

## The 'peace' talks go on -- and the casualties too!

We are told that the United States went to Paris because it is interested in a peaceful solution to the Vietnam war.

In 1968, 14,521 American soldiers died in combat in Vietnam. This is virtually as many as died in all the previous years of the war combined.

Nearly half that 14,521 died after Johnson announced the slated "peace" talks.

In 1968, the ratio of GIs killed as compared to Saigon troops was higher than in any previous year of the war.

And the brass is now busy working out plans to keep more GIs in active combat positions than ever before.

For the story on this and what to do about it, see page 4.

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. 33—No. 3

Friday, January 17, 1969

Price 15c

## Factional struggle dominates SDS parley

--see page 9

# S.F. State teachers defy union-busters

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 9 — Striking members of the American Federation of Teachers returned to picket lines at San Francisco State College this morning in defiance of a court injunction against their strike.

The striking AFT members, who are demanding union recognition, held a meeting this morning where they were advised of the meaning of defying the injunction and asked if they wanted to continue the strike. They roared back, "On Strike! Shut it down!"

In the face of threatened arrest, the teach-

ers marched back to the campus where they are holding mass picket lines, numbering as many as 2,000, along with the striking students led by the Black Students Union and Third World Liberation Front.

Warrants have reportedly been issued for leaders of the striking teachers' union, plus large numbers of John Doe warrants. Thus far these have not been used.

Unity between the teachers and the students is greater than ever and the shutdown more effective than ever. Since officials attempted to open the school Jan. 6, functioning has

steadily dwindled and is now close to the standstill point.

The militancy of the black and other minority students and their white supporters has had a profoundly progressive effect on the consciousness of the teachers. They have been seeking union recognition for the past year and considered strike action several times but never felt strong enough to carry through a walkout. Now, in collaboration with the students, they are waging an impressive battle for their rights.

(See earlier reports page 12)



Confrontation at San Francisco State College

# Imperialism needs war in Cyprus

## NATO bases key

Nicosia, Cyprus

Cyprus, being in the crossroads between Europe, Asia and Africa, has always played an important part in the military history of international imperialism. In World War I, Cyprus was used by the British and French imperialists as a military base and supply center for their troops during their attacks on Turkey. In World War II, again, Cyprus was used as a sally base by the British imperialists against the Italian imperialists in North Africa.

Since then, Cyprus has continually been used by British imperialism as a base for its attacks and intimidation against the Arab peoples who tried to secure complete political and economic independence from imperialism.

Although Cyprus has been declared an independent state in recent years, British imperialism maintains bases on her soil, to be used in case of an attack on the Arab peoples or in case of a major war against the Soviet Union and the other workers states.

Quite recently, owing to the seriousness of the situation in the Middle East and the presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, Cyprus has acquired exceptional importance as a strategic post. For this reason, international imperialism is trying to thwart the efforts made by the two Cyprus communities — the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot — to come together and reach agreement on the various issues, and thus to be able to live in peace and harmony as they did for centuries.

Imperialism does not want a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, for it fears that should such a condition prevail, the British bases would have to be dismantled and the British and other NATO troops would have to go.

The only genuine solution will come from the people itself, without the interference or influence of any foreign country. But this is impossible as long as the imperialists are in a position to prevent it. Only when imperialism is destroyed globally, will peace prevail in Cyprus.

M. G.

## 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.

### Community relations

Oklahoma City, Okla.

I thought the enclosed article from the Jan. 1 *Oklahoma Journal* about an ex-spy who has been appointed "community relations" director of Oklahoma City might illuminate for *Militant* readers the reactionary problem we face here in Oklahoma City with the military-industrial-political complex.

"Retired Air Force colonel and present communications director for Lubbock, Tex., Harry N. Tower was named Tuesday as Oklahoma City's new director of community relations. . . ."

"I have been favorably impressed with his background and his innovative approach to some of Lubbock's minority problems," [Oklahoma City city manager Robert ] Oldland said of Tower.

"Tower's background includes 20 years with the U. S. Air Force, from which he retired in 1958 as a full colonel. Besides active duty in World War II and Korea, he spent four years on assignment with the Central Intelligence Agency in South America.

"Tower described the work as 'involving coordination of Central and South American counter-revolutionary forces combatting communism in South and Central American countries,' and went on to say in his background account, 'this involved delicate and intricate negotiations to keep harmony within these groups and to keep their goal of freedom uppermost in their minds. . . .'"

J. A.

## Struggle against Zionism same as genocide?

New York, N. Y.

Permit me to inquire by means of what logic A. S. (in his letter in the Dec. 27 *Militant*) has deduced that Yehuda Krantz's admission (in his letter in the Dec. 13 *Militant*) that Israel is a capitalist state, and that many of its policies are to be condemned, constitutes eating humble pie. Would A. S. also consider an admission by an Arab socialist that Morocco, Libya, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Persian Gulf states are monarchies as eating humble pie? Would he consider an admission that Ahmad Shukairy, ex-head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was at one time head of the reactionary Saudi Arabian delegation to the UN? Or that Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Saadat, and other current Egyptian leaders were Nazi agents during World War II? Would admissions of those facts be eating humble pie?

Obviously this is all absurd. To hold an Israeli socialist or a socialist-Zionist responsible for all aspects of Israeli policy is as ridiculous as to condemn an American socialist for allowing the war in Vietnam to continue. Krantz's attempt at honesty in admitting faults in Israeli policies, both internal and external, was met only by the desire of A. S. to use these admissions as a basis for a denial of Israel's right to exist at all. How ridiculous!

The platform of the Palestine Liberation Movement, especially as elucidated by some of its more glib adherents, is the obliteration of the State of Israel—pure and simple. This constitutes genocide and is inadmissible by any standards. I trust that A. S., despite his revolutionary zeal, will agree that genocide is under no circumstances a correct tactic.

Let me reiterate that many of the policies of Israel are incorrect. Perhaps one of the most useful things that could be done is the admission of a substantial number of Palestinian refugees. But this is possible only if their platform of genocide and destruction of Israel is abandoned. Otherwise this would be simply suicide.

I hope I have not simplified things too much by this statement. Certainly I cannot have done worse than A. S. One hopes that despite his derision of "platitudes" about peace, A. S. would like to see peace in the Middle East. Let me then suggest that a more open-minded and less bombastic approach to the problem would be more beneficial.

Joel Beinlin

## Finds in the kibbutz ideal form of socialism

Albany, N. Y.

I wonder if *The Militant* is truly a socialist paper. It embraces Arab countries which rigidly control the freedoms of their people by fostering dictatorship, and it condemns a democratic nation, Israel, which even has a strong Arab party in her parliament. Yet Israel has actively demonstrated the values of socialism through the institution of the kibbutz.

A kibbutz is a communal settlement in which its members equally share work, responsibility, and material things and profit. The members voluntarily join the socialistic life of a kibbutz and are free to leave it at any time. There are over 200 kibbutzim in Israel today. Ben Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, lives on the

# THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING

Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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

Vol. 33—No. 3

Friday, January 17, 1969

kibbutz, "Sde Boker," which he helped found. There are members of the Israeli parliament who belong to Kibbutzim. The kibbutz is a functioning, successful example of an ideal form of socialism which has succeeded on a large scale in the world today. A black student from Nigeria, a group of Calvinists from Finland, and three Japanese men lived on the kibbutz I worked in this summer—as well as the Israeli members. The kibbutz was founded on the principle of complete equality and is an exemplary socialist unit.

Yet a "socialist" newspaper vehemently opposes the country which created and fostered a socialist community, while it supports and embraces countries which impose dictatorship and monarchy. This seems hypocritical and prejudicial to informed, discerning supporters of true socialism.

A. K.

## 'Thanks for running'

Detroit, Mich.

After running on the SWP ticket for Michigan state board of edu-

cation, one of my most pleasant pieces of mail came from the parents of a draft-resistance member. They told me how many votes I had received from their family and stated, "Sorry you lost the election, but thank you for running for office."

Ellen Robinson

## It's good, and it sells

New York, N. Y.

At a recent meeting of the Social Service Employees Union, about five of us sold *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* trial subscriptions. The New York City welfare workers were very receptive. We sold them about 14 subs. Many young workers already had subscriptions. I sold to about half of those I met who were not yet subscribers. In less than an hour, I was able to get five subs.

This sale at a small meeting (about 100) gives a glimpse of what is possible in similar circumstances with other unions. Politically advanced sections of the working class appear to be ready for the revolutionary socialist press.

James M. Morgan

# Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** YSA, 187 14th St.

**ILLINOIS: Carbondale:** YSA, Bill Moffet, 406 S. Washington.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Houston:** YSA, David Shroyer, 1116 Columbus St., Houston 78703. (713) JA 9-2236.

**UTAH: Salt Lake City:** Shem Richards, 957 E. First Ave., Salt Lake 84103. (801) 355-3537.

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

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

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



"It Says Here You Was Provoked"

Jon Wright (LNS)



## The background

# How the Arab-Israeli conflict developed

By Elizabeth Barnes

In the wake of the Dec. 28 Israeli raid on Lebanon, the public has once again been subjected to a whole series of lies and false arguments which serve to obscure the basic role of Israel as the aggressor in the Middle East. One of the common themes, prevalent even in left and liberal publications, is the idea that it is the Arab resistance movements and the more "militant" Arab governments which are most basically responsible for what is referred to as "the rising cycle of terror and retaliation."

A report from Cairo in the Jan. 5 *New York Times* comments that by "insisting on a 'military solution'" it is the Arab commando groups which are most responsible for "keeping tensions high." Another article in the same issue points out that some U.S. officials contend that the "real villain" in the Middle East is the "militant" regime of Syria, which, it says, "first fostered the Arab commandos."

An editorial in Britain's liberal weekly, *The New Statesman*, is typical of the confusion in the left-liberal press: "Israel exists and is entitled to preserve herself from extinction—the avowed aim of the Arabs. Three times they have tried with their regular forces to destroy her, and have failed. Now, unwilling for the present to risk further state-to-state conflict, they permit, in some cases, encourage, terrorism . . ."

Israel exists and is entitled to exist, says the *New Statesman*, and the aim of the Arabs is to "destroy her." Thus, the argument goes, whatever may be the excesses of the Israelis, it is they who are on the defensive and the Arabs who are the aggressors.

A look at the historical record shows that the situation is not that simple, and that it is precisely the question of how Israel came into existence which is at the heart of the question of how the Middle East conflict can be resolved.

When this century began, Palestine was a land of some 700,000 people, the overwhelming majority of them Arabs. Since that time, over two million Jews have moved into the area, taken over most of the land, and—against the will of the native population—established their own state with its separate military machine, economy, and state apparatus. This enormous land grab did not occur all at one time, nor was it a simple process, but the fact remains that the Zionists took over a territory which belonged to another people and forced the Palestinian population into the status of refugees or second-class citizens within their own country—a country now called Israel.

It is important to remember that the first significant Zionist immigration into Palestine occurred during the first decades of this century, a time when the colonization of Asia, Africa and Latin America was in full sway and when the colonial mentality was deeply ingrained in the entire white capitalist world. Zionism grew up under the influence of this colonial outlook, and the Zionists willingly collaborated with British, French and even Turkish imperialism, but the Zionist colonization of Pales-

tine had its own peculiar characteristics different from the colonialism of the big imperialist powers such as France and Britain.

Instead of "the white man's burden," the early Zionists had other rationalizations for their colonization plans, rationalizations based on Jewish religion and culture and the Biblical promise of "the chosen people" returning to "the promised land." And whereas the big colonial powers usually had as their aim the enslavement and exploitation of the people they colonized, as well as their natural resources, the Zionists, partly due to the history of persecution suffered by the Jews, had the perspective of moving en masse into Palestine and setting up a state of their own.

An important aspect of the Zionists' policy (because its logic was the squeezing of the Palestinian Arabs out of the Zionist economy) was the idea that the projected Jewish state should be based on a broad Jewish working class and peasantry. Jewish labor was preferred over Arab labor, and middle-class Zionists were instructed to train themselves to work in factories and farm the land.

This "Jewish Labor" policy became more and more significant as new immigrations of Jews brought in more European capital (often backed by Zionist funds), which became the basis of the growing Zionist capitalist economy. Jewish capital replaced Arab feudal elements by buying up their lands, and Zionist contract agreements forbade the resale of land to Arabs.

As long as they were a minority within Palestine, the Zionists opposed the struggle for Palestinian independence from British imperialism, which ruled that area between 1918 and 1948. When the Palestinian Arabs organized a general strike against the British in 1936, the Zionists did not join in.

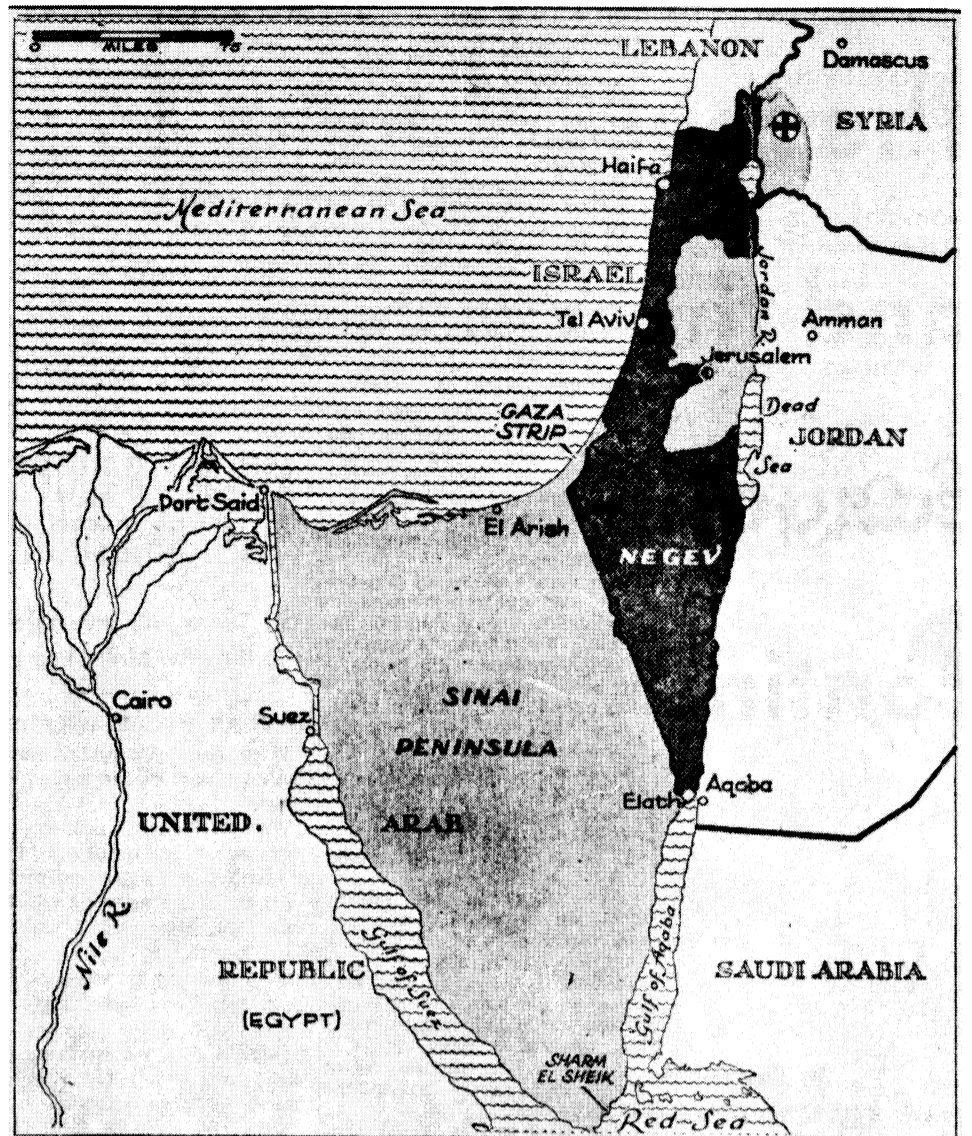
Despite the foothold which Zionism gained in Palestine at the beginning of the century, it was, ironically, the rise of fascism in Europe and World II which finally assured the founding of the state of Israel. The basis of this was the wave of Jewish immigration from fascist terror, which caused the Jewish population in Israel to soar from 174,696 in 1931 to 553,600 in 1944. And it is here that the advanced capitalist countries such as Britain and the U.S. played an especially treacherous role. Although it was these countries that were in the best economic position to absorb the Jewish refugees, they simply refused to do so.

The discovery of the enormity of the Nazi war crimes, whereby six million Jews were killed, helped to turn world opinion, and especially world Jewish opinion, toward sympathy for the Jewish refugees. But instead of carrying out a campaign to open the doors of the U.S. to the refugees, the sentiment for Zionism grew, and in November 1947, the United Nations passed its resolution trampling on the self-determination of the Palestinian people by calling for the partition of Palestine into two independent states.

The final division of Palestine was decided—in an especially underhanded way—by a secret agreement in 1950 between Zionist leaders and Abdullah, the reactionary king of Jordan. According to this agreement, the nation of Palestine was completely abolished and divided between Israel and Jordan, with Israel taking even more territory than had been allotted her by the UN resolution and Jordan taking the rest.

The injustice of the partition was compounded by the fact that after the formation of Israel, the Zionists continued their policy of oppression of the Palestinian Arabs and collaboration with imperialism. One of the most outstanding examples of this collaboration came in 1956, when the Israelis joined with Britain and France in a desperate military move to block the Egyptian expropriation of the Suez Canal.

Israel also supported the fascist French-colon Secret Army Organization in Algeria,



**RESULT OF AGGRESSION.** Most darkly shaded area of map is Israel. Next most darkly shaded areas are the territories seized by Israel in its blitz war on the Arabs in June 1967. These include the Sinai Peninsula of the United Arab Republic, all of Jordan west of the Jordan River, and the area in Syria marked with the cross.

which fought against the Algerian revolution. She opposed the independence movements in Morocco, Tunisia and Indonesia, and trained counterrevolutionary paratroopers for the Congo. In 1958 she supported the landing of U.S. and British troops in Lebanon and Jordan during the Iraqi revolution.

Now in the aftermath of the June war of 1967, Israel is again exposing itself as a pro-imperialist and expansionist power. Eighteen months after the war, Israel still holds onto the additional territories it stole from Egypt, Jordan, and Syria during the conflict.

The Israelis are playing a dangerous game by attempting to incorporate this new territory into what the Zionists now call "Greater Israel" at a time when the Arab revolution is on the rise. This most recent land grab, along with the Israeli policy of opposition to the rising Arab revolution and her complicity with imperialism, is forcing her into the dangerous position of having to resort to pure military terror to maintain her position in an Arab world which is increasingly unified in its anti-Zionist hostility.

The raid on Lebanon is a good example of the trap in which Israel finds herself. The intent of the attack was to compel the conservative Lebanese government into taking action to repress the Arab resistance movements. But, within the context of rising Arab consciousness and militancy, the effect was the opposite. One of the many expressions of increased Arab militancy in the face of the attack was the strike of more than 25,000 students demanding universal conscription and the removal of restrictions against commando organizations operating in Lebanon.

And the rising militancy outside Israel's borders is only one of her problems. There are also the daring resistance movements being spearheaded by the Palestinian refugees and the need to police the additional million-and-a-half Arabs contained within her borders as a result of the June war.

In the face of all this, the Zionists still attempt to rationalize their militarism by continually recalling the fact that they themselves have been the victims of persecution. Zionist literature is filled with references equating Arab resistance with Nazi persecution. In a letter which appeared in the Jan. 5 *New York Times*, one man speaks of how in 1967, "Arab armies were poised on its [Israel's] borders for the 'final solution.'" This recalling of the horrors of World War II is supposed to excuse Israel's use of fascist-like tactics against the Arabs—the blitzkrieg of 1967, the napalming of Arab villages, and what the Western world calls Israel's general tendency to "over-

react," as in the case of the Lebanese raid, which wiped out half the air transport in the largest airport in the Middle East.

Moreover, it is just those Arab organizations which the Israelis are most opposed to—Al Fatah and the other resistance groups—which are the most clear about the fact that their struggle is not against the people of Israel, but against the expansionist Zionist state. While Zionism is a xenophobic and thoroughly reactionary form of nationalism, the nationalism of Al Fatah is becoming more and more internationalist and anti-imperialist in its outlook. These Arab militants call on Jews and Arabs alike to join the struggle. And their perspective of pan-Arabism has nothing in common with the petty rivalries between Arab governments which have plagued the Middle East for so long.

Arab nationalism, like the nationalism of other oppressed peoples of the colonized world, is the necessary concomitant of the struggle against imperialist and Zionist oppression of the Arab nation. A token of the progressive nature of this nationalism is the fact that parallel with the growth of Arab resistance has been the encouraging development of the small, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization within Israel. These Israelis solidarize with the Arab revolution and seek to bring about revolutionary change within Israel itself.

With the growth of Al Fatah and other resistance forces, and the increased militancy of the Arab masses as a whole, there has been much talk in the press about the methods by which "peace" can be brought to the Middle East. The possible intervention of more "reasonable" forces such as the United Nations and the so-called "Big Four" is being discussed.

But the events of the past weeks are a confirmation of the fact that there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East unless it is a peace with justice which is agreed to by the masses of Arab people, most importantly the Palestinian Arabs.

The real hope for peace in the Middle East thus lies with those Israeli and Arab organizations and tendencies which have the perspective of uniting the various Arab peoples (and the Jewish masses as well) in a fight against Zionism and imperialism. Most importantly, the organization of a pan-Arab movement, independent of the existing capitalist regimes, signals the beginning of the revolutionary socialist movement which is needed in the Middle East to direct the struggle against Zionism and imperialism into the necessary socialist channels, and which can wage war against the most serious "violence" in the Arab lands—the violence of imperialist oppression and poverty.

## Zionism and the Arab Revolution

The Myth of Progressive Israel  
by Peter Buch  
a young socialist pamphlet  
30 cents

New York State residents, add 2% tax;  
New York City, 5%.

Order from  
MERIT PUBLISHERS  
873 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

# The 'peace' talks continue: and the casualties continue too!



By Dick Roberts

JAN. 9—The total American casualty figures for 1968 in the war in Vietnam underline the fact that the opening of "peace" talks last spring did not signal a slowing of the war: It set the stage for an intensification of combat activity. This necessitates continued and escalated antiwar activity by all opponents of U. S. intervention. "In terms of lives," the *New York Times* reported Jan. 3, "1968 was the most costly year of the war for the United States . . . Unofficial totals . . . supplied by reliable sources, showed that 14,521 Americans died in battle . . . Nearly half of the 30,543 Americans who have lost their lives in Vietnam since 1961 were killed last year."

Basing itself on the changeover of administrations in Washington and the present "lull" in battlefield combat, the prowar press is attempting to convey the impression that "meaningful" talks are either already underway or about to begin in Paris. They pretend that Washington is seriously attempting to end the war—or, at least, "shift the burden of the war to Saigon." The same *New York Times* article showed how much real "progress" has been made in forcing South Vietnamese conscripts to fight a war they have as little interest in as American GIs:

**"The margin of South Vietnamese over American deaths was smaller last year than ever before, and it seemed to show, if anything, that the United States had borne a greater part of the war's burden."**

The article reported 15,426 South Vietnamese casualties, bringing the total deaths of soldiers fighting for Washington's puppet regime in Saigon to just under 30,000 for 1968 alone.

The Vietnam war is now in its eighth year—the longest major war in U. S. history. On first sight it might seem like the work of the antiwar movement has done little to slow this long and bloody war.

But the Paris talks themselves show Washington is affected by antiwar pressure, not only from this country, but from demonstrations all around the world. These talks were undertaken fundamentally under the impact of the antiwar movement as well as the blows of the Vietnamese liberation movement.

Paris does not mean Washington has agreed to give up on the Saigon clique. The other side of the Paris talks is that Washington is attempting to use them as a cover for continuing its assault against the South Vietnam guerrillas.

What the U. S. military hopes to accomplish during the talks was spelled out by *New York Times* chief correspondent Charles Mohr in that newspaper Jan. 3.

Interviewing authoritative military spokesmen in Saigon, Mohr reported an "optimism" that the guerrillas in South Vietnam were "weakening" under U. S. military pressure. Far from describing any letdown in U. S. combat plans, Mohr reported a military perspective based on increasing the number of GIs on the battlefield.

As to "withdrawal" of U. S. forces, Mohr explained how this could actually be under-

taken in the context of the these plans: "A phased withdrawal of American troops could, if carefully planned, be carried out without immediate or serious reduction in total allied military power . . .

"A . . . basic step would be to reduce the number of American troops tied up in static defense or brigade and division base areas and to force troops to live more in the field. By such devices to make more intensive use of riflemen, some sources contend, almost the same fighting power could be obtained with many fewer American troops."

That kind of withdrawal is not what opponents of the war and particularly GI opponents of the war have in mind. It is nothing more than escalating the amount of combat time of GIs in Vietnam. You would be hard put to find a more cynical example of how Washington attempts to get around the mass unpopularity of the war.

Mohr described the changeover from Westmoreland to Abrams as another case of escalation: "Gen. Abrams has improved aggressive 'pile on' tactics, in which an attempt is made to reinforce heavily every fight and to cut off enemy withdrawal." Mohr quotes a military source:

"He is following the only two rules which make sense in this situation: every unit not in contact is in reserve and every contact is to be exploited to the maximum. It's more relentless than with Westy."

That is why more American soldiers are being killed now. The Pentagon has stepped-up the combat time of soldiers in Vietnam; it has intensified its efforts to defeat the Vietnamese guerrillas.

Meanwhile, the American people, including the soldiers, are being subjected to a barrage of phony propaganda about the prospect of the war ending soon. This

is intended precisely to lull the antiwar forces into inactivity.

It is the job of the antiwar movement to get the truth about the war out—above all to GIs. The massive regional actions which have been called for Easter Sunday, April 6, by soldiers and civilians against the war, should be the focal point for antiwar activity.

Plans for this national action were mapped out at the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference in Chicago Dec. 27-28. It calls for marches to demand immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops in half-a-dozen key cities.

To ensure maximum GI participation, the slated marches and rallies will all

be organized so that GIs can participate without jeopardizing their legal rights. The cities chosen are in areas with large troop concentrations, including New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Austin, San Francisco, Seattle and possibly Los Angeles.

Further information on this important event can be obtained from the New York headquarters of the Student Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003, phone (212) 675-8465; or from Fred Halstead, convenor of the liaison-coordinating committee to organize the April 6 action, at the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, 17 E. 17 St., New York, N. Y. 10003. (212) 255-1075.

## Seek McClellan probe bar

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — Alan and Margaret McSurely will try to bar Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas from questioning them in Washington on Jan. 14, according to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

They also plan to ask the U. S. District Court in Washington to stop McClellan from forcing them to produce papers seized from them in 1967.

McClellan has ordered the McSurelys to appear before his committee in connection with his investigation of ghetto uprisings in American cities. They are organizers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a Louisville-based civil-rights and anti-poverty organization.

"We think the U. S. government should be investigating the coal operators who have systematically murdered and oppressed the people in Eastern Kentucky's billion-dollar coal field," the McSurelys declared.

"Instead, they are investigating people like us, who have been helping the mountain people organize to get political power."

The McSurelys will be represented in their suit against McClellan and at the Jan. 14 hearing by attorneys from the Law Center for Constitutional Rights—Miss Rita Murphy of Newark, N. J. and William M. Kunstler of New York.

The material which McClellan has subpoenaed was seized from the McSurelys when Pike County officials raided their home near here on Aug. 11, 1967. They and three other SCEF employees were charged with sedition, but a U. S. court freed them all.

The U. S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati later ordered the seized papers returned to the McSurelys. McClellan again subpoenaed the documents when they were returned to the McSurelys by state officials.

The McSurelys have also been attacked by the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC). They and their year-old son, Victor, narrowly escaped injury or death when their home near here was dynamited on Dec. 13.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Seven organizations in Louisville have appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court to stop operations of the Kentucky-Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC).

The high court was told that KUAC is "being used for the purpose of intimidating and harassing the plaintiffs and inhibiting them from the exercise of their First Amendment rights." They ask the Supreme Court to reverse the refusal of a three-judge federal court in Louisville to stop KUAC from harassing them.

The three-judge court was asked to act last summer after KUAC announced that it planned to investigate an uprising which took place in Louisville's largest ghetto in May and June.

The groups appealing to the Supreme Court are Black Unity League of Kentucky, Louisville Peace Council, Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), Southern Seminary Students Affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), West End Community Council, and White Emergency Support Team.

## 2 GIs defended in Detroit

By Michael Smith

DETROIT—On Saturday night, Jan. 4, two antiwar GIs were arrested by the military police while distributing copies of the GI antiwar newspaper, *The Bond*, at Detroit's Metropolitan Airport to soldiers home on leave.

The men, Ray Greer, a member of the U. S. Army Military Intelligence Division, and Norman Gelnaw, a seaman in the U. S. Navy, were placed in the stockade at Fort Wayne in Detroit.

Fifty people, mostly from the Resistance, the Young Socialist Alliance, and People Against Racism, immediately began picketing in below-freezing weather in front of the fort's just-locked gate to show their support for the incarcerated men and to uphold their free-speech rights.

As a result of the demonstration one of the men was released that night and the other the next morning. A week before, a war protestor, locked in the stockade without any visible outside public support, was beaten severely by his military interrogators.

Seaman Gelnaw has been ordered back to his ship, which is anchored in Boston.

The YSA and Resistance have alerted their respective groups and an attorney in Boston, and assistance will be given the victimized sailor in that city. Greer has been transferred to Chicago, headquarters of the U. S. Fifth Army, and contacts have been made there with the YSA and CADRE.

James Lafferty, an attorney for Greer and president of the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyer's Guild, told the press that "such harassment must not be allowed to continue. GIs' rights must be protected. Seaman Gelnaw and Ray Greer were engaged in activities which are clearly protected under the First Amendment to the Constitution. The two civilians who were with them were not arrested, thus clearly showing that discrimination against military personnel exists. This must not be allowed to continue."

Among the groups that are rallying to the support of the two men are Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Student Mobilization Committee, Michigan Civil Liberties Union, and the National Lawyers' Guild.



# Luxemburg and Liebknecht --in tribute



Rosa Luxemburg



Karl Liebknecht

By Ed Smith

A special issue of the **International Socialist Review** has been published this month to honor the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the leaders of the Spartacus League of Germany and founders of the German Communist Party.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered in Berlin on Jan. 15, 1919, following an abortive uprising of the soldiers and workers of that city. They were killed by cavalry officers in collusion with the right-wing leaders of the governing Social Democratic Party.

These two opponents of the first imperialist world war—who spent much of the duration of that war imprisoned because of their revolutionary views—were released from jail by the revolution which swept Germany in November 1918, overthrowing the monarchy in the last month of the war.

This uprising of soldiers and workers had largely been sparked by the revolutionary propaganda distributed by the Spartacists in the ranks of the army and by the Bolsheviks from the opposing trenches.

Karl Liebknecht was the sole socialist deputy to the German Reichstag who had voted against war credits for the Imperial army—and for this act he had at once become an international hero of the oppressed masses drawn into the imperialist war on a world scale.

He tirelessly recruited soldiers to socialist ideas on the battlefronts and was ultimately imprisoned for this work. When the revolution surged into Berlin on Nov. 9, it was Liebknecht who proclaimed the formation of a socialist republic of Germany to the thousands of demonstrating workers.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht spared no effort to build a revolutionary vanguard—modeled after the victorious Bolsheviks—which could give this spontaneous rising the cohesion and organization necessary to guide it toward seizing the state power so near to their grasp.

But the new Communist Party, which they founded in December 1918, did not have time to convince the majority of workers to follow its program. The Social Democratic rulers who had supported the Kaiser's war and had come to power with his abdication, were able to decapitate the Spartacist leadership and disperse the revolutionary wave.

Despite her untimely death, Rosa Luxemburg's life and writings stand as a model few revolutionaries can match. Born in 1870, she plunged into revolutionary activity at an early age in her native land, Poland.

At the age of 30, she moved to Germany and shortly opened up an attack on the prestigious reformist Social Democratic leadership; Luxemburg was one of the first Marxists to recognize its inherently unrevolutionary direction.

An ardent internationalist, Rosa Luxemburg took part in the 1905 Russian revolution—the "dress rehearsal" for 1917. Although she was imprisoned when 1917 came, and received only faulty information about it, Luxemburg was an immediate and unconditional supporter of October 1917.

If she had some hesitations about the Bolshevik's immediate policies, they were substantially due to her fear that only revolution in Germany could guarantee revolutionary success in underdeveloped Russia. She wrote from prison:

"Whatever a party could offer of courage, revolutionary far-sightedness and consistency in an historic hour, Lenin, Trotsky and the other comrades have given in good measure. All the revolutionary honor and capacity which western Social Democracy lacked was represented by the Bolsheviks.

"Their October uprising was not only the actual salvation of the Russian Revolution; it was also the salvation of the honor of international socialism." (*The Russian Revolution*, Ann Arbor Paperback).

The **International Socialist Review** has chosen to reprint two of Luxemburg's lesser-known writings in this memorial issue. Both are imbued with that deeply moving socialist humanism which so characterizes her writings.

The longer *Life of Korolenko* is a work of Marxist literary criticism which treats the life and writings of the little-known

Russian journalist Vladimir Korolenko as a vantage point for surveying pre-revolutionary Russian literature as a whole.

She tackles no lesser questions than why this period produced works which stand among the greatest writings of all time, particularly those of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, and at the same time she asks what gives these writings their qualities of greatness.

The second of Luxemburg's writings in the new **International Socialist Review** is a manifesto against capital punishment which she wrote shortly after her release from prison in November 1918.

In addition, the magazine contains a review of Soviet literature since the revolution by George Saunders, who has written extensively on this subject for **Intercontinental Press**. Saunders focuses particular attention on the contrast between the literary norms of the Bolsheviks and those later superimposed by the Stalin regime and its followers.

George Novack's keynote speech to the 1968 Young Socialist Convention, "Can American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution?" completes this special issue of the **International Socialist Review**.

Copies can be obtained for 50 cents from 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. A full year subscription, six issues, is \$2.50.

## Interview with L.A. Black Student Union leaders

By Stephen Bloom

LOS ANGELES—At the center of a wave of protests which broke out in high schools here before the Christmas holidays was Fremont High School. The turmoil at Fremont followed attempts by Robert Malcolm, the predominantly black school's white principal, to suspend four members of the Black Student Union.

The students responded to Malcolm's move with a united protest so strong that not only was Malcolm forced to back down, but it was he, instead of the four students who was finally ordered to leave.

In the following interview with **The Militant**, four leaders of the Black Student Union at Fremont—BSU chairman Ricky Ivy, co-chairman Lawrence Gillman, Minister of Defense Dewayne Fricks and Dorothy Gillard, the BSU faculty advisor—explain the tactics used in the Fremont struggle and their plans for the future.

**Question:** What led up to the explosion at Fremont?

**Answer:** After BSU members attempted to attend a faculty meeting at Fremont in the hopes of setting up better faculty-student relations and of showing the importance of the faculty listening to us, four members of the BSU's central committee were suspended for "defiance of authority."

In response to the suspensions we held a rally at lunchtime which was attended by 1000 students. "Punk" Malcolm [the principal] then made an announcement that the four students would be reinstated and everyone went back to class. But after school we found out that he had lied.

Wednesday morning we took over the auditorium, waiting for word that the students had been reinstated. We waited until the fourth period, and then everyone moved out onto the field [to an outdoor meeting,

where the principal said the four would be reinstated "pending parent conferences." The thing about parent conferences was a trick by Malcolm which would allow him to reinstate the students now and then suspend them later after things cooled down. After this, we added to our demands that Malcolm must be eliminated as principal.

Later, when it became obvious that we weren't going to be fooled, the students were told that the four would be reinstated unconditionally' but we felt that Malcolm would have to go because he had been lying to the students.

On Thursday, the students, faculty, and parents went en masse to the School Board. We presented our demands and told them that we wanted to pick our next principal. But they decided that they were going to choose the principal for us. They went into executive session, and decided that Michael Boulton should be our acting principal.

We told the Board that we weren't going for it and we walked out. The next week, just before Christmas, we called a boycott, and the school was effectively closed; at the height, 85 percent of the students stayed away from school.

**Q:** What role did community groups play in these activities?

**A:** We called on the community for support. Specifically we contacted the Parents Council, the PTA, Assemblyman Bill Green, and the Black Congress which is made up of all the organizations in the black community.

**Q:** What about contact with other schools?

**A:** The Black Youth Alliance (BYA) is the organization of all high school and junior high school Black Student Unions and they all lent support to our movement.

At Hamilton High, which is predominantly white, the SDS and BSU organized a massive walkout for Fremont. Two hundred and fifty students are being transferred for that action and this will certainly be an issue in the future.

**Q:** Where do things stand now?

**A:** We have decided to accept Boulton as acting principal, but the main thing is the BSU demands which must be met.

**Q:** What made you change your mind about Boulton?

**A:** After talking to him we got an understanding that his allegiance would be to the people and not to the Board of Mis-education.

**Q:** What do you see as the main issues in dispute at this time?

**A:** The BSU demands with the long range goal of community control. Another immediate demand is to get the police off campus. We told Boulton that we would give him two weeks to take action on our demands. But the struggle will continue, whether the demands are granted or not.

### Fremont High BSU demands

The following are the demands issued by the Fremont High School Black Student Union.

1. We demand that immediate Afro-American curriculum be instituted in the school.

a. Afro-American literature for all students.

b. Afro-American history for all students.

c. Swahili included as a language.

d. Courses concerning the political, economic, and social problems of the black community.

2. We demand that all racist insensitive teachers be removed from the school.

3. We demand more qualified BLACK teachers, administrators, and counselors.

4. We demand that an institution of black studies be instituted at the school.

5. We demand more educational materials relevant to black people.

6. We demand that a parent-student-faculty association be immediately established.

# Nixon: heir to LBJ's gri

By George Novack

Nixon's team has been given maximum cooperation by the outgoing Johnson administration to smooth its assumption of office. This warm collaboration is a sign of the fundamental agreement between the two parties on how to handle the affairs of the capitalist ruling class and the narrowness of their differences on the main lines of foreign and domestic policy.

However much the Republican return to the White House has been eased, Nixon will head into rough sailing once he starts to exercise the prerogatives of power. For, along with the occupancy of the White House, the President-elect is receiving a formidable package of unresolved problems from his Democratic predecessor.

Nixon has appointed a cabinet made up of bankers, corporation lawyers and millionaire businessmen to help him cope with this assortment of difficulties. In addition, he has retained the services of such perennials as FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, CIA director Richard Helms and Federal Reserve chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr.

The head of the *New York Times* Washington bureau, Tom Wicker, has emphasized the underlying continuity between the two governments in the following comment: ". . . The political coloration of the Nixon staff suggests . . . that, despite the campaign rhetoric and the conservative

cast of the Cabinet, less fundamental change of direction might result from the new Administration than first expected. Mr. Nixon, after all, will be operating under much the same pressures that worked on Mr. Johnson, and it now appears that he will be hearing much the same sort of counsel from much the same kind of adviser, with much the same ease of access." (*New York Times*, Dec. 12.)

Moreover, Nixon's capacity for innovations in the field of legislation will be considerably cramped by the fact that Congress is controlled by the opposition party.

As he pores over the digested dispatches from around the world every morning after Jan. 20, Nixon's mind is bound to be preoccupied with four major foreign problems. In the forefront of his attention is the nettlesome question of what to do about Vietnam.

*New York Times* diplomatic correspondent C. L. Sulzberger cabled from Paris Jan. 3 that "Washington's policy shift on Vietnam now aims at the least bad peace that can be swiftly obtained." Nixon has indicated, less by what he has said than by what he has refrained from saying, that, if possible, he would like to liquidate the Vietnam adventure which proved to be Johnson's undoing. Large sectors of capitalist opinion, not to mention the bulk of the nation, insist on a prompt end to the most unpopular war in America's history.

What bothers the Republican high command is whether they are prepared to pay the heavy price disengagement demands. That would involve a tacit avowal of the defeat of the U. S. colossus at the hands of a small and heroic colonial people, exposing the Saigon puppets to their destruction and spreading anxiety about relying on Washington among the anti-Communist Asian "client" governments. The new Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, has told newsmen that he hopes the war can be ended within a year. This hint of compromise is a far cry from the days when McNamara and his generals were predicting "victory over the Vietcong" from month to month.

Meanwhile, the war hawks are exerting strong counterpressures on the President-elect. On New Year's Eve, CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb disclosed that at a meeting of Pentagon, CIA and White House officials three weeks before, the chief military men asserted that the enemy could still be beaten in the field if the incoming administration could politically stand a weekly loss of 300 soldiers, which has been the average number killed over the past year.

What course the Nixon administration will actually take remains uncertain. But it will soon have to make a firm decision whether to seek a cease-fire or fight on. At the moment the Middle East is the tinderbox of world politics. In sending Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania as his personal envoy to that area, Nixon intimated that he would like to improve U. S. relations with Egypt and other Arab states, and the Israeli government's commando raid on the Beirut airfield, which was condemned by the U. N. Security Council, has not enhanced its credit in Washington.

However, the State Department is caught between its support to a not always restrained Zionist Israel, its complicity with the oil cartels to keep that precious commodity under U. S. control, its desire for friendlier ties with the more moderate Arab regimes, and its apprehensions about the activities of the popular revolutionary forces and guerrilla movements in the Middle East. For the time being, the diplomats of both Washington and Moscow are equally at a loss on how to proceed in that troubled region.

Johnson was reportedly all set to announce a summit conference with the Soviet Union on Aug. 21, the day after the Warsaw Pact armies invaded Czechoslovakia. Nixon has made it plain that he would like to resume negotiations with Moscow on a number of unsettled issues, beginning with nuclear arms control. At the same time, as the Dec. 15 *New York Times* pointed out, "his goal of negotiations with Moscow and his conviction that Moscow must be dealt with from strength raises the competing pressures for arms control and an arms buildup."

Even if Nixon arranges some degree of de-escalation in Vietnam and makes some overtures to the Soviet chiefs of state, he is unlikely to favor any de-escalation of expenditure on armaments. The front ranks of his cabinet drawn from the midst of "the industrial-military complex," is one guarantee of that.

Finally, for the first time since 1950, official Washington sees some slight chance of a shift in attitude toward Communist China. It is taking quite seriously the Nov. 26 statement issued by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with the United States. Nixon will probe Peking's intentions when the diplomats of the two countries resume their long interrupted discussions in Warsaw on Feb. 20. Prominent Washington spokesmen have already been dangling the bait of dropping the trade embargo if Peking's move should turn out to be a signal for closer diplomatic and economic contacts with the U. S.

With so much instability in the world

today, the President-elect might well be confronted, before too many months have passed, with a critical situation calling for instant military intervention in some wholly unexpected place, as in the case of the popular uprising in the Dominican Republic in 1965. However, with the American people so sensitized by the Vietnam experience, any new move of this kind would provoke an unprecedented roar of protest in the country.

\* \* \*

At his 1965 inaugural Johnson hoisted a bright banner proclaiming the advent of "the Great Society." This was torn to tatters by the end of his term. The sailing orders of the Nixon administration at the beginning of its voyage are much more modest: "Don't rock the boat." The constituency that put him in office yearns most of all for an end to convulsions at home and abroad and the restoration of capitalist "law and order."

But it is one thing to want a cessation of crises and conflicts and quite another to produce the conditions that can forestall and prevent them. For all the power and resources it commands, the new administration is pitifully deficient on that score.

Most flagrant is its timidity and inadequacy in tackling the most pressing of all domestic problems, the demands of the 22,000,000 Afro-Americans. At a time when their needs are greater and their patience thinner, Nixon promises less than the two Democratic presidents of the 1960s who so conspicuously failed to improve their lot.

His sole recipe for dealing with such matters is an infusion of "black capitalism" in the ghettos. Through loan guarantees and tax incentives he proposes to encourage capitalist private enterprise to shoulder the task of removing the terrible poverty, inequality and misery that the profiteering system has created and thrives upon.

What such a program looks like in reality and how little it amounts to is shown by the record in Chicago of the Continental Illinois Bank under the guidance of its head, David M. Kennedy, chosen by Nixon to be his secretary of the treasury. The *Wall Street Journal* writes that "in cooperation with the National Alliance of Businessmen, he [Mr. Kennedy] reported recently, the bank has agreed to take on 80 hardcore 'disadvantaged' jobless. As early as six years ago, it started hiring and training dropouts, provided they returned to high school. The bank takes credit for spurring the Small Business Administration to streamline financing for black businessmen and on its own has committed \$65 million for loans for low-cost housing construction and rehabilitation. It's helping line up young black professional men to coach Negro entrepreneurs, and it has a hand in a promising prefabricated-housing experiment."

Piddling measures of this sort can only lead to further and fiercer explosions of protest in the heart of the urban centers by the black masses, who are tired of tokenism and who are clamoring for relief.

Nixon's determination to hold down large-scale federal expenditures for such purposes will frustrate the plans developed by his Urban Council and other departments to deal with overcrowding, housing, mass transportation, air and water pollution and other problems of the cities. The agents of the monopolists and militarists are ready to spend heavily on armaments while short-changing social welfare. The priorities of the Republicans, like those of the Democrats, are dictated by the interests of the rich, not the necessities of the poor.

The new administration must wrestle with a choice of evils in deciding what economic policy to implement in 1969. Nixon inherits from Johnson a rate of in-

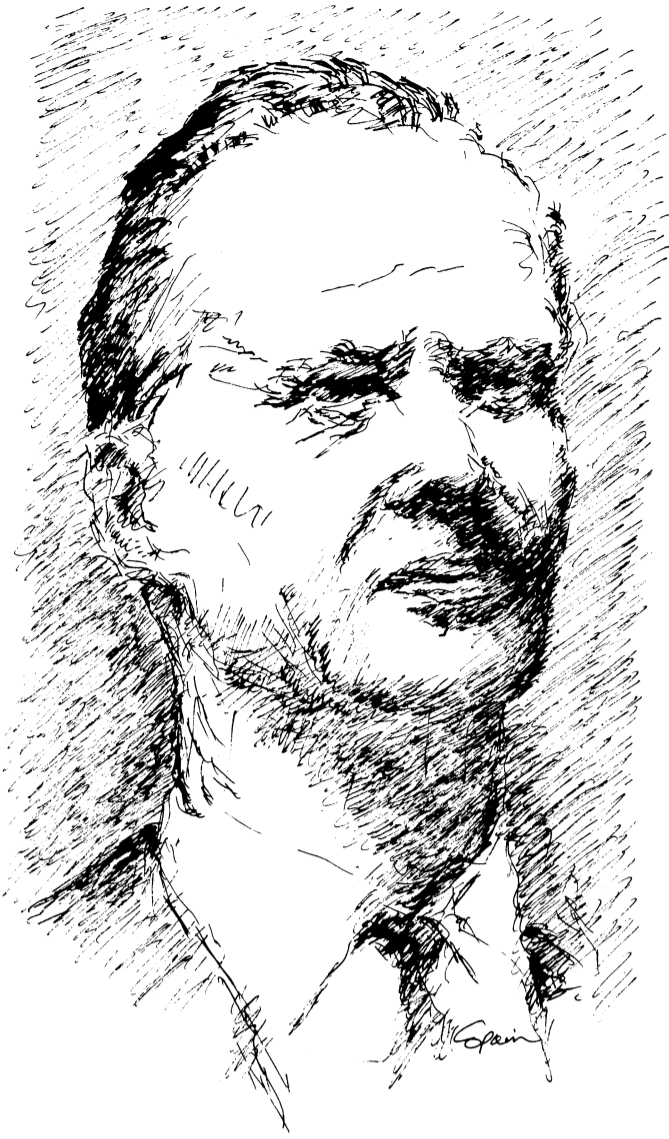


Photo by David Fenton (LNS)

Like we were saying, would you buy a used car from him?



ef?



Alexander Dubcek

flation that is more menacing and rapid than at any time in 17 years and as of last June 30 the federal budget showed a deficit of \$25 billion. The Chicago banker Kennedy, the incoming secretary of the treasury, has declared with dismay that these factors have generated "an explosive combination of easy money and the highest long-term interest rate in memory."

The dilemma he is called upon to solve is how to impose financial restraints that can curb the mounting inflation and bring the budget into balance without precipitating too much slackening in business and investment activity. Almost as soon as they take office Nixon's appointees will have to choose whether to extend the 10 percent income-tax surcharge beyond its expiration date of June 30.

Less inflation will bring more unemployment. The administration can envisage the likelihood of increased unemployment with more equanimity than a slowdown in the economy soon after it takes office.

In the long run Nixon will also have to cope with the balance of payments problem and the continual weakening of the dollar which plagued Johnson's treasury officials. These two difficulties were temporarily eased in 1968. But the increase of imports over exports and other maladjustments threaten to render them again acute at some point in his administration.

Some liberals and radicals were fearful that a Nixon victory at the polls portended a new period of extreme repression, a reversion to McCarthyism, which might be a prelude to "fascism." This kind of hysteria was used by political opportunists of the left to stampede gullible people into supporting Humphrey and other liberal Democrats as a "lesser evil."

There are certainly no grounds for expecting Nixon and his attorney general to respect the civil liberties of the American people any more than the Johnson administration did, as its conduct in Chicago last summer, its brutal suppression of the black uprisings and its treatment of the antiwar activists demonstrated. The degree of their repressiveness will depend upon the intensity and scope of the social conflict they encounter. But neither the relation of class forces in the country nor the disposition of the ruling class are conducive to the launching of an all-out crackdown against dissidence that can abruptly transform the political climate in an ultrareactionary direction.

Nixon would prefer to reproduce the sedative conservatism that prevailed during the latter years of Eisenhower's tenure by reducing military action in Vietnam as the General did in Korea and proceeding with a cautious domestic policy that will keep his supporters happy and keep discontent under control.

This agreeable prospect is not in the cards. The world of the late 1960s differs in too many respects from the late 1950s. The international arena is more explosive; the domestic scene is highly unsettled.

Nixon does not start off, as Johnson did, with a large fund of confidence among the American masses. His administration will have to contend from the first with a vast amount of distrust among the youth alienated from bourgeois society, the black militants and the masses behind them, the critical intellectuals as well as growing sentiment against the war in the armed forces. Most working men and women do not anticipate any gifts for themselves from Washington—and they are right in that.

So, whatever the weather is on inauguration day, the political prognosis for 1969 reads: storms ahead for the Republican regime and good growing conditions for American radicalism.

Jan. 4, 1969

By Mary-Alice Waters

The Kremlin finds itself in a deep continuing political crisis as mass Czech opposition to occupation of their country continues unabated. Despite serious concessions to Moscow by the Dubcek leadership and despite the efforts of the Dubcek government to dampen the struggle of the Czech masses, the outcome remains far from certain.

The most important developments in the new round of battle were the public declarations by the major trade unions and student organizations threatening to strike if Josef Smrkovsky, chairman of the National Assembly, is demoted. Smrkovsky is an outspoken supporter of the democratic reform program initiated by the Czech Communist Party last January.

The largest single union in the country, the 900,000-strong metal workers union, has threatened to strike if Smrkovsky is removed from his position. The Central Council of Trade Unions, representing millions of workers, has thrown its weight behind Smrkovsky, insisting that he should be retained at least until new assembly elections are held.

In addition to numerous student organizations backing Smrkovsky, other unions which have publicly declared their support include the miners, cultural workers, architects, actors and performers, film and television artists, composers, journalists, scientific workers, and locomotive workers.

Despite renewed threats of even greater censorship, the press and news media have continued to publicize these expressions of support. This widespread and public defiance of the dictate of the Kremlin and the pleadings of Czech party leaders has provoked warnings of dire consequences and veiled threats of a new Soviet invasion unless the Czechoslovakian masses end their agitation and resistance.

During the final week of 1968 a delegation of Soviet officials made a special trip to Prague to meet with Czechoslovakian leaders. The purpose was to discuss the progress of attempts to "normalize" political life since the invasion, and the progress report was assuredly meager.

Following these discussions, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak party held an all-night meeting, Jan. 3-4, at the end of which a statement was issued deploring what it described as the widespread campaigns of recent weeks "that have evoked mistrust of the party and state leadership" and warned "citizens of the gravity of the situation and the consequences that could result from any unconsidered steps."

They referred to Czechoslovakia as a society "in the throes of dissension and tensions, on the brink of political crisis in which even trivialities can result in tragic conflict."

The "Smrkovsky crisis" arose over the

question of who would be named chairman of the newly formed two-house federal legislature. One of the basic reforms adopted by the Dubcek regime last January was the creation of a federal structure for the two nations that make up Czechoslovakia. The federal structure was to give greater autonomy to each region and provide for a greater role for the

**JAN. 8—The presidium of the Czech Communist Party decided yesterday to recommend to the party's central committee that Josef Smrkovsky be demoted to first deputy chairman of the new assembly and that he head one of the chambers, the House of Peoples. He will remain a member of the eight-man executive committee of the presidium. Dr. Peter Colotka, a Slovak, was selected to head the new assembly.**

Slovaks in the government of the entire country.

As of Jan. 1 when this measure went into effect, the National Assembly was replaced by a new two-house legislative body. The former National Assembly, composed of 199 Czechs, 81 Slovaks, 10 Hungarians, 2 Ukrainians, a Pole and a German, became the House of Peoples. A second, and equal, house, the House of Nations was created, composed of 75 Czechs and 75 Slovaks.

The point of contention has been who should be named chairman of this new two-house legislature. Kremlin supporters are insisting that now is the opportune time to dump Smrkovsky. Smrkovsky's supporters are insisting that he be given the equally important post in the new set up, that of chairman of the two houses.

The dispute is complicated by another issue as well—representation of Slovaks in the top leadership of the new federated government. The top two posts are already held by Czechs—President Ludvik Svoboda and Premier Oldrich Cernik. Gustav Husak, leader of the Slovak Communist party is demanding that Smrkovsky be removed to allow for his replacement by a Slovak. If removed, however, it is clear that his Slovak replacement will hardly be a leading champion of socialist democracy.

While the bulk of the popular support for Smrkovsky seems to come from the Czech population, there have reportedly been demonstrations in Slovakia as well, opposing the position taken by Husak and demanding the retention of Smrkovsky.

The Kremlin leaders have apparently decided not to try to prevent the creation

# Czechs continue resistance

of the federal republic in Czechoslovakia. But they are decidedly unhappy about it for two basic reasons. First, they are afraid it could set a precedent of greater autonomy for national minorities in the Soviet Union itself, particularly the Ukraine which borders Slovakia. There is a large Ukraine population in Czechoslovakia with close ties to the Soviet Ukraine population. Secondly, they are afraid it will simply serve to encourage new demands for greater political freedom, for greater popular participation in the decision making process.

However, the Soviet leaders are most concerned about the failure of the Czechoslovakian party and government leaders to bring the Czechoslovakian masses under control and bring an end to the continued agitation in favor of the political reform program. They are placing ever increasing pressure on the Czech leaders to "normalize" the situation.

For instance, the day after the Presidium meeting Smrkovsky himself went on television and pleaded with his supporters not to do any of the things they had threatened. He pledged to accept the decision of the party, and asked his supporters to do the same.

Of particular concern was the strike threat. Smrkovsky said, "I know well what a strike means, that it is an old weapon of the working class, and I also know that this also used to be the last means. Do we have such an extreme situation to solve problems that way? Let us consider what it means today for our state, with its internal stability and the international position. How can our leadership react? What can it do? How can it work in such tension?"

Obviously the Czech masses thought there was such an extreme situation. And so did the Kremlin and Czech leaders. But the list of questions posed by Smrkovsky in his television address clearly indicates the dilemma of the Kremlin and Czech leaders. One invasion did not succeed in bringing the Czechoslovakian masses to their knees, and there is not much reason to suspect that a second would be more successful in halting the process of mass struggle for socialist democracy that has been carried on without letup for a solid year.

Subscribe to

**GRANMA**

Weekly Review from Havana

\$5.00 per year

Fair Play for Cuba Committee  
165 Spadina Avenue, Room 32  
Toronto 2b, Ontario, Canada

# An American visitor in Prague



**POST-INVASION SCENE.** During August days, immediately after invasion, throngs gathered in Prague's Wenceslas Square to read the posters and declarations that proliferated.

By Gus Horowitz

Prague is an occupied city, but the spirit of its people has not been broken. That is the most immediate and striking impression made on me during a five-day visit in the first days of the new year.

There is a clearly discernible gap between the political accommodation displayed by the top government officials towards the occupying Soviet forces and the openly expressed mood of opposition, defiance, and willingness to resist on the part of the general population.

Symbols of support for Czechoslovakian national independence are everywhere — mostly photographs of the government leaders or the Czech flag. These are displayed in private homes, on the windows of stores, in official buildings. Street-corner peddlers do a brisk business in buttons bearing the photos of Dubcek and Svoboda. Their names, and those of other leaders (the notorious accommodationist, Husak's, being noticeably missing) are painted on buildings, walls, and trees.

One printed poster was very common. It bore the photo of President Svoboda and underneath was the inscription — "Svoboda — Republic — Socialism — Democracy." Many of the people look to the government officials as a symbol of their desire for independence. Conversation indicated that they would surely back the

government to the hilt if it chose to resist.

At one end of Wenceslas Square, a very broad avenue about two blocks long, is a great statue, the focal point for open displays of defiance. There at the base of the statue are candles and wreaths, memorials to the people killed in the first days of the invasion. Statements of support — "We Are With You" — from people all over the world are prominently displayed all around the statue's base.

These symbols are carefully maintained; new candles and wreaths, new signs of support are placed there daily. I was told that these displays of commemoration and international solidarity have kept up every day since the invasion. At every hour of the waking day there is a crowd of people gathered around the statue to see what new statements or symbols have been added.

In the past few weeks the political crisis in Czechoslovakia has revolved around the issue of Smrkovsky, whose slated removal from his position as president of the Czechoslovak National Assembly has been bitterly opposed by Czechs and Slovaks alike. The demand for his retention in office became such a popular issue because until now he has appeared the least inclined of all top government officials towards collaboration with the Russians.

On Jan. 1 Czechoslovakian youth started circulating a petition opposing his removal

from office. There at the base of the statue the petition was openly circulated and eagerly signed by the crowd. No one seemed furtive or acted as though intimidated. I was told that more than 7,000 signatures were obtained there in the first four days. Nor did there appear to be deep signs of national division over support to Smrkovsky, a Czech, who was to be replaced by a Slovak for the ostensible reason of national balance in government offices. The most prominently displayed sign, hung up on the statue itself, read "The Slovaks Are With You."

Though Prague still bears marks of the Soviet invasion of Aug. 21, some of the very symbols of the occupation reflect the mood of the occupied more than the occupiers. Street signs, removed by the people in the first days of the occupation to confuse the invaders, have not yet been replaced even though four and a half months have passed.

Russian troops are stationed only a short distance away from the central city. But when on leave they wander alone and friendless in busy Wenceslas Square, almost totally ignored by the Czechs. Rare indeed are any instances of fraternization. This in itself gives the lie to the Soviet claim that their troops were welcomed as allies in the fight against "counterrevolution."

The spirit of defiance is most clear, however, in talking with ordinary people. There is no apparent popular mood of defeatism, resignation, or intimidation. Some people are circumspect in their conversation — some unwilling to say too much, others unwilling to state their names, some careful to be alone when talking to the foreigner.

But most ordinary people, especially the young, seem quite ready to speak out against the Russians, against a return to the oppressive regime of the past, or in criticism of this or that Czechoslovakian government official for acquiescing in Soviet-imposed policy.

For the most part the political slogans have disappeared, the signs and banners which were written on the walls of public buildings and workers' homes in the first days of the invasion. But one can still see where they were, for many had to be painted over. The slogans have been replaced by the photographs of government officials or the Czechoslovakian flag, symbols which are more easily tolerated by the Russians and harder for the government officials to remove.

But outside the building of the philosophy faculty of Charles University, the windows are still covered by placards with slogans commenting on the immediate political issues. Inside the building on the first floor is the office of the students' group, where



"Socialism Yes, Occupation No!"

new signs are painted every day. The office looks like the typical radical student office in the U.S. Che's picture hangs on one wall, a disfigured photo of Walter Ulbricht on the other. On the wall in the VLTAVA, a cafe frequented mostly by students, was a huge hand-lettered sketch of Czechoslovakia as a garden of flowers being crushed by a Soviet tank.

More than once someone remarked on the tremendous new spirit of involvement the people have felt since January 1968. "It's a shame," said one Indonesian student who had been studying there for the past five years. "Before January there was no discussion, no interest in politics. People didn't seem to care or didn't seem to think that their opinion meant anything. But after January it was a tremendous thing. People were discussing everywhere. People were concerned about politics; workers, students, the average person. But now its beginning to go back to the way it was before. It's a real shame."



ВЬЕТНАМ - агрессия США

ЧЕХОСЛОВАКИЯ - агрессия СССР

"Vietnam — Aggressor USA. Czechoslovakia — Aggressor USSR."

Nevertheless, though restrictions on free speech have been imposed, and though discussion is not like it was prior to the invasion, one thing seems readily apparent to a visitor: The Soviet bureaucrats face a crucial problem in the present mood of the Czechoslovakian people — a mood of opposition, defiance and willingness to resist. To this point the people, especially the powerful and defiant working class, have not been called upon to act in defense of their rights. Though subject to occupation, they have not been defeated in battle. If there should be a renewal of active resistance, the outcome, even now, will not be decided in advance, for the power of ideas can still defeat the power of military might, as it has often done in the past.



August Prague poster

## Role of the left-wing Zionists

By Peter Buch

Yehuda Krantz of the Hashomer Hatzair is willing to concede in his letter in the Dec. 13 *Militant* [Arab-Israel conflict: a different view] that Israel is a capitalist country and that many of its policies are to be condemned. It appears he blames both Israel and the Arab governments equally when he says: "Most of the area's problems are the result of the policies of both sides, inspired by big-power manipulation."

But as it happens, Mapam, the socialist-Zionist party with which Krantz's movement is associated, is a member of the Eshkol coalition cabinet! It shares political responsibility for these very policies, along with their fellow cabinet members, such as the "dangerous neofascist" (Krantz's words), Moshe Dayan, and the chauvinist-terrorist, Menahem Beigin. Mapam is in the cabinet, as it was during the June war and before that during the joint Israeli-British-French assault on Egypt in 1956, for the sake of "national unity," that is, so it could play the traditional role of social democrats in capitalist governments — a leftwing fig leaf.

The truth is that Krantz's apparently impartial allotment of equal blame is at bottom merely a plea in extenuation of the "necessary" policies that Israel has allegedly been forced to take in "self-defense" against the Arabs. That some of these admittedly reactionary policies themselves might be a cause for the Arabs' hostility is not even considered by Krantz.

In like manner, Krantz points to the extenuating circumstances which "forced" the

early Zionist colonizers to exclude low-paid Arab labor from the protection of the exclusive Jewish Federation of Labor, the Histadrut. His arguments turn out to be the standard rationalizations of the racist labor bureaucrat who blames the colored or non-skilled worker for being unorganized.

The source of these rationalizations is support for the aims of Zionism, i.e., the establishment of an exclusively Jewish state in an area where the Arabs were a majority. As a Zionist, Krantz is driven to justify the basic policies of "land redemption," the Zionist term for taking the land away from the Arabs. Zionism first sought the British mandate for protection in this land-grabbing endeavor, and later the alliance with U.S. imperialism to preserve the fruits of the conquest. Zionism's reactionary, pro-imperialist policies — which Krantz rightly condemns — all flow from the need to defend a state carved out at the expense of another nation, Arab Palestine, the existence of which is only now being acknowledged with the rise of its own national liberation

**NEW YORK** — Peter Buch will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on "The Israel-Arab Conflict—A New Stage." The meeting will be held Friday, Jan. 17, 8:30 p.m. at 873 Broadway. A one-time Zionist, Buch is a long-time student of Arab-Israel relations.

movement.

One more thing: Krantz whitewashes Dayan's trip to South Vietnam as a bona fide journalist who would have gone to North Vietnam and to the NLF too if they had let him, and who advocates U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. First of all, *Israel Horizons*, the American Hashomer publication, itself condemned Dayan's trip in its November 1966 issue as a "grave disservice" to his country, especially in view of its being paid for by the U.S. Information Agency, and stated that "our enemies abroad . . . will be unimpressed by Dayan's credentials as a journalist." I haven't seen Dayan's articles allegedly calling for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. But if that was his position, he was to the left of Hashomer Hatzair, whose resolution on Vietnam, passed at a joint conference with their adult supporter group, Americans for Progressive Israel, in Montreal, May 27-28, 1967, called for negotiations and asked the American government "to end the bombing of North Vietnam and place the problem of finding a solution in the hands of the UN and especially of its Secretary-General, U. Thant." Mapam calls for a similar "resolution" of the conflict.

Evidently trying to win support for Israel among influential Americans inclined to accept "extenuating circumstances" is a delicate matter for Hashomer. It seems that the U.S. insists on some "extenuating circumstances" of its own in Vietnam which require "understanding" from those who seek the benefit of its bounteous arms supply!



# Factional struggle dominated SDS parley

By Tony Thomas

The SDS national council meeting held in Ann Arbor, Mich., Dec. 27-31 was marked by sharp factional struggle.

The first two-and-a-half days were organized as an educational conference, but what actually occurred was a debate on the same issues which later divided the meeting of the national council.

The NC meeting was the arena for a confrontation between two groupings. On the one side were the adherents of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL) and those SDSers who share its perspective for SDS. Arrayed against them was an amalgam led by the national leaders of SDS, Bernadine Dohrn and Mike Klonsky.

The debate at Ann Arbor took place in the context of a growing socialist consciousness among student radicals and a growing realization among them of the key role of the working class in any revolutionary development. This understanding is growing inside and outside SDS. But the confrontation at Ann Arbor showed

They also had strength from New York, with the exception of the various city-college chapters which are generally controlled by PL. The amalgam also has the national office staff, with the exception of Fred Gordon, the national education secretary, who supports the PL position.

The PL base included both PL members and those SDSers who agree with PL's perspective for SDS. They came primarily from Boston and the New York city colleges, plus a few from Chicago and the West Coast.

They also had support from non-PLers from the University of Iowa, Michigan State and a few other places.

Each bloc commanded the support of about 40 to 45 percent of those present. The conference was a battleground for the allegiance of the uncommitted remainder.

## Political issues

**Racism and the Black Struggle:** PL put forward the position that black nationalism is inherently reactionary. To quote the PL proposal on racism: "Nationalism has replaced pacifism as the main ideological weapon of the ruling class within the Black Liberation Movement. Nationalism is used to divert Third World people from struggle on a class basis and from making alliances with white workers and students."

PL asserts that the struggle for black self-determination is a diversion from the struggle of the working class as a whole against the capitalists. They argue that white workers do not have a material stake in the oppression of black workers, **even on a short-term basis.**

The national officers tried to oppose PL's false concept of nationalism, but were largely ineffectual because they don't grasp the revolutionary significance of black nationalism. They really don't get it that the black rejection of the present white racist society, and the desire to separate from that society, basically represents a rejection of capitalist society. The developing black movement leads increasingly to a break with such existing political institutions as the two capitalist parties. And the independent organization of blacks, with the development of a black leadership, lays the basis for a genuine, revolutionary alliance with the white workers — an alliance based on genuine equality because the blacks will enter it as organized equals.

Not really seeing this basic aspect of nationalism, the national officers were only able to give a sort of apolitical defense of nationalism, and some even wound up capitulating to a position very similar to PL's. Two of the leaders of the national office amalgam, Mike Klonsky and John Jacobs, actually supported the PL anti-nationalist proposal, saying it was "better than no proposal at all."

The PL proposal was the only one on the floor and carried by a vote of 83-81.

**The Antiwar Movement:** There was a general feeling that the antiwar movement had suffered a serious lapse since the spring of 1968. The discussion on SDS's stance toward the antiwar movement focused around the question of National Mobe's Jan. 19-20 inauguration day demonstrations in Washington. PL was opposed to participating or in having any kind of alliance with the Mobe, which they viciously assailed for an alleged "liberal, pro-Democratic Party orientation," as well as for its "confrontation" tactics.

PL proposed that SDS "reconstruct" the antiwar movement under its own banner rather than through helping build a coalition. They proposed that the basis for participating in antiwar action be "anti-imperialism" rather than agreement on specific actions against the imperialist war in Vietnam.



AT SDS PRESS CONFERENCE. From left to right, Mike Klonsky, Bernadine Dohrn, Fred Gordon and Tim McCarthy.

A proposal that SDS organize a separate action in Washington for the inauguration, simultaneously with the Mobe action, was made by Mark Rudd and several other members of the New York regional staff. This was seen as a way to "reconstitute" the antiwar movement on an "anti-imperialist" basis under the aegis of the SDS. The supporters of this proposal felt that cooperation with the Mobe was possible. PL opposed this proposal too.

A minority of the supporters of the Rudd proposal defended the anti-imperialist character of such mass mobilizations as April 27, 1968, and Oct. 21, 1967. They felt the SDS would be missing opportunities for activity for its members if it kept out of such actions. Steve Halliwell was the main spokesman for this viewpoint.

The proposal for a Washington action in tandem with the Mobe was defeated after a PL-organized "black caucus" announced that the black population of Washington was opposed to a demonstration there because it would lead to repression in the black community. On the basis of this assertion, the proposal for the Washington action, which initially had the support of about half the people present, was overwhelmingly defeated.

**The Cuban Revolution:** The National Office invited Edward Boorstein, economist and author of *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* to the educational conference to speak on Cuba. This was essentially an attempt to answer PL's position that the Cuban leadership is taking an "objectively revisionist" course.

In line with the Peking thesis, PL maintains that all the workers states, excepting China, Albania and Cuba, are in fact, capitalist states.

Cuba, it argues, because of its economic ties with the "capitalist" Soviet Union has failed to combat "revisionism" internally or externally and is moving toward capitalism.

PL attacks Cuba's endorsement of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. (It was, you see, a "capitalist" invasion!) They also criticize the lack of democracy in Cuba (while overlooking its absence in China). And they criticize Cuba's advocacy of revolutionary guerrilla warfare in Latin America as "petty bourgeois."

But Boorstein and the SDS national officers were unable to really answer this bunk because they take a completely uncritical attitude toward Cuba. Thus, instead of scoring PL for its failure to support workers' democracy in Czechoslovakia, Boorstein argued that the events in Czechoslovakia were the same as in Hungary in 1956 and therefore the Soviet Union was justified. He didn't realize that both the Hungarian and Czech invasions presented moves by a bureaucratically degenerated workers state to repress popular struggles not for restoration of capitalism but for socialist democracy. This made it very difficult to answer PL's false position about Soviet "capitalism."

Because they take the attitude that whatever the Cuban leadership says or does is totally correct, the national officers couldn't explain or defend the very real gains of the Cuban revolution against the slanderous attacks of the Maoist.

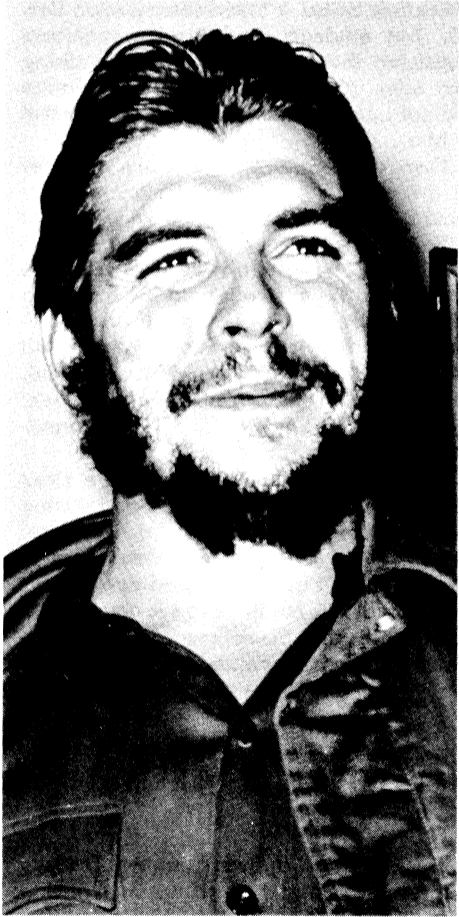
**On General Perspectives for SDS:** Mike Klonsky presented a proposal entitled, "Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement," which sought to put forward a political position that would embrace the various tendencies within the national-office anti-PL amalgam. The proposal called for SDS to cease being a predominantly student movement and to organize working-class youth into its ranks. The proposal saw SDS as not merely a general student radical organization but one moving in the direction of becoming a revolutionary party.

This proposal didn't outline any specific course of action because it tried to combine several different political perspectives.

To this PL counterposed its Student Labor Action Project (SLAP). This proposes that SDS remain a student organization that seeks alliances with workers based on concrete issues and struggles, such as supporting strikes or organizing college employees.

Part of this proposal is the "work-in" under which SDS members take summer factory jobs to "learn about the conditions of the working class" and "participate in the class struggle." This project was the clearest expression of the social-work approach which characterizes the entire SLAP

(Continued on page 10)



CHE. According to PL line, he was a "petty bourgeois adventurer."

that neither the national leadership amalgam nor its PL opponents are able to adequately and correctly deal with the key problem confronting radical youth.

The national office amalgam is a coalition of people with diverse views. It includes Dohrn and Klonsky, who hold a rather superficial "pro-working-class" view and identify politically with the Cuban leadership.

It also includes the SDS tendency which sees a "new working class" — professionals, engineers, etc. The most articulate spokesman for this view at Ann Arbor was Steve Halliwell of New York University.

Another component consists of the proponents of the idea of "youth culture" and "youth as a class." Les Coleman of Chicago was the main spokesman for this view.

Also part of the amalgam are people of a semi-anarchistic, less well-defined perspective of the kind that was typical of SDS a year or so ago. This view is typified by Jeff Jones of the New York City office.

The base of strength of the national office amalgam is in the various city and regional staffs in such places as New York, Chicago, Washington, D. C., and Texas.

## The Assassination of Malcolm X

1. Unanswered Questions By George Breitman
2. The Trial By Herman Porter

50 cents

### Also available:

|                                    |       |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| By Malcolm X                       | Cloth | Paper |
| Autobiography of Malcolm X         | 7.50  | 1.25  |
| Malcolm X Speaks                   | 5.95  | .95   |
| Malcolm X on Afro-American History |       | .50   |
| Malcolm X Talks to Young People    |       | .35   |
| Two Speeches by Malcolm X          |       | .25   |

|  |      |      |
|--|------|------|
| By George Breitman   |      |      |
| The Last Year of Malcolm X, The Evolution of a Revolutionary | 4.50 | 1.95 |
| Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas                             |      | .25  |
| Myths About Malcolm X by Rev. Cleage and George Breitman     |      | .35  |

MERIT PUBLISHERS 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003

New York State residents, add 2% tax; New York City, 5%

# Canadian young socialists meet

By Betty Lanier

Young socialists across Canada met in Toronto Dec. 27-29 at the Socialist Students Conference called by the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Canadian counterpart of the Young Socialist Alliance) to review the mounting student radicalization and activity in Canada and to work out plans for the growing young-socialist movement. The conference was attended by 150.

Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, opened the first session. He explained that the YS/LJS had initiated the conference to facilitate discussion among socialists about the growing wave of student actions across Canada and their role in relation to them, and to project plans for the movement.

He pointed out that the "new left" had declined rapidly in Canada, while the amount and depth of radical student activity has continually increased. Porter described a "vibrant rebirth of socialism in our generation" and the corresponding new openings and responsibilities for socialists in the student struggles.

The first session of the conference was devoted to a panel on "student power" and the relationship of the student upsurge to society as a whole. The panelists were Peter Warion, president of the Canadian Union of Students; Bert Keser, chairman of Students Against the Extension of the School Year (the Toronto high school group heading the current wave of actions there) and of Students Against the War in Vietnam (also a high-school group); and Gary Porter.

Ken Hebert, a member of the YS/LJS and one of the 114 students recently arrested at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, reported on the demonstrations for university accessibility to post-high-school education and other school reforms which brought about the arrests. Hebert reported that Vancouver civil-liberties and labor forces have begun rallying around the arrested students and called for a full-scale defense effort on behalf of the SFU 114. The conference enthusiastically pledged to help organize a massive defense campaign.

The conference heard a talk by Kipp Dawson of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance on the international youth revolt, focusing on the radicalization in the U.S. and the growth of the YSA. A full-length

film on the May-June French upsurge got a spirited reception.

Saturday morning's session was devoted to a discussion of "How to Build a Mass Movement Against the War in Vietnam." The report was given by Joe Young of the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (a Canadawide group similar to the Student Mobilization Committee). The conference took note of the GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference then going on in Chicago and looked forward to working with the U.S. antiwar movement for a big spring action.

In the afternoon, Jacquie Henderson,



Jacquie Henderson

editor of the **Young Socialist Forum**, and Ian Angus, member of the YSF editorial board, reported on the history of the YSF and plans to expand it from a bimonthly magazine to a monthly tabloid. Both the reports and discussion placed emphasis on the new openings for the young-socialist movement and the need to use the press to the fullest to help bring many new young people to socialist conclusions and to the YS/LJS.

Most of the rest of the conference was devoted to spirited reports and discussion on the struggles of French-speaking Canada and, particularly, recent developments in Quebec. Raymond Lemieux, head of the Mouvement pour l'Integration

Scholaire—a 6,000-member Quebec organization struggling for French-language education for all of Quebec—made a special appearance at the conference and reported on the background and development of his organization and the progress of the "social and national revolution" now developing in Quebec.

Michel Mill, a leader of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, reported on the October upsurge of French-speaking young people in Quebec, drawing parallels with the black struggle in the U.S. He told the conference about his highly successful election campaign following the height of the recent actions in Quebec and of the rapid and extensive growth of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The conference closed with a talk by John Riddell, Toronto organizer of the League for Socialist Action, Canadian counterpart of the Socialist Workers Party, on "The Role of Students in the Struggle for a Socialist Canada." The conference responded enthusiastically to his call for young radicals who want to achieve their goals to join the international revolutionary socialist movement.



Raymond Lemieux

## Oshkosh students press fight against racist expulsions

By Bill Clary

OSHKOSH, Wisc. — Supported by various groups throughout the state, students here are mapping a continuing fight for 94 black students who were expelled from Wisconsin State University here for participating in a demonstration. The black students had acted after the administration reneged on commitments it had made for creation of a black studies department.

When classes resumed here Jan. 6, students met and decided to hold one-hour sit-ins daily at the office of university President Guiles. A demonstration is slated for Jan. 10 with support from such groups as SNCC, Madison YSA, the Black People's Alliance, and the Milwaukee NAACP youth Council.

The 94 who had held their demonstration last Nov. 21 were expelled by the State Board of Regents Dec. 20. At the Regents meeting and prior to it, students tried unsuccessfully to pressure the administration to drop the charges or have the 94 tried by students and faculty members.

The students also tried to establish some kind of communication with the administration which apparently believes that unin-

formed students are the best kind of students.

To placate student pressure, the administration called a token convocation Dec. 13. But students and faculty members registered their dissatisfaction by walking out after they realized President Guiles did not intend to answer questions directed to him.

Then the remaining 19 black students at the university handed Guiles a statement declaring they would leave the school if the 94 were expelled.

Oshkosh, Wisc. is lily-white once more.

Oshkosh is a stronghold of the John Birch Society just 20 miles from Appleton—where it is said Joe McCarthy still lives. But the issue of the 94 has not died, as the school administration and local bigots assumed it would after the expulsions.

At issue in the present fight is a clear case of a capitalist institution refusing to grant courses to blacks in a cultural center so as to deny them awareness of their national identity and heritage.

Oshkosh will continue to see demonstrations until the black students are reinstated and their demands met.

## ...The SDS conference

(Continued from page 9)

proposition. It expresses a romanticized, paternalistic approach to the workers.

In its application, no attention is paid to the given level of union or class consciousness of the workers involved—no less whether they are interested in being organized by SDSers.

A twisted view of the working class and a smug, middle-class superiority dominated the discussion on both sides on this question. Bernadine Dohrn, for example, said that one of the main ways that SDS would reach working-class youth would be by organizing prisoners into SDS. "SDS will never make the revolution," she said, "until it has a strong base in the prisons."

Moreover, there was no serious discussion of two areas where working-class youth are already in motion—in the high schools and in the armed forces. Antiwar and black nationalist sentiment in both these areas is proving a strong radicalizing force.

Both sides agreed students can play a revolutionary role. But neither showed any understanding of the dynamic by which revolutionary students can inject revolutionary consciousness into the working class and affect workers' struggles through the students' own battles.

The student movement against the war, for example, has reached and influenced broad sectors of the working class here and internationally.

And last May the French youth certainly demonstrated how student struggles can galvanize the workers into action.

The national council meeting represented a significant new stage in the development of the factional struggle in SDS. Because PL had significant support for its proposals at this conference, the national leaders were compelled to deal with PL politically

instead of red-baiting it, as had been done in the past.

The national office amalgam was compelled to debate the political issues with PL. The debate made it clear that the national officers—no more than PL—do not have an adequate program relating to the major political questions: black nationalism; Cuba; defense of the Vietnamese Revolution; the relationship between students and workers; the nature of Stalinism; the question of what kind of revolutionary organization is needed to defeat American imperialism.

Klonsky, reporting as national secretary, said that it would be necessary for his supporters to organize themselves into a permanent faction to combat the PL faction.

He insisted that at the coming national convention in June, leaders should be elected on the basis of stated political positions. He insisted that the supporters of PL, who did not run a slate at the last convention, do so at this one. PL said they would. This means that on national and local levels, SDS will be increasingly involved in a bitter, paralyzing factional struggle.

As the factional struggle deepens within SDS, with neither formation offering clear answers to the disputed questions, many SDSers will undoubtedly turn toward the Young Socialists, who are demonstrating—in theory and practice—a capacity to cope with these vital political issues.

A Young Socialist table was set up at the SDS gathering, and more than \$350 of its literature was sold. Nearly a hundred SDSers turned in their names to receive further information about the Young Socialists, and several indicated an interest in joining.

## 'Sweet Mother Swarthmore' burns

By David Oden

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 8—For years secure in its liberal Quaker tradition and complacently proud of its reputation as a highly progressive educational institution, Swarthmore College was shocked into modern reality today when members of the Swarthmore Afro-American Students' Society (SASS) burned in effigy "Sweet Mother Swarthmore" (a reference to the cloistered atmosphere there).

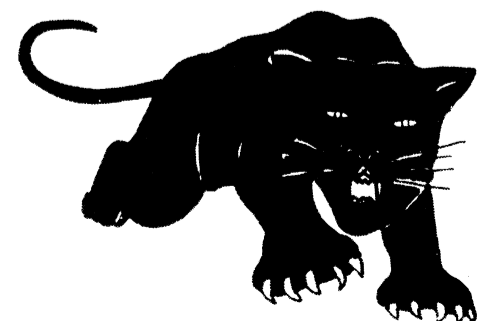
After three years of discussion of their demands for increased black enrollment and an academic life which is relevant to the black students, members of SASS tired of the reports, evasions, and referrals to committee which have thus far produced no substantive change in administrative procedure. Speakers at a rally accompanying the burning emphasized that the action did not imply a threat but was intended to punctuate their demand for a genuine commitment by the college.

It symbolized SASS's determination, and their intention, to rip away the liberal mask of the Swarthmore administration. Pointing out Swarthmore's history of racial discrimination and the failure of the present administration to negotiate in good faith, SASS spokesmen concluded that change will only come about as a result of action by the students themselves.

Throughout their lengthy attempts at negotiation, SASS has had the support of the black workers at the college, the student

council, and a significant number of faculty members. Each of these groups has recently been approached by the administration with a smear campaign against SASS, attempting to portray the organization as unrepresentative, unyielding and dangerous. SASS has responded by broadening its base of support on campus.

Although activities dealing with black issues on campus have been spearheaded and led almost entirely by SASS, its members do not view their struggle as one of interest only to black students. One leader described it as "a part of the human struggle for liberation." It is this sentiment which links together revolutionaries and liberation fighters throughout the world.





# White British jury convicts Biafran artist

By Ernest Tate

LONDON (IP)—Obi Egbuna, the well-known Biafran novelist and playwright, and Nigerian artist Peter Martin were found "guilty" by an all-white jury here Dec. 11 of "maliciously uttering a writing threatening to murder police officers in Hyde Park." The third defendant, Gideon Dolo, was found "not guilty." Egbuna, a leader of the Universal Coloured Peoples' Association [UCPA] and editor of the organization's magazine, **Black Power Speaks**, was sentenced to one year in prison. The sentence was suspended for three years.

In the ten-day trial the prosecution's case was clearly exposed as a frameup. What was significant was not that racist hysteria could be used by the police to secure a conviction, but that the sentence for such a supposedly serious offence would be so light. Only a year ago another black power leader, Michael X, was sentenced to a year in prison—and served it—under the Race Relations Act for merely preaching black pride (allegedly "inciting racial hatred").

The outcome of the trial can be seen as a modest victory for the defendants and for the sizeable movement for their defense throughout Britain. Many marchers in the massive Oct. 27 London antiwar demonstration carried signs protesting the fact that Egbuna and the others were held without bail from the time of their arrest in July. An energetic publicity campaign was

carried out by the Committee for the Defence of Obi Egbuna on the eve of the trial.

The arrests caused considerable apprehension in the immigrant community, coming as they did in the midst of a new racist outburst by Enoch Powell and others. The double-standard of racial justice in Britain was highlighted by the refusal of the police to grant bail to the black prisoners. Two white fascists who were recently arrested in London for possession of machine guns, ammunition, and other weapons were granted bail.

The charge against Egbuna and his comrades was that between June 9 and July 25 they had given a statement to a Nigerian printer in London, Simon Davis, containing words which "threatened to murder" and "incited others to murder." These threats, according to the prosecution, were in Egbuna's handwriting, headed, "confidential," and "to be printed and circulated to the membership of the Black Panther party" and to readers of **Black Power Speaks**.

All but two of the prosecution witnesses were police. The prosecutor sought—unsuccessfully—to establish that Egbuna had led a demonstration at Hyde Park June 9 that ended in a clash with police. This became an important point in the trial because the "statement," referred to as "Exhibit 13," contained a fictionalized reference to the Hyde Park incident. The prosecutor sought to "prove" that it was a "blueprint for riot and murder." Egbuna clearly established that it was part of a new novel he is finishing entitled **Wimbledon Blues**. Egbuna said that chapter in question had been inspired by the events in Hyde Park, but that obvious differences from the real incident should make plain that the piece was fiction.

The Nigerian printer Simon Davis and his wife were the only prosecution witnesses who were not cops. It was primarily on Simon Davis' testimony that the conviction was finally secured.

Davis at first claimed to be a law student. Later he admitted this was not so. In cross-examination it was established that he had acted as an informer for the police on at least two occasions, that he was heavily in debt, on the verge of bankruptcy in fact, and that the UCPA had taken **Black Power Speaks** to another printer because of Davis' incompetence—which suggested a personal grudge against Obi Egbuna.

Davis frequently contradicted evidence he had given in magistrates' court or changed his story under cross-examination.

Although Egbuna and his codefendants were ostensibly being tried on the basis of what had appeared in the "statement," the real issue was black power. Defense witnesses were interrogated on the ideas of black militancy discussed in **Black Power Speaks**. Among the bits of "evidence" presented by the police were pamphlets on the black struggle in America, including speeches by Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. Each day the police carried a huge box of this material into the court. In prominent view on top of the collection were large photographs of Che Guevara and other revolutionary leaders.

The most impressive figure during the trial was the chief defendant. Despite almost two days of intensive cross-examination, Obi Egbuna remained calm and self-possessed. He explained that he had been working on **Wimbledon Blues** since April. Its theme was the frustrations of a black man living in racist Britain. Because Davis had been an active member of the UCPA, Egbuna had once loaned him the manuscript of the unfinished novel.

Egbuna testified that the section of the last chapter was to have been printed as part of a future issue of **Black Power Speaks**. This was the only explanation, he added, for the heading, "confidential," on an article the police admitted was to be publicly distributed to readers of the magazine.

In his instructions to the jury, Sir Carl Aarvold, the recorder, virtually assured the conviction of Egbuna and his comrades by asserting that the police could have no motive for corroborating false testimony by Davis.



Obi Egbuna

## Modzelewski and Kuron before court

(IP) The long-awaited trial of Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski opened in Warsaw on Jan. 3. The two revolutionary Marxist student leaders were accused of playing the leading role in the March 1968 student demonstrations in Poland and of having received material aid from the world Trotskyist movement.

Kuron and Modzelewski are the principal defendants in the mass trial of students arrested after the student demonstrations which shook the Gomulka regime and gave powerful encouragement to the development of the "Czechoslovak spring."

The specific charges, according to a Reuters dispatch of Jan. 5, were as follows: 1) that they received a duplicating machine and stencils from the Fourth International, allegedly sent from Belgium in a box of medical supplies; 2) that they formed an organization for the purpose of instigating demonstrations; and 3) that the March demonstrations were planned in Modzelewski's home.

This is the second time that the two revolutionary socialists have been placed on trial because of their political opposition to Gomulka's bureaucracy. In July 1965, Kuron was sentenced to three years and Modzelewski to three and one-half years in prison for distributing an "Open Letter" in reply to their expulsion from the Communist party and its youth organization. Released a year before their sentences were up, they were arrested once again in the purge that followed the March demonstrations and have been held in jail since then.

In their "Open Letter" the two student leaders called for the overthrow of the bureaucracy in Poland, the establishment of a government based on democratically elected workers councils, and the adoption of a revolutionary internationalist perspective. In many points, the appeal paralleled positions long advocated by the world Trotskyist movement.

The text of the "Open Letter," together with related documents, is available in **Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out (1964-1968)**, Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York 10003. \$1.25.

## The Great Society

FOR SPIRITUAL R AND R?—The U.S. is opening a newly found three-room section of Adolph Hitler's Bavarian bunker at Berchtesgaden—but only to U.S. soldiers. The section—symbolically?—was found directly under a hotel operated by the Berchtesgaden Military Recreation Center for U.S. Army personnel.

SWIFT JUSTICE?—The wheels turned swiftly for John McGhee, an overseas civilian petroleum inspector for the Navy. McGhee's probings led to the baring of bribery, forgery, collusion and government laxity resulting in the theft of at least 5.5 million gallons of U.S. gasoline in one year in Thailand alone. With that disclosure, McGhee's overseas assignment was abruptly terminated. The Navy politely declined comment as to why he was shipped home. Meanwhile, a reported key witness was assigned to the North Pole area.

A GOOD PACIFIST DEMAND—ROME, Jan. 4 (UPI)—Students staged marches in Italian cities today to demand that the police be disarmed.

PROFIT IN PROGRESS—A Dec. 27 Union, N.J. dispatch to the **San Francisco Chronicle** reported: "The past year has been a good one for companies making tear gas, antiriot equipment and other law enforcement products, and 1969 should be even better, according to the chief of one of the biggest firms. J.J. Mascuch, president of Breeze Corp., said civil disturbances in the U.S. and abroad were chiefly responsible for the growing demand."

IT FIGURES—The Mexican government which murders dissenting students in cold blood shut down an Acapulco production of "Hair" on grounds of "immorality."

XMAS WINDUP—We are indebted to a swinging, if tardy, Minneapolis **Playboy** reader for a number of just received Xmas suggestions. E.g.: "Neiman-Marcus is featuring his and-hers perspex aquariums . . . 'His' is filled with fresh water and a pair of angelic angel fish. 'Hers,' however, is a different kettle of salt water

fish. The floor of her aquarium is covered with cultured pearls that are guarded by . . . a poisonous lion fish with dorsal spines that pack a deadly wallop . . . And just for laughs, a colorful clown fish has been thrown in, too. All for \$25,000 and up, depending on size and number of pearls selected."

PLAYBOY ALSO SUGGESTED: ". . . a pair of 'coprolite' cuff links—fossilized dinosaur flop mounted on gold-plated fittings . . ."

PACKAGED AMERICAN CULTURE—Then there's this **Playboy** item: ". . . a Henry VIII-style wood-grained plastic beer mug that automatically emits four conversation-stopping belches whenever a thirsty chugalugger lifts the tankard to his lips."

FROM PLAYBOY'S HI-FI DEP'T—"A militaristic Walter Mitty . . . can get his vicarious kicks by listening to an LP titled 'The Mighty U.S. Armed Forces Sound Effects in Action.'" With the volume turned up, he can "flip over the war whoops of our fighting men in actual combat, cheer as our bombers blast the bad guys and sing along to the sound of a nuclear explosion."

WE'RE STUMPED—Finally, **Playboy** reports: "Fifth-grade members of a Wauwatosa, Wisc., church school voted for their favorite hero—from a list that included President Johnson, Jesus and Albert Schweitzer. When the votes were in, the contest proved to be a draw between Jesus and a dark-horse write-in: Bart Starr." Our problem is we never heard of Bart Starr.

FAREWELL NOTE—George Lewis, the New Orleans jazz clarinetist, died in his native city last week at 69. He was a fine human being, a good union man (musicians and longshoremen), and a truly gifted artist. His dedication to his particular cause—New Orleans jazz—was of a quality that deepens one's confidence in man.

—Harry Ring

## A ride in an S.F. police van

SAN FRANCISCO — Carl Frank, a Young Socialist leader and San Francisco State student strike activist, was arrested on campus by Tactical Police Jan. 8 and taken on what he described as a "terror ride" in a police van. Two arrested students in the van with him were beaten mercilessly by police as they lay handcuffed. Frank and another prisoner, who turned out to be a San Francisco Chronicle reporter arrested by mistake, were not beaten.

Frank had been helping direct a mass picket line when it was charged by the Tac Police. They grabbed him, handcuffed him and forced him to lie down in the patrol wagon along with the other three prisoners.

When the cops had charged the peaceful picket line fighting had erupted and some bricks flew.

The two students beaten by the cops were suspected of having thrown rocks.

As they lay helpless on the floor of the speeding van, plainclothesmen proceeded to beat the two with blackjacks, pounding each of their fingers.

The next day's Chronicle featured an account by its reporter of his harrowing experience.



Carl Frank

## Strikers solid at S.F. State

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 8 — School has resumed at San Francisco State College, but there are fewer students and teachers in class than there were when vacation started three weeks ago. The strike is now more than 80 percent effective.

Striking students led by the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) and the Black Students Union have now been joined by faculty members. The teachers, members of the American Federation of Teachers are demanding union recognition and are maintaining picket lines along with the students.

Students have also gained significant community support for the 15 TWLF demands. A Third World Solidarity Week has drawn support to the picket lines from black people and other minority groups. The Painters Union and locals of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union have endorsed the teachers' strike. Even reluctant bureaucrats from San Francisco's Central Labor Council have been compelled to sanction the strike action. Groups of parents and other citizens concerned by police violence have walked the picket line.

Students and teachers from other college campuses have come to State in support of the strike. High-school students, too, are organizing to join it.

The teachers' strike is spreading to other schools. At San Jose State College the AFT is on strike in support of the strike at San Francisco State. As this is written, AFT locals at Sacramento State, Sonoma State, and 13 other state colleges are threatening to go out. The AFT is seeking recognition as bargaining agent in the state colleges.

Buoyed by the growing support, spirits are high at San Francisco State. The picket lines are maintained from 7:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. Scabs are discouraged from crossing the lines. Blue armbands, the sign of Hayakawa's right-wing supporters, can no longer be seen. A group of non-student reactionaries calling themselves "Silent Majority Against Revolutionary Tactics," or SMART, had threatened "action" against the strikers, but they have shown themselves smart enough to avoid showing up on campus so far.

The ruling class is split over how to deal with the strike. San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto favors a carrot-and-stick approach. He has tried to set up a mediation board, but as yet it has been unable to gain any authority in the eyes of the TWLF or the college trustees. Gov. Reagan and the trustees, on the other hand, have stated that they will not negotiate with the striking students or teachers. (Edward O. Lee, the only member of the board of trustees from either the black community or labor movement, reported that the board has excluded him from decisions concerning S. F. State.)

Reagan said Jan. 5 that the campus should be kept open "at the point of a bayonet if necessary." Alioto, whose tactical squad has swung its clubs freely at student strikers, replied, "John L. Lewis said you don't mine coal with bayonets. Well, you don't teach classes with bayonets either."

Ruling-class politician that he is, Alioto did not mention the 36-inch "riot batons" his cops carry — both the straight and "Samurai sword" type. The latter has a chisel point and could be a lethal weapon.

Glen Dumke, chancellor of the state college system, differs with Alioto over the legitimacy of the AFT demands. Dumke says he'll consider any teacher who stays out more than five days to have "automatically resigned."

The trustee's intransigence was largely responsible for forcing the Central Labor Council to grant strike sanction to the AFT. George Johns, secretary of the Labor Council, who has made clear his reluctance to grant the sanction, complained that the trustees refused to even consider any AFT recognition, while the union, he said, "was highly desirous of negotiating and compromising." Johns and other council bureaucrats did not like the AFT's support of the student demands.

Some of the politicians are trying to



Dr. Hayakawa

split the teachers from the students. Alioto, who was elected with strong support from the labor bureaucrats, hypocritically called the teachers' demands "legitimate and clearly separate from the student demands."

The strike began Nov. 6 with 10 demands by the BSU, mainly for the implementation of promises of an autonomous black studies department and the rehiring of Black Panther minister of information George Murray who was fired for making political statements while speaking at another campus. The TWLF supported the BSU's 10 demands and added five of its own. The strike began to grow.

The school administration's response was a "convocation" billed by the college's then president, Robert Smith, as an attempt to "establish dialogue" between strikers and administration. The convocation, supported by much of the liberal faculty, proved too much for Gov. Reagan. Smith resigned and was replaced by Hayakawa a semanticist with an unwarranted reputation as a liberal.

Hayakawa's first day in office, saw bloody attacks by cops on strikers. The excitement, Dr. Hayakawa confided to newsmen, was "more fun than a roller-coaster." He has since accused much of the media of hostility.

## Panther wins acquittal in Denver case

Authorities in Denver received a setback in their campaign to "get" the Denver Black Panther Party when Lauren Watson, captain of the Denver Panthers, was acquitted of charges against him Dec. 18. Watson was accused, along with eight others, of "conspiring" to burn a cleaning establishment and "conspiring to incite destruction of life and property" during an outbreak in the black community in Denver last summer.

The prosecution's case fell apart when six of the eight alleged co-conspirators invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to testify against Watson on grounds of self-incrimination.

Two weeks before the trial began, the Denver cops made a raid on the Panther headquarters which has been aptly described as a "search and destroy" mission. A picture appeared in the *Denver Post* showing the destruction resulting from the police rampage which included such barbarities as the smashing of toys gathered for a Christmas party for neighborhood children. A meeting of 200 was held Dec. 15 to protest and to discuss what could be done to contain the Denver cops.

## Community groups support San Francisco students

By Bob Davis

SAN FRANCISCO—The Community Strike Support Coalition held a press conference Jan. 3 to announce their intention of joining the students at San Francisco State College on campus when school reopened Jan. 6.

The community coalition includes representatives from the Chinese-American community, the Japanese-American community, the black community, a newly formed parents support group, and several neighborhood groups from San Francisco and the Bay Area.

## Panthers urge backing to the Oakland Seven

OAKLAND, Jan. 7—The Black Panther Party issued a statement today stating that it "is launching a campaign against the oppressive actions of the Alameda County Court, led by J. Frank Coakley, against the Oakland Seven, (Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Robert Mandel, Jeff Segal, Steve Hamilton, Mike Smith), leaders of the antidraft actions around the Oakland Induction Center a year ago."

The antidraft demonstrations, said the Black Panther Party, "was when white students for the first time were forced to fight the pigs in defense of their lives and political beliefs. The same Oakland pig department a week later attempted to murder our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton."

"The Black Panther Party stands in complete support of the Oakland Seven, going on trial on the 13th of this month. We support them because we readily recognize that we have the same enemies: the Oakland pig department, J. Francis Coakley, and his assistant Jensen. . . ."

"Huey," said the statement, "was railroaded through court and off to prison by Judge Friedman, J. Frank Coakley, and his assistant, Jensen, after a racist grand jury indicted Huey. This same grand jury indicted the Oakland Seven who readily came forth and expressed their political beliefs: **STOP THE DRAFT, END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, END RACISM, AND THAT HUEY P. NEWTON MUST BE SET FREE.**"

"We ask," the statement concluded, "What lying tricks will Jensen and Coakley use in the trial of the Oakland Seven?"

Pointing out that minorities make up 37 percent of the population of San Francisco, Carlton Goodlet, chairman of the California Negro Leadership Conference and publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, stated that the minority communities have been trying to negotiate with the college administration for three years to eliminate inequities.

"Both students and faculty are concerned with academic freedom," said Dr. Goodlet. "We support them, their 15 demands, and their right to strike and to organize for redress of grievances. We will not be deterred by the threat of violence. 'Law and Order' is used as a facade to perpetrate inequities on campus." Senator Mervin Donnelly, the only black member of the California state senate, was present with Dr. Goodlet.

In response to the charge that the students have been responsible for violence, Alice Barkley of the Concerned Chinese for Action and Change countered that it was Acting President Hayakawa who had turned the campus into a concentration camp by bringing in 600 police with dogs and horses who have brutalized the student demonstrators.

"You cannot equate the violence to property to the violence to human beings," said Hannible Williams of the Western Addition Community Organization.

Meanwhile, a statement of support to the student strike at San Francisco State was issued Jan. 4 by six members of the east bay Chicano community, including representatives of four leading Chicano organizations, the Mexican-American Student Confederations at Cal. State Haywood and U. Cal. Berkeley; United Latins for Justice; **La Causa**, Oakland; Alianza; plus a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

In their statement the six members of the Chicano community expressed their support to the 15 demands raised by the TWLF and pledged their support for the call for the Community Week of Solidarity, Jan. 6-Jan. 10. "We urge all Chicanos to come to the campus and show our support during this Community Week of Solidarity, and to continue to come until the TWLF demands are met in full," their statement said.

"We no longer want for our brothers, sons, and daughters an education geared toward indoctrinating our people of the Third World into a system which pillages this same Third World. . . . We want no part of a system that conditions us and later pits us, representatives of the Third World in this country, against the Third World elsewhere."