus two-fold; it is a combined class and national struggle. That is what makes the black liberation struggle so revolutionary a force. Unlike the colonial world, black people are largely working class. Demands of the entire black nation are at the same time demands raised by black workers, and vice-versa. This dual character gives to the black struggle a potential for revolutionary development that can be realized far more quickly than in the case of national liberation struggles in the colonial world. Class and national demands become quickly intertwined.

The link

The success of the struggle for black liberation and the struggle of black workers are inextricably tied together, both of them linked to the future of American capitalism.

Racism is woven deep into the fabric of American capitalist society. Today's struggles of black people against racism — for control of their destiny — deal blows at capitalism itself. Consider this. Grant — for a moment and for the sake of argument — that capitalist America can afford to take its racist foot off the necks of black students and grant their demands for independent power in the field of education. What will capitalist America do when it is confronted with similar and perhaps even more revolutionary power demands from black transit workers, black auto workers, black rubber workers, black steel workers?

On that day — toward which we are now moving — the revolutionary essence of black nationalism will be abundantly clear. Perhaps, even, to the most stubborn Maoist.



GI orientation was key focus of movement parley

By Dick Roberts

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The number of active-duty GIs who are organizing against the war and the brass is mushrooming in bases around the country. These GIs want to join forces with the civilian antiwar movement and get its support. This was the central message of a meeting of antiwar GIs, veterans and civilian activists which highlighted the National Mobilization Committee "movement conference" in Washington, Saturday, Jan. 18.

The GIs and veterans got down to business about the main problems facing enlisted men — the war, the brass, lifers — and what to do about them. "Specifics" was the order of the day.

There was discussion of how to run GI newspapers, the value of GI coffee houses near bases, how to get legal advice for antiwar enlisted men. There was a solid consensus in support of plans for national antiwar actions built by GI-civilian committees for Easter Sunday, April 6.

About 3,000 people attended the one-day Mobe conference, which included several dozen other panels besides the GI workshop. These discussed topics ranging from underground press, women's liberation, guerrilla theater and high-school organizing to renaissance music. There was animated discussion at many of these.

A GI left his hospital bed to join anti-inauguration

WASHINGTON, D. C. — When Derrick Alexander was wounded in Vietnam last November, he made up his mind to do whatever he could to end the war when he got back to the States, but he didn't know just what to do.

A month later Alexander was shipped to Walter Reade Hospital in Washington. Listening to the news one night last week, he heard about the weekend antiwar mobilization. He decided to get out of his hospital bed to attend it.

His presence expressed the developing unity of GI and civilian antiwar activists which was strongly reflected at the "counter-inaugural" weekend.

Alexander took part in the GI workshop at the mobilization conference and spoke briefly at the rally preceding the "counter-inaugural" march Jan. 19. Along with other active-duty GIs, Alexander led that march of 12,000 down Pennsylvania Ave. to the Capitol area.

The active-duty GIs heading up the march under banners of "GIs for Peace" symbolized the meaning of the spirited and youthful demonstration. There were many high-school students from Washington, and significant numbers joined the march from among the onlookers.

Effective guerrilla street theater presentations dotted the march, and many wore white Nixon masks.

A brief rally in the National Mobe tent preceded the march. Speakers included Tom Melville, one of the Catonsville Nine, and James Johnson, one of the Fort Hood Three recently released after serving nearly three years for refusing to go to Vietnam. Johnson is now chairman of the National Black Antidraft Antiwar Union.

Derrick Alexander was the final speaker at the rally, and he led the march although he was clearly under considerable physical strain.

Although newspaper reports of the "counter-inaugural" march played up a few cases of scuffles with the cops, the seriousness of the young marchers was demonstrated by the failure of small knots of self-styled "crazies" to provoke a physical incident with the clearly superior physical force of the police.

(The "crazies" were buttressed by about

But the largest by far was the GI workshop.

There was also a teach-in on movement problems and perspectives. Among the speakers were Al McSurley, Appalachian organizer; Dave Dellinger, chairman of National Mobe; Stewart Meacham, American Friends Service Committee; Bruce Jacobson, Viet Report; and Fred Halstead of the SWP.

The good turnout for the conference and even larger turnout for the march and "counter-inaugural ball" the following day showed that antiwar sentiment continues to deepen, particularly among young people.

200 ultralefts under the banner of the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, largely a bloc between Youth Against War and Fascism and the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front. With the support of some SDSers from New York and Washington, they devoted their energies over the weekend to organizing their version of a "revolutionary confrontation" with Nixon as his car was to come by during the inauguration parade. But when the moment arrived, and the Nixon cavalcade went by, they apparently had a change of mind or heart.)

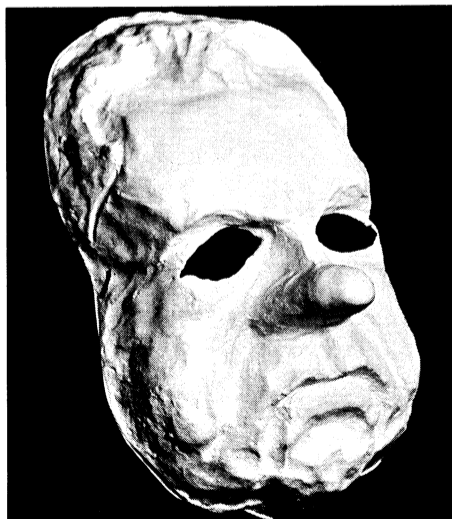


Photo by Shannon

At the Nixon inaugural parade, several thousand antiwar demonstrators took up positions all along the parade route. This "movement presence" was an effective demonstration, and the fact that by and large the ordinary parade spectators were not hostile to the demonstrators — indeed many of them, particularly young people, were sympathetic — showed the depth of antiwar sentiment generally.

As they left the parade, many hundreds of Washington youth took to the streets in a spontaneous demonstration which kept cops chasing them for several hours.

The "counter-inaugural" ball on Sunday night brought out as many as 10,000 for an evening of folk and rock entertainment.

— D. R.



Photo by Shannon

THIRST FOR LITERATURE. A large number of the young people who came to Washington for the "counter-inauguration" were newly radicalized young people. Their fresh, live interest in politics was indicated by their enthusiastic response to the socialist literature on sale throughout the weekend.

The proportion of highschoolers marked a new high in their participation in national movement meetings.

The GI panel was organized by Carl Rogers and Steve Wilcox of Servicemen's Link to Peace (LINK), Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee, and John Davis of National Mobe.

Press conference

At a press conference Saturday morning, Rogers said that 125 active-duty GIs had planned to come to the conference and many of them had purchased tickets.

They were prevented from coming, according to Rogers, by what appeared to be an East Coast "alert" against the antiwar conference. Bases up and down the coast had been put on restriction. Forts Meade, Lee and McPherson — in Georgia! — were completely restricted.

Rogers listed GI commitment from the conference from Atlanta, Ft. Knox, Newport, Ft. Eustis, Ft. Lee, Norfolk, Ft. Campbell, Ft. Dix, Baltimore, Washington and Boston. Seventy GIs, he said, signed up for the conference from Atlanta alone.

Also at the press conference, National Mobe chairman David Dellinger stressed the importance of supporting antiwar GIs. He said that the situation of GIs was like that of blacks at the time of the Declaration of Independence — people assume they have no rights and cease to be human beings.

Dellinger anticipated the fast development of GI demonstrations comparable to those at the end of the second world war where soldiers demanded that they be brought home.

The GI panel focused on several aspects of antiwar organizing among the troops. There was general agreement about avoiding any tactics that would lead to victimizations.

David Samas, one of the Fort Hood Three who spent nearly three years in the stockade for their refusal to accept assignment to Vietnam, said that "the most important development in the movement is the organization in the Army . . . We should stop placing ourselves in jail. It is revolutionary to act and stay out of jail."

The essential task, most speakers thought, was to get GIs to realize the constitutional rights they actually have and which, if utilized, allow them to voice their real opposition to the war.

Can't jail everyone

"We don't get told about loop-holes in the law," one active-duty GI said. "That's what they have to learn, they can't throw all soldiers in jail." He stressed at the same time the necessity of civilians realizing "the fear that lifers strike into EMs [enlisted men]."

Andy Stapp of the antiwar newspaper, *The Bond*, pointed out how important it was for GIs against the war to protect themselves from brass harassment by not committing minor infractions. He mentioned the use of drugs and violation of pass restrictions particularly.

Sherman Sitrin, an antiwar GI from Ft. Belvoir, Va., stated that the brass is "a lot more afraid of us than we are of them." He pointed out that only two out of the 500 who participated in the San Francisco march are under charges. That's "because it's legal and they know the trouble they're

going to get" if they press charges.

Sitrin said that the "GI isn't as isolated as he thinks he is." He pointed to the case of Al Myers, an antiwar GI stationed at Ft. Dix who was present later in the panel discussion. Myers has spoken at antiwar rallies and meetings, and the brass is doing nothing, after failing to pin a court-martial on him.

One of several sailors in the panel confirmed the necessity of letting enlisted men understand their rights: "If somebody's got a lawyer, a little knowledge of military law, it's the last thing they want."

Dave Portugal, who launched the antiwar magazine *FTA* at Ft. Knox, talked about how to put out a GI newspaper. He explained that the closer it was to individual EMs and their problems, the better.

Portugal stressed combining newspaper work with a coffee house. The latter is necessary as a base for the newspaper and a place where the ideas can be hashed out in a way that is impossible in a short article.

Anti-Army movement?

A heated debate developed when a few young men who were facing induction but hadn't been drafted attempted to turn the workshop toward the idea of developing "a mass movement against the Army." They also attacked the idea of stressing constitutional rights as a means of supporting GIs, and they favored desertion.

Ex-GI Howard Petrick responded, "What you should do is join the Army and organize it . . . Why should people walk off a base if they can control it?"

Petrick pointed out that "guys who are successful organizers are the ones who are doing it and getting away with it. A base of 40,000 guys united can keep a base commander straight if it wants to."

Lew Jones of the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that the fight for democratic rights within the Army is revolutionary. He explained that U.S. imperialism had been forced to deprive soldiers of democratic rights that existed in the Army at the time of the American Revolution precisely to get soldiers to do the dirty job of keeping up the imperialist police force. Democracy in the Army is incompatible with imperialism.

The concluding speaker, Alan Myers, summarized what seemed to be the unanimous feeling of the workshop: to redouble all efforts to organize antiwar GIs, through legal help from civilians, through newspapers, through coffee shops, and above all around major actions like April 6, which bring together antiwar GIs and civilian antiwar committees on a local, regional and national basis.

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Additional news on Polish trial

(IP)—Some additional facts have become available about the trial of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, the left-Communist Polish student leaders who were sentenced to three-and-a-half years in prison by a Warsaw court Jan. 15. They were convicted for their alleged role in student demonstrations in March 1968. The prosecution had demanded an eight-year sentence for Modzelewski and seven years for Kuron.

The two were convicted on a tendentious political charge of having "taken part in a movement—founded on a political program drafted by them and hostile to the Polish People's Republic—which sought to foment public demonstrations against the state."

They were found not guilty of the charge of collaborating with the world Trotskyist movement, a "crime" under the Gomulka regime which carries a mandatory sentence of five years in prison.

The two were free on parole at the time of their arrest last March 8. They had been released shortly before, after serving two years of sentences imposed in 1965 for their political opposition to the Gomulka regime.

In the current prosecution, the ten months they had been held awaiting trial were credited as time served toward their three-and-a-half year sentences.

The court decided, however, to add the time that had been deducted from their previous sentences for good behavior. The full terms that each of them now face are three years and eight months for Kuron and three years and ten months for Modzelewski.

The specific activities the two critics of Polish Stalinism were accused of in the 13-day trial included having "masterminded" a student group called the "commandos," apparently the "illegal organization" referred to in the charges. The group was said to be composed largely of radical Jewish students. The prosecution pictured the group as being composed of "Zionists, revisionists and Stalinists." This is the standard formula used by the Gomulka regime in replying to left-wing critics. These accusations, intended to arouse prejudice

against the defendants, bear no resemblance to the well-known political views of Kuron and Modzelewski, who are revolutionary socialists. [See their "Open Letter" in reply to their expulsion from the Polish Communist Party, in **Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out (1964-1968)**, Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, New York 10003. \$1.25.]

A Reuters dispatch from Warsaw during the trial detailed the charges on Kuron and Modzelewski's alleged ties with the Fourth International:

"In the first Polish press account of the activities of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, the official news agency PAP said the indictment alleged they received propaganda material and technical equipment from an organization known as the 'Fourth

International.' The material included a duplicating machine and stencils 'illegally brought from Belgium in a box with medicines marked with a Red Cross sign,' PAP said. . . .

"It added that the two men also established contact with the Fourth International—a foreign organization—for the purpose of acts to the detriment of the Polish state, PAP said. The indictment said Mssrs. Kuron and Modzelewski supplied this organization with much information on the political, social and economic situation in Poland through direct contacts and correspondence.

"They also helped an agent of the Fourth International organize meetings and recruit collaborators, the indictment said."

No public explanation was offered as to why the bureaucracy decided to drop this charge while imposing prison terms for the other. It is rather difficult, of course, to convince people that "old-line Stalinists" are at the same time "agents" of Trotskyism. It may also be that Gomulka, already faced with an alienated student movement, decided not to call further attention to the Fourth International, thereby presenting the world Trotskyist movement in a very favorable light to revolutionary-minded Polish youth.

Finally, the bureaucracy evidently weighed the impact of handing down the harsh sentences mandatory under this charge upon conviction and decided it would be taken by the mass of Polish students as a provocation.

There is evidence for this view in the whole organization of the student trials. The government decided not to stage a mass trial of the student demonstrators being held in Polish prisons. Instead, the trials are scheduled to be spaced so that two or three defendants at a time are brought into court. In addition, the sessions are closed to the public. The Paris daily **Le Monde** reported Jan. 17 that two other Warsaw student leaders, Adam Michnik and Henryk Szlaifer, will go on trial Jan. 21.

The defense and the prosecution in the Kuron and Modzelewski case both plan to appeal the verdict.



Polish boss Gomulka

Crime in the streets?

How the mob promotes pollution

By Robert Langston

It is profitable to poison. The United States' hundred million autos, buses and trucks—probably the greatest single cause of the ever more hazardous pollution of the country's air—are belching forth tons more carbon monoxide, unburned hydrocarbons and other noxious substances than is technically necessary to their operation. And they are doing it because their manufacturers—the U.S. automobile monopolies—find it profitable to retard the development and utilization of antipollution devices.

This is the meaning of charges filed in

the Los Angeles Federal District Court Jan. 10 by the U.S. Justice Department against the nation's "big four" auto producers and the automobile industry's trade association.

According to the department, the defendants and a number of smaller manufacturers of trucks and buses conspired to avoid competing in the development of antipollution methods and in the purchasing of patents from outside developers. They also entered into an illegal agreement that no one of them would equip their cars with pollution control devices before a specified date.

In addition, the Justice Department found, the companies lied to officials in California—where certain antipollution measures have been legally mandatory since 1962—when they insisted that it was technically impossible to equip their 1962 models with the necessary devices.

In short, the capitalists behaved like capitalists. They merely wanted to maximize their profits. Only that, contrary to the school-book tale, does not lead to greater public welfare, but to more discomfort, disease and death.

Anyone who still believes that the poor auto manufacturers have perhaps run afoul of a government thirsty to harass business should consider a devastating report on the Federal Trade Commission issued Jan. 5 by a team of Harvard and Yale law students and lawyers. The team, which was organized by consumer-protection publicist Ralph Nader, spent three months last summer examining the records of the commission and interviewing staff members.

Their inquiry indicates that the FTC, which is charged with enforcing the myriad federal regulations and statutes supposedly designed to protect consumers—and business itself—from the predatory habits of America's capitalists, is lackadaisical in investigation, negligent in enforcement, and subservient to the very business interests it is supposed to police.

The report sent Paul Rand Dixon, head of the FTC and a particular target of the team's criticism, into a paroxysmal fury. He fulminated at the "extreme antibusiness bias of these young zealots," because they dared to suggest that the behavior of the nation's capitalists is "far more damaging to contemporary America than all the depredations of street crime."

A whiff of the air in New York, or virtually any other large American city, suggests that they have made a case.

Czech crisis reflected by immolation

(IP)—A stark sign of the depth of the opposition to the continued Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia was Jan Palach's self-immolation in Prague Jan. 16.

Especially disturbing to the Cernik-Husak regime was the notification in the letter left by the 21-year-old student that there were more "torches" to come. A second Czech youth attempted to burn himself Jan. 20 in Pilsen.

The response was immediate to Palach's sacrificial act. Many people sent flowers to the hospital where Palach was taken in critical condition. His act recalled the suicides by fire of Buddhists in the streets of Saigon to protest the American occupation of their country, or of American pacifists protesting their country's aggression against the people of Vietnam. Such parallels were highly embarrassing to Czech officials and to the Kremlin.

The students of the philosophical faculty of Charles University, where Palach was in his second year, issued a statement saying, "We accuse the Soviet leadership of adding by its policies yet one more victim of the 21st of August. We accuse the political leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party of dragging, in the name of so-called political realism, the people of Czechoslovakia into this situation by the smallness of its policy and by treason of the previously proclaimed ideals.

"We accuse ourselves, that up to now we did not find enough force in ourselves for such actions that would force the political leadership to become the real representative of the people's opinion."

The day before Palach's action, 2,000 students and workers staged a rally in a Prague hall where a manifesto was adopted demanding the full restoration of national sovereignty, immediate internal political democracy, and an end to attacks on the press. Speakers at the rally included representatives of the 900,000-member Metal Workers' Union and the Union of Printers. The rally sent a message to Dr. Peter Golotka, the man picked by Moscow to replace reformer Josef Smrkovsky as head of the new national assembly, asking him to refuse to accept the post.

Copies of Jan Palach's letter explaining his action were posted throughout Prague, apparently by members of his organization. It read as follows:

"With regard to the fact that our nations are at the edge of hopelessness, we decided to express our protest and awaken the people of this country in the following way:

"Our group is composed of volunteers who are ready to burn themselves for our cause. I had the honor to draw the first lot, and I have gained the right to write the first letter and set the first torch.

"Our requirements are: 1) Immediate abolition of censorship. 2) Prohibition of distribution of **Zpravdy** [published by Soviet occupation authorities.]

"Should our requirements not be fulfilled within five days, that is, by Jan. 21, 1969, and if the people will not come out with sufficient support (such as a strike for an indefinite period) further torches will go up in flames. (Signed) Torch No. 1.

"P. S. Remember August. Space has been created for Czechoslovakia in international policy. Let's use it."

The letter was confirmed by the Czech government as authentic.



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Will 'fine tuning' keep economy in balance?

By Dick Roberts

Is the "cooling off" of the economy that didn't get started in 1968 going to start in 1969? Can such a "cooling off" stop short of bringing on a major recession—the first in eight years?

These are the main questions being raised in New York and Washington as the federal government has turned from primary reliance on "fiscal" policies (tax controls) to more emphasis on "monetary" policies (money supply controls) in its attempt to steer the economy away from the nearly 5-percent inflation rate of 1968.

It may sound like so much economic jargon. Behind the terms are big problems for U.S. imperialism in its effort to maintain a multibillion dollar world police force and to finance the war in Vietnam, when competition for world markets has sharply increased between the major capitalist nations.

The essence of the dilemma is the fact that the inflation, primarily caused by military spending, undercuts the competitive advantage of U.S. corporations in world trade, and at the same time it threatens to disrupt international finance.

Inflation, coupled with low unemployment, does have short-run advantages to domestic industry. It has meant high prices, high sales—and high profits; this sent stock market prices soaring in recent months. But the charm of this situation is wearing off for domestic as well as the international reasons just mentioned.

Low unemployment creates a situation in which workers, taking advantage of the demand for employment, can fight for and win higher wages, and capitalism cannot tolerate this for an extended period of time. *Business Week* magazine complained Jan. 12:

"The tightness of the labor market at yearend was widespread. Only six of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' 150 manpower centers closed out the year with an unemployment rate of 6 percent or more . . ."

There are two sides of the damaging effect of inflation in international finance. Where governments, banks or corporations borrow or lend huge sums of money in dollars over an extended period of time, it is desirable that the value of the dollar remain stable.

If the purchasing power of the dollar is declining because of increased prices, this jeopardizes such transactions. The American inflation was a major cause of the monetary crises which shook the world financial markets three times last year.

The other side of inflation of the U.S. economy in world trade is that it prices U.S. products out of international markets—even the U.S. market itself, which is the biggest and most desirable one.

The domestic inflation has resulted in sharp increases of imported goods, in a few cases seriously weakening the grasp of U.S. industries over the American market: In 1968 there was a 30 percent increase in auto imports to this country and a 40 percent increase in steel imports.

Foreign auto and steel corporations today command over 10 percent of the U.S. market.

Cuban exiles in bomb attack on MPI leader

A bomb planted by Cuban emigre terrorists went off in front of the home of Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, Jan. 7.

The bomb wrecked the independence leader's car, but no one was injured. Mari Bras was at home when the explosion occurred. Later in the day a press release was received at local radio stations saying, "We will do all we can to bar the incursions and development of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) and its affiliated organizations." The threat was sent by the "Cuban Power" group of exile terrorists. This group was reportedly responsible for a series of bombings in the U.S. last year, including the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Los Angeles last October.

When asked by reporters if he had any enemies, Juan Mari Bras replied, "My only enemies are the enemies of the independence of Puerto Rico."

Fiscal measures, meaning those related to taxes, were applied in the raising of social-security payments last spring and the summer imposition of a tax "surcharge" of 10 percent.

By increasing tax payments in this way, the government hoped to reduce the purchasing power of consumers, in turn, forcing various industries to hold back on production and lay off workers.

This would slow down the inflation, according to some government economists, because industries would have to cut prices to compete with each other in a shrinking consumer market. At the same time higher taxes would enable the government to cut the massive \$25 billion deficit which stared it in the face for the fiscal year 1968, ending last June.

Congress adopted the income-tax increase in the wake of the March gold crisis, under heavy pressure from banking authorities and the White House, and the surcharge went into effect in July.

But consumers continued and even increased their spending. Industries raised prices at rates above 5 percent a year. Unemployment fell to a 15-year low. A new currency crisis swept world money markets in November.

Economists in Washington have not ruled out the possibility that the fiscal measures adopted last summer may still take their toll. Although increased withholding taxes began in July, the surcharge was retroactive to last April, meaning that everyone will be hit with heavier taxes this year than they expect.

Meanwhile, however, new conjunctural problems were developing in the domestic economy, all the more reinforcing the dangers of continued inflation. Partly in fear of further and more rapid increases in wages and prices, U.S. corporations launched big investment programs for 1969 and began to pile up excessive inventories of their products.

This stokes the so-called "demand-pull" inflation: Taking advantage of the increased demand for capital goods, (plants, heavy machinery, etc.) suppliers raise prices, and as workers have more money to spend, prices of consumer products are raised. In both cases, for capital and consumer goods, inventories are built up even faster than demand, in order to beat future costs!

This case of the blind leading the blind—blinded, that is, to everything but profits—is always blamed on workers under the label of a "wage-price spiral." But the real spiral is in prices, and it is one that many of the governors of the capitalist economy would like to avoid.

The greater the inventory buildup, the greater the overexpansion of productive capacity, the greater the collapse when markets are eventually glutted.

The fear of a sudden collapse added to the competitive disadvantages of high U.S. prices in world trade, low unemployment and the danger of a new world monetary crisis is enough to convince monetary authorities to "put the brakes on."

They hope to slow down the inflation and at the same time prevent a big recession by what they like to call "fine tuning" of interest rates.

The Federal Reserve Board has shifted towards "tight money," that is, it is severely restricting the supply of money. This makes it more expensive for corporations to borrow money they need for financing investments and inventories.

The "prime rate"—the interest rate at which big corporations borrow from major banks—has been forced up to a historic high of 7 percent.

At the same time, high interest rates make it more expensive for consumers to purchase items which require big loans—notably houses and cars. The combined effect of high interest rates is to precipitate a big slowing of housing construction and, over an extended period, of the production of other items.

When "tight money" policies were adopted in the latter part of 1965, it caused the "credit crunch" of 1966 and the year-long stagnation of industrial production from mid-1966 to mid-1967. In this period, housing construction fell off by a dramatic one-third and the stock market declined 25 percent.

It was fundamentally the war itself which prevented the 1966-67 "mini-recession" from deepening. Although jobs decreased in the consumer goods' industries, they increased in war production, and the money poured into the economy for the war held

back a major recession. By the spring of 1967 the economy was once again on its dizzying inflationary course.

Preventing that recession required heavy deficit spending and spurred the inflation "tight money" was supposed to halt. Even as the domestic market shrank, however slightly, businessmen didn't lower prices; they raised them. Does the Federal Reserve have a different perspective for 1969?

The question is all the more pertinent because it is not excluded that a recession, if it should develop in this country, could be rapidly internationalized precisely be-

cause of the development of world over-production with the sharpened international competition it has caused.

The question posed at the outset is decisive: U.S. industry must slow the inflation in order to salvage its position in international trade and prevent an international monetary crisis. But it has to do this without provoking a domestic recession which could be disastrous for international capitalism.

The coming months will prove to be a trying test for the "neocapitalist" or "neo-Keynesian" technicians.



Shay Stern/Liberation News Service

views and reviews

in passing . . .

I just finished reading Norman Mailer's book on the Democratic and Republican conventions, *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (Signet, 95c). He does a good job of reporting the organized brutality of the cops.

The book makes for good light reading. Mailer almost always writes well. (I say "almost always" because the last thing I read by Mailer was *Why Are We In Vietnam?* which has nothing but the most obscure connection with Vietnam, or—as far as I could see—with anything else for that matter.)

But in *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* everything is crystal clear. In a way that's too bad. Mailer has come a long way from being the revolutionary socialist who wrote *Barbary Shore* (which I heartily recommend). Now he is a liberal who doesn't really want to admit it.

He says unkind things about socialists, and his distaste is evident. More to his taste was Robert F. Kennedy, whom he ardently supported. After the assassination he became a well-wisher of Eugene McCarthy.

At any rate, Mailer's impressions of Nixon, Humphrey, et al are quite funny. These are the leaders of the great American nation. It makes you glad that there's someone that wants to throw them out—a great big growing someone.

I would also recommend Sidney Lens' article in the December issue of *The Progressive* on "Yugoslavia's New Communism." It contains a lot of interesting information, and information on Yugoslavia is pretty hard to come by in this country.

I certainly can't endorse Lens' cheerfully uncritical opinion of Tito's bureaucracy nor his laudatory remarks with regard to the supposed positive results of having each factory produce for "profitability" on the market.

Nevertheless, Lens has a lot of interesting

things to report. Some of it is first-hand, since he was there recently.

Lens apparently feels that Yugoslavia has about the most advanced political setup in the world going for it. Personally, I think Cuba has. But to each his own . . .

A number of SDS-type figures have had it with Marcuse. For example, there was Bob Gottlieb's critical review of Marcuse's work in the Dec. 28 *Guardian*, "Negating Marcuse's 'Negation'."

Also, there are such passing remarks as the one by Les Coleman in the Dec. 18 *New Left Notes* in an article called "False Factionalism and Ideological Clarity": "The cult of personal liberation leads to a no-struggle ethic. The substitution of the beautiful community for collective struggle often finds its theoretical underpinnings in Marcuse with an assist from Calvert." He's referring to Greg Calvert, the former national officer of SDS.

The rejection of Marcuse's lack of any meaningful program is a sign of the times. Everybody's taking his politics more seriously.

—Malachi Constant

The Murder of Nigeria —An Indictment By Obi Egbuna

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New specter in Italy: revolt in the unions

By Robert Langston

Italy's bosses — and trade-union bureaucrats — are watching apprehensively a mushrooming rank-and-file movement to confer agreement-making power on the masses of workers. In plants throughout the country, "unitary base committees" — united committees of rank-and-file workers who belong to different unions or to no union at all — are springing up to challenge the authority of the established leaderships.

They take as their model, Alfred Friendly Jr. reported in the Jan. 12 *New York Times*, the rank-and-file committee at the Bicocca plant of the giant Pirelli combine, which last year initiated a massive strike.

The Pirelli committee was formed in February 1968 to oppose a rubber-industry contract which had been signed by the three major trade-union federations. In violation of a "labor truce" clause in the national contract, 15,000 Pirelli workers, responding to the committee's call, walked out in the fall. By October, the bureaucrats of the three federations, recognizing that they had lost control of the situation, moved in, accepted many of the rank-and-file committee's demands, and signed a new, significantly better, contract with Pirelli.

The trade-union bureaucrats are, of course, thoroughly frightened by these developments. For they could easily wreck the cozy relations the non-Communist Party labor leaders hope to maintain with Italy's new "center-left" government, and they could

greatly complicate the Communist Party union leaders' task of making the CP "respectable" enough in the eyes of the bourgeoisie to be asked to enter a coalition government in the not too distant future.

Pressure device

At the same time, the union bureaucrats are seeking to use the specter of the rank-and-file movement to win enough concessions from the bosses to be able to bolster their positions within the unions. And they are no doubt praying that the capitalists can and will give enough.

Thus, according to Friendly's *Times* story, Gabriele Baccalini, the secretary of the Milan office of the CP-led General Confederation of Italian Labor, "expressed considerable hope that Italy's new Government would respond to worker demands this year." But, Friendly reports, "he added bluntly, 'If we do not succeed in responding to the economic and social needs of workers and students, then, of course, the extremists will have a clear field.'"

Workers plight

The Italian workers' rebellion has been in the making for some years. While Italy's industrial production, national income, and gold and foreign reserve holdings have been growing, so has unemployment, and wages have remained incredibly low. In Rome, where beefsteak cost \$2 a pound, and most workers have to spend 40 percent of their wages on rent, highly skilled technicians make \$150 to \$200 a month. In many industries, the normal work week



SPARKED LABOR ACTION. Scene during Italian student strike last fall. Strike action, which began around conditions in universities, rapidly assumed broader social character. Students began seeking links with the workers. Now rank-and-file union committees are developing militant actions to resist bad contracts imposed by employers with aid of labor bureaucrats.

is 48 hours, and large numbers of workers have to moonlight an additional 12 to 24 hours just to satisfy their most pressing needs. Also, there are 1.8 million retired workers living on pensions of less than \$30 per month.

This year, 60 major industrial contracts,

involving some five million workers, are due for renegotiation. The growth of the united rank-and-file committees just at this time, apparently stimulated by the explosive development of the student movement, suggests that Italy's rulers face a difficult and dangerous year.

Japan students battle cops



Photo by Barry Sheppard

Japanese student demonstrator

(IP)—Nearly 9,000 police laid siege to barricaded students at Tokyo University for two days before retaking the stronghold Jan. 19. Police ringed Yasuda Hall on the campus with barbed wire, shut off water, gas and electricity, and bombarded the defenders with tear gas and fire hoses to break the year-old strike at the prestigious university.

The students replied to the police attack by barricading the fortress-like hall and hurling stones, Molotov cocktails and bottles of acid. Elsewhere in Tokyo, 1,500 youths built barricades in the streets and battled police. The students were forced to retreat to two private universities.

Police arrested more than 500 students at Tokyo University when they finally succeeded in capturing Yasuda Hall. The students were demanding an end to the elitist character of the university. They were led by the Kyodo Kaigi, or Joint Struggle Conference, a coalition of radical student groups. This coalition was opposed by the Minsei, or Communist Party youth, who insisted on nonviolent methods of struggle. Campus buildings held by the Minsei were surrendered peacefully.

The strike began Jan. 29, 1968, when medical students protested changes in regulations governing interns. The issues soon broadened to include student-professor relationships and the connection between the university and society. Students announced that the Yasuda Hall battle was only a "dress rehearsal" for the struggle against the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1970.

The Great Society

PERFECT RECORD—LBJ's final legislative acts before departing the White House were truly consistent with bipartisan policy. He proposed a series of whopping pay increases for Nixon, Agnew and the congressmen. He also proposed eliminating the federal program of free milk for impoverished children.

HOW FITTING—The California and Colorado state legislatures enacted regulations barring women employees from wearing miniskirts in their hallowed halls. And rightly so. In such company, a girl could get contaminated.

SEAL SALESMAN—Members of the Bart Starr club will be pleased to know their leader is still moving forward. After outpolling Jesus Christ in a popularity contest among a group of Wisconsin school children, he was named one of the 10 outstanding young men of the year by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. And now—perhaps as a result of that Wisconsin poll—he has been named national sports chairman of the 1969 Easter Seal Campaign.

OH—"WASHINGTON, Jan. 19 (UPI)—George Christian, outgoing White House press secretary, said today that he had never deliberately lied on behalf of the Johnson administration but had withheld some information from the press in the national interest."

A PROBLEM IMAGE-WISE—"There are four main channels of foreign affairs: diplomatic, trade, communications—and force. The first three are complementary, the fourth an alternative. Today the United States spends 95 percent of the resources devoted to foreign affairs through the fourth channel . . ."—From a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee report on the decline of U.S. popularity abroad.

THINGS ARE TOUGH ALL OVER—Gourmets must now face the harsh fact of a scarcity of frogs legs in better restaurants. The frogs are being diverted to higher-paying college laboratories.

STYLE NOTE—Lincoln-Mercury is now equipping its \$8,000 Continental Mark II with a Swiss clock supplied by Cartier,

the posh New York jeweler. Our first thought was that this was to assure that members of the ruling class should know the time of day. But the *Wall Street Journal*, somewhat more cynical, says it's just to add "more snob appeal."

CAPITALIST IMAGERY—There may be a bit of creative imagery involved with some of those manly looking surf board riders. A Sydney, Australia, wigmaker reports he's doing a land-office business selling surfers false chest pieces.

WITH A FREE NEEDLE?—Americans face a multi-million-dollar advertising campaign this spring advising them that Gatorade, a lemon drink, gets into the system faster than water.

ONWARD AND UPWARD—Fred Sparks, a Pulitzer-prize correspondent is doing a series on the wealthy Greek shipping magnates and the money they spend on their women. Onnasis, according to Sparks, spent \$2.2 million on Jackie in the first four weeks of their marriage. One of her long-time confidants told Sparks: "The luxurious way things are going for her now, why Jackie must remember life in the White House like life in a cold-water flat."

ABOUT WHAT THEY'RE WORTH—We assume it was a typographical error, but the *New York Times* reported that the top pay for Trenton, N.J., cops is \$1,500 a year.

IMPAIRS SERVICE CAPACITY—The Defense Department says that nine out of 10 GIs court-martialed for military offenses in Vietnam smoked marijuana before entering the armed services.

THOUGHT FOR THE WEEK—"If we had more Boy Scout training we wouldn't have so many campus problems. The kids are making a great mistake, missing the challenges of corporation management, of being part of the team, of the organization, and of producing a product to improve the health and welfare of the nation and coming up with a profit."—Edwin H. Gott, chairman of U.S. Steel.

— Harry Ring

clip and mail

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3rd world strike hits Berkeley

By Patti Iiyama and Janice Frank

BERKELEY—On Wednesday, Jan. 22, students at the University of California Berkeley campus went out on strike in support of demands raised by the Third World Liberation Front for the creation of an autonomous Third World college. Spirited picket lines were set up at every major entrance to the campus and at all main buildings. The number of participants was estimated as up to 2,000. Students who wanted to attend classes were not permitted to go through the lines but obliged to find ways around them.

The strike culminates a long series of steps taken by black, Chicano and other Third World students to convince the administration to establish departments of study relevant to students of national minorities. The students also see their struggle as closely related to the strike, now almost three months old, at San Francisco State College.

In May 1968, the Afro-American Student Union submitted a proposal for a completely autonomous black studies department. The chancellor of the Berkeley campus agreed to support the formation of a department, but the dean stipulated that the department created would not be allowed to admit freshman students and that the committee set up to implement the proposals must be 50 percent white.

In the fall of 1968 the Chicano students waged a similar fight, demanding the admission of more Mexican-American students, more scholarships, a Mexican-American studies department, and a special assistant in charge of Mexican-American affairs.

Mass meeting

The Third World Liberation Front, which is composed of the Afro-American Student Union (AASU), the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), the Asian-American Political Alliance (AAPA), and the Native American Indian Association, called a mass meeting of Third World students for Sunday night, Jan. 19. Over 500 students attended, and the meeting issued a call for a strike to begin on Wed., Jan. 22, in support of five self-determination demands.

On Tues., Jan 21, the radical political organizations on campus called a mass meeting of white students to discuss what kind of support could be organized for the strike. Over 750 students attended and voted to join the strike. On Wednesday they helped man the picket lines and went to classrooms to explain the issues and ask for support.

Local 1570 of the American Federation of Teachers voted to call a work-stoppage from Wednesday through Monday, when they will meet to discuss taking strike ac-

tion in support of the Third World Liberation Front and to demand university recognition of the union. Local 1570 is the teaching assistants' local, to which approximately 400 of the 1,000-1,200 teaching assistants on the Berkeley campus belong. They have unsuccessfully sought recognition since they first organized during the militant free-speech fight of 1964.

As the strike call put out by the Third World Liberation Front explains, "the fundamental issue of this strike is the right of Third World people to determine the structure and content of the Third World programs on this campus. . . . We of the Third World feel that we have the right to be able to decide for ourselves what courses and faculty are relevant to our lives. We don't need to be told what to think or how to do it. We are capable of determining on our own what kind of education we want and need. We must have the right to determine our own destiny."

S.F. strike wins added labor support

By John Hansen

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 22—Support continues to grow for the striking students at San Francisco State College. Attendance figures supplied by the neutral Campus Communications Center show that overall attendance ranges between 15 and 20 percent, and life has certainly not been easy for the small number of scab students and teachers still crossing the lines at this now nearly deserted State College.

Ninety-five percent of the student workers at the campus library are now out on strike, and piles of unshelved books began to spread over tables and floors in stacks which often reached ceiling high. This "log

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 23—Police today arrested some 425 student strikers at San Francisco State College. It was the biggest mass arrest in the city's history. The students had turned out for a peaceful campus rally called by the Third World Liberation Front. The police declared the rally "illegal," surrounded a large number of participants and declared them under arrest. A huge amount of bail money is required to get everyone out.

jam" was helped along by hundreds of striking students checking out books and rapidly returning them to the harassed handful of scabs still on the job.

Dormitory eating facilities have closed down, and garbage began to pile up in front of the administration building as sanitation workers refused to cross the union picket line of the American Federation of Teachers. Scab state trucks finally removed the refuse.

Labor support for the struggle continued to grow with both resolutions of solidarity and financial and physical assistance. Teamsters' Local 9 endorsed both the demands of the AFT and the 15 demands of the Third World Liberation Front. Local 10 of the Longshoremen's union pledged \$100 a week to the AFT strike fund and promised to send their union banner to the picket line.

On Jan. 17, 550 members of high-school and elementary-school AFT chapters marched to the campus. Then the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' Local 1372 sent large numbers to the lines.

Community support has not been lacking either, as dozens of parent associations and community groups have been active in maintaining the strike.

Administration officials at the college are now talking of postponing the college's spring semester until April or even September.



Photo by Ron Alexander

POLICE AT WORK. Helen Myers, YSA student activist at San Francisco State, was among those arrested in constant police harassment drive.

Black student victory at U of Minnesota

By Lee Smith

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 19—The seizure of administration offices by members of the campus Afro-American Action Committee moved the University of Minnesota to take action in less than 24 hours on a series of demands, most of which had been languishing in a miasma of "Task Force" subcommittee meetings for more than six months.

Well over 100 students victoriously emerged from Morrill Hall shortly after noon on Jan. 15, just 12 hours after they had built barricades at all the entrances against a possible police attack and less than 24 hours after the Afro-American Action Committee had entered the building and announced its take-over. Members of AAAC were joined late Tuesday night by members of the Young Socialists, SDS, Peace and Freedom and the Resistance, after AAAC issued an appeal for support from other groups.

After the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. last spring, AAAC and others had agitated for more courses on black history and black culture and for more black students. University President Malcolm Moos set up a "Task Force on Human Rights," and funds were solicited for the establishment of Martin Luther King Scholarships to bring more black and other disadvantaged students to the campus.

Nearly 1,000 picket regents at Berkeley

By Rick Feinberg

BERKELEY, Calif.—Nearly a thousand students demonstrated here Jan. 17 at a meeting of the University of California board of regents in support of the San Francisco State strikers and in opposition to the racist policies of the regents.

The action, the first demonstration of the new quarter at the Berkeley campus, was sponsored by a coalition of groups which includes the Young Socialist Alliance, the Independent Socialist Club, the Radical Student Union, the Center for Participant Education, and Local 1570 of the American Federation of Teachers (teaching assistants).

A number of students tried to enter the regents' meeting room, but they were physically prevented from doing so despite a law stating that these meetings must be open to the public. Although the student groups had repeatedly requested that the meeting be held in a larger room, they were barred from attending on the grounds that the hall was already filled to capacity.

A request for a court injunction ordering the regents to change their meeting place was rejected on the grounds that there was no time to consider the case.

The question of courses became bogged down in a procedural swamp so that by December, almost nine months after the demand was made, a faculty committee was just beginning to work on a general minority studies program.

In December, representatives of AAAC approached Moos to request some funds for a black conference they planned to hold February 12-16. Moos assigned two men to work on the conference with AAAC, but the time for the conference drew closer with no financial commitment from the school. Moreover, the students who were recruited with the promise of Martin Luther King Scholarship money found when they registered that they were being asked to sign for loans.

Angered by the administration's delay and duplicity in all these matters, AAAC on Jan. 13 presented Moos with a list of demands for action within 24 hours. These demands were that the Martin Luther King Scholarships be funded as grants, not loans, and their administration placed in the hands of the black community; that a department of black studies be established by the fall of 1969 with AAAC controlling the planning of the program; and that the University contribute one-half the cost of the February conference (estimated total cost: \$8,000). AAAC said they would return at 1 p.m. on Tuesday for an answer.

Aides notified Moos the next day that 70 AAAC members were waiting to talk to him in the Regents Room adjacent to his office. He entered to find Rose Mary Freeman and Horace Huntley, AAAC leaders, sitting in his chair and that of the chairman of the board of directors. When Moos failed to give them a clear answer on their demands, they marched down to the main floor and announced their occupation. Most of the employees hurried out.

Students from other groups joined AAAC in the building at 10 p.m., singing the Internationale as they entered. Shortly after midnight, the students barricaded the entrances. Wednesday morning, Jan. 15, members of a steering committee went out to address a crowd gathered at the front steps. Supporters also distributed leaflets explaining the three demands and sent "flying squads" to talk to classes about the action.

Early Wednesday afternoon, as the groups inside made plans to organize broader support outside, the administration made an offer which the members of AAAC accepted.

The administration offer made concessions on all three of the demands. It agreed to contribute more than \$5,000 from the student union budget to the black conference; it agreed to have a B.A. program in black studies ready by the fall of 1969 and graduate programs in the near future; and it agreed to fund the scholarships, with joint administration of the scholarships by the university and the black community.

Berkeley TWLF lists demands

The striking Third World Liberation Front at Berkeley has submitted a half-dozen demands, including:

- That funds be allocated by Feb. 14 for the implementation of a Third World college, which would have departments of black, Chicano, Asian, and Native American studies;
- That Third World people be hired at every level of the university, from the regents on down;
- That existing special programs of relevance to Third World students be expanded and given adequate funds to operate effectively;
- That every University program involving Third World communities be controlled by Third World personnel;
- That no disciplinary action of any kind be taken against any university students or personnel participating in the strike.