

Demand freedom for 'conspiracy' victims

--see editorial page 16

THE MILITANT

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4,000 at SMC parley map antiwar offensive



Part of Student Mobilization Committee gathering. Story pp. 6-7.

Pittsburgh high school rights battle

Sparked when antiwar film barred

Pittsburgh, Pa. "If they don't listen this time, there's going to be a blow out." That's how Moe Seager, militant student leader from Peabody High expressed to me the sentiment that exists among high-schoolers in Pittsburgh. Last Thursday, Feb. 5, about 200 students sat in at the school board after the board refused to discuss their grievances.

It all started back at the time of the Nov. 15 Moratorium. At Taylorallderdice High School, a film, "Vietnam: How we got in and How to get out," was shown for 3 days. But on the day the students left for Washington, the principal ordered the film shut down.

After returning from Washington, the antiwar students questioned this action and were told that the principal had the sole power to decide what the students could hear and see! Immediately, student meetings took place, and a protest at the Dec. 12 school board meeting was planned.

At that meeting, about 70 students representing the five major public high schools demanded: 1) Students be allowed to have open assemblies; 2) Students have the right to exercise freedom of speech; 3) A student-teacher policy board be set up. The school board promised to discuss these demands at its Jan. 21 meeting.

Over 300 students attended that meeting, but everything was postponed until Feb. 5.

About 500 students from throughout the city, supporters from the ACLU, social workers, and various community organizations attended the Feb. 5 meeting. However, the agenda did not provide for so much as a statement from any of the student representatives! After continued maneuvering, "pandemonium broke out," Seager said, "the board called an adjournment, and someone yelled 'Sit-in.'"

During the sit-in, grievances and strategy and tactics were discussed; on the outside, the police and school officials made sure that no food, water, or reporters got into the room. At 12:40 a.m., due to lack of preparation, the majority voted to end the sit-in.

The struggle will continue. Now, according to one of the organizers, "We are asking each high school to organize around issues specifically relevant to their school . . . and tie into the three basic demands so we can mobilize the whole high school population if possible. . . ."

Mareen Jasin

A correction

Scottsdale, Ariz. Correction! ["Move to oust socialist prof. fought in Arizona," Feb. 6 *Militant*] John Heard is not chairman of the U of Arizona Black Student Union. My mistake. He is chairman of The Human Relations Board. Gale Dean

Letters from our readers

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

is chairman of the BSU. Both were arrested on felony charges as a result of a police riot during a demonstration against racist Brigham Young University several weeks ago. Students at U of A are demanding that athletic ties with BYU be severed and that the president of U of A resign for his refusal to allow a student voice in such matters.

Morris J. Starsky

High school group takes militant stands

Endicott, N.Y. Following the ideas presented in the High School Bill of Rights, we have declared that all military personnel are not to use the schools for the administration of their military IQ tests.

We have also taken the following stands: complete and total support for the Black Panther Party, support for the women's liberation movement, continued support for the antiwar movement (we are sending five representatives to the National Antiwar Conference in Cleveland), and support for the Socialist Workers Party statewide slate.

We have announced that all of our area members will no longer take part in school morning activities (pledge to the flag). This is to start as of Feb. 10 and will continue until all the troops are home from Vietnam.

Larry Paradis, chairman
Students for Radical Change

Newsweek article on GIs misleading

Detroit, Mich. The *Newsweek* article on rising dissent in the Army is significant. There are, however, two misleading aspects of it which bear correction.

The magazine emphasizes the fear the "experts" have of the disruptive potential of college men as more and more are brought into the service. And it is true that many college men who have been exposed to, if not part of, the antiwar movement are less than enthusiastic about Army life, and indeed some have played key roles in soldiers' struggles against the war.

However, the fact is that many important organizational efforts, boldly conceived and courageously carried out, have been launched by rebels bereft of a baccalaureate. This is not to disparage a college degree, but none of the Fort Jackson 8 had one, nor, I suspect, did many of the Fort Hood 43, nor did the brave Marines, Harvey and Daniel, or the Fort Hood 3, or Howard Petrick, to name just a few.

It's a petty-bourgeois prejudice to think only college types will organize against the war. The Army, as a reflection of society as a whole, is largely working class in composition. Moreover, the military mirrors, in a much sharper way, the contradictions—the class exploitation and caste oppression, the alienation of meaningless chores, the authoritarianism—of capitalist society. It is this reality, encouraged by massive dissent at home, which is spurring dissent in the Service.

Lastly, one should not be sanguine about the prevalence of the drug-rock culture in the military. As in civilian life, it is an escape. It defuses discontent and is therefore winked at by the brass.

Michael Smith

"Ah, But For Several Days Now He's Found That Sort Of Thing Abhorrent"



Women's liberation in Toronto

Toronto, Canada Keep up your excellent coverage of the women's liberation movement.

Developments here in the Toronto area are quite exciting. Last week saw an excellent action—a large protest-picket directed at a beauty contest (those blatant examples of the objectification and crass oppression of women) in which the women's liberation movement also entered a protest candidate to expose from within. We've also got a serious, hardworking feminist organization and militant women caucusing within the New Democratic Party.

Joan Campana

Believes Christianity and Marxism compatible

San Francisco, Calif. I would like to make a few observations regarding the debate in the Jan.-Feb. *International Socialist Review*, on "Marxism and Christianity: Are They Compatible?" I believe they are compatible, but to come to any sensible conclusion we must first establish what Christianity is.

Theodore Edwards tells us that in the beginning Christians lived in democratic communes. Then he goes on to tell us how Christianity became formalized into the Catholic Church. He goes astray in his arguments just as formal Christianity went astray. He is not talking about real Christianity at all but about a formal institution which preempted the name. To condemn Christianity because of the wealth and pomp of the Catholic Church is very much like con-

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demning socialism because of Hitler's National Socialism.

But we should not be too hard on the Catholic religion. During the last few years it has been going through a profound revolutionary change.

Edwards equates Christianity with capitalism, and it is true that most capitalistic nations have co-opted the outer form of Christianity, but that does not make the marriage legal. One of the most frequently quoted phrases from the Bible is, "The love of money is the root of all evil." If all the world's capitalists were to take that admonition seriously, capitalism would disappear overnight.

Dale Rasmussen

[The debate referred to above took place at the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum last June. The speakers were Theodore Edwards, L.A. educational director of the Socialist Workers Party, and Rev. Blase A. Bonpane, a Maryknoll priest who was thrown out of Guatemala in late 1967 for his work with the peasants in that country. To obtain the Jan.-Feb. *International Socialist Review*, send 50c to: ISR, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. — Editor]

Beauty contest exposed

Brussels, Belgium A lot of different women's groups are springing up in Switzerland. One of them ran in a beauty contest and won it! Then the group had a public auction to sell the prize and explain why they rejected it and what the beauty contest represented.

S. L.

From a Mexican Prison

The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society

by Jose Revueltas

35¢

Jose Revueltas is one of the outstanding writers of Latin America. His novel, *El Luto Humano* ("Human Sorrow"), won a Mexican National Prize for Literature.

In October 1968, at the height of the repressions against the student movement, Revueltas was arrested as a "subversive." This pamphlet, written in prison, represents his interpretation of the student rebellion and its implications for Marxists.

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El Plan de Aztlan

A program of the Chicano movement

The general perspectives embodied in *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan*, reprinted below for the information of Militant readers, were passed at the March 1969 Chicano Youth Conference held in Denver. (Aztlan is a word used by the Aztecs and other Indians for what they referred to as their northern homeland. Chicanos today generally understand it to be the southwest part of what is now the United States [Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Texas, Colorado and California] and which they view as the national homeland of the Chicano people, referred to as *La Raza de Bronze* [The Bronze People].)

This document is the most widely-circulated program of the Chicano movement and will provide the basis of discussion at the second annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference of Aztlan to be held in Denver Mar. 25-29. The conference discussions on Sat., Mar. 28, will be devoted to the proposal for the formation of a national independent Chicano political party. For further information on the conference, contact the Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colorado 80218.

* * *

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan, sets the theme that the Chicanos (*La Raza de Bronze*) must use their nationalism as the key or common denominator for mass mobilization and organization. Once we are committed to the idea and philosophy of El Plan de Aztlan, we can only conclude that social, economic, cultural and political independence is the only road to total liberation from oppression, exploitation and racism. Our struggle then must be for the control of our barrios [neighborhoods], campos [countryside], pueblos [villages], lands, our economy, our culture, and our political life. El Plan commits all levels of Chicano society—the barrio, the campo, the rancho [rancher], the writer, the teacher, the worker, the professional—to *La Causa*.

I. FIRST POINT

Nationalism

1. Nationalism as the key to organization transcends all religious, political, class, and economic factions or boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator that all members of *La Raza* can agree upon.

II. SECOND POINT

Organization Goals

1. *Unity* in the thinking of our people concerning the barrios, the pueblo, the campo, the land, the poor, the middle class, the professional—all committed to liberation of *La Raza*.

2. *Economy*: economic control of our

lives and our communities can only come about by driving the exploiter out of our communities, our pueblos, and our lands and by controlling and developing our own talents, sweat and resources. Cultural background and values which ignore materialism and embrace humanism will contribute to the act of cooperative buying and the distribution of resources and production to sustain an economic base for healthy growth and development. Lands rightfully ours will be fought for and defended. Land and realty ownership will be acquired by the community for the people's welfare. Economic ties of responsibility must be secured by nationalism and the Chicano defense units.

3. *Education* must be relative to our people, i.e., history, culture, bilingual education, contributions, etc. Community control of our schools, our teachers, our administrators, our counselors, and our programs.

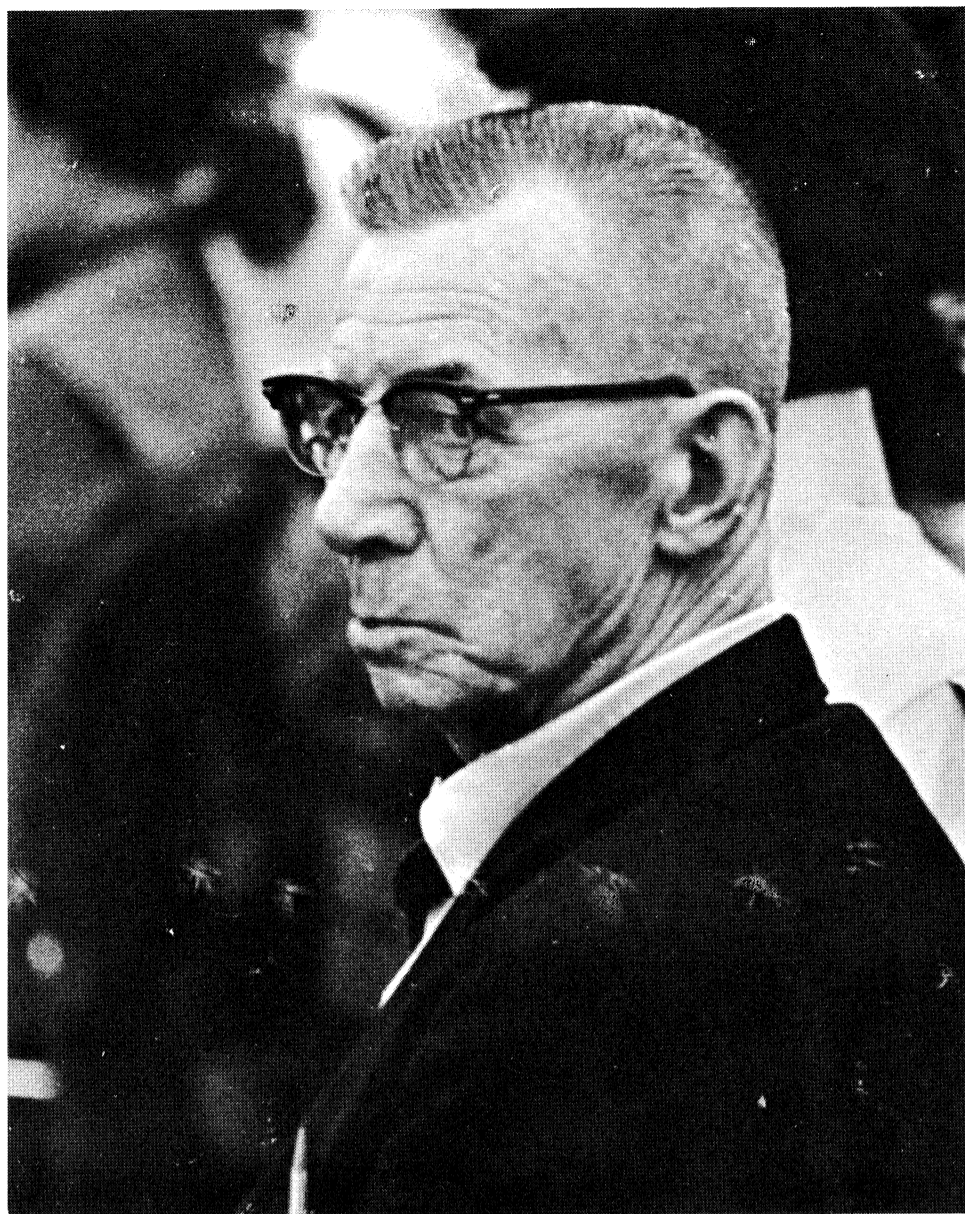
4. *Institutions* shall serve our people by providing the service necessary for a full life and their welfare on the basis of restitution, not handouts or beggar's crumbs. Restitution for past economic slavery, political exploitation, ethnic and cultural psychological destruction and denial of civil and human rights. Institutions in our community which do not serve the people have no place in the community. The institutions belong to the people.

5. *Self-defense* of the community must rely on the combined strength of the people. The front line defense will come from the barrios, the campos, the pueblos, and the ranchitos [small ranches]. Their involvement as protectors of their people will be given respect and dignity. They in turn offer their responsibility and their lives for their people. Those who place themselves in the front ranks for their people do so out of love and *carnalismo* [fraternity]. Those institutions which are fattened by our brothers to provide employment and political pork barrels for the gringo will do so only as acts of liberation and for *La Causa*. For the very young there will no longer be acts of juvenile delinquency, but revolutionary acts.

6. *Cultural* values of our people strengthen our identity and the moral backbone of the movement. Our culture unites and educates the family of *La Raza* towards liberation with one heart and one mind. We must insure that our writers, poets, musicians and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as a powerful weapon to defeat the gringo dollar value system and



Phoenix, Arizona, Chicano demonstration, Sept. 1969



Vincent Raymond Dunne 1890-1970

Vincent Raymond Dunne, one of the founders of American communism, a founding member of the American Trotskyist movement, one of the central leaders of the Socialist Workers Party for many decades, and one of the foremost mass leaders of the labor upsurge in the 1930s, died on Feb. 17 in Minneapolis at the age of 80. The memorial meeting will be held at Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University N. E., Minneapolis, on March 3. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, will pay tribute to this great revolutionary fighter.

encourage the process of love and brotherhood.

7. *Political liberation* can only come through independent action on our part, since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough. Where we are a majority, we will control; where we are a minority, we will represent a pressure group; nationally, we will represent one party: *La Familia de La Raza*!

III. THIRD POINT

Action

1. Awareness and distribution of *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan*. Presented at every meeting, demonstration, confrontation, courthouse, institution, administration, church, school, tree, building, car, and every place of human existence.

2. September 16, on the birthdate of Mexican Independence, a national walk-out by all Chicanos of all colleges and schools to be sustained until the complete revision of the educational system; its policy makers, administration, its curriculum, and its personnel to meet the needs of our community.

3. Self-defense against the occupying forces of the oppressors at every school, every available man, woman, and child.

4. Community nationalization and organization of all Chicanos: *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan*.

5. Economic program to drive the exploiter out of our community and a welding of our people's combined resources to control their own production through cooperative effort.

6. Creation of an independent local, regional and national political party.

LIBERATION

A nation autonomous and free, culturally, socially, economically, and politically; will make its own decisions on the usage of our lands, the taxation of our goods, the utilization of our bodies for war, the determination of justice (reward and punishment), and the profit of our sweat.

EL PLAN DE AZTLAN IS THE PLAN OF LIBERATION!

Petitions filed for new Texas Chicano party

Petitions have been filed to place an independent Chicano political party—the *Raza Unida* [United Race] Party—on the ballot for the November elections in the three southwest Texas towns of Crystal City, Cotulla and Carrigo Springs. All three are in counties with heavy Chicano populations. Efforts are also underway to register the party in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

In one county, several Chicanos have already announced their candidacy for county offices on the *Raza Unida* ticket, including the offices of county judge and mayor. The new party has indicated its intention to field candidates for all county elections in November.

In Crystal City, the party plans a test of the political power of the Chicano community prior to November when the local school board election occurs later this year.

A report in the Jan. 27, 1970, *Austin Statesman* indicates that the party has long-range plans which go beyond the elections next fall. The report explains that, according to *Raza Unida* Party organizer Jose Angel Gutierrez, "the party will field candidates only in local elections in November, but he predicts the party will have gained enough strength to seek such state offices as senator or representative in 1972."

It adds that, in Gutierrez' view, getting the third party on the ballot "will allow Mexican-Americans to vote for candidates selected by Mexican-Americans—not by Anglos."

The *Statesman* reports that *La Salle* County officials in Cotulla were "startled" by the filing of the petitions Jan. 26. "This is a new thing all the way around," *La Salle* County Judge Robert Coquat is quoted as saying.

BELGIAN STRIKE WAVE SPREADS



By DAVID THORSTAD

FEB. 18—A strike wave is sweeping across the Flemish-speaking section of Belgium, bringing with it the most acute labor unrest in nearly a decade. It is the latest manifestation of a broader European strike wave that has appeared in several countries in the last six months.

The strike wave was initiated by the coal workers at Winterslag in the eastern province of Limbourg who went on a "wildcat" strike Jan. 5. Within 24 hours it had spread to three other mines in the region, involving a total of about 23,000 miners. Yet another mine, scheduled to be shut down at the end of 1970, joined after the first week. By Jan. 14, all the coalpits in Limbourg were closed. The miners are demanding an immediate 15 percent wage increase to help meet the increases in the cost of living.

Then on Jan. 30, the strike spread to the auto industry, when 9,000 workers at the Ford plant in Genk went out on strike demanding a hike in pay and a 40-hour week. On Feb. 2, 5,000 workers at the General Motors plant in Antwerp also struck. Today, around 50,000 workers are on strike, with the possibility that it may spread.

The story of the current labor upsurge goes back to April 1969. At that time sentiment in favor of a strike was building up among the miners but union leaders convinced the workers to wait

for the "collective work agreement" that was to be negotiated at the end of 1969. (A "collective work agreement" is a tripartite compact between the bosses, the unions and the government on wages, conditions, etc., in an entire branch of industry.)

Meanwhile, leaders of the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (CSC), to which 75 percent of the organized workers in this part of Belgium belong, began a campaign in their paper and in the mines for a 15 percent wage raise. The workers began to accept the idea that if this raise was not granted it would result in a strike.

The Social Democrats, on the other hand, who are more closely linked to the government, said the workers should settle for 10 percent. The Social Democrats control the General Federation of Belgian Workers, to which the remainder of the unionized workers in the Limbourg region belong. (Eighty percent are unionized. Yet, a worker's wages in Limbourg are considerably lower than for his counterpart in other countries in Western Europe and in Wallonia, the French-speaking part of Belgium which has more of a tradition of working-class militancy.)

Despite the fact that between 1967 and 1969 capitalist profits had increased by 50 percent, the "collective work agreement" negotiated on Dec. 15 offered the workers only a four percent increase Jan. 1 with another six percent over an 18-month period. The CSC leaders caved in and dropped their demand for 15 percent. The workers set Jan. 5 as the date for a strike.

The 42 small strikes or slowdowns that occurred in the mines between Dec. 15 and Jan. 5 provided a hint of the tension that was to erupt into the strike wave that is now several weeks old.

Rank-and-file leadership

The strike is being organized by a spontaneous rank-and-file group called the Permanent Strike Committee composed of two or three delegates from the rank-and-file leadership of each mine. In the absence of backing from their unions, the workers have been drawing heavily on active support from youth organizations, especially the Belgian Trotskyist youth organization, the Jeune Garde Socialiste [JGS—Socialist Young Guard].

An account in the Jan. 25-26 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described the atmosphere at one of the mines: "Since the beginning of the conflict the volunteers who mount guard during the freezing night have been mainly 'Southerners': Asturians muffled in thick scarfs and leaning on clubs, Neopolitans lost in the Nordic mists, Greeks, Turks or Kabyles whose animated accents are surprising here in Flanders. In the neighboring bar, which has become the advance post of the 'revolution,' the strikers

drink their beer and gin, and the benches along the wall are occupied by confrontationist students and 'Jeunes Gardes Socialistes,' who have come to the mining area to support the strike."

In an interview soon to appear in *Intercontinental Press*, Francois Vercammen, a leader of the JGS, explains the strike support activities of the young socialists. The JGS has distributed about 300,000 leaflets in the factories, mines, universities and schools throughout Belgium. By going to other mines together with other revolutionary groups and with striking miners, the strike has been spread to additional mines, including several in Wallonia. The students have helped build two mass demonstrations in support of the strikers.

"We have done a lot on the technical level," Vercammen says, "writing press releases, organizing cars for the demonstrations, organizing the demonstrations themselves. We have been putting out daily leaflets to the workers, explaining the perspective for the day, raising such issues as the role of the government, the union bureaucracy, etc., in a concrete way. At least twice a week we have been putting out a leaflet directed to students all over the country."

The JGS's support activity has permitted it to work directly with the leadership of the strike, and has resulted in a heightened confidence on the part of the workers. Its presence in strike meetings has been an important factor in the decision of the miners to take certain actions, such as calling for the mass demonstrations that have served to focus national attention on the miner's case.

Government attacks

Naturally, the government is not standing idly by while this movement develops. With the aim of protecting the profits of the owners of the coal companies, it has made several attempts to derail the strike—all of which have thus far failed.

First it announced that all workers who returned to work Jan. 23 would immediately receive the payment of their bonus for 1969, originally not scheduled to be paid until Feb. 15. This bonus amounted to the equivalent of \$120 per miner. The already sagging popularity of Louis Major, the social-democratic minister of labor, reached a new low with the workers when he made the announcement that the government would pay the bonus right away if workers went back to work, but not otherwise because they "might spend it on bread."

This maneuver turned out to be not only a flop but a spur to increased unity and activity of the miners. The strike

committee denounced it and organized mass picketing to prevent anyone from collecting his bonus at opening time Jan. 23, and called on strikers to march up to the pay windows together in the afternoon demanding payment of the bonuses. At Winterslag around 500 workers even occupied the colliery for several hours.

Four days later the cabinet gave in to the strikers' demand for immediate payment of the bonuses.

Out of fear that the unrest might spread to other sectors, the government has also tried to split the workers from their student supporters. The minister of the interior has ordered the arrest of anyone in the vicinity of the struck plants and mines who is not a regular worker.

The press too appears to be doing its part to try and bring about such a split. Branding the strike as "subversive," *Pourquoi Pas?* clamored: "The backers and organizers of this strike, especially the JGS, are 'specialists in subversion.'"

Two-thirds of the strikers and most of the participants in the strike committees are foreign workers—Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, Turks, Moroccans, Algerians. The government has tried to use this heterogeneity, too, as a basis for breaking the strike. These workers have been threatened with expulsion from the country if they participate in demonstrations or strike meetings.

Yet, the government's efforts have been in vain. In an appeal to German miners and railroad workers not to permit coal to be sent to Belgium while the strike is going on (see *Intercontinental Press*, Feb. 16), Marxist economist Ernest Mandel and Nicole Gerard of the executive committee of the JGS state: "In Limbourg, for the first time since the creation of the Common Market, a 'Europe of the workers' has developed—on a modest scale and still to a small extent. The striking miners are Flemish, Walloons, Greeks, Turkish, Spaniards, and Italians. The appeals and declarations of the strike leadership appear in six languages. At meetings, six languages are spoken. And contrary to the fears of all skeptics and defeatists, it must be said that the collaboration is beginning to work."

In an article on the significance of the current strike wave which appears in the Feb. 23 *Intercontinental Press*, Mandel pointedly remarks: "Those who had drawn the conclusion that this kind of strike was finished in Belgium, that it belonged to the past, that it was a product of the 'old' and not the 'new' working class, were fundamentally mistaken. We said so at the time. Today history has proved us right."

UC Riverside dissolves Black studies department

By WOODY DIAZ

RIVERSIDE—At a Feb. 4 meeting of the Academic Senate of the University of California at Riverside, Chancellor Ivan Hinderaker announced that the Black studies department was being dissolved at UCR. The dissolution was the Chancellor's answer to demands by the Black Student Union for more control over the program and community involvement in it.

Chancellor Hinderaker stated before the Senate that the university is not a democratic institution and cannot be if it is to serve society. He bluntly asserted the right of the chancellor and the board of regents to absolute control over the institution. To buttress the move, Hinderaker charged that the BSU had used coercive tactics in forcing Dr. Maurice Jackson, Afro-American head of the studies department, to sign certain statements. He insinuated that these types of tactics had led Dr. Jackson to put in his resignation.

According to position papers released by the BSU, Dr. Jackson's resignation had nothing to do with the dissolution of the studies department. What actually happened was that Dr. Jackson came out in support of a Black colleague who was under attack by the administration. In a statement to the student newspaper, the *Highlander*, Dr. Jackson warned against any attempt by the administration to divide students and faculty. For this invasion upon the sacred grounds of the administration, Hinderaker forced Dr. Jackson to take an indefinite leave from the university starting Jan. 30.

It should be pointed out that Chancellor Hinderaker visited Sacramento the day before he announced the dissolution. It is probable that the action had the sanction of Gov. Ronald Reagan himself.

Letters of solidarity can be sent to: BSU, University of Calif., Riverside, Calif. 92502.

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Old 'self-determination' program resurrected

What was the CP's 'Black belt' theory?

By DOUG JENNESS

One of the political questions around which there has been a great deal of discussion in the radical movement is the relationship between Black nationalism and Black separatism. Lending its confused gyrations to this discussion has been the Lynn Wells-Mike Klonsky faction inside the Revolutionary Youth Movement. This faction is attempting to resurrect the Communist Party's tattered banner of "self-determination for the Black belt."

Within the context of American radical politics the Wells-Klonsky group is relatively insignificant and its success in winning adherents to its "Black belt" theory very limited. Nonetheless it does provide an opportunity for discussing the general aspects of this important question.

The slogan of self-determination for the Black belt was not raised by the American Communist Party until 1928, that is, after Lenin's death. Stalin had come to power at the head of a privileged bureaucratic caste, and turned the Bolshevik's policy on self-determination for oppressed nationalities into its opposite. The consolidation of the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union had its repercussions throughout the Third International, known as the Comintern, and one of those repercussions was the position of the American CP on the Black liberation struggle.

In 1928, the leadership of the Comintern decided that Black people in America conformed to Stalin's definition of a nation and should fight for the "right of self-determination in the South." The American CP thereupon began publishing maps which indicated the exact boundaries of the projected Black Republic.

The American CP was not given the opportunity to discuss the position before Moscow made its decision. But even worse, the position was adopted in total disregard of the millions of Black people in the United States, who were, to say the least, not consulted. The Soviet bureaucrats took it upon themselves to determine for Afro-Americans what the slogans of their struggle should be, what they should fight for. Whether or not Black people wanted a separate nation and, if they did, whether or not they thought it should be in the South, was irrelevant. A more arbitrary caricature of the right of self-determination has never been seen.

In subsequent years the slogan of "self-determination for the Black belt" was advanced whenever the Soviet bureaucracy wanted to put pressure on the U.S. government (such as during the ultraleft "third period" in 1928-34), and withdrawn whenever they saw a possibility of a deal with Washington (such as during the Second World War). Such shifts—now for, now against—

have had nothing to do with the interests of the Black struggle in this country, but have been dictated by the foreign policy needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Thus, the slogan was dropped in 1943 on the grounds that Afro-Americans had already "exercised the historical right of self-determination by rejecting it." After World War II a watered down version of the "self-determination for the Black belt" slogan was revived. The demand was not strongly pushed in the 1950s, and it was finally removed from the CP's program at the end of the 1950s.

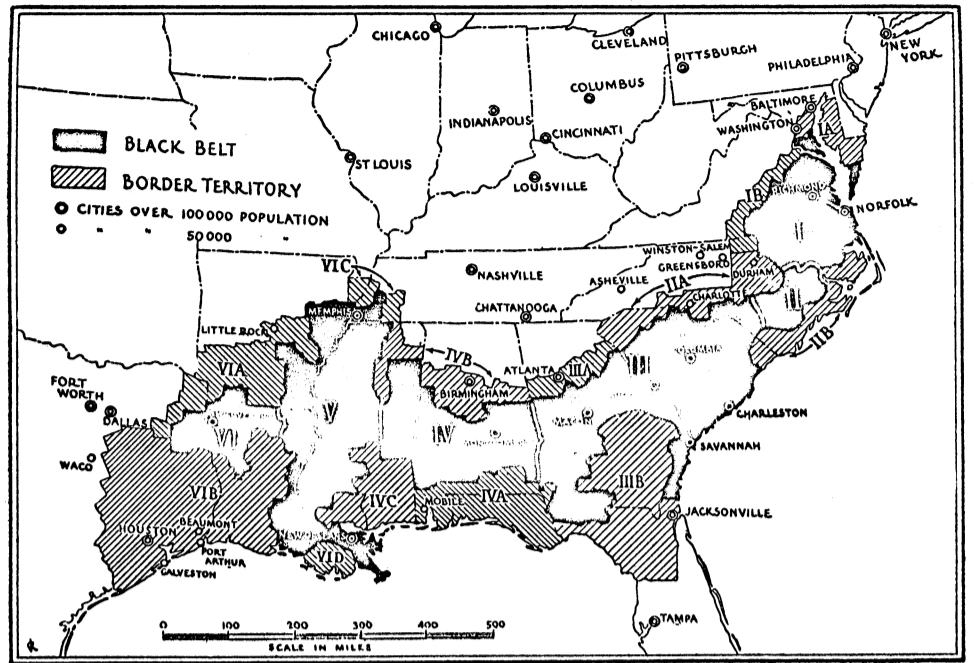
The theory behind the slogan of "self-determination for the Black belt" was that the homeland of Afro-Americans is in those counties in the South where there are Black majorities or significant Black minorities and where share cropping is the prevalent form of livelihood for Blacks. A 1930 Comintern resolution indicated that only in the Black belt were Afro-Americans entitled to determine their own affairs, including the right to a separate state, while in the rest of the country the CP was to promote the demand for "full equality," not self-determination, as the principal slogan.

This mechanical approach to the Black liberation struggle failed to reckon with the tremendous migration of Black sharecroppers to Northern cities, with the bitter fact that Black people in the United States are oppressed as a group regardless of where they live in the United States, and that the demand for full equality in white capitalist society cannot be achieved North or South.

Marxists disagree with the Communist Party's old Black belt theory not because it provides for the existence of a separate Black state, but because it arbitrarily creates such a state without reference to the desires of Afro-Americans.

Marxists unconditionally support the right of oppressed nations to control their own affairs, and this must include the right to form a separate nation-state with definite geographical boundaries. If the masses of an oppressed nation determine for themselves that they want to break all political ties with the oppressor state and demand their own separate state, we will support and struggle for that demand.

Afro-Americans, as an oppressed nationality inside the United States, are now raising the demand for self-determination. Most commonly this has taken the form of struggles for Black control of the Black communities. At this time, however, only a relatively small number of vanguard organizations have raised the demand for a separate state and it is not at this time a position widely supported in the Black community. (Although *Newsweek* reported last summer that approximately 20 percent of



THE BLACK BELT. According to the 1930 census, the area designated by roman numerals I-VI had a population which was a majority Black. In the area labeled "border territory," 28.8 percent of the total population was Black. This map, printed in "The Negro Question in the United States" by James S. Allen, International Publishers, 1936, is a good example of the CP's mechanical approach to their former demand, "self-determination for the Black belt."

those Afro-Americans questioned in the most recent *Newsweek* poll favored the creation of a separate state.)

This does not mean that the majority of Afro-Americans at some future point in their struggle may not raise this demand. If they do, this will not indicate a step backward for the Black liberation movement, but, on the contrary, will signify a further sweeping revolutionary break with the imperialist oppressor state. If the Black masses demand a separate state, revolutionary socialists must be among the best fighters for that goal.

"But where will the boundaries of that state be?" ask the fainthearts who quiver at the thought that some portion of the holy USA will come under Black control. "Black people are widely dispersed throughout the country. They have no homeland inside the borders of the United States." This legalistic argument is the same one that the CP "Black belt theorists" and now the Wells-Klonsky group try to answer by counting Black heads in the southern counties.

Since the masses of Black people have not yet declared for a separate state, let alone made any demands for specific territorial boundaries, it is presumptuous for a section of the white radical movement, such as one faction of RYM, to specify these boundaries. In fact, it is totally inconsistent with the principle of self-determination.

Klonsky and Wells argue that it is "unscientific" not to specify boundaries, that a definite homeland for Blacks must exist or there cannot be any "territorial" basis for classifying Black Americans as an oppressed nation. It is not enough for them that the Afro-American nationality has a common language, English; common culture and heritage; and most significantly, a common economic, political and social oppression based on skin color. And along with these objective facts is the growing nationalist consciousness of hundreds of thousands of Afro-Americans. These features are a sufficient basis to characterize Black Americans as an oppressed nationality, and there is no need to make a fetish out of territoriality to reach this conclusion.

The Klonsky-Wells group, despite all of their reading of the old CP documents on this question, are still unclear as to what position they would take if the masses of Black people were to demand a separate state with boundaries radically different from those "scientifically" assigned to them.

What position would they take toward the Chicano and Native-American struggles for self-determination? Would they support a separate Chicano state if the masses of Chicanos were to demand it? Where is the "historical homeland" of the Native Americans? Does their wide

dispersal throughout the United States mean that Wells-Klonsky would not support a separate Native-American state if the majority of Indians demanded it? All the major Indian organizations are presently demanding that Alcatraz Island be ceded to them. Does this meet Klonsky's and Wells' requirement for a "scientific" location?

The mere fact that a couple of years ago virtually no one would have guessed that Native Americans would demand that Alcatraz be ceded to them as a part of their homeland, is a good example of why it is wrong for socialists to prescribe in advance the territorial boundaries for oppressed nationalities.

Bay Area group plans referendum on withdrawal

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The Bay Area Peace Action Council has filed a motion with the registrar here for a referendum this fall on immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The wording of the referendum will be "It is the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can settle their own affairs."

The wording is substantially the same as Proposition P, the referendum that got 36.4 percent of the vote here in 1967, and which was twice used in Dearborn, Mich., where it carried the second time by four to three. The second "immediate" and "all" have been added to eliminate any possible confusion about whether the referendum is for immediate withdrawal.

A petition drive, which will begin Feb. 23, is needed to place the referendum on the ballot. BAPAC activists expect to get twice the 15,000 required signatures.

The decision to organize the referendum was made in hopes that other areas would adopt it too. Initial response both in San Francisco and among peace groups in other regions has been very favorable. The referendum is expected to be a major topic at the BAPAC-hosted Western States Anti-war Conference to be held here Feb. 28-Mar. 1.

The referendum is viewed by BAPAC as in no way contrary to mass actions, but complementary to them, and as an educational and organizational means of broadening opposition to the war, and providing a forum to expose Nixon's "Vietnamization" shell game.

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The SMC national conference

By HARRY RING

CLEVELAND—A spring program of intensive antiwar activity culminating in massive demonstrations April 15 was approved by the Student Mobilization Committee conference here Feb. 14-15.

It was the biggest, broadest, most democratic gathering of the antiwar movement yet and support for a program of mass action to win immediate U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam was decisive.

There were 3,469 people who formally registered for the conference, and committee representatives estimate there were actually close to 4,000 present. They converged on Case Western Reserve University from 39 states and the District of Columbia. There was representation from some 300 college and university campuses and a hundred high schools.

Every shading of antiwar and radical opinion was represented and just about every known radical political grouping was in attendance. Decisions were arrived at after extensive discussion marked by the fullest observance of the rules of debate.

"... despite the emotional fervor with which most of the students embraced their ideas," the Feb. 16 *Cleveland Press* reported, "an almost overwhelming democracy prevailed. Nearly everyone who wished got a chance to speak."

The conference had before it a mass of differing proposals, some of which stood in clear counterposition to one another, and others whose nuances were rather murky. Yet the single issue on which the conference focused was the continuing need for mass action in the streets to mobilize the broadest number of Americans in opposition to the war. Offered a variety of alternatives to this, the delegates in their great majority opted decisively for the course of mass action.

The turnout for the conference definitively established that the SMC is the

student wing of the antiwar movement. This was attested to as well by the extensive media coverage, the messages received from around the world, and by the greetings delivered at the conference by other sections of the movement.

Among those who brought greetings to the conference were Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Sid Peck, cochairman of the New Mobe; David Hawk of the Moratorium; and Jeff Shero of the Conspiracy. Pvt. Joe Miles, a founder of GI's United who has been exiled by the brass to a base in Alaska, was able to make the trip to Cleveland and was among those greeting the conference.

There was also a rousing speech of greeting by Dick Gregory who participated in the conference's plenary session and Third World workshop.

The central action proposal before the body was presented by SMC executive secretary Carol Lipman. She proposed that the SMC tie in with the slated April 13-19 week of antiwar activity projected by both the Moratorium and New Mobe, as well as with their previously selected date of April 15 for mass demonstrations throughout the country.

This proposal was presented as part of an integrated program of SMC campus activity around such key issues as opposition to the draft and an end to campus complicity with the war, coupled with a major high school organizing drive and a systematic effort to relate to GIs, Third World and women's liberation forces so as to involve them in the fight against the war.

A heterogeneous grouping of individuals and political tendencies sought to establish a common front to defeat or significantly amend this proposal. A caucus variously referred to as the "Independent" caucus, the "Independent Radical" caucus and the "Independent and Radical" caucus sought to establish itself as the rallying center of the opposition to the Lipman proposal. It was difficult to ascertain precisely what groups the caucus embraced as allegiances shifted throughout the conference. The largest turnout for a meeting of the caucus was about 400.

Among the groups considering themselves in opposition were the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the International Socialists, the Workers League, Youth Against War and Fascism, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, and the recently created Communist Party youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League. Also present were the American Servicemen's Union, Gay Liberation Front, Youth International Party, and the John Brown caucus, an anarchist group.

Some of these groups sought to relate to the Radical Caucus but found it difficult to agree on a common program or conference strategy. The central issue that seemed to bind them together was opposition to the Young Socialist Alliance, the largest of the organized tendencies present and a vigorous partisan of the mass action proposal.

Apparently adapting to the pressure of the strong conference sentiment for the mass action approach, the various opposition groups sought finally to present their particular proposals as supplementary to it, although some of their programs were patently inconsistent with this.

An example was the opposition's generally common emphasis on civil disobedience as a means of opposing the draft as counterposed to mass action to abolish it.

(The conference rejected the proposal

to commit the SMC to civil disobedience. Instead, it reaffirmed SMC's previous position of favoring mass action to abolish the draft with local groups free to conduct antidraft activity of their choosing.)

The oppositionists found themselves in additional difficulty in that while they tended to agree on a multi-issue approach for the antiwar movement, they could not agree among themselves on what the issues should be. Some favored proposals which they felt would give SMC activity a greater anti-imperialist content, while others favored escalating the rhetoric to make the SMC what they deem to be an anti-imperialist organization. Others favored action of an undefined nature to end what they see as white and/or male supremacy in the antiwar movement. Still others said the key is to get the organized labor movement not to support the antiwar movement but to lead it. One group felt SMC should become a political party.

In a futile, last-minute effort to block the Carol Lipman mass action proposal, at the moment of voting a number of these groups announced they were combining their various proposals.

Those who participated in this gambit were the Radical Caucus, RYM, YAWF, and a group calling itself the Grass Roots Community Coalition. While their combined proposal was presented as a countermotion to Carol Lipman's, they were literally unable to explain to the body what the combined proposal was.

For many, it was quite an education in unprincipled politics to see the dismal outcome of an attempt to subordinate political differences for the sake of an organizational bloc against another political grouping.

Lacking a thought-out program, a number of the oppositionists also resorted to a concerted campaign of red-baiting against the YSA and attempted to rally opposition to the mass action motion on the basis that it was a "YSA proposal."



Photo by Sheldon Ramsdell

PROPOSAL CARRIED. SMC executive secretary Carol Lipman presents proposal for spring antiwar offensive which was approved by conference.

Media coverage of conference

More than a hundred of the Press and broadcast media covered the conference. There was coverage on the three major TV networks and by UPI and AP. Such major dailies as the New York Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor and Philadelphia Inquirer had their own reporters. The two Cleveland dailies gave the conference extensive coverage.

In addition to the radical and underground press, there was an unusually large representation from the campus press.

Cleveland antiwar leader salutes contribution of SMC

CLEVELAND—The SMC conference opened with an eloquent tribute to the work of SMC by attorney Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council which cohosted the conference along with Cleveland SMC. Gordon brought CAPAC's greetings to the gathering.

He characterized the conference as the most important in this period "and perhaps one of the most important student and youth gatherings ever held."

Recalling the lull in the antiwar movement at the end of 1968 and beginning of 1969 he vividly described how the SMC, then far smaller, had moved ahead determinedly to organize the April 5-6, 1969 days of protest and how they succeeded in reviving the movement to the point where those demonstrations proved far larger than even the most optimistic expected.

If the SMC had contributed nothing more than that, he declared, it would have earned the gratitude of the antiwar movement. But, he said, the student group went on from there to play a key role in building the Oct. 15 Moratorium and in turning out hundreds of thousands of youth on Nov. 15.

The SMC's successes, he said, can be traced directly to its policy of demanding immediate withdrawal, its internal democracy and its recognition of the need to take to the streets.

But perhaps most important, he added, is the SMC's clear understanding that the imperialist warmakers can be defeated only if the people are mobilized in ever greater numbers. SMC tactics, he said, have always been tailored to

fit that concept. The SMC, he declared, has rejected the idea of "go it alone." Instead, it pursued the policy of "go it along—along with the students, along with the GIs, along with the workers."

To the thunderous applause of the audience, Gordon recalled that it was such mass antiwar action that had fanned the popular anger that drove Johnson from the White House.

Nixon, he predicted, faces the same prospect.



Jerry Gordon



At women's liberation workshop

Photo by Elizabeth Barnes



Photo by Herman Kirsch

CONFERENCE GUEST. Famed comedian and rights fighter Dick Gregory hailed conference as historic event. He bitterly assailed Nixon administration and urged an economic boycott as a means of bringing war to an end.

This tactic also proved counterproductive. The firm response of the delegates—at least two-thirds of whom were not affiliated with any grouping—was a significant demonstration that the movement today is firmly grounded on the principle of non-exclusion and wants no part of red-baiting.

After a series of speakers tried to whip up sentiment against the Young Socialist Alliance, Robin Maisel of Philadelphia YSA spoke out against this. He explained the SMC's contribution to ending the McCarthy witch-hunting era by its firm adherence to the principle of non-exclusion, with ideas and individuals judged solely on their merit, not their political associations.

His remarks were greeted with a loud, sustained ovation by the great majority.

Solidarity on this issue was declared by former SDS leader Clark Kissinger who acted as conference parliamentarian and was a principal spokesman for RYM at the gathering.

Speaking for the RYM-Radical Caucus proposal, Kissinger declared, "We don't want anyone voting for our proposal out of opposition to the Young Socialist Alliance. We are firmly opposed to anticommunism and it's been manifested greatly at this conference."

The delegates again registered their determination to settle issues on their merits when it came time to elect an executive secretary of the organization.

The two principal nominees were Carol Lipman, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Frank Greer, a member of the Washington staff of SMC and a leader of the Radical Caucus. With the election coming after the questions of policy had been settled, Carol Lipman was elected by a decisive majority.

The serious, political approach of the

great majority of the delegates was also reflected in their refusal to be provoked or respond in kind to the tactics employed by a good part of the opposition. Unable to present an effective political alternative and, in a number of cases, not seriously interested in building the SMC, they engaged in continuing attempts to delay the proceedings and avoid arriving at a decision on basic issues by parliamentary maneuvering and stalling with points of order and procedure. One group's contribution to the proceedings was limited to chants of "bullshit" and the flying of paper planes. They also reportedly planned to halt the proceedings by rushing the platform. But a clearly well-organized network of marshalls, coupled with the obvious disapproval of their conduct by the great majority, apparently gave them pause for thought, and there was only one minor physical outbreak throughout the two-day meeting.

Despite the delaying tactics of a minority, it was a working conference throughout, with fruitful discussion and positive proposals for action emerging from several dozen workshops that were held. (Workshops on any issue were



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

ON DAIS. Dan Seigel, president of U of Calif. student gov't at Berkeley, was a conference chairman. Clark Kissinger was conference parliamentarian. Seigel supported Radical caucus and Kissinger was a spokesman for RYM caucus.

organized on request.)

Among the most important workshops were those of the GIs, Third World delegates, women and high school students.

The GIs worked out perspectives for expanding and defending GI newspapers, working toward the establishment of a national GI's United Against the War supported by the SMC, and a program of involving GIs in the mass actions of the civilian antiwar movement.

Age figures on conference registration forms indicate there may have been nearly a thousand high school students present. Nearly 300 participated in the high school workshop which brought to the convention floor a favorably received report to embark on a national campaign to win a Bill of Rights for high school students as a means of ensuring students their right to organize in the schools against the war.

The workshop projected a high school strike for April 15 in many cities and reported that in some areas there might be strikes of longer duration to win particular rights being denied them.

The Third World workshop, numbering nearly a hundred, while still modest in size was the biggest of any antiwar conference so far. Reports were heard from the various areas and they showed that despite difficulties presented by both reformists and ultralefts within the Black and Third World communities, there is growing participation in the antiwar movement.

More than 5,000 Black workers and students participated in the Oct. 15 Moratorium in Detroit and there were several thousand Third World people in the San Francisco action on Nov. 15. Recently in Los Angeles there was a Chicano Moratorium and an Asian-American antiwar action. At an anti-Agnew demonstration in Chicago, 35 Native Americans joined a contingent of Blacks and Latins.

Like the conference itself, the Third World workshop debated the alternatives of building a broad, mass-action antiwar movement or a narrow, supposedly "anti-imperialist" formation. A majority agreed on the former and on the basis of that perspective resolved to join actively in promoting the Black antiwar referendum slated for March and to get the biggest possible turnout for April 15.

At the women's liberation workshop, attended by more than 300, the discussion centered around a proposal that the SMC adopt a program of demands for the women's liberation movement as counterposed to developing a strategy for linking the women's liberation and antiwar movements. The latter concept was overwhelmingly approved.

Withdrawal view in new rise

The latest Gallup Poll reported, Feb. 14, a sharp increase in the number of Americans favoring immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The 35 percent who said they were in favor of immediate withdrawal represented a 14 percent jump over the previous poll, taken shortly after President Nixon's Nov. 3 speech on the Vietnam policy of his administration.

While the poll may underestimate the number of Americans who actually favor withdrawal, the increase clearly represents a growing impatience with the Vietnam war. It is also a vivid illustration of a process of rapid disillusionment with Nixon's cynical attempts to continue the slaughter, whatever hardship it brings to the Vietnamese and the American people.

400 Militant subs sold at conference

Last week we announced the opening of a two-month drive to obtain 7,500 new readers for The Militant. That drive got off to a flying start at the SMC conference where more than 400 special subscriptions were sold, in addition to a thousand individual copies of the paper.

A large room was provided for literature sales and more than 20 tendencies set up tables. Pathfinder's Merit publications enjoyed a particularly good sale, totalling \$485 for the two days. In addition, various SWP state campaign tables sold campaign literature and buttons and signed up many people interested in backing the socialist campaign.

YSA reported that many people signed up to receive more information about, or to join the organization.

A resolution embodying this approach was brought to the conference and approved along with a proposal that one day during the April week of activity be set aside to focus on "Women and the War," with specific activities to be worked out by local antiwar and women's liberation groups.

At the conclusion of the conference there was a demonstration at the coroner's office to demand freedom for Ahmed Evans, a Black Cleveland facing death after being convicted of murder by a racist court following a police shoot-out.

The two-day session ended on a note of confidence that the April action will be a massive one on the campuses and in cities across the country.

The conference offered dramatic testimony that antiwar sentiment is deep-rooted among the nation's youth and that the radicalization among them is equally deep. In the most sober sense, the conference can be estimated as genuinely historic.



Photo by Jon Britton

GI SPOKESMAN. Pvt. Joe Miles, who was exiled to Alaska after initiating GIs United at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg, takes floor at SMC's GI workshop.

NLF, others greet parley

Many messages of greetings and solidarity from abroad were received by the conference. Among these were telegrams from the Vietnamese National Liberation Front mission in Prague, the South Vietnamese Committee for Solidarity with the American People, the Unity Movement of South Africa, the Union of Yugoslav Youth and the French-Vietnamese Friendship Committee. Hugo Blanco and Ricardo Gadea, imprisoned Peruvian revolutionaries, sent greetings, as did the Communist League of France, the Auckland Council on Vietnam, the Vietnam Committee of Denmark, and the Rumanian Communist Youth. Both Vietnamese messages stressed support for the SMC demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

[The following interview, which assembles the answers recently given by three revolutionary leaders in Peru to the same four questions, will be of interest to those who are following the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard on such questions as the role of guerrilla war, its relationship to building a revolutionary combat party, the positions of the various tendencies in the far left, the character of the new regimes in Bolivia and Peru, and the attitude of the Cubans toward these regimes.]

[The questions were put to Héctor Béjar and Ricardo Gadea, who are serving sentences in Luringancho prison, and Hugo Blanco, who is serving his sentence in El Frontón. The answers were then assembled by the interviewer so as to obtain something like the symposium which the three political prisoners would like to have participated in, with a chance to refute each other or at least carry on the discussion further.]

[Héctor Béjar is the author of the essay now running currently in *Intercontinental Press* which received the 1969 prize of the Casa de las Américas. He represents the position of the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army).

[Ricardo Gadea speaks for the position of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). Like Béjar, he was active in the guerrilla struggle of 1965.]

[Hugo Blanco, who gained world fame in the first great peasant upsurge in the early sixties, is the leader of the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left), the Peruvian section of the Fourth International.]

[The reference to Fidel Castro in one of the questions concerns a speech made by the Cuban leader at the Antonio Guterres Sugar Mill at Puerto Padre in Oriente Province, July 14, 1969, in which he said that "if a genuine revolution develops in Peru, regardless of the fact that its leaders are military men," Cuba would defend that revolution. As to the possibility of such a thing happening in Peru, Fidel Castro stated: "What could develop out of this process is that it could continue advancing and could triumph completely. . ."]

[While such a stand is not without precedent for the Cubans, corresponding as it does to their diplomatic posture in many areas, it became involved in the current discussion among the Latin-American vanguard.]

[Ricardo Gadea's reference to the "Trotskyist" tendencies represented by Frias and Posadas is misleading, as neither Posadas nor Frias is any longer associated with the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.]

[Ismael Frias was a leading figure in the Peruvian Trotskyist movement prior to his split from the Fourth International in 1965. Following the Peruvian junta's nationalization of the International Petroleum Corporation last year—which he took as verification of the junta's revolutionary credentials—he came out in support of it.]

[Juan Posadas was at one time a leader of the Argentine section of the Fourth International. However, he refused to accept the 1963 reunification of the world Trotskyist movement, which healed a 10-year split, and left the International. The most distinguishing feature of Posadas' political line is his equation of revolution and nuclear war. He calls for the Soviet Union to launch a nuclear attack against the United States, on the premise that only capitalism would be destroyed by such a conflict.]

* * *

Question: How do you view the relationship between the party and the revolution?

Béjar: I do not believe it is necessary to have a "party" to make a revolution. In Peru there are many revolutionary organizations. There is a division of labor among them at present. For instance, the FIR has done work among the peasantry; the Revolutionary Vanguard has worked among students and workers. The Maoists are doing work in the student and peasant movements. In this sense, the party is there. It is true there is no united leadership, but I do not believe that is possible at this time.

To try and create a party now with a centralized leadership rather than helping the revolution would become a barrier. We need freedom of expression of all the tendencies within the movement and a party would retard this process.

Gadea: No party exists today as a vanguard organization. A series of organizations exist that have some areas of agreement and some disagreements. We are going through a process with regard to developing a party.

LAND OR DEATH:

Hugo Blanco
and
the Peasant Struggle in Peru

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In my opinion the party will be formed in the process of revolutionary struggle. I disagree with those people who think you can form a group and then call yourselves "the vanguard."

I belong to the MIR. We favor a Marxist movement. We do not consider ourselves *THE* vanguard but one part of the formation of the vanguard.

We believe that all revolutionary groups should maintain complete independence from the government. The present regime is a reformist capitalist regime. The revolutionaries and the proletariat in Peru have to prepare for a real revolution; there is no other path. The present task is to prepare politically-militarily. To do this the left must participate in the mass movement. The left is weak today. While the left works to strengthen itself it must remember that the perspective is a war, a revolutionary war. Organizationally we must prepare to fight with arms.

We need to work among the masses to strengthen ourselves and to raise the level of combativity of the masses. Right now this is the most important work. But each member, each revolutionary, should imbue himself with the understanding that at a certain moment he will be a fighter and the organization must have the qualities that will enable it to engage in combat. All our work must be in preparation for a future revolutionary situation.

Blanco: Any human endeavor requires organization in order to bring it to fruition. A social revolution is a great and complicated endeavor. Although it is the masses who realize this endeavor, they are not fully conscious of the process until the moment of culmination.

The "conscious vanguard," which knows the goal it seeks, and, in general terms, how to get there, is only a minority.

How can one justify not organizing that vanguard? The anarchists had one explanation, the *guerrillistas* [advocates of guerrilla warfare as a panacea—*IP*], who are not too-far-off relatives of the anarchists, have another.

The position of the *guerrillistas* is derived directly from their concept of the revolution. For them, revolution is synonymous with guerrilla warfare, and therefore revolutionary organizing work is synonymous with the organization of guerrillas.

For us, as Marxists, the revolution is a process, of which one critical phase is armed struggle; one form which this armed struggle can take is guerrilla warfare. Therefore, the conscious vanguard, which will organize and lead the masses throughout this complicated and broad process, requires an organization appropriate for that task. That organization is the party.

To show the ineffectiveness of the Communist parties as a demonstration of the ineffectiveness of a party is an incorrect amalgam. Those parties are inoperative for the revolution because their objective is to maintain peaceful coexistence and not to make a revolution. What we ought to learn from this is that we need to organize a party that participates in all aspects of the revolutionary process.

Precisely the great deficiency in our mass work among the peasantry was that under the impact of the mass movement we did not devote sufficient time to building the party; that omission we paid for very heavily. Reality hit us very hard, once again showing us that Lenin was correct when he held the party to be indispensable.

Q: What role do you see for each of the four major world currents in the communist movement—Moscowists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and Fidelistas—in the Peruvian situation?

Béjar: I believe all tendencies have a role to play and that the existence of tendencies is inevitable.

I oppose the concept of an Ideological Mecca from which all truth flows. Otherwise all we would have to do is follow instructions from Moscow, Peking, or some other place. What we have to do is work towards a revolution based on our Peruvian experiences while taking into account the Russian and Chinese experiences as a point of critical analysis. This holds also for Cuba.

We believe that in effect there is a new international. That is the student movement of Europe, the black struggle in the United States, the antibureaucratic movements in Eastern Europe, and the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Gadea: The tendency to look for and copy the experience of other countries reflects the weakness of our own Peruvian vanguard. We have ourselves experienced the problems of putting an abstract idea forward without checking the concrete situation out sufficiently. Our guerrilla experience has made us keenly aware of this. It has made us look more carefully at our own Peruvian experiences, like that of Hugo Blanco. We must deal with the realities of Peru. From these experiences and a study of our national reality will come the Peruvian approach to revolution.

The Communist party is falling into the error of thinking the present government is nationalistic and anti-imperialist and therefore gives it support. We disagree with this position.

Other tendencies, like the Maoists, maintain that we must have a united front with the "National Bourgeoisie." Some of the Trotskyist tendencies, that of Frias and Posadas, give the present regime support. As we see it, the correct, truly revolutionary politics for Peru is opposed to all of this.

Bejar, Gadea, B

INTERVIEW JAILED PERU REVOLUTION



Hugoanco

Bejar, Gaea, Blanco

INTERVIEW WITH JAILED PERUVIAN REVOLUTONARIES



Gaea, Blanco

INTERVIEW WITH HUGO GAEA AND HÉCTOR BÉJAR PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARIES



Hugo Gaea

Blanco: The pro-Moscow Communist parties are organizations at the service of the Soviet bureaucracy. Their objective is not revolution but the maintenance of peaceful coexistence. In Peru they are happy because we have a Soviet embassy so they give support to our pro-imperialist bourgeois government.

The Pekingese represent a current that was correct in breaking positively to the left from the old Communist party. But, unfortunately, from the start they acted according to the needs of the Peking-Moscow faction fight, not in accordance with the needs of the revolutionary process in our country. Their old Stalinist sectarianism has reached grotesque proportions. They are not only sectarian towards the Moscow CP but towards all other currents, including revolutionary groups, the result being that they ended up in sectarian infighting among themselves. Regarding this last point, I'm referring to Peru but I would not be surprised if this is a general characteristic of the Maoists.

Their failure to break with Stalinism, their substitute of diatribes for political discussions, their acting in accordance with the needs of Peking, makes them incapable of playing a leading role in the Latin-American revolution. Nevertheless there are self-sacrificing and dynamic revolutionaries within the ranks of the Maoists, some of whom may overcome the above-mentioned weaknesses and participate in a positive way in the revolutionary process.

The Fidelista comrades confuse revolution with guerrilla warfare and they substitute guerrillas for the concept of the party. This is what has weakened them most noticeably. In spite of the great prestige of the Cuban revolution, of Fidel and of Che, they are becoming weaker.

They have some contradictory aspects. Without a deep analysis, their repudiation of the opportunism of the Communist party led them to repudiate Marxism-Leninism in many fundamental aspects. They underestimate the importance of the party. They underestimate the importance of the mass movements. They overestimate and glorify isolated heroic acts, etc. On the other hand, the heritage of Stalinism, which many of them carry, results in their having many Stalinist aspects such as concepts of a "progressive bourgeoisie," lack of clarity of the nature of our revolution, repetition of the "characterization" of Trotskyism given by the Stalinists, etc.

In Peru, reality is forcing them towards mass work in a positive manner. I hope they will incorporate themselves in the real mass revolutionary process and realize that as a "guerrillista" current they have no future. On top of all this, in our country the Fidelistas have the problem that they must fight a government that Fidel is supporting. Under such conditions how can the Fidelistas lead our revolution?

We Trotskyists believe that the revolutionary process must take as its starting point the needs felt most strongly by the masses, at their actual organizational level, and at their present level of struggle and consciousness.

A socialist revolution is the only definitive solution of all the problems of the masses and it is to this end that we must orient.

Regardless of how small each conquest of the masses is, if it is won through their mobilization it helps to educate, to raise their consciousness, to strengthen their organizations and their methods of struggle.

This entire process, broad and complex as it is, should be guided by a general strategy that takes into account all aspects of the struggle, that reaches out to all popular sectors of the people. This is the conception of the *Communist Manifesto*, the conception of Leninism, the conception of the *Transitional Program*, the document on which the Fourth International was founded.

I am a Trotskyist, a member of the Fourth International. I believe in its methodology and its practice. I consider it fundamental to organize parties in each country under these general concepts.

Q: What do you think of Fidel Castro's speech where he states it is possible that Peru's military regime could possibly lead the Peruvian revolution?

Béjar: I believe Fidel is wrong. The Peruvian army continues being an army of the bourgeoisie. This is not simply a dogmatic assertion but a reality carried out by the government in its acts.

Gaea: We disagree with Fidel's speech. We recognize that for many years Cuba has maintained an internationalist revolutionary line towards Latin America. The MIR is itself a testimony to that. But the MIR from its origin has been an independent organization tied to the reality of our country.

The actuality of the present government is that it is not revolutionary. Its reforms are aimed at reinforcing a monopoly capitalist development which is dominated by imperialism. This process is not conducive to the liberation of our country. Instead it is deepening the dependency of the country—very clearly so, after the sellout regarding copper to the United States through the politics of the "Open Door" policy to foreign investors. This development has increased in recent months.

Blanco: It is very sad that Fidel supports the bourgeois, proimperialist government because of its policies for developing the country and its anti-imperialist demagoguery. This is the government that has massacred peasants; that stands with the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists in conflicts against the Peruvian workers; that is repressing the students for their resistance against the govern-

ment's project of forcing the university into the role of service centers for the development of the interests of the imperialists.

In Peru all the revolutionaries are against the government, including the Fidelistas, of course.

There is an incident that I'm reminded of: In Chaupimayo I was once awakened by a peasant woman who was coming from her home quite a distance away, shouting at the top of her voice. I thought something terrible had happened to her. So I asked if there had been an accident. She answered, "No! I heard over the radio that our beloved Fidel has been murdered!" Later when our guerrillas were in the jungle, it thrilled us to hear the fervorous support of "Radio Habana." I'm sure that the peasant compañera was likewise touched in her hut by "Radio Habana."

Although we must always be truthful to the people, it is very painful to think that that compañera is hearing what Radio Habana and our Fidel is saying about the Peruvian government. That compañera today is in control of the land that she won in the peasant struggle. The bourgeois governments have not dared to retake the peasants' land. This present government is trying to get her to pay for it. The peasants are resisting, they defend the land reform they made, they are defending it against the "land reform" of the government.

Why does Fidel place confidence in a government that is fighting that peasant woman? Why doesn't he trust in the compañera who fought for her land and who fed, clothed, and protected her guerrillas who fought in the mountains? Does Fidel believe that only guerrillas or bourgeois armies are capable of making a revolution? It will be the masses of Peru that make the revolution, Comrade Fidel; they will use guerrillas as one of their weapons.

Q: Do you think that we will see guerrilla warfare again like that initiated by Che Guevara or will revolutionaries use other strategies and tactics in the future?

Béjar: I believe that guerrilla war continues to be the basic approach in Latin America to begin the revolution. But it is only a method of starting it.

We must try to give the people of Latin America as complete freedom of action as possible. We must avoid trying to enclose their struggle in preconceived concepts. I have no doubt that the people will know how to develop a series of forms in the struggle that cannot be imagined today. And that we will see the participation of various mass sectors and political formations. And they will have only one common aim, which is socialism, which in my opinion is the only way out for Latin America.

Gaea: We believe that the tactics and strategy in the future will be new. There are some important changes taking place in our country.

The present capitalist reforms reflect an urbanization of the economy and of society in general. In the countryside it is possible that the land reform will create a privileged peasant sector and the marginal people, both rural and urban, will grow rapidly. Under these conditions the revolutionary struggle will be reflected in quite a variety of ways politically and in the use of arms.

The process of a people's war moving towards power will have to end in socialism. In this we are with Che.

Blanco: From the answers to the other questions, it is clear that we do not conceive of the guerrilla struggle as a strategy but only as a tactic to be used in certain moments, under certain conditions.

To raise rural guerrilla warfare to a general strategy for all the countries in Latin America was a great error for Fidel and Che. It has been a very painful experience for Latin America. Fortunately the harsh reality is forcing many of the Fidelista comrades to reconsider. They are beginning to understand that the option is not opportunism or guerrillas, but opportunism or revolution.

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Denver Chicano highschoolers act

By ORRIN BROWN

DENVER, Feb. 18—Fifteen hundred Chicano students participated in a one-day high school blow out here today.

The roots of the present struggle go back to last Sept. 16, when thousands of Denver students walked out of schools as part of the Chicano Liberation Day celebration and protest. Chicano students who had organized the walkout at North High School had formed themselves into the Black Berets.

Shortly after, in an attempt to quell the tide of student organizing, the Black Berets—nine in all at the time—were suspended from school for leafleting and for wearing their black berets. Determined to maintain their rights, the nine students filed suit against the school board and against North Principal P. Shannon for the suppression of their democratic rights. Attorneys for the students were able to get them readmitted to school on condition that they not wear their berets pending decision of the suit, which was scheduled to go to court in March.

Since then, the school administration has harassed, suspended and expelled the nine Berets on various trumped-up charges. On Feb. 5, the last remaining Beret, Rocky Hernandez, was suspended without explanation, arrested and charged with "disturbance" and "unlawful acts in or about schools." His bail was set at \$1,000.

The Chicano community rallied in support of the Berets. On Feb. 11, there was a hastily organized school walkout involving about a thousand students, and on Feb. 13, students from seven junior-high and high schools formed the Chicano Student Movement Council. That evening at a press conference at the Crusade for Justice hall, the Council announced a list of 17 demands, which were formally presented to the school board Feb. 16 by the Council and by Corky Gonzales, head of the Crusade. The Council gave the school board until 5 p.m. yesterday to respond to the demands.

Among the demands were amnesty for all students involved in the Feb. 11 walkout, dismissal of North High's principal, Shannon, and vice principal, Richard Conklin, impeachment of racist school-board members, removal of all police from the schools, the right to demand the removal of all prejudiced teachers, reinstatement of the Black



Photo by M.E. Varela/LNS

Denver highschoolers in action last year.

Berets, and permission to pass out leaflets at schools.

Five p.m. yesterday passed, and the school board made no response. Today, some fifteen hundred students walked out of school and gathered at the school administration building for a protest rally. The crowd was infuriated when school-board authorities contemptuously demanded a "formal letter" stating the demands. A few rocks were thrown and a few windows broken.

The cops appeared, and word went through the crowd that the police helicopter was on its way.

A spokesman for the Crusade suggested that the rally disperse and reconvene at the Crusade hall.

The meeting there decided to address a letter to "School Board Servants of Denver, Aztlan," and to return to school—tomorrow. The Chicano Student Movement Council will decide what action to take next.

Window trashing in Berkeley after Chicago verdict

By OVE ASPOY

BERKELEY—Activities called here for The Day After the conclusion of the Chicago 7 trial as a protest against the savage contempt sentences have left in their wake at least 13 injuries (six of them policemen) and an unofficial estimate of \$500,000 in damages.

The activities started with a 4 p.m. rally Feb. 16 at Provo Park which lasted 15 minutes and had only one speaker, Paul Glusman. Glusman, along with Peter Camejo and Jack Bloom, was one of the Berkeley 3, indicted on conspiracy charges for protest demonstrations against the university's refusal to allow Eldridge Cleaver to teach courses for credit.

As the rally of 1,500 broke up, a crowd of about 800 marched down Shattuck Avenue, the main business section of town, and then on to Telegraph Avenue, the scene of police riots during the People's Park struggle last July.

Small groups of ultralefts in the march, armed with rocks, metal bars, bricks, and two-by-fours, left a trail of broken windows all along the route of the march. On some blocks near Telegraph Avenue every window in all the stores was broken. Banks, insurance companies, department stores, and a large Safeway store complex received the most extensive damage. After most of the marchers had dispersed, a small band of rock throwers continued breaking windows throughout the Telegraph and Shattuck Avenue area. Club-wielding police in full riot gear with gas masks worked from about 5:30 p.m. until late into the night to clear people off the streets. An unknown number of protesters and bystanders have been beaten and arrested by the police.

The San Francisco protest against the Chicago 7 trial was more subdued. A group of 12 lawyers burned their certificates allowing them to practice before the federal district court, at a noon rally in front of the federal building.

Madison cops club GE protesters

By DAVID HALPERN

MADISON, Wis.—On Feb. 12, recruiters from the General Electric Company were on the campus of the University of Wisconsin here at the invitation of the university administration in order to recruit. The presence of the nation's second largest war producer, which had just finished attempting to smash a 15-week strike of electrical workers, produced a demonstration of 3,000 people in protest. What ensued, unfortunately, did not force the GE recruiters to leave the campus, nor did it help to raise the issue of the university's complicity with the war machine. Campus ultraleftists bear responsibility for this.

Campus organizations began preparations for the demonstration weeks earlier. Because SDS did not share the Young Socialist Alliance and Student Mobilization Committee's perspective of building a massive demonstration against the recruiters under the slogan "U.S. out of Vietnam now; GE off campus," the latter two organizations went ahead without SDS.

Preliminary to the anti-recruiter demonstration, the SMC and YSA called a rally to support the GE strikers on Feb. 4. Because the UE and IUE approved the new contract the day before the rally, attendance was reduced. Nevertheless, some 200 people attended.

Momentum was building for the demonstration against the recruiters organized by SMC, YSA, MAPAC (Madison Area Peace Action Council), and Youth Against War and Fascism. A few days before the 12th, an agreement was reached with SDS, the Black Council

and the Third World Unity Movement, and a coalition was formed.

Letters were sent to the president of General Electric and the president of the university demanding that the recruiters not come onto the campus unless they were willing to debate representatives of the campus antiwar movement. SMC also initiated a petition campaign demanding that GE recruiters not be allowed on campus.

More than 3,000 people attended the demonstration, which was held on a cold, windy, snowy day. Speakers included representatives of the YSA, SMC, SDS and the trade-union movement.

Lew Pepper of the YSA attempted to set the mood for the day: "We have gone through all the so-called democratic processes, just like the university said we should. And what has been their response? Nothing. Let me tell you something. The police from Madison, Dane County and Richland County are mobilizing today. University Protection and Security are mobilizing today. And what do they want? They want nothing more than to bust us, for the reason that the administration has no ground to stand on. They see their position as indefensible, and to obscure the issue of GE on campus, they would rather have a police riot." Pepper warned the crowd against police provocateurs.

From the rally, the crowd marched to the engineering campus where the recruiting was underway. We were met by scores of helmeted cops in blue jumpsuits. While the mass of demonstrators filed around in a picket line, two representatives of SMC attempted to present

the GE recruiters with the petitions demanding that they leave campus. However, the police had different ideas. Instead of permitting the SMCers to present the petitions, they began pushing them back and shoving most of the demonstrators who were in front.

At that point, several rocks were thrown from the back of the crowd. As soon as this occurred, the police stopped pushing and started hitting and arresting, dispersing the group in several directions. This was followed by a barrage of tear gas and a generalized rock-throwing melee. Window breaking followed, aimed at stores, banks and other institutions commonly viewed as exploitative.

Up until now, 10 people have been arrested on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to battery to a police officer. President Harrington and Chancellor H. Edwin Young said that the university would try to make the demonstration sponsors financially accountable for the damage. Edwin Conrad, city attorney of Madison, spoke of the possibility of a conspiracy trial.

It is obvious that the university and its cohorts will do all they can to discredit, repress and obscure the intent of the GE demonstration and demonstrators. They are attempting to shift attention away from their complicity with the war machine onto an outbreak of rock throwing.

A committee is being formed to defend those individuals and organizations that come under attack, and to educate people about the real roles of the university and GE.



Photo by Della Rossa

SOLIDARITY. Chicano youth in Los Angeles marched in front of Mexican consulate Feb. 7 demanding freedom for 300 Mexican political prisoners jailed after police attack on student strike.

Alaska saga

When a teacher is a non-teacher



Matilde Miles

By DAVID THORSTAD

The Air Force has refused to allow Matilde Miles to teach at the University of Alaska center on Elmendorf Air Force Base. Yet in predictable cloak-and-dagger fashion, it refuses not only to explain its reasons but even to admit to its responsibility for the incident.

"Yet it is clear," states an article by Stephen Brent in the Feb. 1 Anchorage *Daily News*, "that some time between registration two weeks ago and the start of classes last week somebody in the Air Force quietly requested the university to boot her out. And the university did just that, without asking any questions or lifting a finger in Mrs. Miles' defense."

Mrs. Miles, a specialist in Afro-American history, was offered a course in Black studies by Eugene Laurent, director of the Elmendorf and Ft. Richardson programs for the university. "By any standard, Mrs. Miles is unusually qualified," says Brent. "After earning her doctorate she spent a year teaching in Tanzania. Last year she taught at St. John's University in New York City. At the same time she wrote a teachers guide in Afro-American studies for the New York State Education Department."

Yet, however much her qualifications may have impressed the educational authorities in New York and Alaska, the Air Force had other priorities. It began to apply pressure to have the course canceled "for security reasons."

Apparently the Air Force's pressure was sufficient to soften the backbone of the otherwise impressed Alaskan educational authorities. Caving in without even a bleat of disapproval, Laurent (while not caring to reveal the identities of those applying the pressure) did say: "They came over from the military and told me that for their security reasons she couldn't teach on base. I had no choice."

When the *Daily News* attempted to trace the origin of the pressure, it was sent on an odyssey through various military departments, each as intent as the other on denying any knowledge of the harassment.

Despite the Air Force's "No comment" policy concerning its action, two possible explanations come to mind.

One is the fact that Mrs. Miles' husband is Pvt. Joe Miles. Miles was given a punitive transfer to Alaska last year after successfully organizing two chapters of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at Ft. Jackson, S. C., and Ft. Bragg, N. C.

The other reason, of course, is that the proposed course was in Black studies. "The whole idea that Afro-American history is dangerous—well it's true," says Mrs. Miles. "If you go into it, you of necessity take on some of the sacred cows of American history. But that doesn't mean it shouldn't be done."

The Anchorage chapter of the ACLU plans to investigate this meddling by the military in what would have been Alaska's first course in Black studies.

Palestine solidarity week held at U of Pennsylvania

By NATALIE BOMBARO

PHILADELPHIA—Hundreds of people participated in a Feb. 2-5 program here sponsored by the Palestine Week Committee of the University of Pennsylvania. There were cultural events and political discussions, and hundreds of dollars worth of literature on Palestine and the Palestinian liberation struggle was sold.

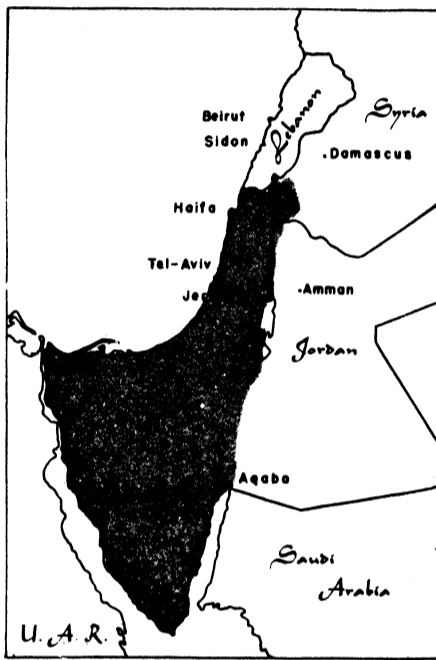
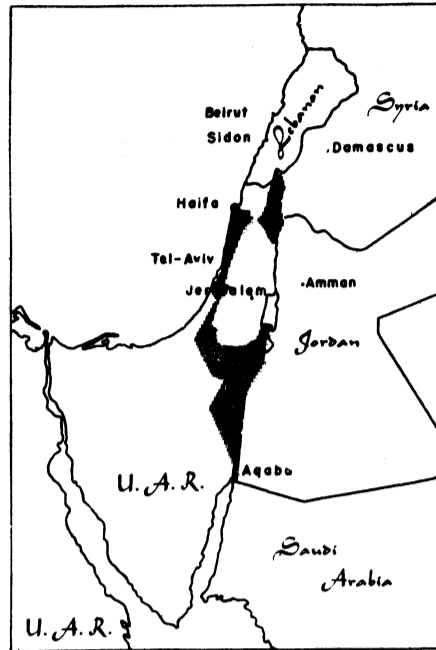
The week's events included an exhibition of contemporary Palestinian art by Kamal Boullata and Abu Hijab; readings of contemporary and traditional Palestinian poetry; displays of the embroidery, leatherwork, carving and other crafts of the Palestinians. Members of the Philadelphia Arab community joined with students to present an evening of folksinging and dancing, and there was a luncheon of Arab food.

In his lecture, "Toward a Revolutionary Palestinian Art," Kamal Boullata stressed that, in addition to the usually recognized influence of social and political systems on art, in those areas actively engaged in struggle there is a reciprocal relationship. A new Palestinian consciousness, Boullata said, is being created not only by the objective conditions and the inspiring example set by the fedayeen, but also by the attempts of Arab writers, artists, and poets to portray and shape the revolutionary "New Palestinian Man."

The final day of Palestine Week was devoted to political discussions. Marc Bedner of the Young Socialist Alliance and M. A. S. Amin of the Middle East Coordinating Committee led seminars. Members of the Organization of Arab Students led a lively question and answer session on the history of the Middle East and recent developments there. A fourth seminar was to have been led by Maan Ziyada of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, but he was arbitrarily refused entry into the United States from Canada.

Dr. Ilyas Shufani, professor of Arabic Studies at Georgetown University, delivered the address which closed the week's program. Speaking on "The Palestinian Revolution: Its Resurgence and Accomplishments," Shufani traced the rise of the Palestinians as an independent political force, especially since the 1967 war.

The Palestine Week Committee is a coalition including the Organization of Arab Students, the Ethiopian Student Union, the Arab-American Liberation Movement, the Young Socialist Alliance,



LNS

STEADY EXPANSION. When state of Israel was carved out in 1947 it occupied area shown at top. Below is area it occupied as of 1967.

the Middle East Coordinating Committee, and representatives of the Arab community in Philadelphia. The Committee is now discussing a continuing program of activities. It invites all groups planning similar programs to exchange suggestions and assistance. It may be contacted c/o Middle East Coordinating Committee, P. O. Box 8576, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.

Ft. Dix GI coffeehouse bombed

WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J. (LNS)—An incendiary bomb was thrown through the door of the Fort Dix GI-movement Coffee House at 8:45 Saturday evening, Feb. 14. Some of the 30 GIs and civilians inside rushed toward the device and tried to kick it out the door. The bomb ignited and three GIs and one woman staff member were injured—sustaining burns and cuts. The most serious injury was to a GI who was cut around the eyes. He is presently in the Fort Dix hospital; his condition is described as satisfactory.

Some of the GIs who ran after the bombthrowers were shot at.

When N. J. State Police Detectives Bureau agents came to investigate the bombing, they kicked all GIs and staff out of the building and proceeded to rip down posters, tear up GI papers, pull down boards that had been nailed up to fill cracks in the wall, and tamper with the heater (causing it to malfunction).

The Detectives Bureau agents also found what they claimed to be 20 bullet holes on one of the inside walls; they

speculated that people must have fired from inside the coffee house. The holes were later discovered to be caused by target arrows with which a GI staff member had been practicing the previous day.

According to GI staff members, the bomb is of a military type. They suspect either members of the military or local right-wingers of carrying out the bombing.

GI organizers explain that the bombing is only one in a long series of harassments by the military, local and state police, and right-wing groups in the area. The coffee house is already facing eviction this month as a result of pressure put on their landlord by the military and local businessmen. The bombing may have been intended, in part, as a warning to other Wrightstown property owners not to rent to the anti-war GIs.

The Fort Dix Coffee House has been the headquarters for dissident GI organizing against the war and against racism. The Fort Dix Soldiers Liberation Front and the Black Liberation Party

Blacks stage occupation at Amherst

By TOM BIAS

AMHERST, Mass., Feb. 18—Some 200 Black students occupied four buildings for more than 14 hours at Amherst College here today. The action was part of a strategy of pressing for a series of demands on five Massachusetts colleges. The schools, which cooperate closely, are Amherst, the University of Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke, Smith College and Hampshire College.

The Black students are making the following demands:

- An end to the national repression of Black political leaders.

- A five-college "bridge" program for Black students between high school and college. The Blacks object to past programs for incoming freshmen on the grounds that they have made no attempt to bring the Black student's consciousness to the level where he can gain a real appreciation for Black self-determination. They are demanding an all-Black governing board for this bridge program.

- A comprehensive, coherent five-college Black studies program to be controlled by the Blacks. This program would involve every academic discipline and include an activist community program.

- A more vigorous recruitment of Black students, with funds to be set aside for this purpose and for financial aid to Blacks.

The Black students have given Mar. 2, the date of the next scheduled faculty meeting, as the deadline for the colleges to agree to their non-negotiable demands.

At a meeting today, the faculty condemned the takeover while claiming to recognize its responsibility to listen to the demands of the Black students.

About 65 students also met today to organize support for the Black students. This meeting condemned the college's methods of dealing with Black students in the past and demanded the immediate implementation of the Black students' demands.

At a general college meeting later in the day, President Calvin Plimpton would not say whether any disciplinary action would be taken against the Black students. There was, however, considerable support at the meeting for amnesty, and if any repressive action is taken against the Blacks, it will probably meet with strong opposition from the students.

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

SEX AGAINST SEX, OR CLASS AGAINST CLASS? THE ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION. Speaker: Ilona Stanton, Atlanta YSA organizer. First week of two-part series on Women's Liberation. Fri., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree (at 14th St.). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

NEW YORK

No Militant Labor Forum Feb. 27.

Linda Jenness runs against Maddox**Georgia SWP campaign begins**

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA — The Georgia Socialist Workers Party announced a statewide election campaign at a news conference held in the state Capitol Feb. 12. Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969, announced her plans to run for governor of Georgia, and it was also announced that Frank Grinnon and Joe Cole would be running for Congress in the fifth and fourth congressional districts respectively.

Representatives of Atlanta's major newspapers, television stations and radio stations trained their cameras and microphones on Linda Jenness and Frank Grinnon (Joe Cole was unable to be present due to speaking engagements in Cleveland), and listened intently as the candidates outlined their platform for the 1970 elections.

Linda Jenness, contending for the public office now held by well-known segregationist Lester Maddox, said that she will be campaigning to end war in Vietnam by bringing all American troops home immediately. She also stressed the need for an independent Black political party to lead the struggle of Black people for control of Black communities. The biggest response from the press and onlookers came when she discussed her campaign's support of the women's liberation movement.

Frank Grinnon, antiwar activist at Georgia State University and a member of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association Local 101, directed his comments to the recent political furor created by the court-ordered desegregation of Georgia's schools. School desegregation, he said, "... wasn't a gift suddenly granted by a good-hearted court. Black people have struggled for a long time to win this concession. The reason Black people have fought for school desegregation is to raise the quality of education for Black students."

He added, however, that "... a number of Black leaders have raised the point that desegregation will not be sufficient to solve the problem of a decent education for Black students. And I agree wholeheartedly." The solution, he said, is for Black schools to be controlled by Black people. Grinnon also stated that the Socialist Workers candidates would be waging an antipollution campaign, directed against the profit-hungry corporations which are responsible for pollution.

A prepared statement by Joe Cole,



GEORGIA CANDIDATES. Linda Jenness (left) and Frank Grinnon (right) announced their candidacies for statewide Georgia offices. With them is Ginny Osteen who outlined plans to build young socialist supporters groups for the campaign. Photograph appeared on the front page of the Feb. 12 Atlanta Journal.

one of the "Fort Jackson 8" who successfully fought an attempt last year by military officials at Fort Jackson to jail them for expressing and organizing antiwar sentiment in the Army, was read to the newsmen. The statement said that he was planning to obtain the absentee voting lists of all GIs registered to vote in Georgia. "I'll send them our election platform and ask them to support our campaign."

Also participating in the news conference was Ginny Osteen, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Mobilization Committee at Georgia State University. She announced that the YSA was taking the initiative in forming Young Socialist supporter groups for the SWP candidates on as many campuses as possible.

Press representatives, remembering Linda Jenness's fight against high qualifying fees when she ran for mayor of

Atlanta last year, asked if the Socialist Workers candidates planned a similar fight during this campaign. She answered that the qualifying fees and the number of signatures required on nomination petitions are exorbitant and indicated that a suit will be made in federal district court next week challenging these requirements. "I am confident that the courts will throw out these discriminatory requirements," she stated.

Black journalists fight subpoenas of materials

NEW YORK — Some 70 Black journalists stated Feb. 13 that they would oppose "by using every means at our disposal" government attempts to compel them to hand over to investigating or law-enforcement agencies unpublished or unbroadcast material they had gathered. A rash of subpoenas has been issued recently ordering journalists to present their notebooks to grand juries investigating student radical organizations and the Black Panthers.

The Black journalists issued their statement after Earl Caldwell of the *New York Times* was ordered to appear

with his notes on the Black Panthers before a San Francisco grand jury. He has refused to appear, and the *Times* has backed him up.

The statement pointed out that some news gathering agencies have turned over files and notes to grand juries, and its signers said they will try to prevent material they have gathered from being made available by their bosses. "We are not the white world's spies in the Black community," they stated. "We are not undercover agents for local, state or federal law enforcement agencies. We are Black journalists attempting to interpret, with as great an understanding and truth as possible, the nation's social revolution."

The same day, the American Newspaper Guild also attacked the subpoenas. Guild president, Charles A. Perlik Jr., said the Guild "will fight any effort by employers" to discipline newsmen for resisting infringement of their legitimate activities. Perlik insisted that a partial justice department retreat on the blanket subpoenas issued "must not be permitted to obscure the threat such demands pose to the right of the public to be served by a free and independent press."

'History is on her side'

The announcement of the Georgia Socialist Workers Party's statewide election campaign elicited the following editorial comment from the *Atlanta Journal* on Feb. 13.

* * *

Mrs. Linda Jenness is young, outspoken and lively. She ran for mayor on the Socialist platform and she did not make it. She did, however, force a more democratic pattern on city elections.

Now Mrs. Jenness has announced for the governorship and the immediate temptation is to say something funny about it, such as if Gov. Maddox can make it, anybody can.

However, we remember other campaigns when other candidates had no chance of election but ran anyhow to make some point or other. Generally they were ahead of their time, and were for things like equal rights, public schools or the universal franchise and were defeated.

The politics of Mrs. Jenness is way out by local standards and no computer would predict victory for her right now. However, she has something to say which at least will be different, and therefore will attract interest to a mediocre group of potential runners.

Furthermore history is on the side of Mrs. Jenness.

Today's liberal is tomorrow's reactionary and if the world keeps turning, Mrs. Jenness may look very moderate indeed in another generation.

Ohio SWP candidates challenge election laws

CLEVELAND — Marcia Sweetenham, Ohio Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, and Sydney R. Stapleton, the party's nominee in the 22nd congressional district, declined to file their nominating petitions prior to the Feb. 5 deadline prescribed by law. The move was part of the SWP's challenge to Ohio's undemocratic election laws. The petitions will be filed instead after the May primary elections, and the two socialist candidates will also not observe the sections of the law pertaining to the number of signatures required for ballot status and their distribution by counties.



Syd Stapleton

Both candidates are plaintiffs in a suit filed Jan. 28 in federal district court in Columbus, Ohio, asking the court to rule the Ohio election laws unconstitutional.

The other SWP candidates in Ohio are James Harris for U.S. senator, Herman Kirsch for lieutenant governor, Al Budka for attorney general, and Bob Schwarz for state treasurer. They are supporting the court fights of Stapleton and Sweetenham and of the Socialist Labor Party, which has also begun legal action against the ballot restrictions.

Commenting on efforts to keep minority parties off the ballot, Stapleton said, "The Democratic and Republican parties in Ohio are so completely 'out of it' that they think they can continue their crass antidemocratic monopoly of the electoral process without regard for the various protest movements and the warning given them by the federal court in 1968. The court ruled the legislature should revise the election law."

"The token revisions of the election law by the bipartisan legislature were con-men's attempts to kid the public. The restrictions on independent or minority political parties and candidates remain unreasonable, prohibitive, and unconstitutional."

Ohio voters who can sign the independent nominating petitions for Sweetenham and Stapleton, and all others who wish to support the campaign, are urged to write or phone the Ohio Socialist Campaign Committee, 2129 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115; phone: (216) 861-3862.

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California campaign notes

San Joaquin Valley --wealth and poverty

In recent months, some of the SWP candidates for office in California have been campaigning around the state, gathering firsthand information and building support. The following items by two of the candidates are notes on some of their observations.

* * *

MODESTO, Calif. — California's San Joaquin Valley is the richest farm land in the world. In 1967 it took in a million dollars a day by producing more than 200 different crops. The land is so rich that production in 47 out of the 50 states does not equal what the valley alone can provide. The largest cannery in the world, employing 3,000 people, is here.

Yet of the 200,000 people who live in Stanislaus County—part of the Valley's heartland—50 percent make less than \$4,000 a year and almost 25 percent make less than \$3,000 annually.

On the other hand, the average gross annual income of the 8,500 farms in the valley is more than \$50,000 each. Mechanization has come to the valley, and with a 14 percent increase in apricot production, for example, there has been a 15 percent decrease in demand for labor power. At all times of the year, the unemployment rate is higher than the national average, but since agricultural work is highly seasonal, in winter unemployment rises to between 20 and 33 percent of the work force. Even in summer, there are skilled workers who cannot find jobs.

Most of the women workers in the valley are seasonally hired too. The canneries prefer women because they are "steady" workers.

Saul Alinsky sidesteps

Seattle debate

By SUSAN SHINN

SWP candidate for Washington State House of Representatives

SEATTLE—Participants in a panel discussion at the University of Washington here Feb. 11 included well-known community organizer Saul Alinsky and SWP congressional candidate Russell Block.

Block was the first to speak. In his remarks he pointed to capitalism as the cause of the poverty, ignorance and racism in this society. Taking as a target Boeing's recent layoff of 40,000 Seattle workers, he called for cutting profits rather than workers' wages and increasing unemployment. The audience received his comments favorably.

Although Alinsky's wit was appreciated, he ran into trouble during the question period. He was unable to placate one Black woman who wanted to know how Blacks could be motivated through community organizing when the result of the funded "training program" left them no better off than they were before. His idea that Blacks should work within the Democratic Party was challenged.

When Alinsky left to catch a plane, it was in the middle of a continuing, controversial discussion. The chairman's attempt to stifle this discussion drew hisses from the majority of the audience.

Block stayed to answer their questions. It was obvious from the strong applause he received that although Alinsky had mocked the idea that capitalism was the source of the problems under discussion, the audience wasn't buying his brand of liberal reformism.

In the last year, rents have gone up in Stanislaus County by 33 to 50 percent, and there is no construction of low-cost housing underway.

The government operates "seasonal" housing for the agricultural workers six months of the year. It is filled a day after opening and stays filled throughout the season. Other families camp out under trees.

The pattern of poverty is an old one in the fertile valley, but it was dramatically brought to the surface when the Community Action Commission initiated an emergency food program. When poor people—largely southern whites—heard of the food distribution center, they came. The supplies were soon exhausted, and young community organizers demanded that nearby, jammed warehouses be opened and the surpluses distributed. They organized a car caravan, returned with supplies, and distributed some 20,000 pounds of food on Christmas Eve.

Early in February, a broad coalition called a public forum on poverty in Stanislaus County, and nearly 200 people attended. A hunger march, with participation of high school students, was cancelled only at the last minute because of heavy rain.

The poor in the valley are still largely unorganized. Some 13 percent of the valley's population are Chicano and three percent are Black. The whites have traditionally been conservative and shy about speaking out, hoping simply that their children would be able to break out of lives of poverty by going on to college.

But the people are beginning to speak out and to formulate demands: rent control, the right to surplus food in warehouses, the right to a job at a decent wage, low-cost housing, and the right to full welfare coverage.

—DIANNE FEELEY
Candidate for U. S. Senate

* * *

SAN FRANCISCO — Forty-five percent of the Spanish-surnamed children in elementary-school classes for the mentally retarded in San Francisco were found to be of average or better-than-average intelligence when retested in Spanish. These bilingual children had

LNS records subpoenaed

NEW YORK (LNS)—Senator Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has issued a subpoena to the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company for records pertaining to the Liberation News Service account. The records are to be presented to the subcommittee on Feb. 23, but Liberation News Service plans to take legal action to block the subcommittee's action.

In response to the subpoena, Liberation News Service issued a statement saying: "Rich racist men like Senator Eastland are worried about the growth of the movement, and they should be. The movement is seeking the liberation of the people, so that Black people will not be oppressed as the Black tenant farmers are on Eastland's Mississippi plantation, so that all people in this country will have a decent standard of living, so that young men will not be sent to die in wars of oppression against colored peoples, so that all women and men will have power over their own lives. . . ."

"The subpoena issued for our bank records seems insignificant in the context of the murders of the Panthers, the



Dianne Feeley

Photo by Priscilla Ring

originally been assigned to special classes on the basis of Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and Stanford-Binet tests administered in English—a second language for all the children—without regard for their knowledge of English.

Martin Dean, San Francisco's assistant superintendent for special services, still insists, however, that these children are "functional retardants." The assistant superintendent, whose own grasp of the English language seems none too secure—a glance at a dictionary or at the elementary rules of English word formation would assure him that "retardant" means "one who retards," not, "one who is retarded"—put the matter this way: "I don't think [the low score on the English tests] was as much the fault of the test as it was of the cultural deprivation of the child."

But there is method to his racist madness, his notion that English is the only language that can preserve a human being from cultural deprivation: For every child it puts in classes for the mentally retarded, the city receives a certain amount of money from the state. To transfer these children into regular classes would mean the city would lose money. This is evidently the reason why the board of education only reluctantly agreed to retest children in junior-high and high school classes for

retarded children and have refused to adopt a program to retest these children yearly.

The San Francisco board's concern to hang onto every penny of state aid it possibly can is not, however, just miserliness. Max Rafferty, California's state superintendent of public instructions, has denied the San Francisco schools \$800,000 of the state's special funds for the mentally retarded. He is trying to force the schools to increase their class size. If local boards refuse to pack their classes, they cannot receive funds for them.

* * *

The redoubtable Rafferty, though, is nothing if not a crusader. On Jan. 7, he announced that he was recruiting fifth and sixth grade children into a state-wide club to combat narcotics and crime. The I'm A Helper Club, Rafferty said, began in the Grandview Boulevard School in Los Angeles and won the unanimous endorsement of the school board there.

Children belonging to the club, Rafferty announced, will be furnished with membership and pledge cards and large pins, and they will form groups of up to five first-through-fourth graders "with the fifth and sixth graders teaching the younger children." He also said that smaller pins would be worn by the younger children and by merchants who provide financial support.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO
Candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction

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injustice of the Chicago Conspiracy trial, the New York Panther 21 trial, and the countless other acts of repression which the government has committed against the movement for liberation in this country.

"We believe that the subpoena is significant, however. It indicates that the forces of repression feel forced to strip off their veneer of respect for the constitutional rights of the people—freedom of speech and press. Liberation News Service's task, after all, is the exercise of the First Amendment: we speak and write freely about the people's oppression and the movement for liberation. This new government action against free speech and publication threatens everyone but the few rich and powerful men that run this country and the world."

Liberation News Service is a collective of twenty radical journalists, printers and photographers, with correspondents in cities around the United States, in Europe, Cuba and Southeast Asia. Founded in 1967, it is a news agency for the radical press, publishing a twice weekly bulletin for its five hundred subscribers.

Rights fight continues for French soldiers

By RICHARD WOOD

Paris February 7

A court-martial in Rennes yesterday convicted and sentenced three conscript soldiers to prison for the "crime" of expressing antimilitarist views and for protesting against the brutal treatment of a fellow soldier by the French army brass.

Serge Devaux was sentenced to one year in jail, Michel Trouilleux to eight months, and Alain Hervé to four months.

The three were accused of inciting troops to commit acts of indiscipline. The "proof" consisted of some issues of a mimeographed soldiers' newspaper, and a draft of a petition, found by the military police in the soldiers' lockers during an "investigation" last October.

The petition, which the three never had a chance to circulate, protested the beating by an officer of a fellow soldier in the barracks.

The mimeographed soldiers' newspaper contained articles on such subjects as why the army should not be used against French workers and in colonial wars, and why soldiers should not fight against the workers in situations such as the May-June 1968 events.

Students at the university in Rennes held a general strike in support of the soldiers during the trial. When the cut-and-dried proceedings of the court-martial were over, 2,000 persons joined in a rally at the university condemning the convictions.

The public was effectively barred from the trial because of the small

size of the courtroom, and the widespread sympathy for the defendants was allowed no expression there. Moreover, the place was packed with plainclothes cops. The only persons admitted were the families of the accused and a few observers, including Michel Rocard and Alain Krivine, last year's presidential candidates respectively of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] and the LC [Ligue Communiste—Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International]. The Soldiers stationed at Rennes were sent out of town the day of the trial.

Today I discussed the case with Alain Krivine, who has been active in organizing support for the three soldiers. Krivine himself was in the army when he ran for president of France last May, and is well acquainted with conditions in the army.

"Serge Devaux was arrested on October 23," Krivine explained, "and after further investigation, the other two were also arrested. They have been held in the stockade ever since. Many soldiers in Devaux's barracks were questioned, along the lines of, 'Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Trotskyist party?'"

Serge Devaux says he is in political solidarity with the Ligue Communiste. The French military code denies soldiers their right to participate in political and trade-union activities. They cannot even join a political party or trade union nominally, although the regulations are vague about conscripts who were members of such organizations before being inducted.

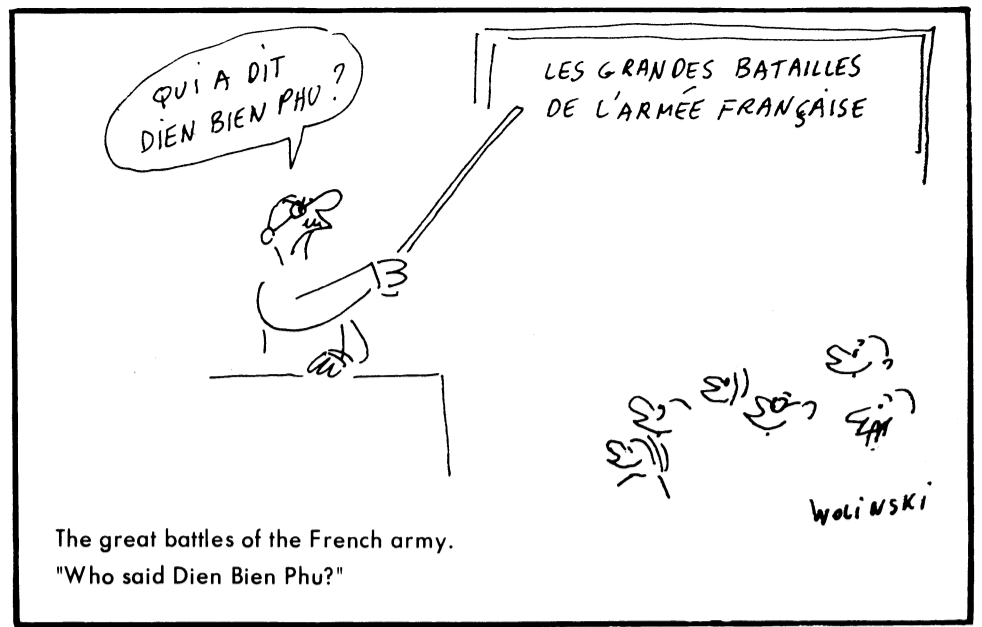
"The three first appealed to the Ligue Communiste for support and help in November," Krivine said. "At first the LC began to publicize the case, but it was very difficult to get anything into the daily press, including the left press.

"This began to change with the formation of the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers, which was supported by figures like Jean-Paul Sartre, and organizations like the PSU and *Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle], as well as the Ligue Communiste. This committee is a broad defense committee, and has now gathered considerable support throughout the country. On January 27, a press conference was held with Sartre, Rocard, and myself. Although only Agence France-Presse and two smaller provincial papers sent representatives to the conference, the story was picked up by *Le Monde*, and the daily press since then has given extensive coverage to the case.

"In the two weeks since the press conference, the Committee for the Release of the Imprisoned Soldiers has spread out at a tremendous rate. Hundreds of local chapters of the committee have been organized in the high schools, universities, neighborhoods, factories, etc. About 600,000 leaflets on the case have been distributed up to now, and 50,000 posters put up, throughout France.

There were meetings and demonstrations of solidarity with the victimized soldiers in many towns. One of the most important was a meeting in Rennes itself, where the trial was held. On January 29, 3,500 persons participated in the largest political meeting for any cause in the memory of the people of Rennes.

Under French military law, the court-martial conviction of the three soldiers can only be appealed to the *Cour de cassation* [Supreme Court of Appeal], and only on the basis of technicalities and not on the content of the proceedings. I asked Krivine



The great battles of the French army.
"Who said Dien Bien Phu?"

how the campaign will continue under these circumstances.

"The most pressing problem that the committee is now fighting," he said, "is to establish that the imprisoned soldiers are political prisoners and should have rights as political prisoners. Now they are classified as common criminals, which means they can have no newspapers from the outside, no radios, no watches, and only the books found in the prison library. They cannot leave their cells, except for a forty-five-minute exercise period during the day.

"Second, the axis of the campaign remains centered around the immediate release of the soldiers, and we plan to continue to build wide support for this demand.

"Also, the committee plans to continue to fight for the general political rights of soldiers. Already there are other cases similar to this one, which the committee will take on. Three soldiers stationed in Landau, West Germany—Joseph Divet, Jean-Louis Fauthoux, and Jean-Michel Banet—face similar charges."

Intercontinental Press

Wages and conditions : major railroad issues

By PAUL CHELSTROM

MINNEAPOLIS—Last December the sheet metal workers rejected the settlement of shop craft wages and working conditions on the railroads, and the result has been another long round of extended negotiations. This centers attention on the problems of railroad workers.

A big part of our problem is the Railway Labor Act, which regulates the bargaining procedure, provides for delays of all kinds, and restricts the right to strike.

Union misleaders hide behind this law, sign away conditions, and deprive union members of the right even to vote on agreements. A few years ago the escalator clause [which provides for automatic pay hikes tied to cost-of-living increases] was given up; then the chief negotiator of the carmen's craft signed a contract, independent of the other crafts, for less than the joint demands. We have never been able to get our escalator clause back. Members of the carmen's unions were never able to find out why the solidarity of the shop crafts was broken, nor were they able to repudiate that betrayal.

The question of craft jurisdiction is the big issue in current shop craft negotiations; i.e., should a sheet metal worker do only his own work or can he be ordered to do another craftsman's work.

In the past, agreements have been made about crossing craft lines on the job, some going back to the old company unions of the 1920s and '30s. Experience proved that when we tried to enforce the provisions of any agreement the companies always demanded further concessions, and the rules were always interpreted in favor of the company. Now the sheet metal workers distrust company promises and don't believe them when they say they only want to cross craft lines on running repairs.

The local union committeeman says, "They will expand the rules and apply them in the back shop very soon. We have to stop them now."

General conditions of work are tied in with craft jurisdiction. A simple approach to speed-up is to have less men for the job without changing the schedule, and management benefits.

Simultaneously with this type of speed-up the company also promotes a "safety program"—a farce. It is highly dangerous to remove wires that could be live ones; dismantling pipes under pressure can kill someone; using power tools and table saws, metal brakes, etc.,

without the skill it takes can lose fingers and hands. It is dangerous to pull levers just because the boss says so.

The wage question is by no means settled. The railroads claim the agreements for the past two contracts are inflationary. If we take the case of my shop, the men found the yearly wage for 1968 and '69 was the same because of layoffs.

In 1969 our shop put out the required work in spite of a two-month layoff. These railroad shops also have extra work thrown in quite often and get it done for nothing because we have to perform the regular work at the same time.

Despite this, the railroads claim shop craftsmen are semiskilled and lazy. But I know that our skills are the same as those in the building trades because I have worked in both industries, and railroad shop wages are far behind those in construction.

Under the procedures of the Railway Labor Act our unions will finally be free to strike on March 2—unless the Nixon administration decides to appoint an emergency board to study the dispute and make recommendations. This would put off strike action for another 60 days.

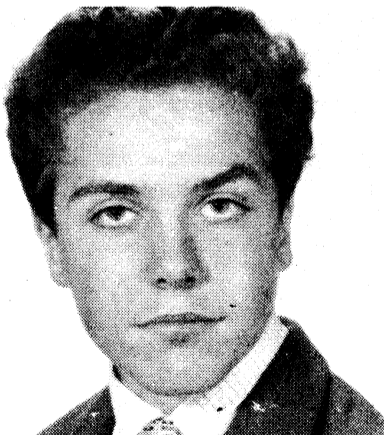
These constant delays prove the need for democracy in union affairs. The machinists won the right to vote on contracts at their last convention. Consequently, the other crafts have been extended this right.

The railroads, the union bureaucrats, and government agents are all conspiring to wrest from us the right to vote on contracts. The railroads charge, "It is bad bargaining when unions come to the bargaining table without the full authority to sign an agreement." And they cite George Meaney, president of the AFL-CIO, who agrees with them. Labor Secretary Schultz echoes the same sentiment: "Workers should not be allowed to vote on union contracts."

The boss and his agents recognize the power that lies in the ranks of the union membership and they are afraid.



Serge Devaux



Michel Trouilleux



Alain Hervé

revised third edition

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35¢

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The Great Society

National Health Program—In addition to the \$4.9-million it provides the coffin-nail industry in price supports, the federal government lays out \$3-million to pay the cost of tobacco grading. The grades, we assume, are Cancerous, More Cancerous and Most Cancerous.

World Health Program—The government also provides the coffin-nail industry with \$27.9-million in export subsidies, plus \$240,000 for advertising abroad. But the nicest touch is the \$31.3-million worth of tobacco sent abroad in the food for peace program.

Economy move—In 1967, Ernest Fitzgerald, an Air Force efficiency expert, was nominated by the AF as the outstanding federal employe of the year. Apparently enthused by the nomination, Fitzgerald plunged into his work and showed that the government would be paying about \$2-billion more than estimated for 120 Lockheed cargo planes. The company was losing money on the planes so a new agreement was worked out which provided that the more the company lost the more it made. Fitzgerald was reassigned to calculating the cost of operating a servicemen's bowling alley in Thailand. Meanwhile, his job was abolished.

Rest for the weary—According to the magazine, *The Florida Horse*, Ocala Stud, a commercial horse farm in Florida, includes among its attractions a king-size swimming pool for horses.

Join the regiment—Capt. Richard Bach, a top pilot and author of books on aviation, was mustered out of the Iowa Air National Guard for refusing to trim his mustache which exceeded new standards by a quarter of an inch. The head guardsman said he had told Bach that the Guard could have used

his talents, "But he chose to be a non-conformist and nonconformists just don't work in the military."

Dep't of possible cause and effect—An article in the *Medical Tribune* notes a high incidence of rheumatic heart disease in developing countries. "Clues to the problem of arterial blood pressure level," the publication sagaciously observes, "may be found among Samburu and Rendille nomads of northern Kenya who show no rise with age, but a sharp increase when serving with the Kenyan army."

Inflated Infiltration—"With regard to Vietnam, we are watching that situation closely, particularly in regard to inflation. The inflation—I mean—we were talking about inflation. I mean infiltration."—President Nixon at a recent press conference as quoted by the Feb. 8 *Atlanta Constitution*.

Unavailable—UPI reported that Bart Starr, a football player, decided not to run for the U.S. Senate. He probably realized most people never heard of him.

Legal precedent dep't—Angered by Nixon's veto of the health, education and welfare bill, Mrs. Julia Rezek, 70, of San Francisco, called the White House and suggested to an aide that the President go to hell. Minutes later a phone company agent called to check out possible use of profanity over the phone. After discussion, the company decided it wasn't profane. Mrs. Rezek then checked with the FBI. They agreed there was nothing wrong.

Counterpoint—It's rumored that to counteract "Hair," the team of Mitchell and Agnew are working on a musical called "Scalp."

—HARRY RING

MOVIE REVIEW

A film about madness



END OF THE ROAD

The End of the Road is a "comedy" of that genre which is becoming a fine American tradition. It lashes out at everything and will succeed in stunning even revolutionaries.

The story is about Jacob Horner (Stacy Keach), a good boy but sometimes a catatonic. While he is in a paralyzed state, in the Haverford, Pa., train station, he is picked up by Dr. D (James Earl Jones) who takes him to a country house fixed up as a mental hospital.

Dr. D eventually suggests that as part of his therapy Jacob should take a job teaching English at a local college—but "no involvement." Jacob complies with taking a job, but has an affair with a colleague's wife, Rennie (Dorothy Tristan), who gets pregnant. Unsure who is the father, she decides to have an abortion. Jacob convinces Dr. D to perform the operation—and Rennie dies.

There follows a silent, picturesque scene of Jacob and Dr. D floating in a little boat, the sun setting behind a mountain, Rennie's body silently falling over the side of the boat.

And then—enter President Nixon, greeting the moon astronauts in live color, to the accompaniment of "Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue."

Such a finale for *The End of the Road* is but a last flourish for a film about madness, and the beauty of the whole thing is that it manages to present a multilevel view of insanity, treating each level seriously.

Dr. D's "institute" for the "hopeless" is a surreal dream, intensified by brilliant editing and camera work. Some Candy-like sex scenes (Terry Southern helped write the screen play) are not really funny, but madmen's fantasies acted out.

On another level, the clear world of Rennie and Joe Morgan, with their little boys, big house and boy scouting, also has its madness. The world of the Morgans proceeds with calm and a kind of beauty. Jacob and Rennie go horseback riding. They eat dinner. They drink beer. Only the madness is there, in a different form—Jacob and Rennie watch Joe one night when he thinks he is alone; all the conversations are tinged with unreality and threats of violence; hysteria strains a prolonged conversation about snapping the children's pajamas.

Throughout the movie, clips of news events are interspersed with the story, indicating the third level of madness.

During the long beginning, when Jacob stands motionless on a train platform, his life is reviewed by alternating photos of himself and world events: Hitler, Truman, The Bomb, Joe McCarthy, Kennedy's death, M. L. King's assassination, the Vietnam war, the antiwar movement, SDS at Columbia. . . .

Dr. D in his "therapy room" has a multimedia show in a machine which flashes pictures on the walls, including The Bomb and hungry children.

All the levels of madness come together when Jacob and Rennie arrive at Dr. D's for the abortion. The abortion itself is presented as the event in which all worlds mingle.

Then, as if one were being dumped quickly from boiling water to ice water and back again, Nixon and the "Three Cheers" begins. The scathing comment on American life is inescapable.

—JENNY LARSON

Antiwar GI receives honorable discharge

By EDWIN GLOVER

ATLANTA—Thomas Hathcock, an organizer of GIs-WACs United Against the War and editor of *Left Face* at Fort McClellan, Alabama, was given an honorable discharge Feb. 11, nearly two months before his regular release from the Army.

Before being inducted into the Army, Hathcock was a founder of the Young Socialist Alliance in Atlanta. Last September, the Army initiated action against him, attempting to give him a bad discharge for his membership in the YSA. Attorney Leonard Boudin, acting for the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, submitted a reply to the Army's charges stating that the Army knew of Hathcock's membership in the YSA before he was inducted.

In January, he was informed that he would be given an honorable discharge unless he wanted to challenge the fact of his membership. No challenge was made to the allegations; thus Hathcock was discharged before the 20 days allowed for an appeal.

Releasing Hathcock with an honorable discharge represents another victory against the Army's attempts to victimize GIs for speaking out and organizing against the war in Vietnam.

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

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o David Murphy, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

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

Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel: (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

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

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

San Diego: Alan Standiff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.

Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

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

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Sta., Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

Worcester: YSA, Box 406, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

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

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2931 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

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

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

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

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New information about the crisis in Jordan



LNS

Palestinian refugees cross Jordan river from occupied West Bank.

By ROBERT LANGSTON

FEB. 19—The Palestinian fedayeen appear to have won another victory in their continuous but thus far indecisive struggle with the reactionary, imperialist-aligned rulers of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

On the evening of Feb. 12, King Hussein announced that the Feb. 10 decree, which, if implemented, would disarm the guerrillas, would not be enforced. What compelled the King to rescind the orders, and what immediately inspired them in the first place, clearly indicate the nature of the social forces confronting each other in Jordan—and throughout the Middle East.

Israel's military escalation of the war with Egypt—which has climaxed to date in the Feb. 12 bomb raid on a scrap-metal processing plant on the outskirts of Cairo, in which 80 Egyptian civilians died—created the political climate in which Hussein and his cohorts thought it both feasible and advisable to try once again to crush the Palestinian revolutionaries. But the immediate occasion of the order, according to Edouard Saab, *Le Monde's* correspondent in Amman, was an intervention by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in a labor dispute.

A couple of weeks ago, the workers in a cement factory owned by Riad Moufleh, an immensely wealthy capitalist of Bedouin origin with a reputation for exceptional greed, went on strike. Moufleh, who is a particular friend of Sheriff Ben Nasser, the King's uncle and commander-in-chief of the Royal Jordanian Army, threatened to fire the strikers if they did not return to work immediately.

At this point, however, the PFLP intervened. Saab does not report exactly how, but it is easy to imagine that Moufleh found convincing the arguments offered by disciplined, sub-machinegun-toting guerrillas skilled in the use of high explosives. In any case, Moufleh felt compelled to accede to the strikers' demands. Immediately thereafter, following a special cabinet meeting, the order to disarm the fedayeen was issued.

The PFLP, along with the Democratic Popular Front, has stressed the class character of the Palestinian national struggle. The speed with which Hussein's clique reacted to the PFLP's action bears out this analysis fully. "Liberation" of Palestine, these reactionaries feel, may be all very well, provided it doesn't get out of hand. But the Zionists can take over the whole world if they want before anyone can be al-

lowed to tamper with the Allah-decreed rights of private property.

But the Palestinians of Jordan had other ideas, and in fact the government went somewhat easy in trying to enforce the order. The night of Feb. 10, there was a single clash between guerrillas and RJA troops. Three of the fedayeen were killed. The next day, according to Saab, there was an immense demonstration at the funeral of the fallen guerrillas, and the route of march from the cemetery back into Amman passed by a police station on the edge of the Wahdate quarter, a PFLP stronghold.

The crowd surged toward the police station, which was guarded by 20 machinegun-bearing Bedouins. The fight lasted about 20 minutes and ended only when a police commander and an officer of the PFLP interposed themselves between the combatants and arranged a cease-fire. The demonstrators had succeeded in occupying a substantial part of the building. Twenty-three of them lay dead, and some 60 were wounded.

This assault was obviously completely spontaneous; if it had been anticipated by the guerrillas, the demonstrators would have been better defended. But it showed King Hussein in quite unmistakable terms where "his" people stood. It convinced him that he could not, at the moment, carry through his orders. That evening, Radio Amman announced, in the name of the King, the decision "to suspend execution of the measures recently introduced."

The overwhelming popular support the fedayeen enjoy is also indicated by the fact that almost every mass organization in Jordan joined with the guerrilla groups in declaring their intention actively to resist execution of the orders. These included the Jordanian Communist Party, the two major women's organizations, the two trade-union federations, the professional associations of lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists, engineers and agronomists, and all the student organizations.

Hussein's throne has been shaky for a long time. According to Saab, this latest retreat has cost him much of his remaining authority among the people in Jordan. The fedayeen organizations will now have to decide their next steps. Saab writes that the PFLP has gained greatly in influence at the expense of Fateh, and the Front was highly critical of Fateh's refusal to attempt to take power in November 1968, when a government move to crush the guerrillas was likewise defeated.

AN EDITORIAL

Defend the 'conspiracy' victims

Every individual and every organization concerned with freedom, justice and social progress must unite in a massive campaign to overturn the frame-up convictions of the Chicago "conspiracy" defendants and their attorneys. Failure to wage a broad civil-liberties campaign in their behalf can only strengthen the hand of reaction.

So patently fraudulent were the charges and so blatantly prejudiced the judge and prosecutor that even a carefully screened jury was not persuaded of the mythical "conspiracy" served up by the prosecution. Even the guilty verdict on the inciting-to-riot charges against Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Tom Hayden is regarded as a compromise. Some jurors favored full acquittal.

The trial provided the entire world with a picture of American capitalist democracy at work. A federal government which initiates such a prosecution in order to stifle dissent; a federal government which permits a judicial obscenity like that presented by Judge Hoffman—such a government has no concern with justice. The true face of American "justice" was reflected in the image of Bobby Seale gagged and shackled to his chair in the courtroom.

Acquittal on the conspiracy charge represents a significant victory for the defendants and for the cause of justice. But the conviction on the equally fraudulent inciting-to-riot charge must be reversed along with the savage and patently unconstitutional contempt sentences meted out to attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass and the defendants who were in effect sentenced twice.

The American Civil Liberties Union has branded those contempt jailings as an "extraordinary and unconstitutional" abuse of power. Indeed they are, as was every other aspect of the trial.

Support of organizations is being solicited for a friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of the defendants. It should have wide support. But to give it teeth, it must be buttressed by a mass defense movement demanding freedom for the "conspiracy" victims.

Chicago socialists register legal victory over rightists

CHICAGO, Feb. 19—The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks won a significant legal victory here today in its continuing fight against the activities of the ultraright Legion of Justice.

Felony charges of illegal restraint which had been brought against Richard Hill and Carl Finamore, Chicago

Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance organizers respectively, were thrown out of court by Judge Garrity in preliminary hearings.

The charges had been brought by Greg Schulz, a suspected Legion of Justice member, as a result of a Nov. 12 visit by him to the YSA-SWP headquarters. The charges were a transparent and fabricated attempt to bring legal pressure against the YSA and the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. The intent was to force the dropping of charges of illegal possession of stolen property which have been filed against the Legion's attorney S. Thomas Sutton.

After hearing Schulz' preliminary testimony, the judge ruled that no probable cause had been demonstrated, and dismissed the case.

A hearing on a related misdemeanor charge of battery against Finamore was postponed until April 2.

Defense attorney Irving Birnbaum, lawyer for the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, entered a protest in court that Schulz had been allowed to bring felony charges on the basis of such obviously fabricated "facts." The Committee has been attempting for over two months to bring felony charges for armed robbery against Thomas Stewart, positively identified by two witnesses as having participated in an attack on the SWP-YSA headquarters on Nov. 1. The office of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan has repeatedly used one legal device after another to prevent Stewart from being indicted, despite the eyewitnesses to the attack.

N.Y. court still bears down on Black Panthers

NEW YORK, Feb. 19—The pretrial hearing in the case of 13 of the Panther 21 continued here this week before Judge John Murtagh. The defense made a series of motions to exclude as evidence in the trial various items seized by the police in their raids on Panthers' homes, on the grounds that the items were illegally taken.

Judge Murtagh made a transparent move to try and get the trial closed to the public by warning the Panther defendants that "you yourselves may prejudice your right to a fair trial of the issues involved" if the hearings remained open to press and public. When he polled the defendants, each firmly stated he or she preferred an open hearing.

This morning, Murtagh sentenced a young man in the courtroom to 30 days in jail for summary contempt. The man had made the clenched-fist salute as the Panthers entered the courtroom, calling "Power to the people." This is the second time during the hearings so far that Murtagh has dealt a 30-day sentence for "contempt" to a spectator.

On Monday, the Panthers refused to leave their cells for half an hour after the lunch recess to protest the atrocious food they have been receiving. Defense attorney Gerald Lefcourt told Murtagh the defendants had gotten "nothing but a jam sandwich for lunch, and they had that for breakfast."

IT WORKED!

Expressing his satisfaction with the conviction of the "conspiracy" defendants on charges of inciting to riot, U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran philosophized that "the verdict proved that the jury system works."