

# THE MILITANT

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Malcolm X memorial issue

— see pages 6-10 —

## 200 servicemen lead Seattle antiwar march



### 4,500 civilians join in action

More than 200 servicemen from Ft. Lewis, Washington, led a march of 4,500 civilians in Seattle, Feb. 16 demanding an immediate halt to the Vietnam war.

The march was followed by a mass rally where GIs and civilians assailed the war and declared the only way to support GIs in Vietnam is to bring them home.

Organized by a GI-civilian committee, the action had the support of all the peace groups in the area. Leafleting at Ft. Lewis brought the GIs out. Story page 13.

### Black profs jailed at S.F.

By Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 19— Dr. Nathan Hare and Prof. Milton Steward, the two lone black members of the San Francisco State College faculty, were arrested here for "disturbing the peace" and suspended from the faculty for 30 days. Two black students were jailed along with them. The arrests came at an opening-of-the-term faculty convocation. With the teachers' strike gaining ground, only about 350 attended instead of the usual 1,300.

This included Dr. Hare and Prof. Steward and a group of black students who began chanting, "Down with puppet Hayakawa," when acting university president Hayakawa took the stage. Dr. Hare, Prof. Steward and the two black students mounted the stage to demand an explanation from Hayakawa of why the auditorium was ringed with cops. "The police," Dr. Hayakawa responded, "won't be removed until you, Dr. Hare, leave here." He then shouted "Get out of here, Dr. Hare!" and police removed the four from the stage.

During this episode, racist faculty members—a good section of the audience—were shouting, "Get the niggers off the stage!" and "Kill the niggers!"

As the four black leaders were being put into a police van, American Federation of Teachers pickets surrounded the van, singing "John Brown's Body."

Photo by Chuck Schoengrund

**DEMAND SELF-DETERMINATION.** University of Wisconsin black students, escorted by German shepherds, lead march of 12,000 students on State Capitol building in Wisconsin. Strike by black students for self-determination in education won support of

thousands of white students and virtually shut down campus. Madison riot cops and right-wing, racist students attacked strikers. Black students organized self-defense, and Wisconsin National Guard was promptly called in to occupy campus. See story p. 4.

# The illusion of 'black capitalism'

## Competition ruins small businesses

Flushing, N. Y.

There is big talk about "black capitalism," whereby if a black man has a dollar, he invests it to make two dollars, and continues to parley this money until he becomes rich enough to own a business big enough to employ a number of black people to be exploited at sub-standard wages, so that the black business becomes a company and sells stocks and bonds to continue in business.

Whoever thinks of this sort of thing as "black capitalism" has been drinking tequila spiked with LSD—as well as being punchy from having been bumped on the head by a policeman's club.

Any jackass who reads the daily tabloid rag and get past the first four pages of capitalist sex stories, murder, tears about poverty, and cooked yarns of exploited athletes, can read the financial pages.

There is a vicious cycle of monetary dealings by money pirates who have perfected cut-throat operations to a fine art of slaughtering their competitors. Each year hundreds and thousands of small businessmen are forced to shut the doors on their shops and join the disenfranchised because they are unable to meet the landlord's rent and other expenses. Should you have some success, a bigger store sets up shop in your territory and forces you out of business.

Take a look in the financial pages; read how the big companies swallow up the weak competitors, and read of the mergers that go on between big companies to force out the small companies.

Oil companies buy one another out, the aircraft supply parts industry merges into one big financial holding company, etc., etc.

David E. Packard, deputy secretary of "defense," who controls the Hewlett-Packard Corporation, has billions of dollars in contracts with the government for armaments supplies. No competitor, no return goods, no refund.

As a deputy secretary he is in the position to give contracts and control armament spending—an

## 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.

\$81-billion tax-payers' burden. He's in a position to keep the war in Vietnam going.

To beguile the people while on the job, he puts his \$300 million of stocks and bonds into a so-called trust, a tax-free foundation.

Dick Nixon's administration will be the personification of the big industries. Anyone who thinks "black capitalism" has half a chance has a head full of hashish.

The program of the Socialist Workers Party is the program for the working people. Public ownership of industries; utilities for the needs of the people and not for the fatcats.

Otto Thomas

### Joe Who?

New York, N. Y.

Joe Namath just got back from a two-week tour of military hospitals in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines and Hawaii. The tour was sponsored by the United Service organizations and pro-football headquarters.

As is becoming customary among returning athletes and entertainers, Namath didn't hesitate to express his opposition to the war. The *New York Times* reported Namath's impressions:

"Just about all of them [wounded soldiers] wanted to come home," Namath said, "and they each seemed to say it the same way: 'What's it like back in the world.'"

But a few guys wanted to return to combat, usually guys who were in Special Forces. The green-beret guys who had a buddy of theirs killed, they wanted another crack at the Viet Cong. . . .

"And there was this one guy. Before we went in to see him the doctor told us that he had 72 hours to live, that he had lost both arms, and that his liver and kidneys were shot up. What do you say to a guy like that? . . .

"But more than anything else, that trip really makes you that much more annoyed at the war, and makes you wonder what the hell we're doing there."

L. S.

### Educational offering

Minneapolis, Minn.

Under separate cover we are sending Harry Ring a copy of the book, *Bart Starr*. We decided on this course of action since the purpose of our bookstore is to educate and inform.

Winifred Chelstrom,  
Manager, Labor Bookstore

### A typo corrected

New York City

Some sardonic (or optimistic) demon must have possessed the typesetters and proofreaders of Lew Jones' story on the Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War in Vietnam (*The Militant*, Feb. 21). Presumably, the antiwar soldiers met at the UFO coffeehouse and not, as the article reads, at the USO coffeeshouse.

The uniform drabness, the philistine monotony of the United Service Organizations' "clubs" still lies heavy in the memory of this Korea-vintage GI. They were dull as the Army itself and even more hypocritical in their offering of "wholesome entertainment for the troops." None but GIs crazy with loneliness or so long in the service that the

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Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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The closing news date for this issue was Feb. 21.

only felt at home where everything is either commanded or prohibited, ever frequented the places.

If the GIs United could in fact meet at the USO, then the revolution is surely at hand.

R. L.

### Israeli socialists on Zionism and Iraq

Cambridge, Mass.

The Israeli Revolution Action Committee Abroad (ISRACA) is a socialist anti-Zionist organization which will act as a bridge between the revolutionary left in Israel and the world's left.

ISRACA will convey its ideas to Israelis, Arabs, the left in general, and the advanced sector of the Jewish community in particular.

Its basic principles are 1) objection to the Zionist policy and ideology and, in particular, objection to the Israeli occupation of Arab territories; and 2) support to the struggle for a revolutionary Middle East.

On Jan. 31, ISRACA issued the following statement:

"The public hanging, following secret trials of 14 people—whether innocent or guilty is besides the point—is a savage act which has outraged every human being. It revealed the barbaric character of

the ruling Baathist clique in Iraq. Not only those hanged, but all Iraqi people are the victims of this inhuman regime.

"All Arab and 'pro-Arab' individuals and organizations who, due to loyalty to an 'Arab cause,' refrain from denouncing these mass public hangings, reveal the hollow-ness of their morals.

"Likewise, the Israeli government and all those Jewish and 'pro-Jewish' individuals and organizations who seem to be shocked only by the fact that nine out of the 14 were Jews, reveal the moral degeneration inherent in chauvinism.

"We denounce this barbaric spectacle not as Israelis or as Jews, but as human beings; our denunciation does not depend on the creed of those hanged.

"The Middle East conflict is not one between Israel and the Arab states but between the Zionist colonization enterprise and the indigenous Palestinian people who are its main victims.

"As Israelis who reject Zionism and struggle to break down the nationalistic barriers in the Middle East, we consider this atrocity of the Baathist ruling clique, and any acquiescence in it, to be a severe blow to the just cause of the Palestinians."

ISRACA may be contacted in care of the undersigned, Apt. 1109, Westgate, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

Emmanuel Farjoun

### But do organ banks pay interest?

Minneapolis, Minn.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw this one on the front page of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Ypsilanti:** YSA, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

**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 Wall and Andrea Brod, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J. 17104. Tel: (201) 483-8513.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**OKLAHOMA: Norman:** YSA, c/o Sudie Trippet, 1320 Garfield, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

**OREGON: Portland:** YSA, c/o Tonie Trainor, 5203 S.W. Pomona, Portland, Ore. 97219. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

**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: Logan:** YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

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

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

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

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

### WANTS RICH BUYER

## Man Selling Extra Kidney

Dale Rice may be losing money with his small Ohio farm, but that doesn't mean he's lost faith in free enterprise.

In an advertisement in 17 North Dakota newspapers last week, the 43-year-old resident of Fort Myers, Fla., put one of his three kidneys up for sale to the highest bidder.

He said it would help meet expenses on the 110-acre farm he inherited from his father in 1954.

"Due to illness and small income," the advertisements declared, "I have one extra kidney for sale to rich person only."

North Dakota looked like a good market to him, Myers said Friday, because of its wealthy oil and cattle people.

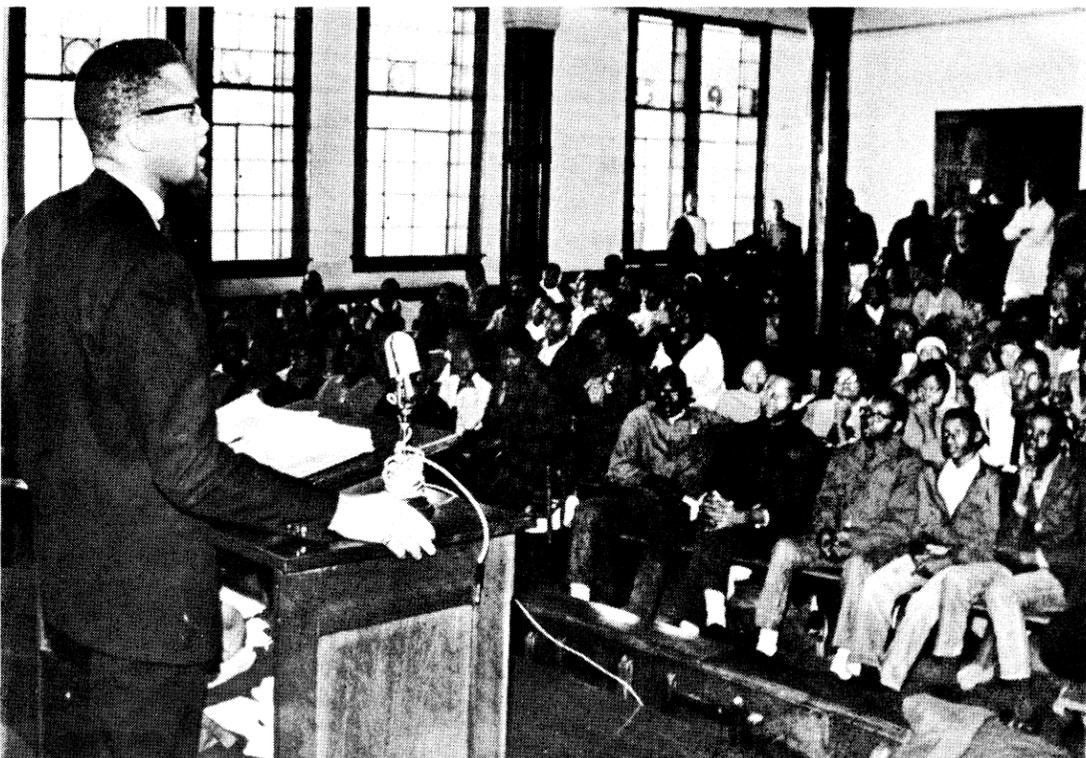
But North Dakota farmers are having cost-price problems of their own, and Rice hasn't received any replies yet.

A University of Minnesota urologist said that a third kidney occurs in 5 to 10 percent of the population.

But most doctors, he said, "would consider it highly unethical to advise a patient to buy an organ" for transplantation.

Maybe you should start a "Believe It or Not" column for items like this one.

F. F.



**URGED VOTE REFORM FIGHT.** Malcolm X addressing Feb. 4, 1965, voter registration campaign meeting in Selma, Alabama. One of the main reasons Malcolm left Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam was because it would not join in the struggle of black people on immediate, reform issues.

By George Breitman

Among young radicals, white and black, there is a certain amount of misunderstanding about problems connected with reform and revolution and their relation to each other.

Such misunderstandings are sometimes expressed in current notions:

- That it is incorrect for revolutionaries to advocate and fight for reforms;

- That revolutionaries should not bother trying to organize the masses to fight for anything that can be won under the present system;

- That the only kind of demands it is proper for revolutionaries to raise and organize around are those that cannot be used, misused, distorted or "co-opted" by the ruling class or opportunists; etc.

Perhaps these questions can be clarified by re-examining the concepts "reform" and "revolution" from a Marxist standpoint.

For present purposes, a reform can be called a change in social, political or economic institutions or arrangements that does not necessarily imply or require a

fundamental change in those institutions or arrangements. In contrast, such a fundamental change, involving the overturn of the social-political-economic system itself and the replacement in state power of the former ruling class by a new ruling class, is what we usually mean when we talk about revolution.

Examples: When Congress passed laws in the 1930s recognizing the legal right of the workers to organize unions and bargain collectively, that was a reform. When the Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that school segregation is unconstitutional, that was another reform. The New Deal initiated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s was not a revolution, just as the more recent Great Society was not a revolution, because the prevailing class and power relationships were not changed basically, as they were in the Russian, Yugoslav, Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions of this century.

Some reforms are initiated by the ruling class itself, because it thinks them beneficial to the interests of its system. Some are resisted by the ruling class for a long time, and granted only after bitter struggle convinces them that it is a lesser evil. Some reforms are won peacefully, others only through the most violent conflict. Some ruling classes have been known to refuse to grant certain reforms right up to the point where they were overthrown. (Not every ruling class makes all decisions wisely or always acts truly in its own self-interest; this is especially true in revolutionary situations and crises.)

Revolutionary Marxists, starting with Marx, have never been opposed to the struggle for reforms; on the contrary. For revolutionaries to oppose such struggles or refuse to join and try to lead them would be to doom themselves to permanent isolation and futility. Except in revolutionary situations (and not always then) most of the exploited and oppressed masses do not see the necessity or possibility of winning anything but reforms (no matter how radical or numerous the reforms they want may be).

The essence of Marxist strategy, of any revolutionary strategy in our time, is to combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution. This is the only way in which to build a revolutionary party capable of providing reliable leadership to the masses and of enabling them in revolutionary situations to make the transition, in consciousness and in action, from the struggle for reforms to the struggle for power and revolution.

The United States is not now in a revolutionary situation. This is unfortunate, but true; and it is from this truth that revolutionaries must proceed in the development of strategy and tactics. On the other hand, it is also true that there is considerable social unrest, frustration, alienation and the start of sizable radicalization in this country today, especially among young people, who provide the chief forces for revolution.

#### Favorable situation

That means there is a favorable situation developing for conscious and dedicated revolutionaries—a growing body of people who can be won to the cause of revolution even before a revolutionary situation actually arises. The development of significant revolutionary cadres is more possible now than at any time in the last third of a century.

But the gathering, education and toughening of revolutionary cadres, while indispensable for a revolution, isn't enough to guarantee one. There are still all those people "out there"—the millions and millions who are not ready to make a revolution, although they are certainly in favor of reforms that can affect their living conditions and personal destinies. (This applies not only to the population generally, but also to the overwhelming majority of black people and young people, among whom the radicalization process is more advanced.)

Even though a revolution is not possible today, the development of a revolutionary strategy is. But you can't develop one unless you take into account the way to win those millions toward independent and revolutionary motion.

So revolutionary Marxists cannot be opposed to the struggle for reforms. What we oppose is reformISM.

Reformism is the tendency which holds that the basic problems of society can be solved, or even that socialism can be achieved, by the gradual accumulation of reforms, one by one. That concept, not fighting for reforms, is what revolutionaries are and should be against.

Reforms can be sought in various ways. Reformists work for them in a class-collaborationist, conciliatory fashion, attempting to convince the exploited and oppressed masses that the system is "workable," that their interests and those of the exploiters and oppressed can and should be reconciled, that class and national struggles should not be fought out to their logical conclusion.

Revolutionaries fight for reforms, but they never stop teaching the masses the truth about the inadequacies of reforms so long as the ruling class is not displaced from power, about the ease with which reforms can be cancelled or withdrawn or made meaningless by ineffective or discriminatory enforcement as long as the ruling class remains in power, about the need to go beyond reforms and reconstruct the foundations of society on a planned and rational basis.

In the struggle against fascism, for example, reformists seek to reinforce illusions about and reliance on capitalist democracy, and oppose anti-fascist methods that might go beyond the framework of capitalist democracy and thus incur the displeasure of the democratic capitalists. Revolutionaries, on the other hand, try to help the masses to understand the unreliability and treachery of the democratic capitalists and the need to combine anti-fascism with anti-capitalism.

Another distinction is that reformists propose at best halfway measures aimed at avoiding showdown conflicts while revolutionaries encourage independent mass action and independent mass organization as the only way to win and keep reforms, to deepen consciousness and extend the conditions for continuing social change.

#### Only reform?

James Haughton and Timothy J. Cooney of Harlem's Equal Employment Council, which seeks construction work for blacks, think they have an airtight case when they argue that because the U.S. is not about to have a revolution, therefore the black man "has only one course of action: the hard, unromantic road of reform." That they actually mean the road of reformism is made clear when they add:

## Is it wrong for revolutionaries to fight for reforms?

"He [the black man] must have a legislative program and a political strategy for putting it across. He must grit his teeth and politely testify before hostile Congressional committees. He must make alliances of convenience with people he doesn't like. He must learn that awful business of compromise," etc. (*Manhattan Tribune*, Nov. 20, 1968).

The flaw in their logic is obvious. Black people have to fight for reforms, but that doesn't mean that they have to fight for them in a reformist way. They have the alternative of fighting for them in a revolutionary way—by militant mass action rather than polite testimony, and as part of a strategy consciously aimed at mobilizing the masses to change the system. You don't have to become a reformist just because revolution is not around the corner. In fact, that is the way to assure that revolution will never come—just as, conversely, a refusal to fight for reforms, in a revolutionary fashion, is also a way of postponing revolution.

In a similar way to Haughton and Cooney, Harold Cruse thinks he is making some kind of telling point when he asserts that Malcolm X cannot be considered a revolutionary because the program of his Organization of Afro-American Unity "was definitely written as a reformist document." (*The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, p. 442) He means, of course, that the OAAU programs of Malcolm's time urged black people to organize to fight for reforms.

But why does that disqualify Malcolm as a revolutionary, any more than it disqualifies Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung, Castro or Ho Chi Minh? The real question is whether Malcolm intended to fight for those reforms in a revolutionary way, and to utilize the organization, education and experience acquired in the course of the fight for them to promote revolution. The answer is affirmative, although it will not be found in Cruse's writings. It is clearly apparent from Malcolm's teachings, summarized in his declaration: "By any means necessary."

(Continued on Page 14)

## Lick them by joining them?



James Farmer, former national director of CORE, was queried by a black newsman on his appointment by Nixon as Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. "How do you confront people who might call you an Uncle Tom because you are a member of the Nixon administration?" the reporter asked. Farmer replied that there is "a great need for some people to get on the inside and try to have some influence."

As Malcolm commented early in 1965 when he heard they were planning to appoint a black cabinet member: "Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar—fire on one end and fool on the other."



Fidel Castro's movement to achieve basic reforms in Cuban society culminated in the western hemisphere's first socialist revolution.

# U of Wisconsin -- an occupied campus

By Lew Pepper

MADISON, Wis. Feb. 16—The strike of black students and their supporters at the University of Wisconsin entered its second week in high morale and with a determination to see the struggle through. The high point of the first week of the strike was a torchlight parade of over 12,000 to the State Capitol on Thursday, Feb. 13. The march was in response to the university's failure to meet the 13 demands of the black students and in answer to the call-up of more than 2,000 National Guardsmen to police the campus.

As on other campuses throughout the country, black students at Wisconsin have been negotiating with the university for months in an attempt to secure the implementation of their 13 demands. As usual, the response from the administration has been platitudes and bureaucratic maneuvers: "Wait till we get more funds"; "We don't have the power to do this"; and "We're setting up a committee to study the last committee's recommendations."

The 13 demands center around:

- An autonomous black studies department, controlled and organized by black students and faculty, enabling students to receive a BA degree in black studies, and in which black students would have veto power over hiring and firing of all administrators and teachers;

- Full five-year scholarships for all athletes;

- Immediate admission to the University of Wisconsin of all black students expelled from Oshkosh State University last November. (See *Militant*, Dec. 6 and 13, 1968.) They have been accepted by the admissions committee but arbitrarily prohibited from entering by the administration.

- Enrollment of 500 more Afro-American students by September 1969. (At present there are only about 500 black students out of a total enrollment of 33,000.)

The strike began on Monday, Feb. 10, with students picketing the main classroom buildings. Despite continued proclamations by Chancellor Edwin Young that the demonstrators were only a small fringe group, the base of the strike continued to grow.

Each day of the strike has seen mass

rallies in the morning and evening, attended by 1,500 to 3,000 people. Following the morning rallies the actions for the day are organized. Evening rallies have been followed by meetings in the dorm areas

## Take 2-day moratorium

MADISON, Wis. Feb. 18—The striking students at the University of Wisconsin called off demonstrations for two days. Due to organizational problems, a great deal of momentum built up during the previous week had been lost over the weekend. The moratorium decision was reached after a day of demonstrations by approximately a thousand students. During the two-day period, there is a drive to have a large student turnout at the special all-campus faculty meeting called because of the campus state of emergency. Students will be there to let faculty know how they feel about the black student demands and also how teachers should feel.

bly committed themselves to barricading the administration building from the outside, acting as buffers between the black students and the local police and highway patrol.

When the police arrived, the Afro-American students left the building and a massive rally developed in the campus quadrangle. Over 1,500 white and black students were showing their solidarity with the Afro-American Society when, without provocation, a score of North Carolina highway patrolmen, armed with clubs, Mace, portable tear-gas dispensers, gas masks and shotguns, fired at the students with smoke-bombs and tear gas.

Cries of "Orangeburg" and "Chicago" were heard as the students, now fully angered, attempted to protect themselves against the cops. In a few moments, dozens of tear-gas cannisters were fired, and many of them were hurled back by the students. The main quadrangle on the West Campus was smoke filled and littered with debris.

The Student Liberation Front and the Afro-American Society expressed gratification that nearly a quarter of the university community had actively participated in the liberation movement. The incidents that occurred Feb. 13, leaders stated, were particularly important in that they mark the first attempt at a major white, southern university to achieve student control of educational facilities. They may well indicate a pattern of white and black militancy in the South that is just now beginning.



Photo By Chuck Schoengrund

### The State of Wisconsin responds to student demands.

and off-campus halls to explain and discuss the strike issues, or, as on Thursday, with marches to the State Capitol.

The first two days of the strike passed without much incident, as most of the police managed to keep themselves invisible. However, on Tuesday afternoon "one way" picket lines appeared—allowing people to leave but not enter classroom buildings. As the issues were explained, many sympathetic students joined the lines. As long as the pickets remained in place, class attendance was minimal.

The university decided it was time to "protect the normal (i.e., racist) functioning of the university," so they called in 200 riot cops. Since the strikers are seeking a political confrontation with the racist university and not a military confrontation, the students left buildings as cops appeared and followed them to the next building. By the time it was all over, the cops were leading a march of some 5,000 students, all chanting, "On strike, shut it down!"

The following day, Wednesday, the Teaching Assistant Association voted to support the strike by pulling their students out of classes and having teach-ins off campus. The "one way" lines went up again. The forces of "law 'n order" were called in to keep the school open.

Shortly after the picket lines were set up, six students were arrested when they were pushed into police lines by a racist goon squad called the Hayakawa Students. The "Hayakawa Hogs" were organized by rightwingers and distinguished themselves by wearing blue armbands with a letter "H." That evening they also physically attacked and beat people on campus, including a black girl who was walking home. The forces of "law 'n order" ignored the actions of these thugs, but some black students met this reactionary violence by setting up defense patrols.

The university—which claimed to have no funds and no power to implement black student demands—called out the National Guard on Wednesday afternoon. The daily cost for the Guard and riot police is \$38,000 a day—more than it would cost to hire two full professors for a year!

With the intervention of the National Guard, the tactics changed. In the early afternoon, one of the main arteries on campus was blocked, but as soon as police appeared, people moved onto the sidewalks, only to regroup in the streets when the cops and troops withdrew. In this way the strikers played cat-and-mouse with about 1,000 police and guardsmen. Knots of demonstrators would tie up traffic in the streets in and around the campus, coalesce into rallies of as many as 7,000 students, then disperse again to give the cops a hard time.

By Thursday night, support for the strike had grown to truly massive proportions, largely because of the resentment against the cops and troops on campus. The response was a turnout of more than 12,000 people for an "illegal" torchlight parade to the State Capitol. Although the cops had been everywhere in evidence during the day, they were conspicuously absent during the march on the Capitol. As the marchers filled several blocks of downtown Madison from sidewalk to sidewalk, many noted that it was remarkable how a "handful of militants" could take up so much room.

The next day, the National Guard was reinforced by another 1,200, bringing the total Guard contingent to around 2,100. Yet even with the extra troops, plus 400 riot cops from throughout southern Wisconsin, the strikers continued to march through the campus, outflanking the armed forces and gaining even greater support from the students. At the high point, there were about 4,000 students and their supporters in the streets, reaffirming their support for the black students' demands.

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

**ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF IMPERIALISM.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, managing editor of *International Socialist Review* and staff member of *The Militant*. Fri., Feb. 28, 8:15 p.m.; MIT Student Center, 3rd floor. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

**CUBA: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT,** with slides. Speaker: Stuart Singer, Young Socialist recently returned from five weeks' visit to Cuba. Sat. March 1, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

### DEKALB, ILL.

**BLACK LIBERATION FRONT PANEL.** Speakers: Bob Lucas, national chairman, Black Liberation Alliance; Jim Harvey, Umoja Black Student Center; Bill Allen, Concerned Transit Workers; Paul Boutelle, 1968 SWP vice-presidential candidate; Ron March, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement; Fred Hampton, Chicago Black Panther Party; Anas Luqman, Malcolm X Black Hand Society of the World; representatives of Ocean Hill-Brownsville and of Operation Breadbasket. Tues., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Carl Sandburg Auditorium, NIU, Dekalb. Ausp. Dekalb Young Socialist Alliance.

### LOS ANGELES

**MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY,** now weekly, by Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party. Mondays, 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesdays, 10:15 a.m. KPFF 90.6FM

### NEW YORK

**POLITICS AND PHILOSOPHY: HOW ARE THEY RELATED?** Speaker: George Novack, author of the newly published book *Empiricism and its Evolution—A Marxist View*, and associate editor of *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Feb. 28, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. 51 Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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### PHILADELPHIA

**MALCOLM X: NATIONALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY.** Speakers: Theodore Powers, Cheyney State College Black Student League; Roy Jones, cochairman, Black Students Union, Rutgers University, South Jersey; Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Feb. 28, 8:30 p.m. 686 N. Broad (at Fairmount). Donation: \$1; students 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

# White students supporting blacks at Duke University

By Larry L. Sluder

(On Feb. 16 Duke University reportedly agreed to the establishment of a black studies program next fall as part of a compromise settlement. The *Militant* will carry further reports on this development.)

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., Feb. 13—Seventy-five members of the Duke University Afro-American Society, after meeting in closed caucus during Black Week at the school occupied the administration building this morning. The action was to call attention to demands previously submitted to Dr. Douglas Knight, university president.

The demands included initiating a black studies department, hiring more black instructors, reinstating black students who had failed under the stress of academic racism, self-determination for black non-academic employees, a black dormitory, and the attainment by 1973 of a student body that is 29 percent black—in keeping with the black-white ratio in the South.

The occupation seemed to have wide student support both from Duke students and from those at nearby, all-black North Carolina College and the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

The predominantly white Student Liberation Front immediately organized open forums to focus student support for the black demands. Some 300 students met in spontaneous "free university" classes. By midafternoon over half of the 1,000 students participating in a general assem-

# First-hand report of a Cuban court trial

By Dan Rosenshine

(A member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Dan Rosenshine was part of the YSA delegation that spent a month in Cuba during the January celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. He is presently speaking at various eastern-area campuses on his experiences in Cuba. Information about his schedule and about arranging speaking arrangements may be obtained from the New York Young Socialist Alliance at 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y.)

Among the aspects of the Cuban Revolution most misrepresented by the American press are the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's),—the block committees which constitute Cuba's principal mass organization—and the popular tribunals, the recently developed branch of the Cuban judicial system. Both of these institutions are portrayed by hostile journalists as agencies of repression, directed against a terrorized population.

We first became interested in the popular tribunals during a visit to a thread factory in Oriente province. There, one of the workers while outlining the accomplishments of the revolution, said "Before, one had to study for seven years to be a lawyer. Today, simple workers can be judges and they judge well."

Later, in Havana, the Young Socialist delegation had a chance to observe a popular tribunal in action. It was one of many such tribunals that exist throughout the island, handling minor cases and misdemeanors. The tribunals are based directly on the CDR's; rank-and-file Cubans are elected yearly by the people in their neighborhood to serve as judges. This particular tribunal covered a 43 square-block area in central Havana and was based on over 100 CDR's.

The meeting was held on a Saturday night and was an extra session to the usual ones on Tuesday and Thursday. The tribunal was attended by a few other foreign guests and by 20 or so residents of the neighborhood. Occasionally, passersby would step off the sidewalk and watch for a while.

Presiding were three judges; two men and a woman. Two cases were heard: an economic offense and a case of disturbing public order. The names for a third trial were read but the defendants did not show up.

## Ration-card offense

The first case was the most significant and absorbing. A mother, her son and two daughters came before the tribunal on charges of altering their ration cards, a fact which had been uncovered during an audit of ration records for the district.

The judge who presided for this case was a man in his 60s (We later learned that he was a retired shoemaker). He presented the facts of the case: figures on all four cards indicating the number of goods purchased had been altered, apparently in the same handwriting. Someone had bought 13 extra items, including four pairs of women's shoes, one piece of cloth, a shirt, an extra pair of underwear, etc.

In addition, the sisters had both been married over the summer and after having been issued new cards in their married names continued to use the old cards as well. The judges asked for the cooperation of the entire family in ascertaining the facts of the matter.

The two sisters protested their innocence. The mother said she had no idea the alterations had taken place. The brother stated that he would never have done such a thing. He was rarely at home and never shopped, he said, because he was busy studying and doing voluntary work in the countryside. As a candidate for membership in the Union of Young Communists he supported the measures of the revolution to ration Cuba's resources and carried them out by example. With obvious chagrin, he stated that he believed that someone in the family had altered the cards and should acknowledge it. With that, he sat down and held his head in his hands for the rest of the trial.

As the hearing developed the evidence focused more and more on the two sisters. The woman judge pointed to the similarity of dates between their marriages and the surplus purchases. Additional evidence was presented; a discussion reported by a neighbor in which one of the sisters boasted that she had outwitted the ration.

## The verdict

A handwriting test was then made for comparison with the cards. Finally, after a recess, the judges summarized their findings. The two sisters, they said, had been responsible. The presiding judge told the girls that he wanted them to understand that the sentence they were to receive could not be considered a punishment. They would be asked to put back into the economy, through work, the value of the goods they misappropriated.

"We all worked for these goods," he said, "and it is painful to lose them in this way. They come dearly because of the tight blockade imposed by the North Americans.



**SPREADING THE WORD.** Since their return from Cuba, Young Socialists have been reporting what they saw at meetings, on campuses and at press conferences. Here, Derrell Myers describes his visit to one of the largest recent Minneapolis Socialist Forum meetings.

lation that a doctor's examination would decide the duration of the sentence.

## Second case

The charge in the second case was less serious and the trial less dramatic. A brother, 17, and sister, 27, leaving a party had been involved in a fight with another youth who claimed he had been kept awake by music and loud talking until 3 a.m. This fight, in turn, had awakened the neighborhood.

The charges flew back and forth between the two parties: who had been drinking:

jobs as they did, they were able to prepare themselves so completely for each case.

There are two aspects to preparation, they said. First of all it is necessary for the judges themselves to gather necessary background material. Through the workplace and neighborhood a picture is compiled of a person's attitude, history and possible motivation for committing an offense. Later, this picture could be modified by the defendant's conduct at the trial.

This research was important to be sure that no mistakes would be made in the verdict, the sentence or in evaluating and dealing with those who came before the tribunal. For example, they pointed out, they had known that the mother in the first case was actually aware of what her daughters had done. They also knew that she was suffering from a serious, perhaps incurable disease, and hadn't wanted to put her on the spot.

The tribunal judges receive a course from the Ministry of Justice in education, politics and law after they are elected by the CDR's. Once they become judges, they have autonomy in their decisions and take complete responsibility for them before the community.

We asked them more about procedures. They said that defendants can bring lawyers or friends to act as defenders if they want. Those sentenced to do work most often turn up at the working center on their own.

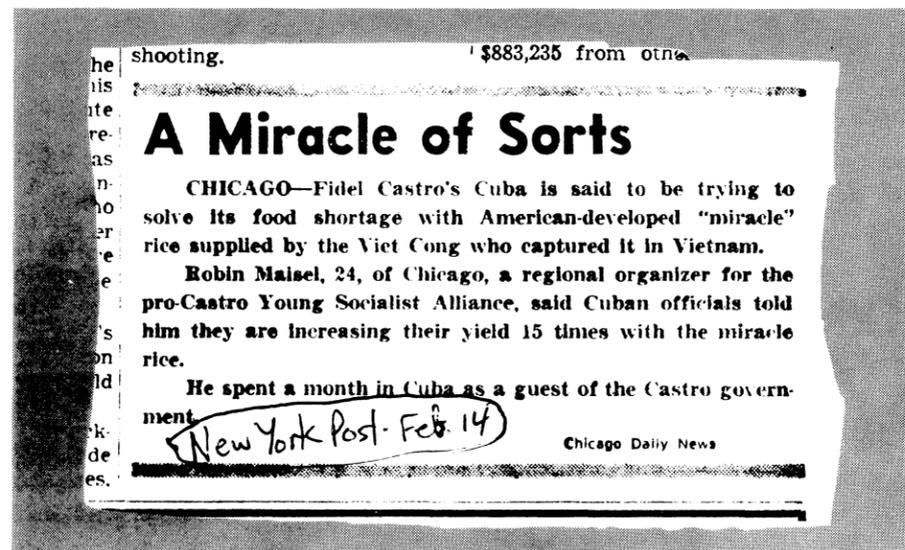
We asked what they do when someone doesn't come to the tribunal when they're called, such as had happened that night. The reply was that although the tribunal has the authority to get an arrest warrant issued, they only do so as a last resort. The CDR talks to those who miss an appearance and tries to convince them of their duty to come.

The three judges continued the discussion with us until after one o'clock in the morning.

The fact that two of them had to be up in several hours for agricultural work seemed not to concern them. They pressed us with questions on our impressions of the tribunal, wanting to know any criticisms we had. They asked a series of questions about criminal and political cases in the United States. It was clear that they, like millions of people throughout Cuba, took great pride in their work for the revolution.

Although this was a limited experience with the system of justice in Cuba it was a valuable one. The legal system now being developed in Cuba may lack some of the finished qualities of such systems of jurisprudence as the Anglo-American, with laws of evidence and other procedures designed to protect the accused. But those of us who have been in courts in the U. S. either as observers or on the receiving end of capitalist "justice," know how easily and frequently those procedures and safeguards are observed in the breach.

We came away from our Cuban courtroom experience with the impression of an attempt to develop a legal system where people accused would genuinely be tried by their peers and where the objective is not simply to "punish" offenders but to educate, to instill dignity in the individual, and to integrate the individual into the revolution.



Cubans must work, it is the orientation of the revolution and each person must have a fully responsible attitude."

The sentence was six successive Sundays of voluntary work for one sister; one month of work in a handicraft factory for the other, who had a previous record.

After hearing the sentence the sister who received the 30-day sentence was overcome with the strain of the trial and verdict. She fainted, banging her head on the floor!

A third sister sitting in the audience had apparently misheard the sentence, thinking that the 30-days work was to be done in agriculture. She arose yelling at the judges that her sister was sick and couldn't do such strenuous work. The mother began to cry. The brother tried to quiet things down, explaining what the sentence actually was. Afterwards, the judges added a stipu-

who had sworn; who had lost his temper. A man in the audience jumped up, saying he lived in a nearby building and wanted to clarify some things. Later he was asked to testify and gave a rambling statement which didn't clarify anything.

Another recess was called and the judges returned with their findings. Previous research had shown that the brother and sister had a history of being short-tempered. There were to be reprimanded at a forthcoming mass meeting.

Cuba is a country that works to survive and develop, they were told, the right of Cuban workers to sleep must be respected. The second man was told that he should have more patience and understanding and that the tribunal didn't want to see him there again.

After the second trial the judges invited the foreign guests to stay for a discussion of the tribunal. They explained more about the Cuban court system. More serious crimes such as theft, blackmarketing, and murder are handled by professional judges and lawyers. Cases of direct counterrevolutionary activity are handled by a military court.

The greatest penalty that could be imposed by the tribunal itself was six months work or confinement in one's house. In addition, warnings and public reprimands are issued. Another penalty that may be imposed is to sentence someone to further education. For instance, a person may be ordered to complete one or two more school grades in the evening.

## Volunteer assignment

Tribunal judges work their regular jobs and receive no pay for their court services. Two of these three were getting up at 5 o'clock the next morning (it was already midnight) to do voluntary agricultural work in the Havana Green Belt. We asked them how, working full-time

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**MERIT PUBLISHERS 873 Broadway New York, N. Y. 10003**

By Elizabeth Barnes

On the fourth anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination, black students at scores of campuses are struggling for many of the goals which he was the first to articulate.

The startling rapidity with which the black student rebellions have spread across the country—now even to predominantly white, southern Duke University—is an indication of the deep impact which Malcolm X has had on the thinking of black students and the remarkable relevance and power of his ideas in carrying forward the fight for liberation.

What has happened is that the black student vanguard has taken some of the key ideas put forward by Malcolm X—the concepts of self-determination, of the need to study Afro-American history and culture, and of the need to have education directed to promoting the needs of the black community—and has applied these concepts in a concrete way to the universities and colleges.

The idea of the "black university," that is, a university controlled by black people and directed to the needs of the black community, has been a subject of discussion among black students and professors for a number of years. And the numerous student struggles for Afro-American history and for courses related to the problems of the black community have pointed in the direction of this concept.

But it has not been until this year, beginning with the strike at San Francisco State, that the concept of the black university has emerged as an important part of the struggle for black liberation, introducing hundreds of thousands of new students, black and white, to the fight for self-determination and giving a new impetus to it.

#### S. F. State view

From the beginning, the leaders of the San Francisco Black Students Union have emphasized the key importance of the concept of self-determination in their struggle, and as the fight for black studies departments has moved across the country, in most cases the students have made the demand for control of the departments "non-negotiable." Their position is that democracy, that is the democratic right to determine one's educational destiny, is a right of all people. For black people, it is a psychological and physical necessity. It represents the need to get out from under the control of white-dominated, racist-oriented educational establishments.

It is just this ingredient of the fight for "control," for "power," that has made the struggle for black studies departments so explosive. Events have proven that the demand for educational self-determination is one that has immediate relevance to black students all over the country. And one of the most significant things about the present upsurge is the tremendous unity which black and Third World students have shown in fighting for this demand.

At the same time, the struggle for black control of their education has important revolutionary implications. It is an example of how a struggle to reform an institution within the system can become part of the general struggle against the system as a whole, raising the revolutionary consciousness of all those involved.

Many of the leaders of the Black Students Union at San Francisco State are conscious revolutionaries, and they conceive of the struggle going on there as part of the process of making the Amer-

# Black students blaze a revolutionary path

ican revolution. This was explained in an important interview with the leaders of the Third World Liberation Front in the Jan. 22 issue of the S. F. State student paper **Open Process**. In the interview, Roger Alvarado of the Latin American Students Organization outlined it this way:

#### "A power struggle"

"The principle of self-determination is based upon the fact that we can no longer afford to allow the white man to control our lives in terms of the kind of education we get at SFSC. . . . We wish to take responsibility for all aspects of our lives. Because of this, it is essentially a power struggle. We demand and will achieve full control over what we ultimately do with that education. . . .

"The white establishment, the white board of trustees, fears this. It threatens the financial interests they represent. They don't want to see this come about. The whole political structure is based upon people like Swim and Meriam [wealthy members of the board of regents] and their financial interests. They see clearly that once Third

is taking place is the attempt to connect what is going on inside the university with the black liberation struggle that is going on outside, to use a university education not simply for self-betterment, but to help promote revolutionary change.

This was explained by BSU leader Benny Stewart in an interview with **Open Process**: "We see ourselves as moving towards a realm of a revolutionary student perspective. This is because our attitudes are changing from the old traditional Third World attitudes. Before, we were educated by the oppressor or exploiter of Third World people to become Uncle Toms, lackeys and enemies of our people. We were taught to have alien attitudes of a slave-master toward our communities. . . . We have now joined together to change this, to begin to get down to the nitty-gritty of trying to meet more of the desires and needs of our people because we are no longer ashamed of what we are."

Later he indicates how this outlook would affect the content of the courses: "What they want to teach us in political science



Photo by Chuck Schoengrund

**MASS ACTION.** Spokesman for black students at University of Wisconsin addressed part of throng of 12,000 students who marched to State Capitol in Madison to register their support for black student demand for educational self-determination.

World people begin to get any kind of self-determination in any aspect of their lives it will ultimately mean for them a removal of their financial, political and social control. It is people like this who politically manipulate masses of Third World people, keeping them unemployed and confined to a ghetto environment."

This concept of self-determination is quite different and more radical in its implications than the idea of the "free university," where a group of students or ex-students go off on their own, isolated from the mainstream of their fellow-students, and set up radical "universities" financed out of their own pockets.

What the black students are doing is contending for control of existing institutions, that is, for control of the vast financial resources that are poured into education in this country. They are raising the fundamental concept that these resources belong to the masses of people who have paid for them with their taxes and who have contributed to them by building up the wealth of this society with their own sweat and blood.

#### Revolutionary perspective

These struggles are thus not simply directed at getting a "better" or less alienating education for black people, although these issues are certainly involved. What

classes is the beauty and good side of capitalism, that our poor poverty-stricken communities just represent accidents or miscalculations. But we're not going for that, because we are dealing strictly with reality."

One of the striking aspects of the present black student rebellions has been the fact that while one college after another has been forced to accede to the demands for black studies departments and the recruitment of more black students, almost without exception the demand for black student and faculty control of these departments has been fiercely opposed.

#### Won gains

However, the fact that in most cases the "nonnegotiable" demand for control has been resisted in no way implies that the student struggles have failed. On the contrary, the concessions that have been won, and the lessons that have been learned, as a result of these struggles have laid the basis for future struggles on a higher level.

Not surprisingly, the general question of black control is something that politicians and administration officials have tried to avoid talking about. They have no real answers to this demand, and usually they resort to the time-worn concept that black control means segregation. (The

## Malcolm X on 'self-segregation'

"My understanding of a segregated school is a school that's controlled by people other than those who go there . . .

"So the schools in Harlem are not controlled by the people in Harlem, they're controlled by the man downtown. And the man downtown takes all of the tax dollars and spends them elsewhere, but he keeps the school facilities, the school teachers and the school books and material in Harlem at the very lowest level. So this produces a segregated education, which doesn't do our people any good.

"On the other hand, if we can get an all-black school that we can control, staff it ourselves with the type of teachers that have our good at heart, with the type of books that have in them many of the missing ingredients that have produced this inferiority complex in our people, then we don't feel that an all-black school is necessarily a segregated school. It's only segregated when it's controlled by someone from the outside."  
— From a speech at the New York Militant Labor Forum, April 8, 1964.

same people generally have never moved against genuine cases of segregation on their campuses, e.g., that practiced by many fraternities and sororities.) But even as they are referring to black control as "segregation" or "self-imposed apartheid," these administrators have been forced into the position of accepting the concept of self-determination, even if only in a superficial manner. One example of this is the fact that few of these administrators question the legitimacy of the various all-black student unions that are making the demands.

In granting many of the demands of black students, the various university administrations are in effect admitting that black people do have an understanding of what is best for them, do have the democratic right to control their education, and do have special needs which cannot be determined by white people.

At the same time, they cannot give into the demand for complete self-determination because the logic of this within the context of the general black radicalization would be that the universities would become centers of black radicalism and organizing centers for the struggles taking place in the black community. Revolutionary professors would begin to teach revolutionary ideas in the universities because there would be no regents or boards of trustees to stop them.

#### Example feared

More important, the struggle for self-determination on the university campuses would set a powerful example for the struggle for self-determination going on in the black community as a whole. If you can have black control of a black studies department, why not black control of the public schools, why not black control of the police, why not black control of the black community?

The Third World leaders at San Francisco State have referred to their struggle as a model which can be followed not only by other black students around the country but by the black community as well. And this is the main significance of that struggle.

In addition, the involvement of white students as well as sections of the labor movement in the fight for nationalist demands at San Francisco State has confirmed once again the fact that once you start an uncompromising, militant struggle against the system—no matter what the issue—you will inspire others to move into action too.

## Intercontinental Press

In 1968 *Intercontinental Press* published 1,176 pages of reports from correspondents in 30 countries. This included 125 pages of dispatches direct from France during the May-June revolt; 54 pages of eye-witness accounts from Mexico during the student strike; and 50 pages of reports and translations from the radical press in Czechoslovakia. *Intercontinental Press* is the only source in the U. S. for many documents of interest to the radical movement, including official statements of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$7.50 for 26 issues.

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# A letter by Malcolm X.. "We must learn that we are masters of our own destiny"

*The Militant* commemorates the fourth anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X (Feb. 21) by printing a letter written by that great revolutionary six months before his death. It was sent to members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and the Muslim Mosque, the organizations Malcolm founded on leaving the Nation of Islam.

The letter was sent from Cairo during the second trip to Africa and the Middle East that Malcolm made in 1964. In July he had gone to Cairo to attend the conference of the Organization of African Unity, where he asked the African heads of state to support the Afro-American struggle and a move inside the United Nations to indict the United States government for racism.

He remained in Egypt for two months before traveling to other parts of Africa and returning to the U.S. at the end of November 1964.

The letter reflects Malcolm's intense concern with "internationalizing" the struggle, and his awareness of the personal dangers this meant for him. It also testifies to his modesty, his objectivity and his unceasing desire to learn and grow.

In addition, it offers evidence of the kind of movement he was trying to build after he left the Nation of Islam—one that would be free of leadership cultism, where the members would be able to express grievances and differences, and where the leaders would be responsible to the members—that is, a democratic as well as a revolutionary movement.

The only place where this letter has been printed in full was in the mimeographed publication issued by Charles Kenyatta, *Black Force*, undated, but issued around early 1967.

\* \* \*

Cairo, Egypt  
August 29, 1964

As-Salaam-Alaikum

in the name of ALLAH, the Beneficent, the Merciful . . .

My Dear Brothers and Sisters:

My stay here in Egypt is just about drawing to a close; my mission here in your behalf is just about complete in this part of Africa. For the next few weeks, unless something drastic happens to force me to change my plans, I will be traveling through several other African countries visiting and speaking in person to various African lead-

ers at all levels of government and society, giving them a first-hand knowledge and understanding of our problems, so that all of them will see, without reservation, the necessity of bringing our problem before the United Nations this year, and why we must have their support.

I'm not at all doubtful of support, but I've learned that one cannot take things for granted and then cry when nothing materializes. We must learn that we are masters of our own destiny, but only when we exercise the maximum efforts to get things done. Take nothing for granted in this world and we will then be assured of success.

You must realize that what I am trying to do is very dangerous, because it is a direct threat to the entire international system of racist exploitation. It is a threat to discrimination in all its international forms. Therefore, if I die or am killed before making it back to the States, you can rest assured that what I've already set in motion will never be stopped.

The foundation has been laid and no one can hardly undo it. Our problem has been *internationalized*. The results of what I am doing will materialize in the future and then all of you will be able to see why it was necessary for me to be here this long and what I was laying the foundation for while here.

I have been pleased to receive letters from many of you lately, especially to know that you would take time from your many other duties and obligations to write to me. From the sound of some of the letters there seems to be much dissatisfaction and disunity creeping in among you, and some seem dissatisfied even with me.

This sounds like history repeating itself. I want you to know that this is normal, and therefore it doesn't excite or worry me. I'm not particularly surprised at the ones around whom so much of the controversy and dissatisfaction seems to be raging, because experience has taught me never to take anyone or anything for granted.

Being away from America is a blessing in more ways than one; it has enabled me to become untangled from the strong emotional issues and step back and view the whole picture with more objectivity than I could if I were right there. I can even see the problems better that have risen within our own OAAU and the Muslim Mosque.

Let me restate my own position: I believe in human rights for everyone, and that none of us is qualified to judge each other, and that none of us should therefore have that authority. We don't have the right to force anyone to walk with us, nor do we have the right to condemn those who want to leave, those who become impatient when they don't see us getting results and therefore want to try another way. We can't blame them, and we have no right to be angry with them.

If we ourselves produce results, people will stay and they will all support a good program that is getting good results.

If brothers want to establish another organization, even that is their right. We must learn to wish them well, and mean it. Our fight must never be against each other. No matter how much we differ over minor things, our fight must always be directed against the COMMON ENEMY.

If any Muslims are dissatisfied they cannot be compelled to stay among us, and cannot be condemned for leaving us. This is the point I'm trying to get across to you. I only say that those of you who do go, try to keep good thoughts in your heart about us, for we shall be trying to think good things about you.

If any of you want to leave the OAAU and form something else, I say the same to you that I say to the Muslims. But wherever you go and whatever you do, remember that we are all still brothers and sisters and we still have the same problem. Let us not waste time condemning and fighting each other. We have already wasted too much time and energy doing this in the past.

I know your grievances, much of which is just, but much of which is also based upon inability to look at the problem as a WHOLE. It is bigger and more complicated than many of us realize. I've never sought to be anyone's leader.

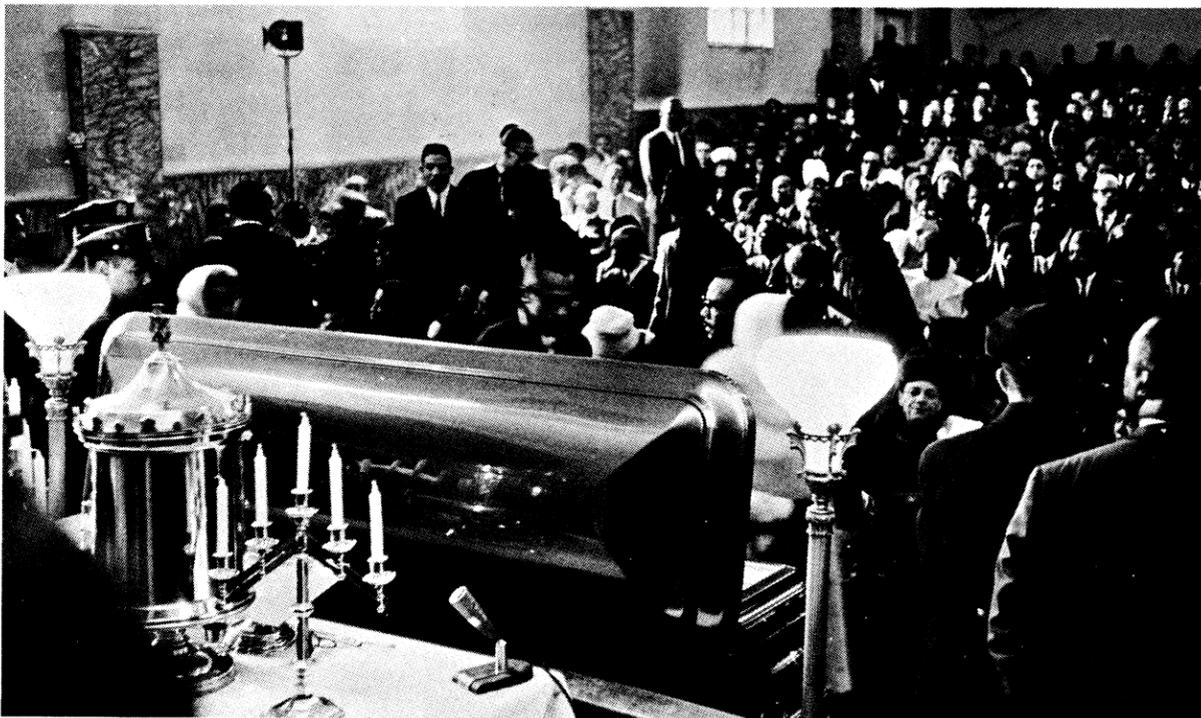
There are some of you there who want leadership. I've stayed away this summer and given all those who want to show what they can do the opportunity to do so. When I return I will work with anyone who thinks he can lead . . . and I only pray to ALLAH that you will work with me likewise.

I hope my position is clear: I'm not interested in fighting Elijah Muhammad or any other Afro-American. I don't even want any arguments with them. If our own program produces results then our work will speak for itself.

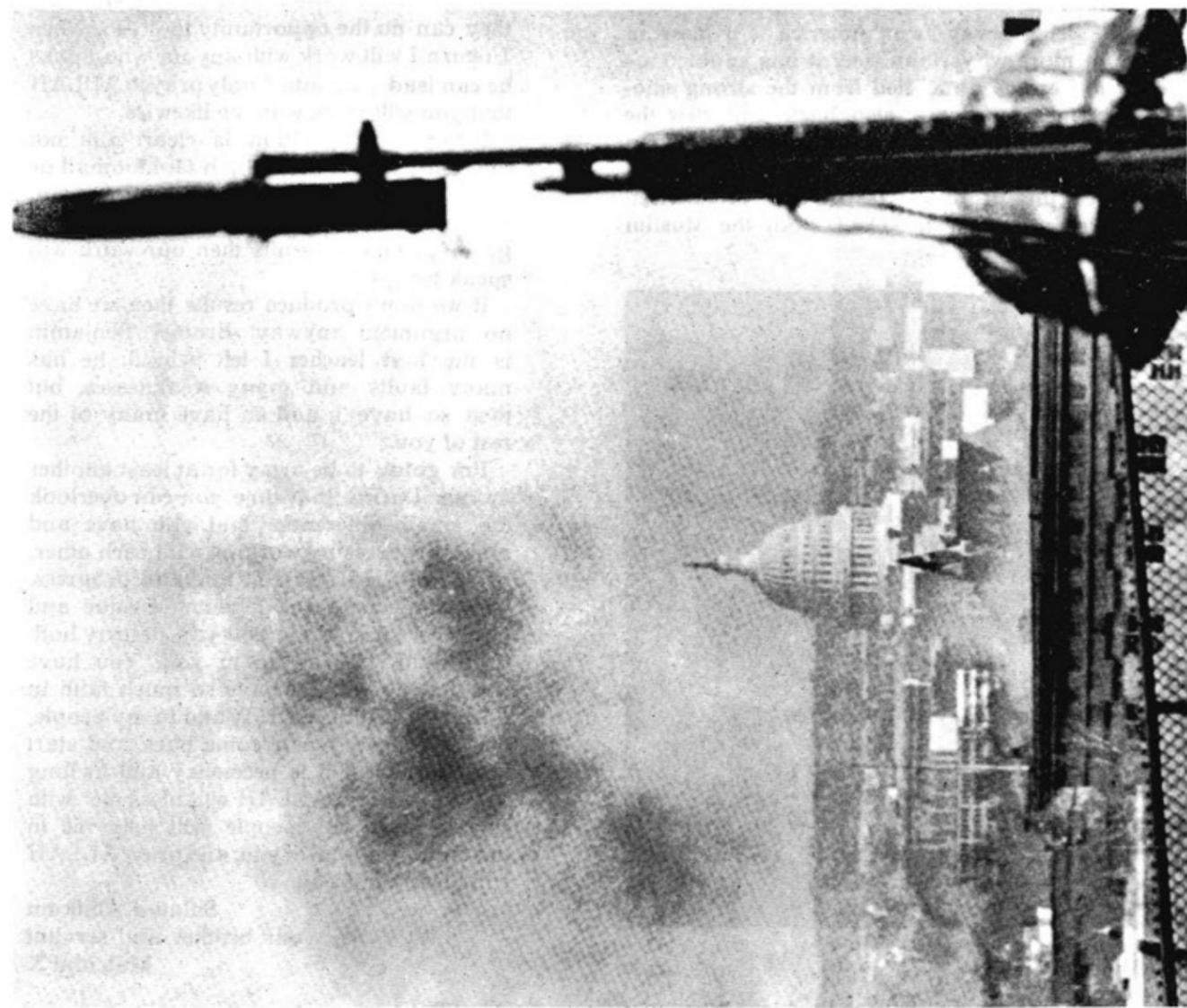
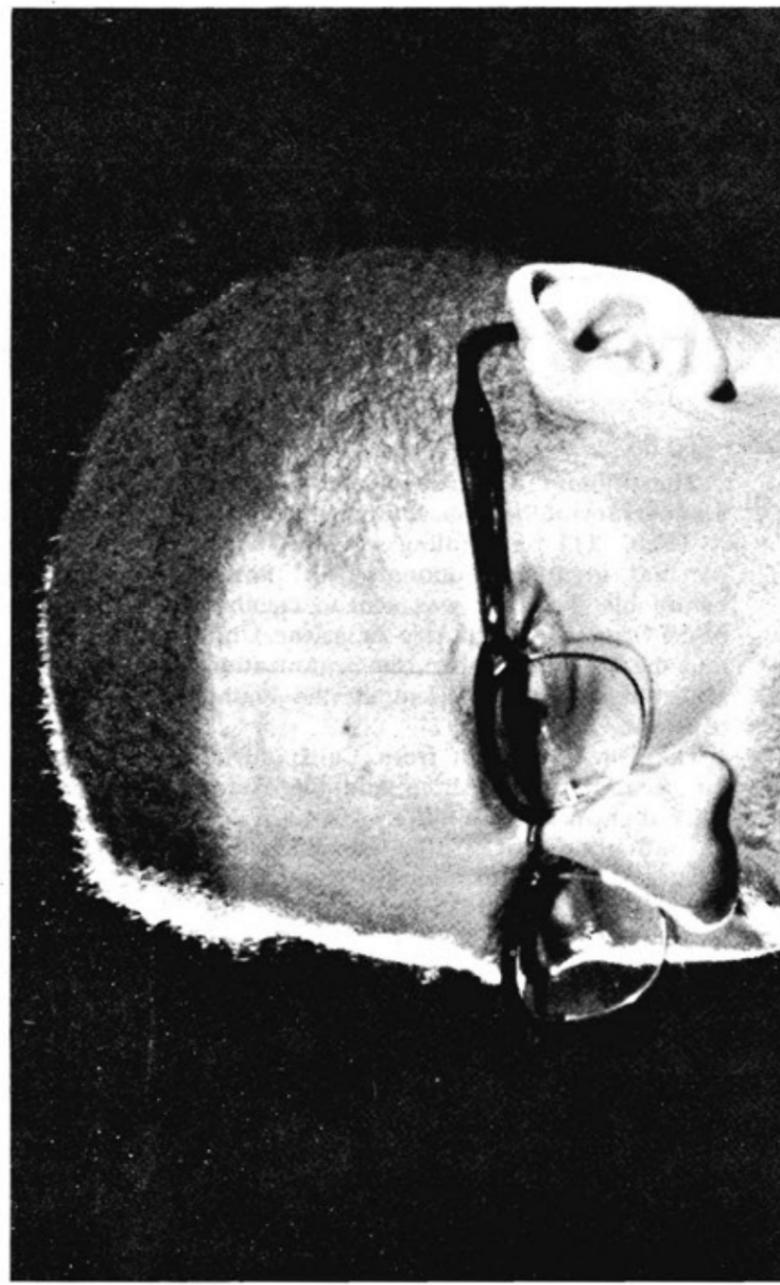
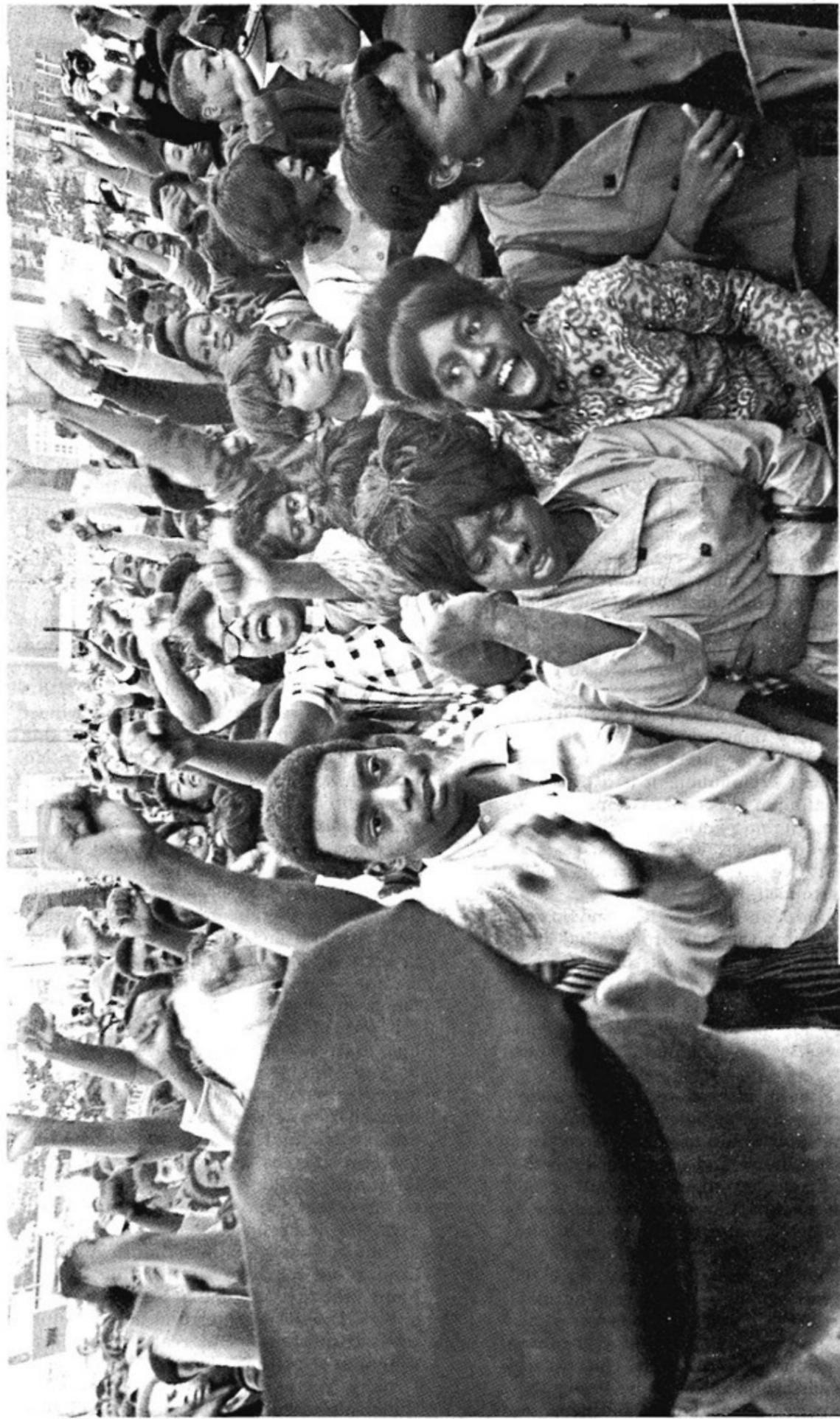
If we don't produce results then we have no argument anyway. Brother Benjamin is the best teacher I left behind: he has many faults and many weaknesses, but then so have I and so have many of the rest of you.

I'm going to be away for at least another month. During that time you can overlook the small differences that you have and make progress by working with each other, or you can be at odds and make no progress. You can make the Muslim Mosque and OAAU a success, or you can destroy both organizations. It's up to you. You have one more month. I have so much faith in ALLAH, and in RIGHT, and in my people, that I believe I can come back and start from scratch if it is necessary and as long as I mean right ALLAH will bless me with success and our people will help me in this fight. I love all of you, and pray ALLAH will bless all of you.

Salaam Alaikum  
your brother and servant  
Malcolm X



The funeral of Malcolm X



"Today you have a new generation of black people who have come on the scene, who have become disenchanted with the en-





**JOSEPH AND CLARA FORD**

the system, who have become disillusioned over the system, and who are ready now and willing to do something about it."

—Malcolm X—



# How Malcolm's OAAU saw the school issue



Malcolm X at a New York press conference

The four years that have passed since Malcolm X was assassinated have seen a qualitative change and deepening of the black liberation struggle and a revolutionizing of the thinking and consciousness of black people which has been characterized first and foremost by the spread of the ideas of Malcolm X.

Those who are fighting today for black control of the schools in the black community, for autonomous black studies departments and colleges, for the rediscovery of Afro-American and African history, for black control of the black community, may not even realize the extent to which they are the direct heirs of the thinking of Malcolm X.

Three years before the present struggle for black control of the schools began in New York City, Malcolm's organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, outlined a program for struggle against the racist New York School system which anticipated almost every issue which has been raised today.

The following statement on education is from the Statement of Basic Aims of the

Organization of Afro-American Unity, June 28, 1964. The complete text of the Statement of Aims appears in George Breitman's book, **The Last Year of Malcolm X—The Evolution of a Revolutionary** (Merit Publishers, New York).

Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and people rediscover their identity and thereby increase self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today.

Our children are being criminally short-changed in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest run schools in New York City. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children. The textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country. The Board of Education's integration program is expensive and unworkable; and the

organization of principals and supervisors in the New York City school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure.

The Board of Education has said that even with its plan there are ten percent of the schools in the Harlem-Bedford Stuyvesant community they cannot improve. This means that the Organization of Afro-American Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the ten percent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community. We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to us to be used in these schools.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education.

Through these steps we will make the ten percent of schools we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people all over the nation.

If these proposals are not met, we will

ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. When these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans we will return to them.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. Afro-American parents must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly.

We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our effort and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every Afro-American community in America.

We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our children to become scientists and mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which automation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self-respect through their own efforts.

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# Ft. Jackson antiwar GIs hit harassment by brass

By Lew Jones

COLUMBIA, S. C. — The Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War in Vietnam held a press conference here Saturday, Feb. 15, in response to harassment by the Army brass and to build support for their right to discuss freely the Vietnam war within the Army. The harassment has included the punitive transfer of a leading GIs United activist to another base.

GIs United, an informal grouping of Ft. Jackson servicemen, is circulating a petition addressed to the base commander requesting base facilities for a meeting to discuss the Vietnam war. While this petition circulated throughout Ft. Jackson, the base officials issued a statement Feb. 13 intended to undermine the wide support the petition has received.

The Feb. 13 Columbia *State* quoted the brass as saying, "The Army does not recognize any collective bargaining unit representing members of the armed forces." The *State* article went on to explain that

the brass would probably disregard the petition.

GIs United quickly responded by calling a press conference and issuing their own news release. "We do not understand the Army's statement. We have not asked to represent the GIs at Ft. Jackson in collective bargaining. That is not at all at issue. We are asking the Army to provide facilities for GIs to discuss the war, as is our constitutional right. . . . The brass does not want GIs to discuss the war and are denying GIs their constitutional rights to keep them from voicing their views."

The effect of the statement by the brass was to galvanize the GIs United. Between 20 and 30 GIs made definite arrangements to participate in the news conference.

Before the conference could take place, however, the brass tried several more harassing moves. On Friday, Feb. 14, Pvt. Joe Miles was given a super-speed transfer. He was ordered at 11 a.m. to clear post by 2 p.m. and report to Ft.

Bragg, N. C. The brass smugly explained that Ft. Bragg had "requested" Miles. Presumably the brass thought that transferring a leading activist would deter GIs United.

This highly unusual transfer was executed by giving Miles his very own sergeant to escort him around in a brand new two-and-one-half-ton truck. At every stop in his processing, Miles was taken care of by officers. The brass also told Miles that if he delayed his departure, he would be escorted off Ft. Jackson under armed guard.

The attitude of the other GIs to this attempt to intimidate the Ft. Jackson movement was indicated by an incident that occurred as Miles was leaving his barracks for the last time. Over the barracks intercom system came an anonymous declaration: "Hey, Miles, the beat goes on."

Pvt. Miles was able to make it to the Saturday news conference anyway, which was scheduled for 3 p.m. at the University of South Carolina. However, other GIs were not so fortunate. At approximately 12 noon, the brass decided that the unit which included most of the GIs who planned to attend needed an inspection at 3 p.m.

Along with Pvt. Miles, Pvt. Steve Dash and Pvt. Chuck Morgan, who did not have inspections, represented the other GIs. They explained that the brass' harassment had only increased their determination to express their views on the war. A message from another GI expressing the GIs' anger was read.

The three GIs explained how their petition was now circulating in all corners of Ft. Jackson. They intended to present it to the commanding officer, despite the statement from his office. They were also seeking support from civilians and GIs at other posts. If the petition was denied, GIs United was contemplating legal action to enjoin the Army from infringing upon GIs rights, they said.

The brass is systematically trying to stop the GIs from discussing the war. Last week sentences were handed down against two GIs who had been framed up. Pvt. Lawrence Hart, falsely accused of assault, disrespect to a noncommissioned officer, and attempting to defraud the U. S. government, was given six months at hard labor. The brass is undoubtedly planning to send him to Ft. Riley, Kansas, for "corrective training." Civilian counsel has been obtained for him and an appeal has been filed. Civilian support on a wide scale, however, is necessary to stop the victimization of this innocent GI.

A second GI, Pvt. Andrew Pulley, was given a suspended sentence for allegedly disobeying an order to go to bed, even though Pulley was in bed. While Pulley is not in the stockade, the brass is holding

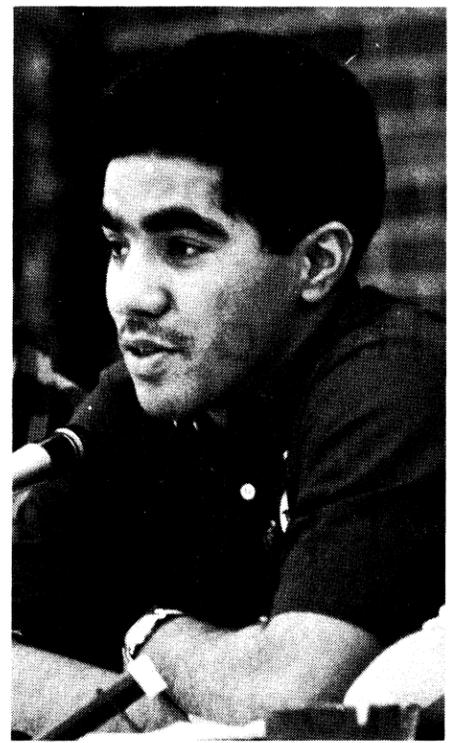


Photo by Shannon

Pvt. Joe Miles at November 1968 Young Socialist convention.

this suspended sentence over Pulley's head. If Pulley should do anything the brass doesn't like, they will try to revoke the suspended sentence and throw him in the stockade for 30 days. GIs United is asking for support in his case as well.

The antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson are carrying on a heroic struggle. It can be victorious if they receive widespread, immediate civilian support. Telegrams protesting the harassment and the frame-ups of Pvts. Hart and Pulley, as well as Pvts. Toomer, Davis, and Madison, who were earlier arrested on "assault" charges, and the punitive transfer of Pvt. Miles, should be sent to the Commanding Officer, Ft. Jackson, Columbia, S. C. Messages of support and money for legal defense may be sent to GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, c/o *Short Times*, P. O. Box 543, Columbia, S. C.

## Ft. Jackson GI declaration

**FORT JACKSON, S. C. — The following is the text of a declaration adopted at a meeting here by the unanimous vote of about 80 GIs called together by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.**

FELLOW GIs:

For the past half decade our country has been involved in a long, drawn-out, costly and tragic war in Vietnam. Most Americans do not support this war — increasing numbers are demonstrating their opposition, including active duty GIs. It is the most unpopular war in our history. Yet the government's policy threatens to continue this tragedy for many years to come.

Meanwhile, our country suffers while the slaughter goes on. The vast resources and sums of money the government squanders in support of a corrupt dictatorship in Saigon belong to the American people. It should be used to improve America, to make our country the shining example all of us want it to be — a free society, free of poverty and hunger, free of racial oppression, free of slums and illiteracy, and the misery they produce.

In addition, the rights and dignity of the black man in America have been trampled upon for the past 400 years. While being called upon to fight and die for so-called freedom, he has been forced to suffer racial oppression, discrimination, and social degradation within as well as outside the armed forces. Many black GIs are becoming increasingly aware of the hypocrisy of fighting against other people of color who are struggling for the same rights of self-deter-

mination as they are. Afro-Americans and all oppressed national minorities have the unconditional right to control their lives and determine their destinies as they see fit.

We, as GIs, are forced to suffer most of all in the Vietnam fiasco. Many of us were drafted into the Army against our will — nearly all of us are kept in its grasp against our will — all in order to carry out this illegal, immoral and unjust war. We are forced to fight and die in a war we did not create and in which we don't believe.

This is not to mention the tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese who are dying at our hands, many of them killed only because we can no longer tell the difference between them and our "enemies".

While all of this goes on, the Army continues to trample on our rights as well as our lives. All the crap, the harassment, dehumanization and contempt for the enlisted man that make "FTA" the three most popular letters in the Army goes on full swing in the Nam, just like it does here. Inspections, haircuts, saluting the brass, etc., are all part of the grind. And there's a reason for it: The Army has to crush our spirit; it has to stamp the humanity and individuality out of us so we won't be able to fight back. This is an undemocratic war — the only way it can be fought is with an undemocratic army, where GIs cannot be allowed to think, to discuss the war and speak out against it, to influence and control policy.

But it is our right to be human. No one can take that from us — no one has the right to rob us of our dignity, like the Army tries to do every day. It is our right to think, and to speak out against an unjust war, to demonstrate our opposition if that is necessary. We are citizens of America even if the Army would like to forget it, and these rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the U. S.

The Army wants to take away our rights, to keep us from exercising them, so they can make us fight a war we don't want any part of. But the Constitution says they can't do that. If we stand up for our rights and use them, the Army cannot stop us. If we speak out and demonstrate our opposition to the dirty war in Vietnam, no one can stop us. If we get together, and if we go out and get the support of civilians, who are also against the war, we can defend our rights and make our grievances known effectively. If we get together we can win.

Some of us have already begun to do this. We have come together as GIs United Against the War in Vietnam in order to organize ourselves to defend our rights and help bring all the troops home from Vietnam now! If you agree with us, join with us. Together we can tell the truth about the Army and war, and use that truth to make us free!

This is your thing, so help spread the good word!

## SMC to aid Jackson GIs

NEW YORK — The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced a campaign to gain support for the Ft. Jackson antiwar GIs. The SMC will be sending material on the Ft. Jackson events to all its affiliates asking for messages of support to the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The SMC will also organize actions and meetings to raise money for the defense of the framed-up GIs.

The student antiwar group will also provide copies of the Ft. Jackson petition to any GIs who wish to circulate it along with supporting petitions on their own bases.

Copies of the petition and other material may be obtained from the SMC, 857 Broadway, Room 307, New York, New York, 10003.

## A new salute haunts brass

Ft. JACKSON, S. C. — Saluting the "Army way," is a well-enforced tradition here. However, another salute — one with a long tradition and a newly added significance — is becoming increasingly popular at this base. Everywhere you go you see black GIs (and some whites) saluting each other with the black-power clenched fist that has become widespread since it was used in the celebrated Olympics protest by black athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos. It gives the brass pause for thought to see this international symbol of the fighting spirit of the oppressed at a southern U. S. Army base.

## U of Ill. blacks framed by cops

By George Kontanis

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. — Fifteen black militants, Black Panthers from Chicago, and black University of Illinois students, were arrested here over the weekend of Feb. 7-9.

The initial arrest took place on Friday evening, Feb. 7. William Dunn, Panther lieutenant, was sitting at a table with a group of Panthers in the Illini Union, when an Illini cop approached him and tried to provoke him with obscene abuse. Dunn turned away, but the cop returned again to provoke an argument. Within seconds, four other cops came on the scene, holding the Panthers while throwing Dunn to the ground. When another Panther questioned the action, he was also arrested. Both were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

On Saturday evening, at the Sheraton Inn in Urbana, after an altercation between a Panther and two white men, some 40 whites returned to the Inn, whereupon the Panthers were arrested for the second time.

State troopers arrested Panthers checking out of the Holiday Inn on Sunday morning. They were framed up on charges of defrauding an innkeeper, theft of services, and conspiracy to do both.

A statement released by the Black Students Association branded the arrests the "result of the efforts of local police authorities to eliminate any possibility of cohesion developing in the black community (campus and town)."

"The [first] arrest came after what were continuous attempts at intimidation during the week commencing Feb. 2. The Panthers arrived in Champaign after reports of the continued arrests of black people in the Champaign-Urbana area. Their objective being to investigate and help the community and black students to effectively end obvious institutionalized racial intimidation."

A rally in support of the Panthers was held Feb. 10 at the Illini Union. Some 300 black and 100 white people attended. At an open SDS meeting that same night over 300 students met and formulated a list of demands to be presented to the university chancellor. The meeting also planned another rally for the next day and another meeting to plan further action.

# Where SDS goes wrong: The decisive role of political program



Photo by Chuck Schoengrund

**WISCONSIN, USA**—The need for National Guardsmen to occupy University of Wisconsin dramatically expresses present development of radicalism. Use of the guard is also an expression of U. S. ruling class determination to use the force at its command to retain its power. It will take more than a politically diffused "movement" to dislodge them.

By Gus Horowitz

In the early 1960s, at the inception of the present youth radicalization, a common theme in "new left" thought was disdain for the organizations and political ideas of previous mass radicalizations. In particular, the very need for organization and political program was not widely accepted. Now, however, many people in the radical movement have come to accept much of what had been previously rejected.

Nevertheless a common error persists. At its December national council meeting, SDS adopted a resolution proclaiming the need for a class-conscious youth movement, for the building of a revolutionary youth organization. Yet despite this goal, SDS did not really specify exactly what kind of organization was required. In particular, the resolutions did not discuss the building of a revolutionary party, indispensable for the overthrow of capitalism.

The number of youth in the United States who consider themselves radical or revolutionary minded is fairly large. Aside from the various organized political tendencies, there are thousands of individuals of diverse and formative viewpoints, all of whom are often conveniently lumped together in a category—the revolutionary left. The movement for social change is actually quite heterogeneous.

If only the revolutionary youth could be

united into a single organization great strides could be taken in bringing revolutionary ideas to the mass of the population—so runs the theme of the SDS national council decisions. By implication, political differences that exist are minimized; the broad and necessarily general points of agreement are stressed. Somehow a loosely organized revolutionary youth movement seems all that is necessary. The "revolutionary movement," rather than the revolutionary party, is deemed sufficient.

#### Gradual process?

Presumably, through experience in struggle, the movement would gradually define a specific political program satisfactory to most all concerned. A revolutionary party, were it to be formed, would somehow originate in the same manner.

Such an approach may appear natural, but in fact it reverses priorities. A revolutionary party is not simply an organization of revolutionaries, but an organization built for the purpose of carrying out a specific political program. The program, rather than evolving and being shaped by the experience of the organization, is the starting point around which the organization itself is shaped. The purpose of the party is not simply for organizational cohesion, but to carry out a specific program.

Vague generalities are invariably the mark of opportunism in politics. They conceal differences and may produce a transi-

tory organizational unity, but one which cannot be translated into revolutionary action. Under the banner of a revolutionary youth movement, yet without a clear revolutionary program, SDS hopes to gather large numbers of revolutionary-minded youth. Among them will be proponents of competing ideas, as well as youth who haven't yet made up their minds. How can such a conglomeration be held together, if not by compromise and confusion over the most important questions?

SDS already faces this problem even as it has adopted as its goal the building of a revolutionary youth movement. The very same national council meeting passed a resolution, initiated by the Progressive Labor Party, which condemned black nationalism as "a bourgeois idea" which "must be defeated." That resolution—a travesty on revolutionary politics—was passed even though it contradicted an earlier decision. The resolution, "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement," which implied a different, more correct line on the black liberation struggle, had already been passed. Yet scarcely an eyebrow was raised at the contradiction. Thus SDS's new revolutionary youth movement is on record as advocating two different, actually contradictory analyses of one of the most important issues in American politics. Hardly an auspicious beginning. Not exactly the clearest guide to action.

#### Will do own thing

In practice, SDS members will continue as before. Individual members and local chapters will do whatever they want, irrespective of the national-council decisions. There is nothing inherently wrong in that kind of organizational and political conception—for a broad, general "movement" organization. But it's a different matter entirely, if a group aspires to organize and lead a revolutionary struggle for power. The revolutionary party that is necessary for that task cannot afford to obscure its program or disperse its activity.

The building of such a party requires, first of all, agreement on the major political issues facing the world revolutionary movement: international issues—Cuba, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, France; domestic issues—the black struggle, the anti-war movement, political action, the labor movement. A revolutionary party must be united in its specific approach toward these questions of decisive import. Without such agreement, revolutionary action is impossible.

An example: At the turn of the century Lenin also set out to build a revolutionary organization. In Czarist Russia of the time, the revolutionary movement was disunited. The scattered groupings that existed in a few cities were not tied together in any way. Assorted competing theories prevailed, all claiming to be revolutionary. Anticapitalism, class consciousness, revolutionary action—all vague and general words—were part of the vocabulary of the movement, regardless of whether the political programs truly reflected those aims.

#### Role of Iskra

The crying need was to unite the diffusely scattered revolutionary groupings into a

single revolutionary party. Accordingly the Russian Marxists formed the newspaper, *Iskra*, with the aim of making it the spokesman for revolutionary Marxism. Around it they hoped to gather the cadres necessary to reconstitute the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, which had been decimated by the Czarist police a couple of years earlier.

In attempting to unite these individuals and groupings into a revolutionary party, Lenin and the others did not start by tackling the simple organizational problem. They based their goal of unity on political agreement. Specifically, they aimed to build a party of one tendency, Marxism, rather than an all-inclusive organization of the revolutionary movement. In doing so, they had to differentiate themselves from other groups and theories claiming to be revolutionary. The very founding of *Iskra*, a newspaper of one tendency, as the organizing instrument indicates the importance that was placed on political agreement, agreement on more than the vague statement of revolutionary goals.

In its first issue, the editorial board of *Iskra* issued a declaration of aims which stated clearly: "Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all firmly and definitely draw the lines of demarcation. Otherwise our unity will be merely a fictitious unity which will conceal the prevailing confusion and prevent its complete elimination. Naturally, therefore, we do not intend to utilize our publication merely as a storehouse for various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it along the lines of a strictly defined tendency."

#### Struggle for ideas

The party which Lenin built waged incessant political struggle against other political tendencies, most of which were also in the "revolutionary movement." The assertion of revolutionary aims was never taken at face value. In 1917 most non-Bolsheviks in the "revolutionary movement" were worse than useless. Not mere organizational strength, but political clarity, explains the Bolshevik success in 1917.

The lesson should be absorbed by serious revolutionary-minded youth in the United States. The abolition of capitalism in the USA requires the building of a party that is convinced such a perspective is realizable and that can present and carry out a program capable of achieving that goal. Some of the central points necessary in such a program will be discussed in a future article.

## Dow Chemical finds a partner

(IP)—American big business has always claimed to be in favor of international cooperation for economic advancement. A curious example of capitalist internationalism was reported in the November 1968 issue of *The Independent*, edited by New York publisher Lyle Stuart.



Alive and well at Dow?

Dow Chemical Company, manufacturer of napalm used to slaughter the peasants in Vietnam, has gone into partnership with the German firm which sold Zyklon B poison gas to the Nazis for use in the concentration camps.

The deadly gas was developed by I. G. Farben, the huge chemical trust that was supposedly broken up at the end of the war.

One of the major components of the complex survived intact, the Badische Anilin & Soda Fabrik, today the largest chemical company in West Germany. The chairman of Badische Anilin today is Carl Wurster, who, according to *The Independent*, is a former chairman of I. G. Farben and also "ran the I. G. Farben division which included the slave-labor synthetic-rubber plant at Auschwitz. . . .

Moreover, I. G. Farben owned 42.5 percent of a retail and wholesale distributor called Degesch. This was the firm that sold the gas to the camp at Auschwitz. The ubiquitous Mr. Wurster was also on the administrative council of Degesch."

Today Wurster's firm is in partnership with Dow for its American operations. They own a joint chemical company in Freeport, Texas, called the Dow Badische Chemical Co.

No information was available on what products are manufactured at the Texas plant, whether they are wholesale or retail, or which of the two partners made the greater contribution in applying free enterprise to the field of chemistry.

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# 200 antiwar GIs lead marchers in Seattle

By Stephanie Coontz

SEATTLE — Over 200 GIs from Ft. Lewis and McCord Air Force Base as well as the more distant bases of Woodby Island Naval Station and Fairchild Air Force Base joined with 4,500 civilians in a march against the war in Vietnam last Sunday, Feb. 16. The march began at City Hall Park and proceeded to the Eagles Auditorium where a large rally heard both civilians and GIs condemn the war in Vietnam and demand that GIs be allowed to exercise their constitutional rights to oppose it.

A contingent of GIs led the march down the streets of Seattle. The feeling in the contingent was one of jubilation. One by one, the soldiers would step out into the empty lane of the street, look back at the march behind them, and then run back into line, shaking hands with everyone around them, relieving friends of signs so they too could go and see how many people were supporting them.

The Eagles Auditorium filled up as the marchers poured in with the GIs in the lead. Before the rally began, the GIs were asked to stand. Almost 300 persons stood, displaying "V" signs or clenched fists to a roaring ovation from the audience.

Author and trade unionist Sidney Lens received a standing ovation when he ended his speech by saying, "We're going to march, we're going to march, we're going to march until every damn soldier is brought home now."

Andy Stapp, chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, talked about the case of the Presidio 27 now being tried for mutiny and was heavily applauded when he accused the United States government



Sidney Lens

of sending GIs out to die for profits of big companies. Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee reported on the antiwar activity of the Ft. Jackson, S. C., GIs and the importance of the upcoming April 6 GI-civilian demonstrations.

The rally unanimously agreed to send telegrams of support to the Presidio 27 and the Ft. Jackson GIs. Telegrams of support for the march from student groups, GIs, and antiwar leaders such as Donald Duncan and Lt. Susan Schnall were read. Best received was a telegram from the Bay Area GI-Student Association which urged, "Let's make April 6 national pain in the brass."

But the high point of the rally was when, despite warnings that Col. Roote, head of the MPs, was in the audience, five GIs stood up to speak because, as one said, "I am a human being and a citizen and I'm going to use my rights as one." Another declared that he had been afraid to speak out until he felt the tremendous support of the civilians and the other soldiers at the march and rally.

The march was organized by the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace and endorsed by every antiwar group in Seattle. GI-CAP was formed after a conference last October which was attended by over 200 soldiers from Ft. Lewis and McCord Air Force Base. Its meetings are attended regularly by about 50 GIs, and a weekly newsletter called *Counterpoint* is published.

The march was built by distribution of stickers with the date and time, posters, and thousands of leaflets. Civilians did most of the leafleting. Since Ft. Lewis is an open base it was easy to drive in and find groups of men to leaflet.

Sometimes leafleters with cars were able to elude the MPs by moving quickly and staying only a short time in one place. The GIs never turned anyone in. An officer, though, would often call in to the MPs.

The brass wanted to stop the march, but obviously felt compelled to tread softly. Army Regulation 600-20, paragraph 46, which we obtained, permits servicemen to participate in demonstrations which are legal, nonviolent, off the military reservation and not in a foreign country — so long as an individual serviceman is out of uniform and is not required to be present for duty at the time.

Commanding officers did not contradict this regulation and generally did not order men not to attend the march, although one commanding officer declared that the march was off limits even though his men pointed out that he had no right to do this.

One heavily antiwar squadron, the 2nd Squadron at the Third Armored Camp, was put on alert, but there were no large-scale restrictions. Instead, the brass pulled the passes of a number of individual leaders and actually detained one, threatening to charge him with spreading disaffection in the armed forces. Charges were dropped the day after the march.

It is unclear what the brass will do now. As GI leaders stress, Feb. 16 was only the beginning. Plans are already underway to build a massive GI antiwar action on April 6. And the GIs who led the march are confident that the movement that they kicked off today will be of mass character by spring.



Airman First Class Michael Locks (left), Lt. (J.G.) Susan Schnall and Gen. Hugh Hester (ret.) leading Oct. 12 San Francisco antiwar march. Locks and Lt. Schnall were convicted for wearing uniform.

## 2 antiwar GIs convicted on uniform regulation

Of the more than 500 active-duty servicemen and -women who participated in the Oct. 12 San Francisco GI march against the Vietnam war, two have been prosecuted by the brass. They were court-martialed on charges of violating a regulation that forbids members of the armed forces to participate in demonstrations while in uniform.

On Feb. 8, Airman Michael Locks, one of the chief organizers of the demonstration, was sentenced to one year at hard labor, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, reduction in grade to airman basic, and a bad-conduct discharge. He had faced a possible four-year term. Locks is appealing the conviction on constitutional grounds.

of sending GIs out to die for profits of big companies.

Lt. (j.g.) Susan Schnall, a Navy nurse who was likewise one of the main organizers of the action, was sentenced to six months at hard labor and dismissal from the service. Her term, however, will not be spent in prison but as a nurse in a pediatric ward.

Airman Locks and Lt. Schnall were aware of the unconstitutional regulation when they decided to wear their uniforms at the march, and they decided to test it.

Air Force Lt. Hugh Smith, another central organizer of the Oct. 12 march, was given an honorable discharge from the service. He was not in uniform at the action.

## Big Los Angeles turnout for Newton birthday party

By Dave Saperstan

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 16 — Almost \$3,000 was raised when an overwhelmingly young audience turned out today at Hollywood High School here for a rally of the Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee. The meeting was held to show support for imprisoned Black Panther minister of defense Huey P. Newton on the occasion of his birthday.

The four-hour program featured James Baldwin, Country Joe and the Fish, a taped message from Newton, Black Panther Field Marshal D.C., Phil Ochs, and Shermont Banks, a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party.

D.C.'s remarks were addressed to the problems of "Liberalism and Cultural Nationalism." He started by paying tribute to Malcolm X and continued, "But we're past Malcolm, we're at a higher level now. Unity is not now the main problem. . . . We've got to expose liberalism. . . . We've got to deal with these cultural nationalists, the porkchops. . . . And we've got to stop kidding ourselves about racism. It's not the primary contradiction. Capitalism is the primary contradiction. . . . We're against black capitalists too. We're out to end exploitation — be it white, black, red, yellow, brown!"

Though the audience was one with D.C., the biggest hand went to Country Joe and the Fish for a routine that probably best represented the feelings of the youthful audience. After saying their next number would be their well-known song on Viet-

nam, they asked the crowd to lead off the song with an appropriate cheer. With a deafening response, the audience roared to: "Give me an F," "F," "Give me a U," . . .

## GI-civilian parley slated in Ohio

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — A coalition of antiwar forces will hold a GI-civilian conference on Sunday, March 2, at Wright State University, main auditorium, within walking distance of the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Fairborne.

Prof. Sydney Peck, cochairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam will be the keynote speaker.

Carl Rogers of the GI-oriented peace group LINK will discuss plans for the April 6 GI-civilian peace action. Other GI and civilian speakers are also scheduled for the conference and workshops.

A broad grouping of sponsors includes the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Ohio Resistance and the Antioch YSA and SDS.

## CP, SWP debate Czech issue at Seattle forum

By Tom Leonard

SEATTLE — Two views on Czechoslovakia were presented at the Militant Forum here Feb. 7. Bill Purdue spoke for the Socialist Workers Party and Marion Wheeler for the Communist Party.

Marion Wheeler was active in the local DuBois Club at the peak of its activity several years ago and had recently expressed some opposition to the Soviet Union's intervention in Czechoslovakia. In her forum presentation, however, she supported the Communist Party line and said that Gus Hall's recent analysis supporting the Soviet invasion was "surprisingly good." She cited in particular Hall's assertion that the Czech developments revealed their "reactionary" character when Czech nationalism was allegedly placed before class principles or socialist ideology.

She cited attempts on the part of the Czechs to trade with West Germany as a threat to the Warsaw Pact which laid the Czechs open "to the same Junkers who have dragged the world into two holocausts." The CIA in West Germany "was rubbing its hands in glee" over the Czech developments, she said.

She concluded her attack on the Czech students and workers by stating that the world was in an irreconcilable conflict between the Soviet Union and imperialism and that "autonomous nationalism is a luxury in the face of imperialist aggression."

Bill Purdue reviewed the background to the present developments in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Communist Party took power in 1948, but not as a result of an indigenous revolution by the masses. The resulting birth of the socialized economic system was deformed, said Purdue. The Czechoslovak workers state "developed in a stifling cultural atmosphere." In the present developments, he said, "the workers and students began to make their own history."

The heated discussion period centered on the issue of nationalism and the role of the CIA. Wheeler claimed that no one in the room understood the CIA role in Czechoslovakia better than Soviet intelligence, in whose opinions there should be complete confidence. Purdue argued against "assigning to the CIA the leadership of the workers and students in Czechoslovakia."

# ... revolutionaries and the fight for reforms

(Continued from Page 3)

To approach the problem another way: It is instructive to contrast SNCC with the black student unions that have arisen in the last year or two. SNCC is an organization to whom all revolutionaries owe gratitude as a pioneer of the present radicalization; historically, it will surely be ranked with the IWW as a forerunner of the American revolution. But its present stagnation and isolation cannot be attributed solely to the savage persecution it has suffered at the hands of the government. In part, it has been hamstrung by its own anti-leadership fetish, by the unfortunate theory held by some of its leaders that "repression" will produce radicalization and revolution, and in the recent period by generalizations about revolution that somehow discouraged or minimized participation in the partial struggles that got the label of "non-revolutionary."

On the other hand, the black student unions, which might have served as a major base for the revival and expansion of SNCC, have been healthily free of certain abstentionist inhibitions. Without excessive rhetoric, they have struck stunning blows at the status quo from one coast to the other. And what are their demands? Nothing but reforms, and reforms of only the schools at that!

But because they are fighting for reforms in a radical way, they have raised the campus struggles to a new level, strengthening the whole movement immensely, and making possible the widening of the youth radicalization, including whites as well as blacks. And because they are fighting in a radical way, they are winning more than if they had fought in a reformist way, even where they cannot win all of their demands. Dr. Nathan Hare is absolutely correct in his retort to Roy Wilkins when he says, "Our cries for more black professors and black students have padded white colleges with more blacks in two years than a decade of whimpering for 'integration' ever did."

## False limit

If we limit ourselves only to those demands that the ruling class and opportunists will not try (often unsuccessfully) to distort, manipulate or co-opt, there will be very few demands we will ever be able to raise. In a revolutionary situation the ruling class will try to co-opt even revolutionary demands. For example, in the German revolution at the end of World War I, when the masses began to organize workers and soldiers councils (soviets),

## 'Basic training' —antiwar style— is slated in N.Y.

By Albion Urdank

NEW YORK — A series of "antiwar basic training" sessions are being planned to prepare campus and high-school antiwar activists who face the draft for continued antiwar activity within the army. Plans for the "basic training" course, which is scheduled for the week of March 2-8, were initiated by the Student Mobilization Committee.

GIs who have been active in expressing the growing GI opposition to the war will be directing the sessions, giving further information on what GI rights are and how they can be exercised and defended.

At an initial meeting held here Feb. 10, campus activists representing several college and high-school campuses met to plan and build the action. Suggestions for the content of the classes included the use of Army indoctrination films which present the ruling class' justification for the war, guerrilla theater mocking the authoritarian nature of the military, workshops on such topics as GI antiwar newspapers and GI defense work, and documentary films such as those by Felix Green and David Schonbrun.

It is hoped that these "basic training" sessions can play the same role in educating GIs about the need to take action against the war that the teach-ins played in helping to organize the student antiwar movement. The sessions will further develop the ties between the GI and civilian wings of the antiwar movement and build participation in the April 6 Easter march against the war called by the National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference.

Further information is available on the "Antiwar Basic Training" sessions and the mass actions planned for April 6 from the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York City 10003.



1917. Students firing on cops during Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks won a mass following with the explosive reform demands, "Land, Peace, Bread."

the ruling class and its social-democratic henchmen offered to "recognize" the councils and incorporate them into the government as an official institution (where, of course, they would have been subordinated, housebroken and emasculated).

There are few if any demands so simple that they can be guaranteed forever immune to manipulation by the enemy. The cure lies in education, alertness, flexibility, and in the creation of movements with a high level of revolutionary consciousness—not in the search for perfect but elusive formulas, and not in abandoning or abstaining from the struggle for reforms that have the potential of organizing and educating the masses.

(The Cuban Revolution developed as a struggle for reforms—end of the dictatorship; land for the peasant; lower rents; homes; schools; jobs for the workers—but because the Fidelistas mobilized masses in a revolutionary struggle for these reforms and educated them to the need to struggle for these things against any force that opposed them, they carried the struggle to a conclusion that brought the first socialist revolution in the western hemisphere.)

Nothing in the world can be done to prevent the government, the Ford Foundation or various black opportunists from trying to give their content to the popular demand for black control of the black community, from interpreting it as "black capitalism" or "decentralization" or the election of black Democrats, etc., and from seeking to deflect the struggle for this demand into safer channels. (Attempts to dampen down movements with concession can boomerang too. This, for example, was the intent in giving ghetto youth college scholarships and grants. Now they've got a panther by the tail.)

The way to combat efforts of the ruling class to co-opt demands is not to conclude that such demands are worthless but to give them a revolutionary content. To do otherwise can only guarantee the continued influence of the reformists among the masses.

For example, the school issue is a major one today for black people in New York and other cities. The reformists, supported by sections of the ruling class, try to keep that struggle within the limits of simple school decentralization. It is the obligation of revolutionaries to join the school struggle precisely to counterpose the revolutionary concept of black control of black schools to the reformist concept of an "improved," "less bureaucratic," "decentralized," education system.

The negative attitude of some black radicals to the struggle for black control of the black community has been paralleled by the disparaging attitude of some white radicals toward certain demands and aspects

of the fight against the war in Vietnam, which has already radicalized millions of young Americans despite far-from-perfect leadership.

## Antiwar movement

The current antiwar movement had hardly got started in 1965 before some leaders of SDS and certain ultra-leftist groups began to complain that they were "tired" of broad anti-war demonstrations and marches demanding the withdrawal of the GIs from Vietnam. Why? Because they weren't stopping the war, or because they were "too square," or because they weren't sufficiently anti-imperialist, or because they concentrated on trying to reach wider sections of the population instead of seeking "confrontations" with the cops, or (during the 1968 election campaign) because the liberal capitalist politicians were trying (with partial and temporary success) to exploit, deflect and co-opt the antiwar sentiment and movement.

The Vietnamese liberation movement has a more realistic and a much more favorable estimate about the value of the antiwar demonstrations, and do not concur in the American ultra-leftist judgment that they are now "passe."

But independently of the Vietnamese opinion, surely there should be more American radicals capable of appreciating the tremendous contributions the antiwar movement, with all its defects and limitations, has made up to this point, and is still capable of making—providing the American radicals don't turn their backs on it now.

Similar criticisms can be made about some of the current radical attitudes to antiwar referendums, and to electoral activity in general. (Barry Sheppard's refutation of the *Guardian's* no-vote position on the 1968 election campaign, in the Nov. 15, 1968, *Militant*, was perfectly correct, but probably will have to be repeated many times before electoral abstentionism is fully understood for the childish nonsense it is.)

## Voting age issue

Lowering the voting age to 18 is nothing but a reform, and one which has been granted even in reactionary states in this country. But a fight for this reform, led by revolutionaries and conducted with some imagination, could have a profoundly radicalizing-politicizing effect, especially among young people.

I lived in Michigan a few years ago when a referendum on this issue was held in that state, and I must report my disappointment at seeing the revolutionary socialists, adult and youth alike, confining themselves to routine endorsement of the lower-age reform instead of dramatizing and leading the campaign to enact it. Perhaps their under-reaction was due to the fact that both capitalist parties, the labor movement and

just about everybody else also endorsed the proposition. (But it was badly defeated in the referendum vote.)

It is healthy for radicals, old and young, to beware of the dangers of reformism, but it is dangerous to mistake the baby for the bathwater or the bathwater for the baby. The American Communist and Socialist parties did not become reformist because they participated in the struggle for reforms; the reasons have to be sought elsewhere. And the Socialist Labor Party did not remain revolutionary by deciding to oppose participation in struggles for immediate and partial demands; their hostility to every working-class revolution of this century testifies to that.

Capitalism always attempts to buy off every popular movement that it cannot pervert, misdirect or crush. But there are limits on what it can accomplish along these lines, as the fact that one-third of the world has been torn out of its grip demonstrates. The dangers of co-optation must not be underestimated, but neither should they be overestimated. The reforms and concessions of recent years have not mollified, conciliated or co-opted the masses of black Americans (even though they bought off some potential leaders). It really takes a lot of faith in the power of capitalism to believe that it is capable of satisfying the demands of the black masses—the only kind of "co-optation" that could end their struggle.

Struggle is the school of the masses. All demands that move the masses into struggle and raise the level of their consciousness are worth raising, fighting for and incorporating into the over-all revolutionary strategy.

None should be excluded because they are "only reforms," or because through sharp struggle they may be won partly or wholly under capitalism, or because the capitalists will try to utilize them for their own purposes, or because they don't conform to the dogmas of sectarians and abstentionists, who have so little self-confidence that whenever they get involved in anything outside of their own tight little warm circles they begin to ask, "What are we doing wrong?"

## S.F. students press demands at Mission High

By John Hansen

SAN FRANCISCO — Reflecting the widening impact of the San Francisco State Third World battle for self-determination, Mission High School students, supported by community leaders, have submitted a list of 17 nonnegotiable demands to the board of education here and given it "two weeks at the most" to begin implementation.

Among others, the demands call for programs in black and Latino studies, more black and Latino teachers, and special counselors to help slow readers from Latin American and black backgrounds.

The Mission High students are also calling for the removal of police from the campus area and an end to the use of student I. D. cards.

"They stop you crossing the street and ask for your ID card," a black student said of the police. "They say when you show it to them: 'OK Dog 207. You go to class.' It's just like walking into a prison—like I'm going into Cell 203, my English class."

In typical ruling-class fashion, the response of the powers-that-be was first the carrot and then the stick. Initially, the city's board of education called for a "committee to study the problem" and "advise" the board of proposed solutions. Two days later, however, the city's true face was revealed when San Francisco's infamous tactical squad was used to break up a large student rally on the campus. Thirty-four persons were arrested.

Police intimidation has failed to work, however. Students vow they'll shut the school down if their demands are not met.

Speaking on the philosophy behind the demands, one student said, "We do not want to be forced into an Anglo middle-class mold because of the system's desire to implement its superiority complex or because of their compulsive monocultural prejudice."

"This conscious and subconscious racism, so much a part of the American tradition, is one of the major factors underlying the situation at Mission High School.

# The Army vs. Pvt. Glover -- another view

(Last week's issue of **The Militant** reported that the Army brass have instituted field-board proceedings against Young Socialist GI Edwin Glover and apparently intend to remove him from the Army. The following feature story by Philip Galley appeared in the Feb. 6 **Atlanta Constitution**.)

**FT. BENNING** — The Army is trying to rid itself of Pfc. Edwin Glover, Ft. Benning's controversial Marxist, just when the young soldier is beginning to enjoy his military life.

"We went on a simulated ambush the other day and they let me man one of the machine guns," Glover said recently. "It was all kinds of fun. I really enjoyed it."

Army life has not always been fun for the 21-year-old draftee, who is seen occasionally wearing a "Che Lives" button around the post.

### Special notice

Last November, Glover's company commander and first sergeant began taking special notice of him. He spent 50 days on restriction to his company area, was physically attacked by other GIs and received "extra training" in the form of moving rock piles from place to place and sweeping floors. His antiwar and socialist literature was confiscated.

All of which led Private Glover to conclude: "I think the Army is picking on me."

His commanding officer, Capt. John Davis, told a reporter: "I notice Glover more than the average private."

### Things look up

After Glover's "private war" with the Army received national publicity, things began to look up for the private from Minneapolis, Minn.

Now, Glover says he is being treated fairly. "My first sergeant even jokes with me now and then." And, unless the Army offers him an honorable discharge, he wants to complete the year he has left in the Army.

Ft. Benning authorities, however, question whether it is "consistent with the interests of national security" to keep Glover on the Army payroll. The basis for the Army's recommendation is Glover's membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, which are on the U.S. attorney general's subversive list.

[The SWP is among more than 100 organizations arbitrarily designated "subversive" by the U.S. attorney general in the late 1940s. The YSA is not so listed. Editor.]

Besides, the Army adds, Glover distributes antiwar and socialist literature and holds antiwar seminars in barracks with Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

At Ft. Benning last week, military authorities held an administrative hearing on Glover's case. That board forwarded its recommendation to a committee in Washington that will make the final decision.

Glover could be dishonorably discharged for security reasons or kept in the Army without a security clearance.

### Really irrelevant

Glover insists that his affiliation with socialist organizations is really irrelevant because "I'm on a leave of absence."

Glover said he has never kept his socialist and antiwar views secret and that the Army knew of his views and background when they drafted him.

"It is the growing antiwar movement among GIs at Ft. Benning that has precipitated these discharge proceedings against me."

### Will appeal

Glover insists: "If the Army discharges me, I will not accept anything but an honorable discharge. I will appeal my case as a civilian. I have never broken a regulation, never been court-martialed and have done the duties required of me."

The GI-Marxist said he would even fight in Vietnam if the Army ordered him to. "I'm no better than anyone else," he explained. "I'm an American citizen, and I would obey my orders until the policies are changed."

"I just want to be treated like an ordinary soldier without my political views having any bearing on it," Glover said.

Why would an avowed Marxist turn down a discharge—less than honorable or otherwise?

"It would be hard to get a job," explained Glover. "And veterans are entitled to some benefits—not that I'd use that many."

He said he would like to return to college on the GI Bill which helps finance college education for veterans.

### Staying in south

Glover also plans to continue his antiwar activities when he returns to civilian life. He plans to remain in the South.

Pfc. Glover recently was called in to talk to his reenlistment officer.

"He didn't know about me and I just played dumb," Glover smiled. "He told me I had some good scores and should consider making the Army a career."



Pvt. Edwin Glover

## The Great Society

**Expert on Irrationality** — Lewis Feuer, a deep-thinking sociology professor, has written a book explaining that student revolts are an "irrational" expression of generational hatred. "Student movements," the learned professor writes, "commonly escalate to terrorism, and sometimes assassination . . . because these tactics . . . satisfy the needs of generational hatred on the latent, unconscious level. This symbolic parricide runs through every student movement I studied." The thing to do, teach, is kill the kids before they kill their parents.

**Nothing to It** — New Yorkers really have no reason to be grouching about being snowbound for several days. Instead of expecting the city to take care of such problems, they could have shown some self-reliance like other people do. For instance, the snow problem came up last week when Austrian Princess Henriette von Auersperg married the heir to the Krupp fortune, Arnd von Bohlen und Habach. To assure that wedding guests wouldn't get stuck on the way up to the Krupp's castle, they simply assigned 200 servants to shovel the place out.

**Fun City** — In an outburst of civic generosity, Mayor Lindsay offered New Yorkers free plastic bags to store their garbage in until the city gets around to collecting it.

**Civil Libertarians** — As concerned with the public's civil rights as they are with its health, eight major tobacco companies sought a court injunction to end the federal requirement that broadcasters provide time for information about the hazards of smoking. This requirement, the coffin-nail makers said, violates free-speech rights — theirs, that is.

**Special Offer** — If you do not drink, you are eligible to enroll in the Gold Star Total Abstainers Plan of the National Liberty Life Insurance Company. Like they say, you may not live longer, but it will definitely seem that way.

**Insecure** — The clipping was delayed in transit, but Jack Wilson's **Washington Post** "Potomac Fever" column responded to the presidential inauguration with this observation: "Maybe Nixon is as fine a man as the Republicans say he is—but we'd feel safer if they hadn't felt they needed five preachers and two bibles to swear him in."

**Next, Kempton 'Anti-Semitic'?** — We missed it, but Jack Newfield reported in the Feb. 6 **Village Voice** that the **Jewish Press**, a rather ardent pro-Zionist paper,

demanding that Brandeis University cancel a speaking engagement for New York **Post** columnist Murray Kempton because he wrote a column about Fred Halstead, the 1968 SWP presidential nominee, which failed to note that Halstead was anti-Zionist.

**Nothing for Checkers?** — When Senator Richard Nixon was running for vice-president in 1952, noise was made about the revelation that a group of California oil men were contributing to a monthly kitty to supplement his pay. In reply, he, his wife and dog Checkers took to the air to explain how modestly they lived. Mrs. Nixon, it was pointed out, was still wearing the same cloth coat as when they married. Now, we're delighted to report, things are picking up. A "gift room" has been established for Mrs. Nixon next door to the White House to store gifts from the public. Dicky, we trust, has a similar one at the local bank.

**A Question** — If the Greyhound bus company wins its fight for control of Armour meat packing, what happens to the hound?

**The Silver Lining** — Not appointed secretary of state as he had hoped to be, investment banker C. Douglas Dillon is easing the D.C. housing shortage by unloading his house there. The **Washington Post** reports it's "not for anyone who wants to live less formally than the Duke and Duchess of Windsor. There are floors of gleaming marble and antique Versailles parquet. The drawing room is decorated with 18th Century French panels set into trompe l'oeil valances and columns." The word is it can be had for half a million.

**Yes Father** — Pope Paul said the student protests reflect "the crisis of authority that is tormenting the modern world."

**The Free-Enterprise Society** — Herbert A. Lerbert, inventor of the recently patented Smoke Ring, may well be on the road to riches, reports the **Wall Street Journal**. The product — a hole, appropriately enconced in a brass plate — is used for passing a cigarette through. This process reportedly creates an air space which Mr. Lerbert suggests could possibly remove the threat of cancer. Mr. Lerbert sees as his potential best seller a \$5 cigarette lighter with Smoke Ring included. "Who," he inquires, "would want a lighter that does only one thing?" If it's wind-proof, it could also be good for immolations.

Harry Ring

## Community activists urge support for L.A. nominees

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — Several activists and leaders in the Los Angeles Mexican-American community participated in a recent election rally in support of Socialist Workers Party candidates William Hathaway and Della Rossa.

Julia Mount, a leader of the Educational Issues Committee, which is concerned with education in the Mexican-American schools, expressed agreement with the demand for Chicano control of the Chicano community. She pointed out that true representation of the Chicano community could never be secured by the conservative Mexican-Americans presently elected or appointed to government posts.

Fernando Gaxiola, head of the Committee for Solidarity with Mexican Students and an editorial-staff member of **Chicano Student**, went through the candidates' election platform point by point and endorsed each one. He reserved his greatest enthusiasm for the plank calling for a socialist society.

Robert Morales, a leader of LUCHA, the League of United Citizens to Help

Addicts, endorsed the candidacy of Della Rossa, pointing out that only a total change in society could eliminate such problems as drug addiction.

Both candidates also spoke at the rally. Della Rossa, candidate for the board of education, drew a graphic picture of the state of public education in Los Angeles minority communities — racist teachers, a drop-out rate of 45 percent, a third-grade reading ability 50 percent below the national average.

William Hathaway, candidate for mayor, described what steps he would take if elected to support soldiers and civilians who oppose the war in Vietnam and to assure that black and Chicano communities would be given full control of their own affairs.

New campaign endorsers include Frank Greenwood of the Afro-American Cultural Society; Alice Vejar of the Educational Issues Committee; Pedro Arias of the East Los Angeles Peace and Freedom Club; and Guadalupe de Saavedra of the Teatro Chicano. (The organizations of these endorsers and of those who spoke at the rally are listed for identification purposes only.)

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

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## Bay area oil workers vote to back students

RICHMOND, Calif.—A general membership meeting of Local 1-561, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (AFL-CIO), voted 113 to 69 Feb. 16 in favor of the local's executive-committee recommendation to support the striking students and teachers at Bay Area colleges and universities. (See *The Militant*, Feb. 21.) Local 1-561 is now striking Standard Oil of California's refinery here.

The adoption of the motion was particularly gratifying in that it carried over the opposition of a well-organized conservative grouping which mustered every supporter it could against the proposal.

Equally heartening was the fact that the great majority of the younger white workers supported the motion and made its adoption possible.

The vote came after more than seven hours of debate in which the most basic issues of the student strike—including the 15 demands of the San Francisco State Third World Liberation Front—were put forward and debated pro and con. When the vote came, everyone clearly understood what was at issue.

In an "Open Letter of Thanks to Our Student and Teacher Friends," which was printed in several Bay Area campus newspapers, G. T. (Jake) Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of Local 1-561, explained the broader significance of the newly achieved mutual-aid pact between oil workers, teachers, Third World students and their allies. "Our campaign for support to our strike within the labor movement," he wrote, "will be a double campaign for support to your

strike and for the general concept of bringing the ranks of the labor movement actively into the struggle for fundamental social changes that will make the world a better place to live.

"Do not underestimate the importance of your efforts in support of our strike in laying an important foundation in our pressing for a reciprocal response from the ranks of organized labor. Just as the small steps sections of labor have taken to come to the aid of embattled students and teachers have no doubt contributed to your responding in like manner to our strike, continued escalations of mutual aid will lead inexorably to the goal of a revival of the great traditions of organized labor's dynamic support to progressive social causes."

By Jeffery Gerth  
(Liberation News Service)

(The following is a report on a membership meeting of Local 1-561 prior to the one that adopted the executive-committee proposal for a mutual-aid pact.)

RICHMOND, Calif. (LNS)—I went to a union meeting called to discuss the proposed executive-board resolution to see what the attitude of the workers really was.

It is clear that they appreciate student support. They know that the threat of students coming on the picket line is enough to force the company to lock the gates. They know the students are willing to fight. One older union member, identifying himself as a conservative Republican, said, "These kids have guts. We're just a bunch of paper tigers."



Photo by Dave Warren

**PROTEST CRUEL SENTENCE.** GI addresses protest demonstrators at Presidio trial of GIs charged with mutiny for protesting stockade slaying of prisoner.

The only two blacks at the meeting (the union is about 15 percent black) felt the occasional racism of fellow workers and spoke out for the first time at a union meeting about how it felt to be black. Racism in the union is pretty much related to age. Older workers find it hard to identify with student struggles led by minority groups. However, the movement has begun.

After the meeting, a number of young white workers went up to the blacks and apologized for some of the statements of older workers. Many of those who are most set against student alliances admit to having been brainwashed by the papers.

The younger workers find it easier to break out. They've had less indoctrination and still yearn for something better. They are the ones who fight the scabs; they are the ones who applaud prostudent speakers at union meetings. They are the ones who want to learn.

## Brass hands out savage term in Presidio trial

By Giuseppe Slater  
(Liberation News Service)

SAN FRANCISCO—ACLU attorney Paul Halvenek best expressed it: "Military justice is to justice what military music is to music."

He was commenting on the first verdict and sentence to be delivered in the Presidio court-martial hearings. Pvt. Henry Sood has just been found guilty of mutiny and sentenced to 15 years' hard labor for joining 26 fellow prisoners in the Presidio stockade, sitting quietly on the ground and singing "We Shall Overcome."

The soldiers held this nonviolent protest last Oct. 14 to dramatize the subhuman conditions in the stockade and to decry the slaying of Pvt. Richard Bunch three days previously. The 19-year-old mentally disturbed prisoner was gunned down when he walked away from his work detail in an alleged attempt to escape the prison.

To the Army, however, the demonstration threatened the most holy of military precepts—obedience to authority—and charges of mutiny, most serious of all military crimes, were quickly pressed against the participants. High Army officials persisted with the inquisition even though one of their own investigating officers recommended that the charges be greatly reduced because the Army was "overreacting" to something that was already a miscarriage of justice.

When a military court determines a sentence, the members vote on the lightest punishment first and work their way up the spectrum of severity. Knowing this, the sympathizers filling the courtroom became increasingly apprehensive as one hour and half of another elapsed. It was taking them three times as long to pronounce sentence as to decide the verdict.

Finally the board returned, and all fears were fulfilled: dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all benefits, and confinement at hard labor for 15 years.

Shocked spectators gathered outside the building, while MPs shoved the manacled Sood into a waiting van and quickly drove him out of sight. Attorney Halvenek told the television cameras that the sentence "was so outrageous I was shocked." Capt. Yeary, the Army defense counsel, was standing beside him and quietly nodded his agreement. He commented: "I'm still in the Army, so I'd better not say more."

An appeal will be made to higher military courts, and after that to the federal courts if the situation is not ameliorated. Halvenek stated some of the lines of attack: cruel and unusual punishment; the constitutionality and applicability of the mutiny statute; suppression of evidence. But Sood will remain in the stockade for all the months and years absorbed by these procedures.

Tension in the stockade remains high. On Feb. 12, a 20-year-old black prisoner poured lighter fluid on his uniform and tried to immolate himself. Pvt. John Brown was not badly injured, but the Army immediately isolated him in the psychiatric ward and denied that the incident had any relevance at all to the mutiny episode.

## Berkeley teachers vote strike

By Antonio Camejo

BERKELEY, Feb. 19 — An informational picket line set up under Sather Gate at the University of California by the American Federation of Teachers Local 1570 was arrested en masse here Feb. 13 and charged with blocking the way. The pickets were protesting police occupation of the campus and the "state of extreme emergency" declared by Gov. Reagan. The declaration brought formal strike action by the teachers.

The cops moved in on the picket line and placed us under arrest without prior notification that the line had been declared illegal. The action was greeted with vigorous booping by the large crowd of on-lookers who could see clearly that the line was in no way blocking passage through the gate.

We were hustled to the basement of Sproul Hall, the administration building, which is now equipped with its own jail and processing center for dissident students and faculty members. Here, away from the sight of the hundreds of students outside, I witnessed firsthand the brutal work of the cops.

A white student followed us into the "cage," blood gushing from his mouth. Two plainclothesmen had beaten him in the basement of Sproul, knocking out four of his teeth. He was forced to sit on the floor without medical aid for nearly half an hour while the cops calmly processed the other prisoners. He was followed in by Clifford A. Vaughn, a black reporter for radio station KRLA in Los Angeles. Vaughn had been clubbed on the head from behind while interviewing a demonstrator and then beaten by several sheriff's deputies. After being brought to the basement of Sproul, he was again assaulted by several plainclothesmen before our eyes. The other prisoners, many of them women teaching assistants, yelled at the cops to stop beating him and in return were threatened with violence if they didn't "shut up."

At no time while all this was going on was there an administrative official or senior faculty member present to intervene.

Chancellor Heyns and members of the academic senate, who have expressed great concern over "proper channels" and "coercive acts" on the part of students, were nowhere to be seen.

As a result of the mass arrests, the American Federation of Teachers Local 1570 voted yesterday to go on strike. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 6075 have voted to respect the AFT lines and are having their own strike meeting this Friday, Feb. 21.

The student strike at Berkeley for Third World demands is now over a month old. Last week the TWLF rejected another bid by the administration to compromise the demands of the strike, declaring the administration's proposal paternalistic and in no sense allowing for self-determination of education by the Third World people.

Bail money is desperately needed by the student strikers. Contributions should be sent to the Legal Defense Fund, Berkeley Third World Liberation Front, 1141 B 9th Street, Albany, Calif. 94710.

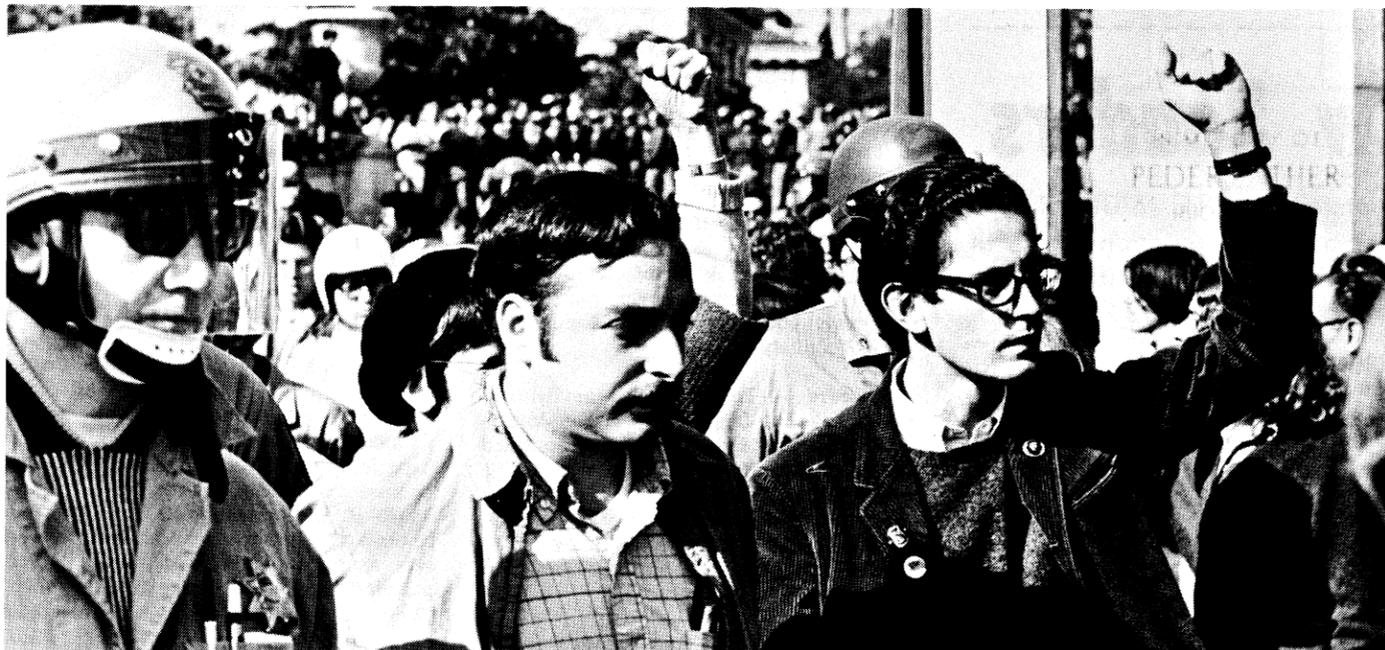


Photo by Dave Warren

**JAILED.** Cops jail Berkeley campus demonstrators. Antonio Camejo (clenched fist) is a member of the local teachers' union executive council and Socialist Workers candidate for Berkeley city council.