

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 32—No. 51 Friday, December 20, 1968 Price 15c

A teacher's
report on
I.S. 271

—page 4—



Dr. Herbert Oliver (with hat), chairman of New York's beleaguered Ocean Hill-Brownsville school board.

Embattled S.F. students gain community support

By Paul McKnight and Dianne Gannon

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 12—Massive police repression has not succeeded in breaking the student strike at San Francisco State. Strike support on and off the campus continues to grow, and significant new forces in the black community and the labor movement have entered the struggle.

San Francisco State's American Federation of Teachers has declared its readiness to strike in support of the students, setting down three conditions for mediation:

- no cops on campus;
- closing of campus;
- withdrawing of arrest warrants.

The AFT set its strike deadline for 8 a.m. Monday, Dec. 16. Conditional sanction for the strike has been voted by the San Francisco Labor Council, and the AFT plans to ask for complete sanctions. If sanction is given the AFT would then have the power to close down the campus. No food or books could be delivered; no janitors would cross the picket line. Mayor Alioto is busily trying to derail such massive support.

The West Coast International Longshoremens' Union Local 10 and Painters Union Local 4 have passed resolutions supporting the teachers' strike.

The student strike committee at San Francisco State has appealed to students on every campus in the country to hold rallies and demonstrations in support of the struggle. Thus far over 40 campuses have held solidarity demonstrations.

Black community leaders sponsored a rally at City Hall Dec. 8 in

support of the strike. Over 1,000 people braved a heavy rain to attend the rally.

On Dec. 4, the Black Student Union held a rally at which representatives of many organizations in the black community, including the Urban League, CORE, Western Addition Community Organization, the Economic Opportunities Commission, and the Black Panther Party pledged their support to the strike and promised to help protect the students from further attacks by police.

They said that if it was necessary to form an armed defense guard to protect the students, they would do it.

On Dec. 6, two days after this show of support from the black community, the administration announced several piecemeal concessions to the strikers. Six of the Black Student Union demands were partially granted in an attempt to buy off the strikers. However, nothing was said about the five demands of the Third World Liberation Front, no amnesty was granted to the strikers, and Black Panther minister of education George Murray was not reinstated as a teacher.

None of the students were fooled by this maneuver, and while the administration was still talking about its "concessions" through the loudspeaker on the top of the administration building, the students outside began shouting, "Bullshit, Bullshit!"

The BSU and the black community leaders then held a rally to explain that the strike would continue until all the demands, including the five

(Continued on page 12)



ACADEMIC FREEDOM? San Francisco cops have been unleashed to commit repeated violence against San Francisco State College students striking in support of demand of black students for reinstatement of fired black teacher and creation of a relevant black studies program.

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

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Friday, December 20, 1968

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.)

CALIFORNIA: Atascadero: YSA, Bill Blau, P.O. Box 1061, Atascadero.

Berkeley-Oakland: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 2519A Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 94704. (415) 849-1032.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A. 90033. (213) AN 9-4953.

Sacramento: Sacramento State College YSA, John Montgomery, West Bridge, #192, 1025 University Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95825.

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

San Francisco: Militant Labor Forum and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., S.F. 94114. (415) 552-1266.

Santa Rosa: Young Socialist Alliance, Stefan Bosworth, 808 Spencer.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: YSA, 187 14th St. **ILLINOIS: Carbondale:** YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Station A, Champaign, Ill. 61820.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago 60606. (312) 939-5044.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Russel Block, 207 East 2nd St., Bloomington 47401. 339-4640.

Evansville: YSA, Ronald Hicks, 1619 Franklin St., Evansville.

Indianapolis: Halstead-Boutelle Campaign, P.O. Box 654, Indianapolis, Indiana, 46206.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, Toby Rice, c/o Bram, 1518 Park Ave., Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. (617) 876-5930.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: Nan Byam, 921 S. Forest, Ann Arbor, 48104. Phone 761-0828.

Detroit: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit 48201. (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Ginny Osteen, 409 W. Holmes, 353-6170.

Ypsilanti: Ed Mattos, 913 Washtenaw #16, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Phone 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240, Mpls. 55403. (612) FE 2-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: Phone EV 9-2895, ask for Dick Clarke.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Walt and Andrea Brode, 425 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N.J., 17104, tel. 483-8513.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, Carol French, 194 Jay Street, Albany 11210.

New York City: Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (near 18th St.), N.Y. 10003. (212) 982-6051.

OHIO: Cleveland: Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 44106. (216) 791-1669.

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

Yellow Springs: Antioch YSA, Michael Schreiber, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs 45387. 767-5511.

OREGON: Portland: c/o Tonie Porter, 5203 S.W. Pamona, Portland, 97219.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Phila. 19130. (215) CE 6-6 998.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, Charles Cairns, 1803 Enfield Ave., Austin.

Houston: YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2 236.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-35 37.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., 2nd floor, Washington, D.C., 20005. (202) 332-4635.

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

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

Prescription for public utilities --

Public ownership and workers' control

New York, N.Y.

We need a public take-over of the Consolidated Edison Co. in New York City. It holds captive eight million inhabitants who must use electricity for light and power, steam for heat and power, gas for fuel and manufacture. These operations are the life blood of the city, as people will recall from the massive blackout three years ago.

This monopoly outfit has brought in Charles F. Luce, a former under secretary in the U. S. Interior Department, to promote higher dividend payments for the nonproductive stockholders. He reportedly gets paid \$150,000 a year, plus \$50,000 for expenses. Then there's the company president, who has a matching salary and expense account, and twenty vice-presidents, who get \$100,000 a year and expenses.

One vice-president is in charge of lobbying against taxes on utilities. Whatever taxes are imposed get passed on to the consuming public. And private industry is usually able to cover up its corruption by control of the press media and influence on the courts.

Luce's purpose is to extract more profits out of the people of New York City and the company's workers. Part of the game is price rigging. What this means for the city's poor is shown by the fact that never before have so many men and city marshals been employed in removing electric and gas meters for nonpayment of bills.

At one time Con Ed had 50,000 employees. Today there are a bare 20,000, and Luce aims to reduce the work force even further on the grounds of "eliminating wastefulness" and "promoting efficiency." There has long been a policy of harassing and victimizing union militants, but the union remained intact, for without it life on Con Ed properties would be intolerable. I know, for I weathered those years of poverty and harassment. It is to be hoped that new, young workers won't submit to the same kind of victimization—among other things waiting years and years for top money for the work grade.

Utility services should be taken from the private control of rapacious individuals, of bankers and manipulators of the stock-market gambling casino. This vital industry should be taken over by the people and operated under workers' control. To do that and really do it right, we need a workers' state instead of the present capitalist setup.

Otto Thomas

'Go to the workers with the truth'

New York, N.Y.

For those who consider the working-class people asleep, let me clarify that this is not all so. The mass media, controlled by the capitalist leeches that live from the exploitation of man by man, are finding it ever more difficult to con the whole working class to the bull that "capitalism is democracy." And this is happening even without the dedicated effort to unmask this lie by many a Marxist.

So for those who so proudly say that the working class is never going to awaken to make the revolution, let me just ask: What have you done to clear the capitalist smokescreen? Have you gone directly to the workers? Are you afraid that they will not listen and kick you in the seat? Try explaining to workers how the mass media bulls it, and you will see

that they know it too—but no one has followed through. The mass media does all it can to beat the drums of this (\$\$) phony patriotism at the expense of the workers, of working-class youth (the war). Yet workers more than know that the planet Earth has no borders to working-class people, whose labor to survive is exploited by the capitalist leeches who make profits on every human need known to man.

Don't be afraid; go to the workers with the truth.

J. O.

Sees world money system near collapse

San Francisco, Calif.

I think it time that *The Militant* begin an educational series on the current international monetary crisis. What looms ahead is a major depression on the scale of 1929, with one important difference—capitalism will not survive this time.

Briefly, this crisis is distinguished by the inclusion of the American dollar in the forthcoming collapse. That is to say, the most important trading currency. And of course this is nothing more than a case of chickens coming home to roost. Uncle Sam is deep in debt, owing \$30 billion to foreign central banks, and that debt must be paid in gold if they demand it. Only there isn't \$30 billion in gold in America. The government has \$10.3 billion in Fort Knox, but, as the Dutch central-bank president commented recently, only a fool believes that the U. S. will ever let the rest of the world just get that \$10 billion. They will default on their debts and refuse to pay the \$10 billion if necessary.

That of course would spell the end of American domination of world trade, and probably bring international trade to almost a complete halt.

The liberals have largely been responsible for the depression. Capitalism survived the 1929 depression by a series of currency manipulations, devaluations, deficits, etc.—and, of course, by war. But after the war, it was the liberals, the Keynesians, who justified such financial irresponsibility as the latest in wisdom.

They overlooked two aspects of the 1929 crisis. First, that fiscal manipulation has its limitations. If continued over the long run, the major financial institutions become fearful of devaluation and crises, and insist on a return to "sound" money policies, which is as impossible as reincarnation, since the whole economy has become geared to deficit spending.

The second consideration is the new relationship in class forces, both domestically and also abroad. The American working class of 1929 was basically unorganized and with a low educational and intellectual level. Today, it is organized, and if today the ideological level is low, nevertheless the workers do read, and hence can and will learn to defend themselves against any capitalist attempts to make them bear the burden of the depression. Add to this the fine spirit of the students and the black movement, and you see the potential forces lined up against bankrupt capitalism.

L. B. G.

Opposition to Czech invasion degenerate?

Ann Arbor, Mich.

Just when one believes that the SWP-YSA cannot degenerate any further, the mailman delivers *The Militant*. Most serious American leftists are acquainted with the contemptible and right-opportunist



role the SWP-YSA has played in the antiwar movement, but one could always entertain the illusion that at least for some reason (Hume would call it "habit") the SWP had retained its proletarian internationalism.

The Militant's hysterical outcries against the Soviet intervention into Czechoslovakia have smashed for all time the illusion that the SWP aligned itself with the socialist camp. Just on a gut level, one's suspicions should be aroused by the fact that all the major American bourgeois publications opposed the intervention and had for months provided documentation of the accelerating dismemberment of the socialist economy in Czechoslovakia. I also refer you to a recent analysis by the most brilliant military theoretician of the U. S. ruling class, Herman Kahn, in which he quite candidly presents a scenario in which the restorationist moves by the Dubcek regime were merely the first step in restoring capitalism to all of Eastern Europe and accelerating the restorationist tendencies ("liberalization") in the Soviet Union.

One final note. Does the leadership of the SWP seriously believe that the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union is struggling for proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism? Take the time to read *Dr. Zhivago* (admittedly a magnificent piece of literature but essentially an indictment against the necessity for revolutionary ruthlessness) or the anti-China tirades and pro-American overtures by the poet Yevtu-schenko.

Robert Bernard

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Antiwar serviceman backed by fellow GIs

By Howard Petrick

The right of GIs to hold political views contrary to those of the government and to express these views to fellow GIs in their off-duty time has again been attacked.

Pvt. Joe Cole, who is stationed at Ft. Jackson, S. C., was placed on restriction Dec. 7, after being told by his company commander that he was being investigated for distributing "unauthorized material." He was also given a direct order not to distribute any more copies of the Ft. Jackson underground newspaper, *Short Times*. Failure to comply with this order, Cole was told, would result in a court-martial.

Columbia, S.C., is the scene of antiwar march

By Cecily Hubata

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Over a hundred antiwar activists from the University of South Carolina and active-duty GIs stationed at Ft. Jackson assembled here Dec. 7 for what was probably the first antiwar march in South Carolina's history.

The march and rally were organized by Aware (SDS-SSOC [Southern Students Organizing Committee] affiliate), a radical student organization at USC, and antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson. Most GIs were kept from participating in the day's events by the declaration, issued late Friday evening, that "Saturday is Post Beautification Day." All GIs were put on "police call" (picking up pieces of paper and cigarette butts on the base) and restricted to base until 4:30 p.m., well after the march and rally had ended.

The demonstration included a march to the state capitol building and a brief sit-in in front of the home of USC president Thomas F. Jones to protest his attempt to minimize attendance at the rally by denying the group use of the Horseshoe, an open area centrally located on the USC campus. The president had also refused to issue a permit for nonstudents to speak anywhere "outside" on the campus grounds—a flagrant violation of the university's supposed no-speaker-ban policy.

The rally of 150, forced inside by President Jones' ruling, was held in Drayton Hall, with speakers representing the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, SSOC, and SDS.

Doug Thiele, a professor at Benedict College, an all-black college in Columbia, spoke on the black liberation struggle in this country.

Howard Petrick, an antiwar ex-GI, represented the Student Mobilization Committee and spoke on the importance of linking up the antiwar movement with the GIs.

In an interview with Pvt. Cole on Dec. 8, he explained the events that led to the restriction. "All of the troops were confined to post yesterday because of the demonstration in town [Columbia, S. C., GI demonstration]. The excuse the brass gave for confining us to the post was that it was 'Post Beautification Day.' Well, nobody did any work all day; they just sat around."

Cole went on to explain that he got into a conversation with some guys and mentioned to them that he had seen a paper that explained why they were being restricted. Several of the GIs then asked to have a copy of the paper, and Cole gave them copies. A short time later the battalion sergeant-major and a lieutenant confiscated copies of *Short Times* from GIs in the barracks. They then went to Cole's room and, using the excuse that his "locker door was not in good repair," looked through his locker.

Although there were a number of copies of *Short Times* in the locker, the two officers left the room without saying anything about them. About five hours later, during which time a number of GIs in his barracks had been questioned, Cole was told to report to his CO, who then gave him the unconstitutional order.

I asked Cole how the other GIs in his barracks regarded the restriction against him. "There has been quite a bit of support. In fact every single person in my barracks, with the exception of one sergeant-major, has told me that he supported me, and thought it was a really rotten deal."

On Dec. 9, Cole was told by his CO that charges were not going to be brought against him at this time. He was also given another direct order not to pass out any material similar to *Short Times*.

Pvt. Cole, who is a Young Socialist, said that since the brass moved against him he has been able to have a number of good conversations with GIs about the war, freedom of expression, and politics in general.

It is well known to the brass at Ft. Jackson that antiwar sentiment among GIs is growing. As Pvt. Cole put it, "It's getting too hot for them, so they are trying to get me and some other GIs here at Ft. Jackson out of the way by putting them into the stockade. But I don't think we are going to let them do that."

Militant's birthday saluted at banquet by Philadelphians

PHILA., Dec. 9—Supporters of *The Militant* gathered here Dec. 8 to celebrate the paper's 40th anniversary.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was the keynote speaker of the evening. He spoke of the front-line role played by *The Militant* in the fight for socialism.

Bill Biggins, co-editor of the *Temple Free Press* congratulated the paper on its long life and wished it luck in the future. Marvel Scholl, writer of the "The National Picketline" column, put the festivities in perspective with recollections of some of the labor pains of the birth and growth of *The Militant*.

A special tribute came from Sp/4 Al Myers, an active-duty GI stationed at Ft. Dix, when he stressed the role *The Militant* has played in publicizing the GI antiwar movement.

Other speakers at the meeting were John Benson, for the Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party, and Richard Lesnick, for the Young Socialist Alliance. Pearl Chertov, SWP candidate for U. S. senator from Pennsylvania in 1968, chaired the meeting.

Telegrams were sent to James P. Cannon and V. R. Dunne, paying tribute to them as founders of the paper.

The evening finished with toasts to the future of *The Militant* and the singing of the "Internationale." Over \$700 was raised for The Militant 40th Anniversary Fund.

Petition circulated at Ft. Jackson

The following petition was initiated by GIs at Fort Jackson, S. C., to protest the unconstitutional penalizing of Pvt. Joe Cole for his antiwar views. Within a day or so the petition was signed by more than 60 individuals. About half of them were GIs and the rest civilian supporters in the area.

On Dec. 7, 1968, Pvt. Joseph Cole, Headquarters Detachment, 14th Battalion, 4th CST Brigade, Fort Jackson, South Carolina, was given an unconstitutional direct order not to distribute the *Short Times* newspaper by his company commander, Lt. Carter. He was then confined to his company area and has to sign in at the company orderly room every two hours. According to his company commander he is being confined pending investigation for distributing our paper.

We, as civilians and members of the military, would like to protest against the treatment of Pvt. Cole. We feel that his confinement is in direct conflict with his rights under the constitution of the United States. Such unwarranted harassment is a clear violation of the constitutional rights of all GIs.

We demand that you take immediate action to release Pvt. Cole from confinement, threat of charges and cease all harassment directed against him and all others in his situation.

Ft. Dix GIs join civilians in teach-in at Philadelphia

By Joel Aber

PHILA., Dec. 8—The Ft. Dix brass did their damndest to prevent GIs from hearing about the GI teach-in held here Dec. 7. Nevertheless at least 25 active-duty GIs from Ft. Dix joined about 130 civilians at the University of Pennsylvania to discuss and learn about free speech for GIs and the right of servicemen to oppose the war in Vietnam.

Keynote speaker at the teach-in was Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S.A., ret. There was also a panel of recent Vietnam veterans and a panel on the legal rights of GIs, but the highlight of the afternoon was an open microphone for any GI who wished to speak.

The teach-in was chaired by Allen Myers, an antiwar activist at Ft. Dix and one of the founders of the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement, which sponsored the teach-in.

At the open mike for GIs, Pvt. Don Dal Maso was the first to speak: "I'd like to tell you that everything that I do in the service now is going to be directed to defending the country and its constitution against its real enemies—the people who are going to spend human life, the people who are going to spend American lives, my friends' lives, in the service of something which is so obscene and takes us away from our real interests . . ."

Ken Willis, who is stationed at Ft. Dix after serving as a rifleman and chaplain's assistant with the 1st Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam, said: "I have a lot of good reasons to be against the war in Vietnam. I lost a cousin, a best friend and a brother in Vietnam. I never wanted to go to Vietnam, and I had some pretty good arguments, but the draft board doesn't listen to good arguments . . ."

Willis had been at Dak To and Khe Sanh. He gave a moving account of the suffering experienced by the men in his company, "most of whom were 19-year-old kids thrown into this completely foreign, incomprehensible environment . . ."



Marvel Scholl



ANTIWAR SPOKESMAN. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, Ret., addressing Oct. 12 San Francisco antiwar rally. He made a devastating analysis of Vietnam war at Philadelphia GI teach-in.

An I.S. 271 teacher rep to motivate students ha the building of positive

By Alan Kellock

The author teaches Afro-American history at I. S. 271 in Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

Despite the possibility that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school conflict may win a berth in the *New York Times*' top 10 stories of the year, many of the underlying issues in this struggle remain obscured, even in the radical press.

The transfer issue

Most accounts have dated the conflict from the forcible transfer of 19 teachers and administrators in May, 1968. But the UFT leadership really began its overt opposition to decentralization in September, 1967, during the very first month of the experimental project. When the elected Ocean Hill governing board refused to support the UFT strike during that month, the teacher delegate from each school quit his position on the governing board, never to return.

Soon after this break, UFT head Albert Shanker persuaded Superintendent of Schools Bernard Donovan to grant unlimited voluntary transfer rights to all teachers in the experimental district. To understand the incredible precedent established by this agreement, one should know that board of education by-laws provide that no teacher is normally entitled to voluntary transfer until he has served five years in the first school to which he was appointed. Even then, no more than five percent of a school's staff may transfer in any one year.

During the next months leading up to the May crisis, partisans of Shanker's efforts to disrupt the experiment engaged in various forms of sabotage. A large group of teachers transferred from I. S. 271 on the same day with no advance warning, an action which would produce chaos for any school administration. They were soon followed by most of the district's assistant principals. Supporters of Shanker's objectives who remained in the district engaged in various activities to ensure chaos and confusion in the schools, with 271 the major target.

After months of resulting turmoil and numerous efforts by Ocean Hill Unit Administrator Rhody McCoy to work out these conflicts quietly, the governing board in desperation decided to clarify its actual powers in the public confrontation of last May. If Shanker could win unlimited transfer rights in an experimental project, might its black community have a share in that privilege? Absolutely not, ranted the union brass, and Donovan quickly agreed.

There has been much criticism in the liberal media of the board of education for not specifying what powers would be delegated to the governing board during this experiment. But such ambiguity was no doubt quite deliberate. The board of education agreed to this experiment under duress from the growing anger of Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents over the pathetic quality of education offered in their neighborhood schools.

The education arm of the white power structure agreed to creation of the demonstration project in order to co-opt black and Puerto Rican discontent into a pseudo-reform, precisely to abort self-determination rather than to foster it.

The ambiguity of the agreement allowed the board to pull back if anything got out of hand, just as, in the sphere of foreign policy, the U. S. sometimes allows a semblance of self-determination to be exercised when the oppressed grow restless — so long, that is, as the self "determines" to the tastes of the master.

Partial victory

Although the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community has suffered repeated humiliation since last May, it has succeeded in obtaining an almost entirely new staff since the struggle began in September, 1967.

These teachers, hired by the local governing board rather than appointed by the central board's bureaucratic apparatus,

have consistently demonstrated their loyalty to the community and opposed the increasingly racist policy of the UFT leadership. They include numerous highly experienced teachers (many of them UFT members) who have transferred to the district from other areas of the city. Joining them have been some 150 beginning teachers who hurried to sign up at Ocean Hill this summer before they were impersonally assigned at random from the central board's pool.

Why were there hundreds of vacancies in Ocean Hill? When community pressure prevented the return of the original 19 whom the governing board tried to transfer, 350 more teachers (out of 550) staged a walkout which ended only with the summer vacation.

Parents, children, and the remaining 200 teachers readily admit that there were many competent teachers in that group of 350. Repeatedly the community begged them to return to the children, while McCoy made quiet concessions to Shanker regarding the 19.

Such pleas fell on deaf ears. The UFT at this very time was vigorously lobbying in Albany against any meaningful decentralization bills, and Shanker was determined to exploit the turmoil in Ocean Hill to full advantage in his dealings with racist, ill-informed state legislators.

During the summer the UFT leadership made arrangements for any of the 350 who so desired to transfer out of Ocean Hill, while assuring those who sought to remain that the union's power would force their re-entry if resistance developed. Faced with such treachery, McCoy began vigorous recruitment activities and decided to expand the unwanted category to the 350 teachers supporting the original 19.

The UFT leadership appears to have encouraged teacher migration during the summer on the assumption that McCoy could never recruit replacements, since the central board refused to recognize any vacancies and therefore appointed no one to Ocean Hill schools. Without a full staff, the community would have to surrender to Shanker's dictates. When school opened in September, Ocean Hill had 100 teachers above its needed quota. Shanker's strategy had backfired.

What have we accomplished?

For more than two months this fall most New York City schools were either shut down or operating in a skeletal manner. Ironically, only the eight schools of Ocean Hill-Brownsville were running at full capacity — not a single teacher supported the racist work stoppage! What did we accomplish during those 10 weeks, free from the attempts of thousands of police and hundreds of "observers" to impose the remaining 79 of the unwanted teachers on the community's schools?

From a strictly professional perspective, there have been no radical changes as yet. The curriculum remains basically the same, except for a twice-weekly course in Afro-American history for all sixth, seventh and eighth grade students. More attention is no doubt being paid to black problems and conflicts in social studies and English classes than before. The six grade schools are moving towards the creation of non-graded programs designed for the needs of individual students, but evaluation of whether the quality of education consequently improves will not be possible for some time.

But basically the approach to education is not innovative but traditional. This finding has disappointed some beginning teachers with new-left affinities, but most have learned to accept the community's still-conservative attitudes about schooling. Many of the young white teachers, myself included, have tried not to project our own radical, antiauthoritarian ideas about education because we have sensed that these may be in conflict with the will of most of the parents.

The major achievement of the Ocean



New York Times photo

At I. S. 271. A class in Afro-American history taught by Leslie Campbell, one of the teachers accused of harassing teachers who sought to return to I. S. 271 after they were transferred out by the community governing board. Last year Campbell was fired from his former position as a junior-high-school social-studies teacher after he took his class to a memorial meeting for Malcolm X. There was no outcry by the UFT officialdom about "due process" when Campbell lost his job.

orts. 'Our efforts ve centered around self-images'

Hill staff lies not in its professional expertise but in its establishment of rapport with students and parents. Thousands of visitors have responded to our proclaimed "open house," including striking teachers and such dignitaries of the press as Fred Hechinger, I. F. Stone, and Dwight MacDonal, and have come away marveling at the minimum of shouting by teachers, the orderliness of our hallways, and student attentiveness in the classroom.

The students themselves invariably tell inquirers that they now have teachers with high expectations who care, and for the first time they say they are proud of their schools. This is especially striking in 271, a school notorious in recent years for assaults on teachers, widespread student vandalism, and incredible unruliness in hallways and classrooms.

Our efforts to motivate students have centered around the building of positive self-images, a problem now somewhat recognized but still vastly underestimated by the white liberal establishment. Success by this approach will take years of hard work because the society at large continues to bombard these young minds with negative conceptions of self.

To the extent that we have already made breakthroughs in this sphere, this has been partly due to the quality of the staff, especially among black teachers. One finds no stereotypes of the old black teacher who brutalizes the children out of resentment of his own origins or his hang-ups about being black. On the contrary, the black staff (30 percent) at Ocean Hill is very together and provides a powerful positive image for the youngsters to emulate.

N.Y. highschoolers resist extended time

By Roland and Arleen Lagares

The authors are students at Evander Childs High School in the Bronx.

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—During the past week, New York high-school students have been engaged in a citywide strike against the lengthened school day and the loss of holiday vacations. The loss of holiday vacations such as Christmas and Easter, and the 45-minute extended school day, were forced upon students because of the UFT's three racist school shutdowns this fall.

The teachers who engaged in the shutdowns are now being paid \$118 more this year than they would have received had they not gone on strike. Meanwhile high-school students, by attending school extra time, are helping to pay teachers for time lost in a shutdown aimed at the black and Puerto Rican communities. The UFT leaders, Mayor Lindsay and the board of education are responsible for the loss of time, not the students! Now the educational system tells us we must help pay racist teachers by sweating out extra school time and days. Discontented high-school students are not going to sit back and take this nonsense. And we haven't.

On Nov. 29, 5,000 students gathered outside the United Nations for a rally which included Leslie Campbell and Albert Vann, two of the four teachers transferred from I.S. 271 on charges of "harassing" union teachers.

Some 300 cops were there and arrested at least a dozen students on charges ranging from resisting arrest to obstructing justice.

One third of New York's high-school students stayed out that day. The following Monday, the students marched to Ocean Hill's I.S. 271, where they again were met by New York's club-happy "finest." The cops attacked them, and the students tried to defend themselves. Rocks were tossed. After a short while the students were dis-

The white teachers in Ocean Hill, while perhaps somewhat less effective than their black colleagues, have enjoyed more success than many of us had anticipated. Most of this group has had enough experience in the civil-rights movement and student activism to understand black sensitivities about the presence of whites in a situation like this. The absence of messianic fantasies so obvious in our predecessors has had much to do with our acceptance by the community.

False issues

Why has the specter of "black racism" and "anti-Semitism" haunted New York City this fall? Would Shanker, the man of impeccable liberal credentials who marched in Selma and Memphis, actually conjure up a "racist threat"? The facts show he has.

Despite repeated assertions that we in Ocean Hill-Brownsville are inculcating the children with "black racism," UFT spokesmen have offered only two specific examples—both involving the word "pig" for the men in blue. Proof of anti-Semitism rests with three UFT-produced leaflets which the ACLU has shown to be fraudulent.

Shanker himself knows that these are false issues, but he has exploited white racist fear and Jewish anxieties to assure a victory which a fight based on the real issues might not yield.

A prominent UFT picketsign reads "Civil Rights for Teachers." Shanker has likened his unwanted Ocean Hill cadres to James Meredith at Oxford. This analogy was difficult to grasp for those 350 of us whites (50 percent of whom are Jewish) who worked in the schools of Ocean Hill throughout the UFT work stoppage (with-

persed, and several were arrested.

Meanwhile protests were going on in high schools all over the city, in the form of leafletting and picketing of schools. The administrations at these schools have begun to crack down on striking students. They have done this through a series of suspensions and other acts of harassment.

The denial of the right to leaflet in public areas of schools, such as cafeterias and hallways, as well as outside the school has resulted in the suspension of students at Evander Childs High School, Bronx High School of Science, and Christopher Columbus High School in the Bronx; Van Buren High School, Cardoza High School, and John Bowne High School in Queens, and John Jay High School in Brooklyn.

The citywide student strike did not succeed in abolishing the extended school time, but during the week of striking and boycotting classes, New York high-school students were successful in proving to the administrations of individual high schools, to the board of education, to UFT members and to its leadership that we are firm in our beliefs and willing to take action.

The Citywide High School Strike Committee announced that high-school students should end their strikes and attend classes. This does not mean that the struggle to abolish injustices to students has ended. It has just begun. The tactics may change, but the struggle will continue.

A citywide high-school meeting was slated to be held Dec. 12. Representatives from all New York high schools were invited to attend. There we will discuss past, and plan for future, student actions on high-school campuses. In addition to the strike committee, other leading groups during the student strikes were the High School Coalition and the High School Union.

High-school students must organize on their campuses for the purpose of education. We must get our education by any means necessary.

out need for bodyguards, I might add).

Shanker has viciously attempted to equate decentralization and community control of schools by black and Puerto Rican parents with the mass firing of white teachers. As one of my 8th grade students reprimanded a racist-baiting reporter, "We don't mind having white teachers, but we will get rid of mediocre ones who don't care about us." That most of those who fit his description are white is hardly surprising and certainly not evidence of "black racism."

The real issue is that the black and Puerto Rican schools of New York City are dumping grounds for incompetence. Perhaps more injurious still, many teachers who might fare well in white suburbia are not effective in areas like Ocean Hill because they are hindered by their own subconscious prejudice. Integrationist liberals are still too hung up with racist myths to admit to the very real differences between our cultures.

Teacher trade unionism in New York City has struggled heroically for 50 years against a rigid bureaucracy to achieve decent working conditions. But now much

Los Angeles parley maps aid for Newton-Cleaver

By Stephen Bloom

LOS ANGELES—A Dec. 7 conference of the Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee discussed plans for future actions to follow up a highly successful Nov. 17 rally which was attended by 2,000 people. The meeting decided to plan a mass street demonstration and rally to be held in late January or February.

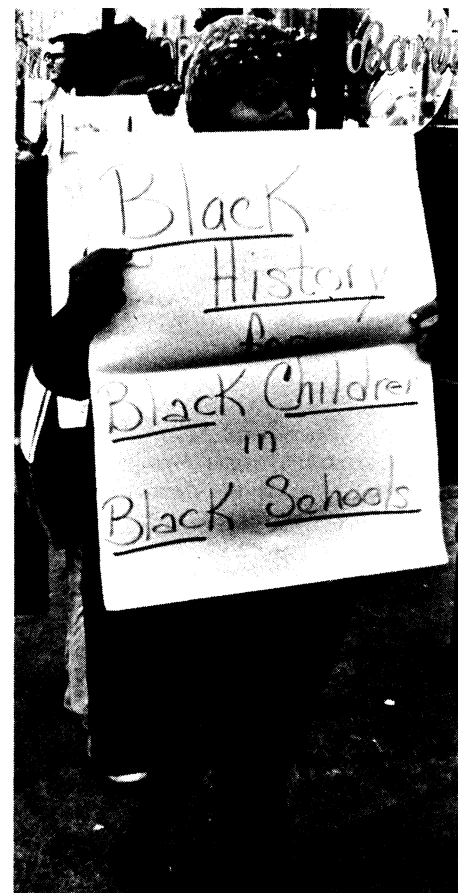
It was reported that a check for \$5,000 had been sent to the law firm which is handling the cases of Newton and Cleaver in order to help defray legal costs. This money represents the bulk of that raised at the Nov. 17 rally and by other means.

It was also agreed to broaden the coalition represented in the defense committee. It already includes many prominent individuals and such groups as the Black Panther Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Peace and Freedom Party, Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, Communist Party, and various community, campus and church organizations.

Other projected activities include continuing the petition campaign for Eldridge Cleaver's parole; printing an up-to-date brochure on the status of the Newton and Cleaver cases and, possibly, a pamphlet dealing specifically with Newton; filing an "amicus curiae" brief signed by thousands of people supporting bail for Newton; and various fund-raising activities. It was also suggested that a campaign be started to send holiday greeting cards to Newton, to let him know that there is extensive support for his defense. Holiday cards are



Huey P. Newton



of the UFT sees progress in becoming the backbone of that very bureaucracy to resist further change.

The mechanisms developed to protect teacher rights, corroded by race guilt and fear, are being twisted to defend teacher mediocrity and insensitivity, always a sign of vested interest in the status quo of power. The longer UFT intransigence continues, the more radical will be the reallocation of power demanded by New York's black and Puerto Rican communities.

— Dec. 9

exempt from the usual prison restrictions on correspondence and may be sent through New Years. The address is Huey P. Newton, Men's Colony, San Luis Obispo, California.

Black Liberators fight harassment by St. Louis cops

By Elizabeth Barnes

Last month *The Militant* reported the formation of an alliance between the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Liberators of St. Louis, Mo.

Since then we have received more information on the activities of the Black Liberators, most importantly about the battle they are waging against harassment by the St. Louis police.

Since their founding last spring, the Liberators have been victims of a whole series of arrests on false pretenses and have been subject to physical attacks including the police invasion and destruction of their headquarters on Sept. 5 and the beating on Sept. 13 of the two main leaders of the organization inside police headquarters. As a result of the beatings Black Liberator prime minister Charles Koen was treated for five head wounds, fractured bones in his hands and two broken fingers.

After the police attack on the two leaders, the police board, acting only on information contained in the official police report, suspended one policeman for 30 days and another for 10 days and issued letters of reprimand to four others.

Black and student groups have rallied to the defense of the Liberators and are protesting the fact that the board action against the cops was not a sufficient punishment.

According to a statement released by the Liberators, they have spent over \$32,000 for bonds in the past three months. Prime Minister Koen and General Lion Dent both have been indicted by a grand jury on charges of assaulting police officers as a result of the Sept. 13 police attack on them.

Funds for the defense are needed. Contributions should be sent to "Liberators Jail Defense Fund," 2810 Easton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

The franc crisis: De Gaulle hastens the next social explosion in France

By Ernest Mandel

(IP, Dec. 9)—Three storms in three years time, that is what the barometer of the international monetary system reveals. There was the devaluation of the pound in November, 1967, the dollar crisis in March, and now we have the crisis of the French franc, which threatens to extend to all the European currencies, except the German mark (and secondarily the Swiss franc and the Dutch florin). Even the dollar is threatened.

The future of the system created at Bretton Woods is more than somber. This system is sick. It has entered into its death agony. This death agony may be long, and it takes no Cassandra to predict that the longer its death agony is the more excruciating it will be.

The bourgeois commentators single out—each according to his taste—as the chief cause of the crisis either the May events in France, speculation, floating capital, or "hot money." They overlook the main item—the worldwide crisis which is inexorably undermining the buying power of all the capitalist currencies. The capitalist world could escape this inflation on only two conditions. It must either stop spending for arms and wars or accept the risk of an economic crisis of the 1929 type. Capitalism cannot accept either of these two conditions. If they were accepted it would only mean that the international bourgeoisie had chosen a quick death to prolonged suffering. Thus, inflation will persist and with it the crisis of the international monetary system.

Doubtless a temporary resuscitation is possible. The expedients proposed to achieve this are well known—raising the price of gold; creating a "central bank currency"; pooling all the exchange reserves of the West European countries (beginning with the reserves of the Common Market countries) in a "Eurofranc" (with or without fusion with the pound), which would serve as a new international reserve currency. The latter presupposes a new stage in the economic unification of capitalist Europe, a decisive advance, because a common currency entails a common government, that is, a common state. The technicians have no lack of choices.

All these solutions are theoretically possible in the context of the international capitalist economy. None of them would undermine the foundations of the capitalist mode of production. But each of them entails considerable sacrifice for sections of the world bourgeoisie, in some cases the sacrifice of interests and immediate profits, in some, the sacrifice of sovereignty, and in some, political prestige and power. This means that the new world monetary conference which the Nixon administration will doubtless call next year seems fated to be

difficult, and that even these expedients will not be easy to apply.

None of these expedients, however, cease to be what they are—devices to gain time, to postpone a new monetary crisis without dealing even remotely with the fundamental cause. I wrote seven years ago that neo-capitalism is caught in a vise from which it cannot escape. International exchanges and payments—on which capitalist "prosperity" is increasingly dependent—require a stable currency. But a policy aimed against crises, recessions and business cycles requires a flexible currency. The one goal cannot be obtained without sacrificing the other.

Thus the successive tempests which have shaken all these currencies prove that "modern," "technocratic," "managed" capitalism has by no means succeeded in overcoming its fundamental contradictions. The defeat of the pound, the franc, and the dollar is a triumph for Karl Marx, that is, a blatant demonstration of the incurable sickness of the capitalist system. The ability to sell 200,000,000 television sets and 100,000,000 cars thanks to constant inflation of the volume of money, may have suggested that prosperity had become permanent. The crisis of the capitalist currencies is a harsh reminder of the reality. This "prosperity" is a house of cards that can be toppled by any gust of wind.

German ascendancy

Luck would have it that it is [West German economics minister Karl] Schiller's turn to be the minister presiding over the "Club of the Ten," which includes the 10 major imperialist powers of the world. The club meeting called to decide the fate of French finances was therefore held in Bonn. Chance is often responsible for many things. It made possible a spectacular demonstration of the change in the relationship of forces in capitalist Europe which had actually already occurred years ago. As the Nov. 28 London *Times* observed with both realism and a certain bitterness, this crisis may represent the turning point in the development of power relationships in Europe. The German Federal Republic has emerged as the main power of capitalist Europe.

I also predicted this at the time de Gaulle precipitated the first crisis in the Common Market. The only possible counterweight against the West German bourgeoisie's clear superiority in capitalist Europe would be the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market and the acceleration of the trend toward the interpenetration of capital in Europe.

There would have been no West German hegemony in the giant multinational companies owned by the German, British, French, Italian, Benelux, Swiss, and Swedish capitalists. When de Gaulle blocked

Great Britain's entry into the Common Market and tried to defend "French sovereignty" over the factories in France, the German drive for hegemony became irresistible.

The origin of this hegemony and its limits must be understood. In Eastern Europe they like to consider Bonn as "the No. 1 United States satellite in Europe," or at least Washington's "most favored ally." This is an oversimplification of a much more complex relationship.

It is true that the West German bourgeoisie, deprived of all real military power, could reconstruct its industrial power only under the Pentagon's nuclear umbrella. But it is still more true that its reascent expresses economic realities independent of all foreign aid—an industrial production far exceeding that of any other European power, an export boom, a technological level and advance toward automation ahead of the rest of the continent.

Even more can be said. Bonn's industrial and financial expansion—the solidity of the German mark is the result of an enormous excess of exports over imports which expresses a competitive power unrivaled in Europe or in the world—today frightens American imperialism. It frightens the American imperialists to such an extent that they have been concentrating all their efforts on getting a revaluation of the mark, which would limit German exports, beginning with those to the USA. (In the first six months of 1968, these increased 48 percent over the corresponding period in the previous year!) Schiller's "no" was not so much a "no" to de Gaulle or Wilson. It was a "no" to Washington. At that moment something fundamental changed, not only in the relationship of forces in Europe but in the relationship of forces between Germany and the United States.

De Gaulle's choice

Since Bonn refused to revalue the mark, de Gaulle was confronted with a clear ultimatum—either devalue the French franc or apply a severe austerity policy. The "Ten" forced this choice on him the same way they imposed the "incomes policy" on Wilson last year. If he had not done one of these two things, he would not have gotten the two billion dollars in credit which would make it possible to stop up the breach opened by speculation. He delighted Washington and London by choosing austerity instead of devaluation. Any new devaluation would have immediately undermined the stability of the pound and subjected even the dollar to a harsh test.

The policy of the imperialist powers today is a dialectical unity of two opposites—interimperialist competition and imperialist solidarity against common enemies and dangers. In November as in May the feeling that "we are all in the same boat" quickly took the place of pleasure at the misery of the others. They were very happy to see de Gaulle's prestige seriously damaged, but a collapse of the French currency threatened to rock the entire international monetary system. Still, within the framework of the solidarity which played the fundamental role, competition did not lose its claims. The main center of decision making in Europe moved from Paris to Bonn.

The next move is up to the German bourgeois. They can play it in one of two ways. They can give immediate economic interests priority or they can favor their long-range political interests. The first orientation would mean giving fresh impetus to the Common Market, putting pressure on de Gaulle to drop his veto of Great Britain's entry, accelerating the interpenetration of European capital, creating a common European currency. The second orientation would mean giving priority to the establishment of a "European striking force," that is, secure the access to nuclear weapons which the West German bourgeoisie has coveted for 15 years. This would bring the military relationship of forces into line with the relationship of economic forces. It would at the same time open up an international crisis of extreme gravity in Europe, because it is unlikely that the Soviet Union would stand by pas-

sively in the face of the nuclear rearmament of the principal capitalist power on the continent.

From the technical standpoint, the cause of the crisis of the franc was different from the cause of the downfall of the pound. The latter was precipitated by a chronic deficit in the balance of payments, the expression of the structural crisis of British imperialism. The cause of the crisis of the franc was a speculative flight of capital which in the space of a few months drained away almost half of France's exchange reserves.

However, all those, from de Gaulle to Fowler, the American secretary of the treasury, who say that the French economic



Paris s

situation remains "fundamentally sound" pass over an essential aspect of the franc crisis.

In order to absorb the revolutionary crisis of May-June 1968 the French bosses and government had to concede wage increases which raised labor costs by 15 percent and cost prices by at least five percent. French industry's competitive capacity, already reduced as a result of German (and in some sectors Italian) technological superiority, and damaged by the devaluation of the pound, was struck another blow. French imports already exceed exports by 6 percent. The more rapid rise in prices in France than in Germany, Great Britain, or Italy could only accentuate this disequilibrium. The speculators, by anticipating a future gold and currency drain caused by a worsening of the balance-of-payments deficit, obviously precipitated this development. But they did not cause it. It was inherent in the logic of the Grenelle labor agreements which ended the May-June general strike.

The Gaullist economic policy has now been stamped with the seal of total incoherence. Logically there are two alternatives for absorbing the rise in production costs—expansion, that is a rapid increase in productivity (it has been estimated that almost 30 percent of productive capacity was unutilized on the eve of the revolutionary upsurge of May 1968!); or devaluation, that is restoring competitiveness, compensating for increased costs in francs by cutting the cost of the franc in terms of foreign currency. The Couve de Murville cabinet has constantly vacillated between expansion and deflation.

By playing the deflationary card now—because that is what austerity comes down to!—it is accelerating the rising cost of living still more (in the guise of the charges for public services) while slowing the increase in productivity (by reducing investment, the rate of utilization of the produc-



De Gaulle



Paris street scene during May uprising

astens France

...tive apparatus, or even aggregate demand, if unemployment rises rapidly). Thus, it is making inroads into the competitiveness of French industry on both sides. Export subsidies will not change much in this regard unless imports are taxed at the same time to a point that would break up the whole Common Market.

Social meaning

But this economic incoherence has a striking social meaning. In the grip of the "great fear" of May, when socialist revolution was beating at the door, the French bourgeoisie wanted to save the essential thing, that is, its class power. It rallied

for naive television viewers or for Andre Malraux's anthologies. But when the speculators crack the whip, de Gaulle cringes like any undersecretary of state of the Fourth Republic. Put revolutionary students in prison, right away! But neither prison nor confiscation will touch the profits—to say nothing of the fortunes—of big capital which is trying to bring down the franc. They prefer to freeze wages. That is obviously easier.

What a comedown, what a revolting comedy! But also what an object lesson for 10,000,000 French workers. In May they had power within their grasp. On the advice of misleaders, they let it go in ex-



Paris street scene during May uprising

behind its supreme savior and was ready to pay the bill. But once the fear receded, the bourgeois became their old selves again.

De Gaulle had the outlandish idea of levying some small taxes on large incomes and inheritances in order to limit inflation. Immediately a mutiny broke out. What a "psychological blunder"! What "an Invitation to the Waltz," that is to a flight of capital! Putting a knife to the throat of the French government, in a couple of visits to the Zurich and Frankfurt banks, big capital forced it to change its economic and social policy from top to bottom. The workers themselves will pay the bill for May. The wage earners will take the beating instead of the speculators. That is the logic of the capitalist system.

Now all these nice people are unmasked, and the spectacle is not exactly an attractive one. Patriotism is good for sending soldiers to be killed, or, in a pinch, for stampeding the electorate. But above all don't let anybody ask us to sacrifice our hoards in the interest of the country. When it is a question of winning or losing ten percent, the national borders disappear.

The general's nationalist rhetoric is good

change for two illusions—the illusion of parliamentary elections, which in an imperialist "democracy" cannot help but be manipulated; and the illusion of wage increases, which big capital can absorb rapidly by price and tax increases. This will no doubt be completed by the beginning of 1969.

It is true that the patriotic refrain is already being heard again. And, in the wake of a three billion dollar capital flight organized by the French bourgeoisie, a paper like *Le Monde* [The French daily, equivalent in standing to the *New York Times* or the *London Times*.—I.P.] was not ashamed to write: "The French people are no less all in the same boat." (Nov. 26.)

Are they really in the same boat? Will the costs be distributed "equitably" after an "equitable" distribution of the profits? Where is the tax on capital which would confiscate all the profits of the speculators? Where is the opening of the books and the elimination of banking secrecy which would make it possible to track down all these profits and show that a part of the capital sent abroad was made up of state credits accorded to businesses? Where is the workers' control which would deprive the employer-speculators of the power to impose their will like a divine right on the workers in the plants when they have lost all moral credit?

This is what the workers will remember when the accounting will have to be made. This is what must arouse them to an energetic defense of their June 1968 economic gains. This above all is what must arouse them to aim higher than their trade-union leaders did in May and June—to set their sights on power in the plants and power in the state, without which no gain can be consolidated. In taking the option of a frontal attack against the jobs and wages of the workers, de Gaulle has ensured a singular hastening of the next social explosion in France.

Mass demonstrations by Egyptian students

(IP)—A week of student demonstrations in three Egyptian cities in late November left at least 20 persons dead, following assaults by Nasser's police and troops. Many more were injured and over 200 were arrested.

The demonstrations began Nov. 22 in the Nile Delta city of Mansoura, 75 miles northeast of Cairo. The students were protesting a new restrictive education law. They also demanded political freedom and the abolition of press censorship. The crowd swelled to more than 6,000.

According to one report, the police fired when students began to shout, "Down with Nasser!"

Another version was that the demonstrators tried to seize a police station.

The semigovernmental *Al Ahram* admitted that four people were killed in Mansoura and 43 were wounded. Twenty-seven were arrested.

On Nov. 24, when the demonstrations spread to Alexandria, the country's second largest city, Nasser ordered all universities in the United Arab Republic closed indefinitely.

The Alexandria events were even more serious than the first outbreak. By Nov. 26 at least 16 students had reportedly been killed in the city.

More than 5,000 students took part in clashes with police in Alexandria. Three night clubs were destroyed, two movie theaters burned, and a number of cars and buses set on fire. Police and soldiers set up machine-gun posts at strategic points in the city and used tear gas, clubs and gunfire against the students who were demanding freedom of speech.

On Nov. 24 demonstrations broke out in Cairo, where police and soldiers used tear gas to break up crowds of students in front of the heavily guarded Cairo University.

The *London Times* commented Nov. 27: "There is no doubt that the Egyptian student riots, especially in Alexandria where they have outgrown the dimensions of a student demonstration, have faced

the regime of President Nasser with its most serious problem since it came to power in the 1952 revolution."

Nasser's first reaction was to blame right-wing religious fanatics for the outbreak. The *New York Times* defended this view in a Nov. 29 article which reported that students in Alexandria shouted, "There is no God but Allah!" The West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, on the contrary, reported Dec. 2 that the cry was meant as criticism of Nasser's pretensions.

The *London Times* reported that workers joined the students in Mansoura and in Alexandria. The Mansoura demonstration, it said, was led by students from the Islamic College. But in Alexandria, the protests were "almost certainly left wing in spirit, probably from Marxist elements both within and outside the student ranks."

Secondary schools were also closed in Alexandria Nov. 25 as teenagers joined the student revolt. Students demanded the dismissal and trial of officials responsible for police attacks on them, such as Interior Minister Sharawi Gumi, a close associate of Nasser.

A special congress of the ruling Arab Socialist Union was convoked Dec. 3 to discuss the student outbreak. The congress took on a witch-hunt tone when justice Minister Mohammed Abu Nosseir claimed the Alexandria demonstrations had been "fomented" by an agent of Israel.

Peru guerrillas to go on trial

(IP)—Peruvian authorities have announced that the trial of the guerrilla leaders Enrique Amaya Quintana, Ricardo Gadea, and others involved in the 1965 armed struggle will open Dec. 17.

The new military junta's decision to pursue the prosecution of the unjustly imprisoned revolutionists exposes its reformist promises and anti-imperialist pretensions, the *Comite de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (CODDEH)* [The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights] declared on Nov. 27.

CODDEH stressed, moreover, that the government's decision to try Amaya "in absentia" could only be an attempt to silence protests against the probable murder of this young revolutionary leader, who vanished mysteriously immediately after his arrest on April 21, 1967.

The Peruvian defense committee appealed to world public opinion to send protests to the *Presidente del Consejo de Guerra, II Zona Judicial de Policia, Lima, Peru.*

Viet-bound U.S. troops slowed down by New Zealand seamen

(IP)—The Seamen's Union in Wellington, New Zealand, refused to bring U.S. soldiers ashore from the carrier *America* Nov. 18. They also refused to service or supply the vessel as a protest against the Vietnam war.

"In line with Federation of Labour and Labour Party policy," the union said in a statement to the press, "... our efforts since the onset of the war and in particular since New Zealand's involvement, have been aimed at the withdrawal of United States, New Zealand and all aggressive troops in Vietnam. Our refusal to man Union Steam Ship Company tugs to supply stores and ferry men to and from their recreation is a further indication of our stand in operations."

The Wellington Harbour Board and U.S. government agencies were forced to rent tourist launches from the nearby town of Picton to ferry the military personnel ashore. The seamen stood firm in their antiwar action.

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Antiwar forces backing slated GI-civilian parley

Support is mounting for the National GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference that has been called for Dec. 28 in Chicago. The conference is being held to plan massive GI-civilian antiwar actions for the spring.

Hosting the conference in Chicago will be the Chicago Peace Council, a broad coalition of peace groups, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, initiator of the conference; and the Chicago GI Weeks Committee, an ad hoc group which organized the highly successful GI rally in Chicago Oct. 26.

The GI Weeks Committee includes, in addition to the above named organizations, Dorothy Hayes of the Chicago Chapter of Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Leroy Wolins of the Veterans for Peace, and Donna Gripe of the Chicago office of the National Mobilization Committee.

A Dec. 5 meeting of the Peace Council decided almost unanimously to endorse the conference. Work is being undertaken in Chicago to leaflet GIs at bases and at major transportation terminals to publicize the event.

The conference weekend will include, in addition to the planning of a national antiwar action in the spring, a GI teach-in on Friday night, Dec. 27, and on Sunday, a national student antiwar conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee.

TSU Five continue fight against racist frame-up

By Elizabeth Barnes

Texas Southern University in Houston, Texas, was one of the first campuses to explode in the growing nationwide radicalization of black students. The predominantly black university became national news on the night of May 16, 1967, when Houston police, firing thousands of rounds of ammunition, staged an assault on a TSU dormitory. A policeman was killed in the attack, almost certainly by police bullets.

Two-and-a-half years later five Texas Southern University students known as the "TSU Five" are still fighting frame-up indictments for murder and assault brought against them in the aftermath of the police onslaught.

In a recent interview with Stanley Wright, who heads the TSU Five Defense Fund, *The Militant* learned that a partial victory in the case was won this October when a little-publicized trial of TSU Five defendant Stanley Freedman ended in a hung jury.

Stanley Wright was present at the trial, which took place in the small town of Victoria, Texas. He said that the small courthouse was "packed tight" with supporters of the TSU Five.

The jury declined to come to a decision when it became clear that the prosecution had no evidence to back up its charges. According to Wright, there was even testimony from a cop who had taken part in the actual assault on the dorm, who said that he hadn't seen Freedman on campus at the time.

The date and location of the conference were agreed on with the intention of maximizing GI participation in the planning. Many GIs will be on leave for the Christmas holidays during that time.

A good number of GIs, GI newspapers, coffee houses, and GI-oriented antiwar groups have endorsed the conference, including such "underground" GI papers as *Short Times*, Ft. Jackson, S. C.; *Fun, Travel and Adventure*, Ft. Knox, Ky.; *Flag in Action*, Ft. Campbell, Ky.; *Logistic*, Ft. Sheridan, Ill.; and *Task Force*, San Francisco.

New civilian sponsors for the conference include Stewart Meacham, American Friends Service Committee; Sid Lens, Chicago Peace Council; Irving Sarnoff and Donald Kalish, co-chairmen of the Los Angeles Peace Action Council; Robert Putnam, chairman of Philadelphia SANE; Abraham Engal, chairman of the Philadelphia Mobilization Committee; The University Circle Teach-In Committee in Cleveland, and others. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 29, for a partial listing of the original endorsers of the conference.)

All sessions of the conferences and teach-in will be held at the YMCA, 826 S. Wabash. For further information write the Chicago Peace Council, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, phone (312) 243-0022; or Chicago GI Weeks Committee, Chicago Student Mobilization Committee, 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago, phone (312) 641-0280.



Floyd Nichols

The jury was also influenced by the obvious unconstitutionality of the law under which the defendants were indicted. According to this law, which Wright says is an old antiunion, antiriot law, anyone who makes "inflammatory" statements which "encourage" the creation of a "riot" is held responsible for any crimes committed during the disturbance.

During the trial the Houston district attorney conceded that he could not prove who had actually committed the crimes for which the defendants were indicted. But, this is "immaterial," he contended, because of the nature of the law.

Apparently even the all-white jury in this small "Bible belt" town could not swallow this line of prosecution. The *Victoria Advocate* reported that two jurors favored convicting Freedman, eight jurors voted to convict for a lesser offense, and two felt that the defendant was "not guilty."

According to Stanley Wright the Houston authorities had moved the trial from Houston to Victoria in the hopes that they would get a more sympathetic hearing there.

A suit has been filed by Floyd Nichols, another of the five defendants, asking that the indictments be thrown out due to the unconstitutionality of the law. Wright reported that this suit was recently turned down by a federal-district-court panel of three judges. Nichols' lawyer was given 30 days to appeal the decision.

Funds and support are still needed for the defense of these five students. Money should be sent to Floyd Nichols or Stanley Wright, TSU Five Defense Fund, P. O. Box 8702, Anson Jones Station, Houston, Texas 77009.



NEW ANTIWAR CONSTITUENCY. Navy Lt., J.G., Susan Schnall addresses Oct. 12 GI-civilian antiwar demonstration in San Francisco. Some 500 GIs joined 15,000 civilians in antiwar action.

Black Liberation Notes

Disregarding community demands for a black principal for Roxbury's Martin Luther King High School, the Boston School Committee decided last month to follow the regular "promotional appointment" list for principals when assigning a new principal to the school. The list contained the names of 34 persons, all of them white.

What happened as a result of the board's decision is indicated by the headlines of a series of clippings from the Boston papers sent to us by a reader: Nov. 20—"White Principal Likely for King School"; Dec. 3—"King Calm With New Principal"; Dec. 5—"King Students Go on Rampage; Police, Firemen Empty School"; Dec. 14—"King School Remains Closed as Parley Discusses Issues."

Black students at Minneapolis Vocational High School have developed the custom of making the black-power salute when the Star Spangled Banner is played during school assemblies.

Some of the white students disagree with the right of these students to do this and have attacked them physically. The black students have defended themselves.

The discriminatory nature of the vocational training offered at Bok High School in Philadelphia was exposed this fall as a result of a black student protest. Although the school is predominantly black, black students make up only three percent of those enrolled in the union apprenticeship programs, which lead to higher paying jobs.

Since the protest, two union locals have been barred from the school, and seven others have been given deadlines by which they must include a greater percentage of black students. The ousted unions will lose a total of \$38,030 in free rent and services provided by the school board for the training programs.

In an article in the Nov. 16 *Black Panther*, Panther leader Bobby Seale outlines some of the activities planned by the Oakland Black Panther Party for the coming months.

"We will have a proposition on the ballot in Richmond and Berkeley for community control of the police," Seale explains. "That's decentralization of the police departments where the people themselves throughout the communities—both black and white—control the police departments."

Other activities mentioned by Seale include education, the perpetuation of "an understanding of why Huey Newton has to be set free," the development of free health clinics in the black community, the institution of free breakfasts for school children, and the fielding of Black Panther Party candidates in the April elections.

A majority of the members of the ossified NAACP board of directors have voted to stick to their Oct. 4 decision to fire NAACP staff lawyer Lewis M. Steel, de-

spite the outcry against the dismissal within the organization.

Steel was fired by the board after he wrote an article which appeared in the Oct. 13 *New York Times Magazine* attacking the Supreme Court as an upholder of racism.

In defending the dismissal, NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins explained that it was "inconceivable" to him that any employee who believed in "the Steel thesis" could honorably choose to remain on the staff. In a long rebuttal to Steel's article, Wilkins seemed especially perturbed at Steel's assertion that the Supreme Court has played the role of "deluding" the public into thinking black people were gaining their full rights, when in actuality only the "symbols" of racism were being attacked and not racial oppression itself.

— Elizabeth Barnes



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Is Mao making Nixon an offer of 'coexistence'?

By Joseph Hansen

(IP)—A statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on Nov. 26 concerning the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with the United States produced a considerable ripple in diplomatic circles. The consensus was that it represented a bid from Mao Tse-tung to the incoming Nixon administration.

In an editorial, "New Prospects in Asia," the *New York Times* (Nov. 29) offered the following comment:

"Especially interesting is Peking's proposal that the United States join in 'an agreement on the five principles of peaceful coexistence,' a gesture that implies a remarkable turnabout in China's approach to the United States even though it was tied to obviously unacceptable demands that this country abandon its ties with Taiwan.

"The 'five principles' date from a period in the 1950s when Peking was trying to win friends and influence peoples, as against its more recent efforts to alienate the world. They called for mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

"Peking's introduction of these concepts into its talks with Washington reinforces other evidence that the Cultural Revolution has run its course and that a leadership is emerging in China that recognizes the necessity for more responsible conduct in world affairs and for closer ties with the West.

"Incidentally, even during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese trade with the non-Communist world has steadily increased, while the proportion of its trade with Communist-bloc countries has declined. The lure of trade, especially in agricultural and related products, may become an important source of leverage in the coming Sino-American talks."

Writing from Hong Kong, where the Western powers maintain well-financed staffs of specialists on Chinese affairs, Tillman Durbin reported in the same issue of the *New York Times*:

"Observers here do not regard the new Chinese behavior as an indication of policy changes. They see it instead as the adoption of a less crude and bellicose attitude toward the outside world. If the tendency continues, Communist China could become easier to deal with, the experts predict.

"One theory advanced here is that Communist China could be aiming at strengthening its position in foreign affairs to enable it to take part, at some future stage, in a settlement of the Vietnam war."

In Washington, according to Bernard Gwertzman (*New York Times*, Dec. 1), "there was considerable surprise at the State Department" over the "statement proposing to meet with the Nixon Administration's representative in Warsaw on Feb. 20 and calling for the signing of an agreement on the 'five principles of peaceful coexistence.'"

Gwertzman said, "There was considerable speculation here that China might have decided that its tense relations with the Soviet Union might require an effort to ease tensions on its Eastern flank, where the American Seventh Fleet plies the water."

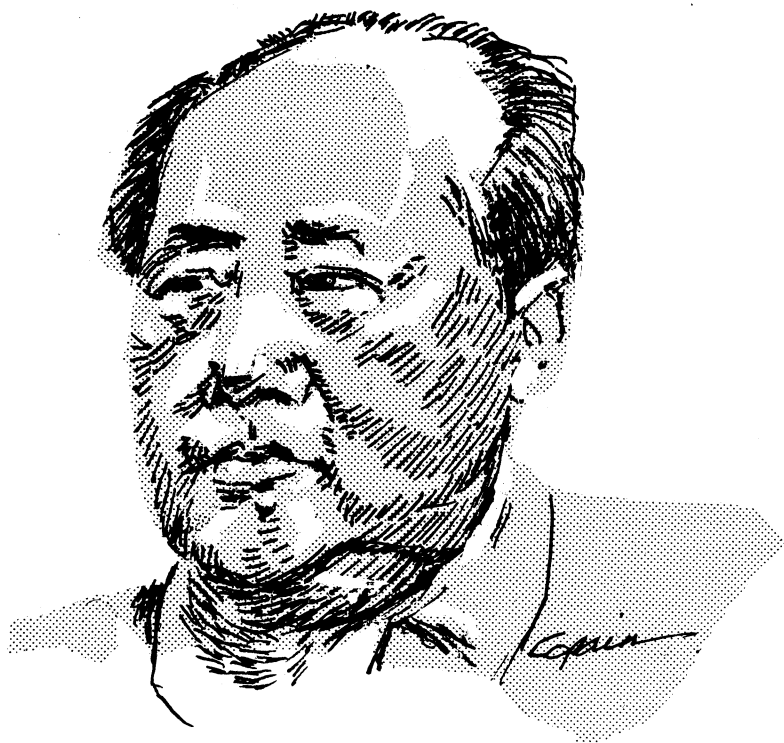
Gwertzman closed his dispatch with the observation: "Presumably, if the Taiwan issue could be shelved, there would be room for considerable discussion between Washington and Peking. Most experts see little chance of China dropping that demand. And unless there is a drastic change in the new Administration's foreign policy, the United States is not prepared to sacrifice Taiwan's freedom."

From these sources, it can be gathered that Washington was agreeably surprised by Peking's move and responded by indicating willingness to talk and even to bargain, the references to Taiwan being made, of course, in accordance with the standard procedures of haggling.

In Paris, Peking's maneuver was likewise noted with interest. Philippe Ben, reporting from New York in the Nov. 30 issue of *Le Monde*, said:

"For the West, the Chinese offer must be placed in actuality in the context of American-Soviet relations, in particular the explanations given in private by numerous Soviet representatives on the question of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In New York as well as in Washington, the Soviet diplomats confide to their Western questioners that 'since China is becoming more and more threatening, the Soviet Union had no choice in Prague. In view of the hard evidence, the Soviet Union had to protect its rear before it was too late.' Peking's move is thus considered to be an attempt to scotch the Soviet diplomatic game and to block the American-Soviet rapprochement from becoming too close."

In passing, it is worth noting that while the Hong Kong experts speculate that



Mao Tse-tung

China wants to ease tensions on the eastern flank because of Soviet pressure from the west, the Soviet diplomats explain to their Western confreres that they had to invade Czechoslovakia to protect Moscow's western flank because of pressure from China in the east.

It would seem that it would be of considerable mutual advantage to Peking and Moscow to close the breach and establish a common front against the common imperialist foe. Neither of the bureaucracies see it that way, however, and each blames the other for the situation. Worst of all, in their rivalry each seeks an understanding with imperialism at the expense of the other.

Philippe Ben reports the intense way in which the Soviet diplomats are pushing "peaceful coexistence" with Washington (i.e., with Nixon), if not with Czechoslovakia. "The eagerness of the Soviet leaders to resume a dialogue with Washington is very visible at the United Nations, where hardly a day passes without some sign being seen of it."

The Sino-Soviet dispute, clearly involved in Peking's Nov. 26 statement, will most certainly be weighed by the State Department in its response to the invitation from Mao Tse-tung. Washington has in fact sought to capitalize on the dispute since it flared into the open. One of the outcomes, for instance, was the Pentagon's calculation that it could get away with armed aggression in Vietnam.

It remains to be seen whether Peking's Nov. 26 statement marks the opening move in a "remarkable turnabout" in foreign policy; i.e., a 180 degree turn from ultra-leftism to rank opportunism. Study of the statement offers nothing new outside of its timing and the addressee, Nixon. The Mao regime, from the very beginning, has espoused "peaceful coexistence" in the tradition of Stalin.

Chou En-lai in particular has stressed "peaceful coexistence" with the United States. He provided a succinct summary of his government's foreign policy in this respect in his interview with Edgar Snow in 1960 (published in the latter's book, *The Other Side of the River*).

"Western opinion has been spreading rumors to the effect that China has given up the policy of peaceful coexistence," Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow. The premier sought to refute the rumor by citing the friendship treaties that had been signed that year and "the joint statements on peaceful coexistence with India, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Ceylon." The treaties were all based on the "Five Principles of peaceful coexistence," which Chou stated were as follows:

"(1) Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) mutual nonaggression; (3) noninterference in each other's internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual benefit and (5) peaceful coexistence."

Chou said that a possible peace pact among the Asian countries and countries bordering the Pacific involved "Sino-Soviet relations" and "relations between the four countries of China, the USSR, Japan and the USA." With regard to the United States, he underlined two points:

"It is inconceivable that a peace pact can be concluded without diplomatic relations between China and the United States.

"It is also inconceivable that there can be

diplomatic relations between China and the United States without a settlement of the dispute between the two countries in the Taiwan region."

Chou En-lai cited the record at some length to show the consistency with which his government had sought to practice peaceful coexistence with the United States, and how Washington had made this impossible with its aggressive policy in the Western Pacific.

The main obstacle to the establishment of "peaceful coexistence" between China and the United States, Chou pointed out, has been Washington's insistence on maintaining the fiction of "two Chinas." Even here, however, it should be possible to find some formula to resolve the difficulty.

"Since it has been possible for China and the United States to hold ambassadorial talks in Geneva and Warsaw," Chou suggested, "talks can also be held at the same time between the Central Government of China and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The former is an international question while the latter is an internal question. Parallel talks can be conducted and solutions reached separately."

A new element in the situation is the Paris talks over the war in Vietnam. In agreeing to seat the National Liberation Front at the table as one of the negotiating parties alongside of the Saigon clique, Washington has, despite itself, set a certain precedent. Could a comparable formula be found that might open the way to easing tensions in the Western Pacific on a much broader scale?

Perhaps this is the question which Peking intended to put to the Nixon administration with its Nov. 26 statement. If the demarche meets with a favorable response, there can be no doubt that the Mao regime would move further along this line with a readiness that might astound not a few observers.

This is the meaning of the otherwise enigmatic reference in the statement to the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with an imperialist power not especially noted for its practice of the Five Principles, above all in recent years and in relation to some countries very close to the borders of China.

Antiwar GIs and vets carve a turkey in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Nearly a hundred active-duty servicemen, many of them Camp Pendleton Marines, attended the Short-Timers' Ball sponsored by GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War Nov. 30. Turkey, pumpkin pie, suds, cranberry sauce, and the tunes of the Shmoos Rockband provided the festive setting.

A Marine staff sergeant, acting as spokesman for the occasion, told *The Militant*, "We're here to build a bridge between dissenting GIs and the civilian antiwar community. I suppose we're simply demanding our right to have an opinion."

Vietnam vet James Boggio, a former Marine fire-team leader, stated that this party was the first in a series of activities designed by GIs and Vietnam vets for servicemen. "We intend to keep the names of our GI members in strict confidence for their protection. However, we are certainly appreciative to the many EM [enlisted men] organizers we have on the various military installations on the West Coast and to the Student Mobilization Committee which has

been quite helpful in providing the hostesses for the Short Timers' Ball."

A short open-mike session between dance numbers helped the first-timers overcome their hesitations, and half of the GIs for whom this was the first contact returned to an organization meeting the next day to see what they could do.

Encouraged by the response, a similar party is being planned during the Christmas holidays with many new volunteers on the bases spreading the word. Additional plans call for the establishment of a regular meeting place where drop-ins would be a regular feature each weekend.

Work for the success started a month ago, with leafleting of the major Greyhound bus station. Teams including GIs, vets, students and civilian supporters handed out *Vietnam GI, Task Force* and a policy statement of the new organization with the party invitation printed on the back. Additional guests were reached through several notices in the Los Angeles underground *Free Press*.

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Students at Cheyney fight victimizations

By Mareen Jasin

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 11— Today the administration building at Cheyney State College looks like a military garrison. The president, replete with handkerchief, has called in 250 state troopers to herd student protesters from the campus and arrest the leaders.

Earlier today, hundreds of angry students demonstrated against the unjust expulsion of nine students from this predominantly black, state college.

The helmeted troopers arrived in the evening with clubs and warrants for the arrest of demonstrators. In all, 14 were arrested and put in prison on charges of alleged burglary and "riotous destruction," with bails ranging from \$2,500 to \$15,000.

This latest protest at Cheyney started when President Wade "Wallace" Wilson expelled nine members of the Militant Black Students League on Nov. 29.

The charges being brought against "The Cheyney Nine" are vague and cut across the rights of free speech. The students are accused of "verbal abuse" against the dean of academic affairs, calling a Jewish instructor a "racist-Zionist," creating an "aura of fear" on campus, and "disrupting" the normal process of the college.

After the expulsions, a group of lawyers filed a court injunction on behalf of the expelled students. On Dec. 2 the student body voted unanimously to stay out of classes until the nine brothers were given opportunity for due process.

The student strike, which was called for Dec. 3, was 100 percent effective. According to one of the "Cheyney Nine," Bill Johnson, "the brothers got up early to make sure of that." The strikers set up roadblocks at the entrances leading to the campus.

Bill Johnson says that the reasons for the expulsions of the nine go back to the spring of 1967, when the first protests were organized at Cheyney. "Davis, Adger, and myself were instrumental in organizing the campus to raise demands for a black curriculum," Johnson said. In the course of pressing for this demand the students took over a building and forced the president's resignation.



CALENDAR

CHICAGO

CHICAGO CONCERNED TRANSIT WORKERS: The Struggle for Union Democracy. Speakers: George Clarke, Walter Edmonds and Bob Cavens, all spokesmen for Concerned Transit Workers. Fri., Dec. 20, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

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

NEW YORK

STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS. Speakers: Alan Kellock, teacher of Afro-American history at I.S. 271, plus a participant in struggle at P.S. 39 in Harlem. Fri., Dec. 27, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Some concessions were granted by the college as a result of the protests, but Johnson says that "many of the contradictions still existed, resulting in the blow-up this semester."

Johnson commented that Wade "Wallace" Wilson thought he could maintain a quiet college by expelling the militant leaders, but, he added, "last Monday's events could hardly describe Cheyney as a 'quiet' campus."

At present the Cheyney Nine have backing from black organizations in Philadelphia, including the Black Coalition, SCLC, CORE and the Black Clergy. The students are speaking in defense of their case at churches, in classrooms, and on the campuses. A rally is planned to win broader mass support for the release of the black students from prison and for the reinstatement of the nine at Cheyney.

The nine students expelled are Anthony Stokes, Theodus Jowers, Gregg Hanis, Al Burnett, Michael Brown, Allan Hollis, Renault Adger, Bill Johnson and Nelson Davis.

Supreme Court review won in Ferguson case

The Supreme Court has agreed to consider the constitutionality of the New York criminal anarchy law under which 17 Afro-Americans know as the "Queens 17" were framed in June, 1967.

Eleven of the original 17 defendants are still being prosecuted under the law and are involved in the appeal. Among them are Herman B. Ferguson and Arthur Harris, who were both convicted last June on a separate frame-up charge of conspiring to murder Roy Wilkins.

Herman Ferguson is a former Queens assistant school principal who has been active in the movement for black control of the schools. He ran for U.S. senator this year on the Freedom and Peace ticket as a member of the "black caucus."

The high court's decision to hear the appeal will have an important effect not only on the case of the "Queens 17" but on other similar cases around the country because it lays the groundwork for a wide-ranging review of the use of state anarchy and subversion laws as a tool for victimizing black militants.

Under the New York law, a person can be prosecuted for criminal anarchy "who by word of mouth or writing advocates, advises or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of overthrowing or overturning organized government by force or violence or by assassination . . . or by any unlawful means."

The 11 "Queens 17" defendants are demanding nullification of this law, which is an obviously unconstitutional infringement on the right of free speech.



Herman Ferguson

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Final tally shows increase in radical vote; SWP gains

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 12— The total reported radical vote in 1968 of 178,445 was the highest in many years. The Socialist Workers Party registered its largest total vote since it entered the presidential elections in 1948.

The 1968 SWP vote was 41,300. This compares to 13,613 in 1948; 10,306 in 1952; 7,987 in 1956; 39,541 in 1960; and 32,541 in 1964.

The 1968 returns were announced in an Associated Press dispatch from Washington yesterday and printed in the Dec. 12 *New York Times*. That they are as yet incomplete is indicated by the fact that no returns were listed for Utah, one of the 19 states where the SWP was on the ballot.

Totals for the other four radical parties in the 1968 election were highest for the Socialist Labor Party with 52,588. Dick Gregory, running on the Freedom and Peace ticket, received 47,097 votes, and Eldridge Cleaver, on the Peace and Freedom ticket, received 36,385 votes, with 27,707 coming from California even though Cleaver was officially ruled off the ballot there. The Communist Party received 1,075 votes.

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign made a vote gain from the 1964 elections despite the fact that such well-known figures as Dick Gregory and Eldridge Cleaver were on the ballot. The SWP was on eight new state ballots since 1964.

But virtually all the new states were small ones, which could not add a significant vote. The fact that the Socialist Labor Party received a higher total than the SWP is accounted for by its being on the ballot in two of the most populous states, Massachusetts and Illinois, where the SWP could not gain ballot status.

(The relatively high vote of the SWP in 1960 is accounted for by the fact that in that year the SLP was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot in New York state.)

The vote of nearly 200,000 for radical parties is a significant measure of the growing number of opponents to the ruling parties of war and racism. This spirit of dis-

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A popular SWP poster

gust with the lack of meaningful choice offered by the major parties was also shown in the fact that 15 million registered voters stayed away from the polls this year.

More significant than its vote, however, is the fact that the Socialist Workers campaign brought growth to the American revolutionary socialist movement. The ideas of the SWP reached into many new areas and won many new supporters.

During the campaign, the Young Socialist Alliance doubled in size. Reporting this growth at the Young Socialist convention in Chicago Dec. 1, YSA national chairman Charles Bolduc noted that Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle spoke on 483 college and high-school campuses during the campaign.

There are now 30 YSA locals according to Bolduc, with members on 101 college, 32 high-school, and 5 junior-high-school campuses. The Chicago convention, which capped the election campaign, alone recruited 60 new members to the YSA.

We can be justifiably proud of these 1968 election campaign results.

	Socialist Workers	Socialist Labor	Freedom and Peace (Dick Gregory)	Peace and Freedom (Eldridge Cleaver)	Communist Party
Arizona	85	75		217	
California		341 (write-in)	3,230 (write-in)	27,707	260
Colorado	235	3,016	1,393		
Illinois		13,878			
Indiana	1,293				
Iowa	3,377	241		1,332	
Kentucky	2,843				
Massachusetts		6,180			
Michigan	4,099	1,762		4,585	
Minnesota	808	285		935	415
Montana	457				
New Hampshire	104				
New Jersey	8,668	6,784	8,084		
New Mexico	252				
New York	11,851	8,432	24,517		
North Dakota	128				
Ohio (write-in)	69	120	372		23
Pennsylvania	4,862	4,977	7,821		
Rhode Island	383				
Vermont	294				
Virginia		4,671	1,680		
Washington	270	488		1,609	377
Wisconsin	1,222	1,338			
Total	41,300	52,588	47,097	36,385	1,075

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Practically your last chance to get it done

By George Novack, Chairman
The Militant 40th Anniversary Committee

Every line of endeavor boasts of legendary figures who perform prodigious feats. One such hero of the mail-order business is the fellow who used to run an advertisement in the classified columns of the papers with the simple exhortation: "Last chance to send me that dollar!"

He cleaned up. And although the postal authorities were finally able to stop him, they could never prosecute him because he promised nothing in return.

My column this week carries a similar injunction. The 40th Anniversary Fund, which was launched Oct. 1, is scheduled to close Dec. 15. So this is "the last chance to send me that dollar."

Unlike the money-raising racketeer who gave nothing in return, however, we can promise that contributors will receive something of considerable importance in the months ahead—a better, brighter, bigger paper. The exciting expansion plans which are on the drafting board of the editorial staff await the raising of the full \$40,000 for their realization.

* * *

Three cities on the West Coast have joined Boston as pacesetters for the rest of the country. These are Portland, which heads the procession with 126 percent of its quota, San Diego, which has 100 percent, and Los Angeles, which has raised 99 percent of its allotted \$4,400.

More than four-fifths of the fund has already been received and recorded in this week's scoreboard. Will the remaining sum be forthcoming in time? Will every one of the paper's 40 years of struggle for the cause of socialism be properly rewarded?

This is the last call to all hesitating contributors. Put the Militant Fund first on your Christmas Giving List!

Area	Quota	Paid	Percent
Portland	\$ 150	\$ 190	126
Boston	1,200	1,285	107
San Diego	300	301	100
Los Angeles	4,400	4,356	99
St. Louis	100	97	97
Twin Cities	2,200	1,870	85
San Francisco	2,300	1,890	82
New York	7,200	5,460	76
Philadelphia	1,300	1,000	76
Detroit	2,000	1,517	75
Chicago	1,950	1,375	71
Oakland-Berkeley	2,000	1,318	65
Cleveland	1,800	900	50
Allentown	150	65	43
Seattle	300	50	17
Other Areas	650	1,102	170
	\$28,000	\$22,776	81
Lifetime Militants	\$12,000	\$10,000	83
Totals	\$40,000	\$32,776	82

George Novack, Chairman,
Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee
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The MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 15, 1928

PRICE 4 CENTS

For the Russian Opposition!

Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!

A STATEMENT TO AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY JAMES P. CANNON, MARTIN ABERN AND MAX SHACHTMAN.

On October 27 the undersigned members of the Central Executive Committee were declared expelled from the Party for the views expressed in our statement to the Political Committee on the same date, which is printed below. This action, taken by the Political Committee in violation of the Party constitution, without even the formality of a meeting of the Central Executive Committee to which we were elected by the Party convention, was designed to deprive the Party members of the opportunity to hear our views and to insure themselves against any opposition in the forthcoming Party discussion and elections to the Party convention. Our views relate to fundamental questions upon which it is not possible for revolutionaries to remain silent. We proposed to defend these views in the Party according to the rules for Party discussion laid down in the Party constitution. The discussion of the Party constitution and the denial of our rights as Party members compels us to take this method of direct appeal to the Party members in order to bring our position before them. We will continue to expose our views in the columns of The Militant until our Party rights are restored.—Editor.

and to begin a public campaign against us in the Party press make it necessary to state our position without further delay. It must be made clear to the Party that the measures are being taken against us solely because of our political views. These views must be presented to the Party as they really are.

5. We present them here in outline form and will elaborate on them more fully in our appeal to the Central Executive Committee against the actions taken by the Politcom.

6. We stand on the main line of the document entitled "The Right Danger in the American Party" (excepting certain erroneous formulations dealing with the world position and role of American imperialism), presented to the Sixth World Congress of the Communist Party by the Russian Opposition, in the draft of which we actively participated. We believe that...

Sector Expelled

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In celebration of the fortieth anniversary of The Militant, a special facsimile issue of Volume I, Number 1 has been issued. Copies, on durable paper, are available at \$1 each.

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The Great Society

SOLIDARITY FOREVER—LBJ will reportedly move to have Brother Nixon's pay raised from \$100,000 a year to \$150,000. Other recommendations will include hiking congressional pay from \$30,000 to \$50,000. Meanwhile, don't ask your boss for an increase. It might have an inflationary effect.

NOTE TO U. S. TAXPAYERS—There was a scramble at the Saigon airport, it is reported, to join the delegation to Paris for what is anticipated will be lengthy "peace" talks. The delegation of about a hundred will be spending some \$10,000 a day (that's \$3.65 million per annum) for rental of homes, offices, and limousines, plus living allowances and, of course, entertainment funds.

THINGS WERE TOUGH ALL OVER—A former Nazi judge who signed some 230 death warrants for such crimes as telling anti-Nazi jokes was found not guilty of murder. The presiding judge ruled that while the sentences that had been meted out "are inhuman in our present view," it was only reasonable to recall that the executions had come at a critical time in the war and "the death penalty had been imposed on defeatist or anti-Nazi remarks and statements."

IT FIGURES—Last week we reported Richard Nixon doesn't like the Beatles. Neither does the Soviet Ministry of Culture.

BRAIN CAVITY?—Dr. Martin Protell, a dentist, says hippies have lots of cavities and gum disorders because "the dirtier and more unkempt the clothing and hairdos, the dirtier the mouths." But hippies don't complain, he said, because they have a higher threshold of pain than most other people. Dr. Protell yanks teeth at a New York mental hospital. He is not, we understand, a patient there.

PROGRESSIVE SECTOR OF BOURGEOISIE?—We believe it was Lenin who observed that for ultralefts, politics is reduced to putting a minus where the enemy puts a plus. We trust this will not be the reaction of Marxists to the report that a company in Shrewsbury, N.J., paid out \$3,390 in Xmas bonuses to employees who quit smoking. A spokesman said it was a savings in reduced sick time and "in saving time for the company because an estimated 30 minutes is lost each day by each smoker."

HOW FAR OUT CAN YOU GET?—More and more advertisers are "trying to create campaigns that sell products and carry a social message," according to Horace J. De Podwin, a dean at Rutgers. Example: The Hammermill Paper company urged people to write to their congressmen on Hammermill paper.

GOOD PR—The *Bullet*, a student paper at Mary Washington College, touched off a controversy in Fredericksburg, Va., with a front-page picture of Jesus in the form of a "wanted" poster. An accompanying article described him as a "typical hippie—beard, long hair, sandals, young" and an opponent of war and exploitation. While not agreeing with their viewpoint, one local minister commended the editors "for making Jesus and His way front-page news."
—Harry Ring

N.Y. racists oust black school head

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—The arbitrary ouster of Rhody McCoy as unit administrator of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district yesterday places the city and state administrations directly and openly in collaboration with the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers in its attack on community control of schools.

McCoy was removed from his position by newly appointed state trustee of schools, William D. Firman. Even so moderate a black leader as Dr. Kenneth Clark, the only black member of the state board of regents, characterized Firman's actions as those of a "plantation overseer."

"I think this man [Firman] has outlived his usefulness in Ocean Hill-Brownsville," Clark charged, "because he insists on viewing this situation as 'keeping these people in line' and 'showing them who's boss'—which is exactly what the whole issue is about."

McCoy was arrested at I. S. 271 at 8 a.m. yesterday when he attempted to open the school in accordance with the position of the community governing board.

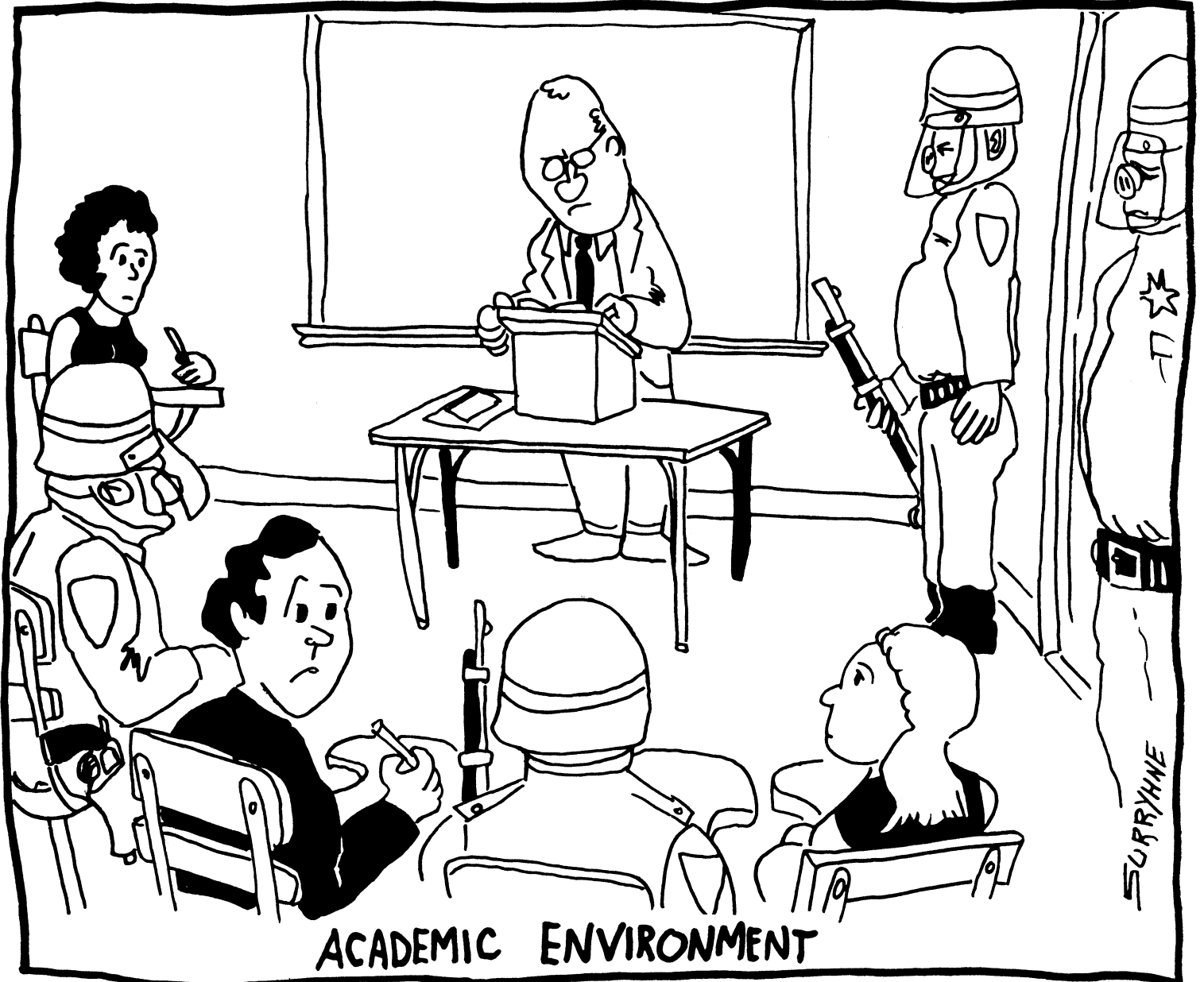
The junior high school, pivotal in the fight by Brooklyn community residents to maintain control of their own schools, was closed on state orders Dec. 2. The community board had attempted to keep the school open even at the expense to education of allowing 79 unwanted UFT teachers to return to their classes.

But on Dec. 2, these teachers disrupted the school by instructing their classes to pour into the hallways in the middle of the class period, and walking off their jobs. The teachers "justified" the disruption on the grounds that the hallways lacked supervision and were, therefore, unsafe. The state obligingly closed the school.

When McCoy and about 30 teachers who wanted to open the school showed up at I. S. 271 yesterday morning, police arrested McCoy for "trespassing."

There can be no question that such an order to the police came directly from City Hall. "Fun City" Mayor Lindsay has not opened his mouth on the arrest and subsequent transfer of McCoy. It will be of passing interest to see how he attempts to talk his way around this one.

Meanwhile, black and Puerto Rican community leaders have lined up with McCoy against this latest UFT, state and city attack on local control of schools.



San Francisco State Strike Daily

Wire your support to S.F. students

Telegrams of support to the San Francisco State strikers can be sent to the offices of the Black Student Union or the Third World Liberation Front, both of which are located at Hut C, 1600 Hollaway, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif. Telegrams should also be sent to President Samuel Hayakawa, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, Calif. and to Mayor Joseph Alioto, San Francisco City Hall, San Francisco, Calif.

S.F. cops developing 'selective' system?

By Paul McKnight

Included among the scores of students who have been arrested so far by strike-breaking cops at S.F. State are known political activists that the cops recognized from their photo files as well as ordinary students who did not move fast enough to get out of the way of the club-swinging tactical squad.

On Tuesday, Dec. 3, the bloodiest day yet at S.F. State, Helen Meyers, a YSA activist, was in a crowd of students that was watching the tac squad drag off an arrested student. She yelled out to the student asking for his name so that he could be quickly bailed out by the strike committee.

One of the cops heard her and, recognizing her, rushed into the crowd and arrested her. As this cop hauled her to the police wagon, he beamed happily to his fellow officers, "Look, I've got Dianne, I've got Dianne!" (Presumably, Dianne Gannon, another YSA activist at S.F. State.)

Another cop responded, "Great! Now we've got to get that one with the long

hair." (Dianne has long hair. Apparently the cops had confused Helen with Dianne.)

While Helen was waiting in the van for the trip to jail, she was brought outside by her arresting officer four different times so he could show off his prize catch to his fellow officers. One of them told her, "We've been waiting a long time for this. I've seen you on every demonstration in the past five years."

Helen was charged with inciting to riot. Another YSAer, Ron Wittmaack, was grabbed by the cops as he was walking across the campus. He is being charged with assault with a deadly weapon and battery on a peace officer.

It is standard practice for police to beat students inside the paddy wagons and then charge them with attempting to beat up a cop.

... Embattled S.F. students

(Continued from page 1) demands of the Third World Liberation Front, are fully met by the administration. They explained that the demands are well thought out, reasonable, and just, and that there is no reason not to grant them all.

This rally was followed by the largest on-campus demonstration yet. Well over 3,000 students marched around the center lawn of the campus and then marched off the campus chanting, "On strike! We'll be back!"

After it became clear that the students could not be bought off with minor concessions, intimidation tactics were stepped up against the strikers. During the past week mounted police have charged demonstrators. The tactical squad has repeatedly attacked student picket lines and fingered leaders in the strike.

Several black student leaders have been arrested under warrants signed by President Hayakawa. The Ecumenical House, a strike center, was invaded on the pretext of pursuing alleged felons.

This alternation between concession and

repression reflects the bind which the California authorities are in in dealing with this strike. If they make major concessions to the students, they will be inviting more of the same at other campuses. They will be setting a precedent for future struggles in California and elsewhere. If they resort to more repression, they run the risk of further radicalizing the student body and of drawing broader layers of the population into support of the students.

At present the strikers are continuing to push ahead on all fronts. Teams of leafleters are being sent to factories to explain the strike to the workers. Speakers are being sent to unions to ask for support. Large portions of the Chinese, Japanese, Chicano, Philippino, and American Indian communities have expressed their support of the strike.



BLACK STUDIES

San Francisco State Strike Daily

May be in for another big dip

SAN FRANCISCO — S. I. Hayakawa, the semantics specialist presently heading San Francisco State College, apparently likes his kicks. After watching the cops he called in beat and arrest striking students, he confided to newsmen: "It's the most exciting thing since my 10th birthday, when I rode a roller coaster for the first time."

Minn. students stage rally to back S.F. strike

By Seth Widgerson

MINNEAPOLIS—A rally was held on the steps of the University of Minnesota Student Union Dec. 5 in defense of the striking San Francisco State Students. Meeting in near-zero weather, the rally heard spokesmen from Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, and the Black Panther Party.

In a leaflet calling the rally, the following demands were made in support of the S.F. State strikers: Lift the ban on demonstrations; withdraw the police now; reinstate George Murray; drop charges against arrested students; and immediate action on BSU demands.

The rally was sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance, SDS, Afro-American Action Committee, and members of Peace and Freedom Party, Student Mobilization Committee, and Students Against Selective Service. It received good TV coverage.