

# THE MILITANT

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Report on SDS council meeting

—see page 4—

# Detroit, New York cops attack black communities

—stories page 12

## Ft. Jackson GIs issue appeal

Nine GIs at Ft. Jackson, S. C., face court-martial on various frameup charges because they insisted on exercising their rights to oppose the war. (See story page 12) All of them are associated with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, an antiwar group based at Ft. Jackson. The following is part of Communique #2, issued by GIs United and circulated on base:

"The Ft. Jackson Nine are black, white and Puerto Rican. They are being victimized for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly—the right all GIs should have as American citizens.

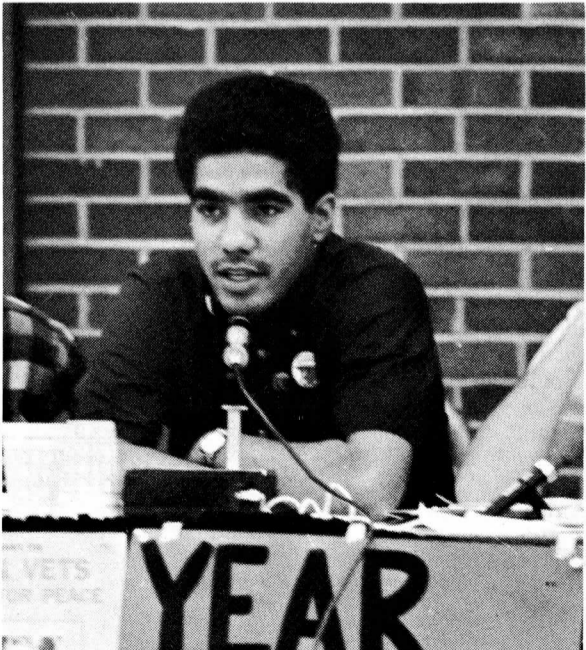
"GIs United will not be stopped by intimidations and trumped-up charges. We will fight to defend the Nine, and will continue to speak out against the war in Vietnam until every GI is brought home. It is us GIs who are forced to fight and die in this dirty war and we will continue to say what we think about it.

"We are not alone. GIs all over the country will be demonstrating and speaking out against the war on April 5-6, and they will be with us in defending the Nine.

"Your support is needed, spread the word about the nine men and about GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Contact GIs United (P. O. Box 543, Columbia, S. C.) and fight with us against the war, and for our rights as American citizens.

*"If you are against the war in Vietnam and for Constitutional rights for GIs you are a GI United, so act like one and contact us.*

*"Our voice is our weapon—united we will win!"*



Joe Miles, a leader of GIs United, will speak in New York at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, Friday, April 11, 8:30 p.m., on the nature and purpose of the servicemen's organization.



Photo by Liberation News Service

**POLICE VICTIM.** Joan Bird, New York student nurse and Black Panther, is reported among those included in recent police round-up. She and two other Panthers were arrested in January on charge of attempted murder. The other two were released for lack of evidence. Now Miss Bird is apparently being included as a "coconspirator" with those in the new round-up. She emerged from police station looking like this after first arrest when she was severely beaten. Cops told judge she "fell out" of their car.



# Struggles in South examined

## Carolina campus successes cited

Chapel Hill, N. C.

Debray's dictum in *Revolution in the Revolution?* that tactics should determine strategy, and that each revolutionary situation, while sharing major preconditions and goals, has its own set of peculiar problems, holds true today in the American South. In examining the results of confrontation, organization and demonstration at three Southern schools — Duke University, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and North Carolina A&T at Greensboro — at least two factors come to light that were not recognized two years ago.

One of these is that the radical movement in the South is strong and viable; it is successful! Successful at Duke in that black occupation of an administration building, supported by white radicals, resulted in the rapid establishment of an Afro-American Studies degree-granting program and the organization of a black living-learning dormitory. Successful at the University of North Carolina and at A&T because the blacks demonstrated they had grass-roots backing among the liberal and radical students and were able to promote reform in the administration, particularly in the area of nonacademic employee relations.

Thus the tacticians who had felt a strong left movement in the South to be an idealistic dream awakened this year to the reality that a sizeable element of the student population were willing to assume a revolutionary line.

Another factor now realized by radical leaders is that student organizations in the South must in fact be student-worker coalitions in order for them to be successful as agents opposed to racism and class privilege. The black-worker strikes at UNC and at Greensboro activated black groups and white radicals and forced them to face their responsibility as community vanguards.

For example, at Chapel Hill the Black Student Movement and the Southern Student Organizing Committee have demonstrated their solidarity with the striking cafeteria workers by organizing a free cafeteria, picket lines and benefit concerts, and in confronting police and administration lackeys.

Thus the Southern left stands on two recent phenomena: the first

its recent history of success and future potential for success; the second its growing realization that a radical movement cannot survive if it is a child of just one faction. It must be a student-worker coalition (although organizing GIs is also of great importance). Its task, then, is to utilize its natural resources, the Southern working classes, and to educate those who oppose it.

The slogan Law and Order must become All Power to the People!  
Larry L. Sluder

## On Beatrice Hansen

San Diego, Calif.

During the time Bea Hansen was living with Jim and Rose Cannon, helping him edit his writings, I received a letter from Rose giving a loving appraisal of Bea and I would like to share her words with our friends.

She wrote: "Bea is really more than Jim's secretary. She is a real human being who practices Marxist humanism instead of talking it. To her secretarial work she adds house duties to help me . . . hers is really a labor of love, because of her devotion to the party and her memory of our work for the party which is part and parcel of Bea . . ."

S. D.

## An ideal revolutionary

Minneapolis, Minn.

I was very saddened by Bea Hansen's death. I was one of those young comrades who she helped to develop and inspire and I will always remember her as an ideal of what a revolutionary should be. I only hope that today's youth can develop more like her. It's a very big bill to fill.

Seth Widgerson

## Back NYCLU board on school issue

New York, N.Y.

On March 23 at a meeting called by a petition of members opposing the New York Civil Liberties Union stand on the school situation, some 700 attended a debate on a position paper published by the NYCLU staff last October, entitled *The Burden of Blame*.

## 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.

By the applause it was clear that the meeting overwhelmingly supported the official position of support for community control of the schools and criticism of the Shanker leadership of the UFT in its relations with the black community. However an opposition, apparently sympathetic to the UFT's past record, is well organized into a caucus within the NYCLU, called the New York Membership Committee.

The opposition group is particularly indignant over the NYCLU's charges that the "due process" issue as used by the UFT was a "manufactured issue." The "due process" issue was created by the UFT's transformation of transfers into "firings" and by attempts to portray the nonexistent firings as a unique product of local community control. Furthermore, during the late session of the state legislature, the UFT carried on intensive lobbying against community control. The NYCLU had also noted that the UFT has repeatedly accepted contracts with no "due process" provisions.

The opposition charged in a bitter polemic that the NYCLU acted "politically" by attacking the "political position of an organization" (the UFT). At the meeting this charge was accepted proudly by the spokesman for the NYCLU staff and was met by thunderous applause and approval by the audience.

Reporting for the minority caucus, Herman Benson contended that community control was not the issue. The real issue, he said, was the "due process" rights of UFT teachers. He did not mention the civil rights of black students or the black community. When Rev. Howard Moody, for the majority, referred to the violation of these rights and told of the lack of black representation in teaching and supervisory positions in the school system, partisans of the opposition interrupted from the floor to raise questions of the "qualifications" of black teachers and their alleged "anti-Semitic" views.

This pro-Shanker group's effort to reverse the NYCLU stand ignores the civil rights of the black community and cannot really help the teachers or their union.

Howard Mayhew

## A new low for Shanker?

New York, N.Y.

Albert Shanker and the UFT have reached a new low (if that is possible) in their efforts to prevent community control of the New York City school system.

Last week Shanker sent a letter to every member of the New York state legislature concerning the appointment as a school trial examiner of Albert Cammer, a member of the National Lawyers Guild. Shanker claims (among other things) that the guild is "allied to the Students for a Democratic Society and the DuBois Clubs."

This red-baiting and pandering to the reactionary legislators by smears against a civil liberties

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The closing news date for this issue was April 4.

group is on a par with statements by J. Edgar Hoover or William Buckley.

In a debate with Aryeh Neier of the American Civil Liberties Union on March 29, Shanker defended the union's reproduction of hundreds of thousands of anti-Semitic leaflets, claiming there was nothing wrong in letting the public know the "truth" in such matters, and that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board had not repudiated anti-Semitism.

Neier nailed this lie by pointing out that the Governing Board had placed a full-page ad in the *New York Times* repudiating this canard, but that Shanker continues to repeat it anyway (just as he reiterates that teachers were fired, while in actuality he knows they were transferred.)

To top it all off Shanker made an impassioned appeal for a return to a coalition of liberals in the tradition of the good old Rooseveltian New Deal Days! This while the union is supporting every reactionary legislator in Albany (including those who voted for the infamous Taylor Law which put Shanker and other labor leaders in jail) as long as they vote against community control and the aspirations of the black and Puerto Rican minority parents.

E. P.

## Fewer hours for same pay

Seattle, Washington

I would like to draw attention to some of the uneven processes operating in history. It was brought to my attention by the March 21 *Militant* article "Do Hours Laws Aid Women Workers?"

Today's failures can be totally blamed on the inadequate bureaucratic leadership of the unions. This is easily observed by studying the lessons of history.

A New York State law limiting female labor to 54 hours per week became effective Oct. 1, 1912. In Little Falls, N. Y. (then a major center for knit goods and underwear) the Industrial Workers of the World walked out on the tenth. A violent strike ensued in which the workers had to fight the thugs of the bosses. On Jan. 3 the strike was ended on terms arranged by state mediators, reinstatement for all, increases to range from 5 to 18 percent, no one to get less for the 54-hour week than for 60 hours!

The successful IWW Lawrence, Mass. textile strike (also in 1912) was started when a state law reducing the work week to 54 hours went into effect, reducing the workers' take home pay. There the workers successfully fought the bosses' oppression and attempted victimization of the strikers, and ended up receiving a 21 percent boost in pay along with other improvements in reckoning the pay and bonus.

History shows how these present-day conflicts should be resolved immediately. Lower the work week with (at least) the same take home pay! The workers themselves have produced this abundance of technology to allow this to be their inalienable right.

John Chairat

## Militant a turn-on for antiwar GI

Ft. Hood, Texas

I would like extra copies of the paper to turn other GIs on too. Marching in Austin, P. D.

## The developments in Northern Ireland

San Francisco, Calif.

Many of your readers are doubtless aware of the massive civil rights demonstrations in North Ireland. The recent elections there have shown a major breakthrough for the cause of socialism with the rise to prominence of the Peoples Democracy.

The injustices complained of are enormous. Discrimination, on religious and political grounds, against the Roman Catholic and nationalist-minded people exists in housing and employment. The vote is denied to tens of thousands of poor people, election districts are rigged. The government claims the right to arrest without trial, to censor papers, etc.

The new protest movement of course threatens the North Ireland establishment with the ultimate of horrors—union with the Republic of Eire. Astute observers of all political vantages sense the potential implications of the movement—the final end of British imperialism and the beginning of the socialist revolution in both Britain and Ireland.

Above the virtues inherent in the movement itself we on the American left have our own reasons why we should build support for the movement here.

Here we have a chance to build support among the 25-million-strong Irish-American community.

We here in San Francisco have found widespread interest in North Ireland among Irish-American and Roman Catholic youth.

Obviously we must relate to Americans as Americans, but we know from experience that many Americans still identify with their ancestral homelands. Where this sympathy has a left potential, clearly it is in our interest to support and encourage any such sympathy. We should raise several demands:

1) America pays the wages of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Our taxes, including Irish-American taxes, hold up the British pound. America has given Britain at least \$7.7 billion since 1945. We must demand that all loans be recalled.

2) We must call for a nationwide boycott of British goods.

3) We should organize demonstrations at all British consulates.

4) We must demand that all Congressmen explain their past approval of loans to Britain, and we must organize Irish-Americans to politically retaliate against these enemies of Ireland.

L. B. G.

I'd like a big job please.



## IF YOU SUPPORT

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

BLACK POWER

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE

# JOIN THE YSA

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

I would like more information  I want to join the YSA

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

# High schoolers getting behind Detroit socialist

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT—High-school supporters of Paul Lodico, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit common council, will distribute a special campaign poster to the April 3 high-school strike rally, held to protest the war in Vietnam and commemorate the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Thousands of these posters will be posted in senior and junior high schools throughout the Detroit area after the Easter recess.

Although they are not legally old enough to vote for him in the upcoming city elections, high schoolers have been among Paul Lodico's most enthusiastic supporters because of his record as a revolutionary and his program of support to the struggles now going on in Detroit-area schools. As the statement, which appears on the back of the special high-school poster, points out:

"The rebellion which has rocked the campuses and ghettos of this country in the past few years has hit the high schools of Detroit.

"Students at Northwestern High School and McMichael Junior High have renamed their schools after Malcolm X and raised the nationalist flag over them. Subsequently, they were brutally beaten by cops when they demanded a hearing at a school-board meeting. When they finally did get a hearing, their requests was voted down by the board . . .

"The socialist candidate has long fought for the rights of students to organize within their schools. This includes the publication of independent student newspapers, the discussion of pertinent issues in the classroom, the power to set their own rules of dress and personal appearance, and the election of student governments which represent the students rather than act as agents of the administration as they now do.

"The prison atmosphere in Detroit schools must be abolished. Cops must be barred from the schools; students should not have

to submit to pass systems; there should be no restrictions on the rights of parents to enter schools; the chains must be removed from school doors. The socialist campaign supports the right of black people to police their schools in whatever manner they deem fit."

#### "Law and order"

The issue of "law and order" in the schools is being used by the board of education to suppress the freedom of movement and thought of students, teachers and parents. The board has begun to implement the recommendations of a security report called the "Wattenberg Plan." The plan, produced by a committee headed by Assistant Superintendent Dr. William Wattenberg, deals with security guards in schools, police-department assignments around schools, prosecution of "offenders," and actions against "disruptive" students, teachers and parents.

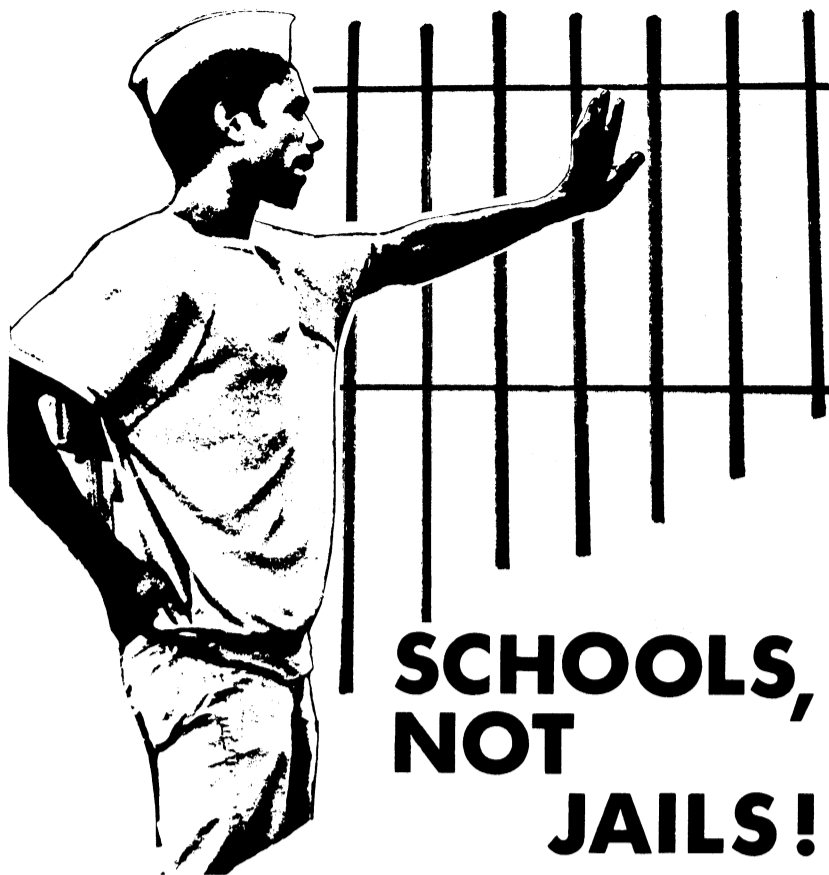
Parts of the "Wattenberg Plan" were outlined in a March 29 article by Harry Salsinger, *Detroit News* education writer. He revealed that the plan has been sent back for revisions twice because some board members felt it "might be irritating to portions of the community." Salsinger, who acts as a mouthpiece for the board, emphasized that "security and maintaining order are the major problems facing the nation's urban schools.

"Throughout the country, the big city schools are adding guards, armed and unarmed, and civilian aides and assigning administrators as 'security officers.'

"Detroit is no exception . . . At the moment, Detroit is slower than other cities in taking strong measures to keep schools free of disruption."

Recent events, however, show that "strong measures" are being taken against students, teachers and parents. The socialist campaign statement describes the present situation:

"The fury of the capitalist ruling class falls also upon black teachers and parents who are organizing movements for com-



**SCHOOLS,  
NOT  
JAILS!**

**NO MORE COPS IN SCHOOLS,  
FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE,  
THE RIGHT TO YOUR OWN NEWSPAPERS.**

**VOTE SOCIALIST**

**PAUL LODICO FOR COMMON COUNCIL**

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS — 3737 WOODWARD

LABOR DONATED

Detroit election poster

munity control of schools. Three black teachers at Cooper Elementary were literally yanked from their classrooms and transferred one March afternoon without even a pretense of due process. Similar transfers and harassments are taking place in schools throughout the city. The chairman of the Concerned Parents of Butzel Junior High School was thrown off school premises by police and ticketed for trespassing!

"Paul Lodico, socialist candidate for common council, supports the movement for black control of black schools. Supporters of his campaign are actively engaged in building such a movement . . .

"The socialist campaign upholds the rights of teachers to due process in matters like firing and transfers. Teacher should be held accountable to community councils, not to the racist board of education."

#### Accountable to whom?

It was precisely because the three black Cooper teachers were being accountable to the community that they were rated "unsatisfactory" by the white principal and transferred to the status of substitute—although one had a record of 12 years as an excellent teacher, another had a record of four years' satisfactory experience, and the third had been teaching for two years. The principal admitted that all three were good teachers but accused them of being a "divisive and disruptive" influence on the children and community.

The Cooper parents reacted immediately by keeping their children home from class and demanding the ouster of the principal. Teachers throughout the school system rallied to the support of the Cooper Three and forced the conservative union leadership to file a grievance against this clear violation of the union contract. After meeting with the Cooper teachers, black state legislators demanded their reinstatement and threatened to withhold state funds from the Detroit schools. As a result of the combined pressures, the board reinstated the three teachers but is continuing its policies of harassment against militants within the schools.

Shortly after the Cooper incident, the board was both praised and severely criticized at a March 24 public hearing held by the education committee of the state house of representatives. The purpose of the hearing was to get reactions to two school decentralization bills. These bills

include some degree of community control and would do away with the present board, which is a nonpartisan, elected body (the current board of seven members includes three Afro-Americans).

Opponents of the bills spoke in support of the present board and cited the following accomplishments: two out of five deputy superintendents are black; 31 principals are black (Detroit has 330 schools); three out of nine regional superintendents are blacks; 38 percent of the teachers (about 4,000) and 21 percent of the administrators are black (60 percent of the school population is black); Detroit pioneered in providing special services to the inner city with its "great cities" program initiated in 1959; the board began publishing its own racially unbiased textbooks in 1962 and has insisted that all publishers provide unbiased texts which include the contributions of minority groups to American society.

#### Where credit is due

In his campaign for common council, Paul Lodico emphasizes the fact that credit for such positive actions belongs not to the board but to the black community, which protested, picketed, boycotted and consistently fought for better textbooks, more black personnel and quality education.

His campaign statement on the present school situation concludes with the following idea: "Ultimately, the nature of our schools cannot be meaningfully changed until the system is changed. The primary function of schools today is to turn out laborers and technicians for the capitalist system. These people are expected to accept the values of that system and never to question the reaping of the profits from death and destruction. Teachers are expected to play the role of intellectual cops and to lie systematically to their students. Even when, as a result of mass pressure, the schools have begun teaching black history, it is a distorted and untruthful history.

"A new system, socialism, must be instituted. The basis of this system will be the needs of the people and not the need for profit. Only on this basis—when people can truly control the conditions of their own lives—will the schools become places of learning and discovery where young people can grow and develop to their full potential, instead of having that potential crushed as it is today."

## Socialist Workers ticket files for Philadelphia posts

PHILADELPHIA—The Socialist Workers Party announced that it filed nomination papers on Tuesday, April 1, at the county board of elections here for four candidates in the forthcoming municipal elections.

The SWP filed papers containing the signatures of over 14,000 Philadelphians nominating John Benson for district attorney, Michael Walker for city controller, Jon Rothschild for judge of the traffic court, and Richard Feigenberg for judge of the municipal court.

The signatures were solicited on the basis of opposition to the Vietnam war, and petitioners report an unprecedented response in all neighborhoods where they petitioned.

All the candidates have been active in the movement against the war in Vietnam and the building of the April 5 GI-civilian demonstration in New York. Richard Feigenberg, a student at the University of Pennsylvania and a staff member of the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, recently returned from Columbia, S. C., where he observed and aided the activities of GIs United Against the War at Ft. Jackson.

Since his return he has been publicizing the movement at Ft. Jackson and the activities of other antiwar GIs around the country, such as those in the Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement.

Feigenberg stated, "Building the antiwar movement and supporting the GIs' right to free speech and to demonstrate will be

one of the central issues of our campaign. The other will be to build support for the black liberation struggle. Our party supports the growing movement of black students to control their own education, such as the current movement at Temple University."



John Benson

# SDS nat'l council fails to act on Vietnam war

By Gus Horowitz

"Actions speak louder than words."  
—An old Marxist saying

AUSTIN, Texas— The SDS national-council meeting held here March 28-30 was marked by an abundance of revolutionary and Marxist rhetoric which, however, was far from matched by proposals for revolutionary action.

Low point of the debate came as the anti-Progressive Labor faction tried to out-Mao the Maoist PL—and presented themselves as disciples of Stalin to boot!

The meeting was attended by 700 to 1,000 people, of whom approximately 200 were voting delegates. Most of the participants were not newcomers to SDS, or akin to the average chapter member, but represented the much smaller core of SDS loyalists that has developed over the past few years.

Like the previous national-council meeting, political discussion was dominated by intense internal factional struggle. The "worker-student alliance" caucus, led by the Progressive Labor Party, suffered a setback. The PL line of opposition to black nationalism, which had carried the December national-council meeting, was rejected this time by a decisive margin.

Arrayed against PL was an amalgam of individuals representing diverse political viewpoints. But the differences among them were subordinated to the faction fight against PL. The chief spokesmen and strategists for the anti-PL amalgam were from the SDS national office—Mike Klonsky, Bernadine Dohrn, and Les Coleman; West Coast radicals not previously active as SDSers—Bob Avakian and Marv Trager; and, to a lesser extent, a few local figures like Ed Jennings from Chicago.

In fighting PL, this grouping presented itself as revolutionary communists to the left of PL and drew upon the incongruous combination of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao for theoretical argument and appropriate quotations.

The meeting took place one week prior to the mass antiwar demonstrations April 5-6. The demonstrations, the largest since last April, were organized as antiwar sentiment in the population continued to rise and illusions about the Paris talks were being dispelled. The political demands raised by the demonstrations were for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, respecting the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Naturally, the April 5-6 demonstrations were the axis of activity for serious opponents of the war, including revolutionary socialists.

The Young Socialist Alliance distributed

## Hanoi hails U.S. antiwar efforts

An article on American GIs, entitled 'Sagging Morale or Rising Consciousness,' in the Feb. 3 issue of the Hanoi publication, *Vietnam Courier*, lists four factors behind mounting GI antiwar sentiment:

1.) 'The decisive factor remains the unjust nature of the war of aggression which the GIs have been forced to fight against the Vietnamese people'; 2.) 'the virtually consummate defeat of the U.S. imperialists'; 3.) 'the immense work of persuasion and explanation done by NFL among the GIs'; 4.) 'A fourth and last factor which must be given prominence is the growing awareness of the American people of their glorious traditions and their responsibilities . . . the most courageous American men and women who are struggling at the forefront of the movement against the Vietnam war.'



MASS DEMONSTRATION AT PENTAGON. SDS leaders feel such antiwar actions are of no value.

an open letter to the SDS national-council meeting, urging it to support the April 5-6 demonstrations.

### No mention of antiwar activity

But the SDS meeting, although filled with the rhetoric of revolution, did not discuss support to or participation in the April 5-6 antiwar demonstrations. Not even one speaker so much as mentioned the April 5-6 demonstrations in the entire three days!

Of the points under discussion, black nationalism was by far the most important and dominated the discussion for the entire three days.

The last national-council meeting in December by an 83-81 vote had passed a PL-sponsored resolution attacking black nationalism. At that time the SDS leadership was unable to answer PL's simplistic, formal and totally fallacious arguments. This time, however, the anti-PL amalgam was better prepared and succeeded in carrying a resolution reversing the last national-council decision. In an uncounted hand vote, the division appeared to be approximately 5-2.

The SDS resolution, entitled "The Black Panther Party: Toward the Liberation of the Colony," posed the question of black nationalism in terms of support to the Black Panther Party.

In implementation, the resolution called for forming Newton-Cleaver defense committees, for establishing formal and informal relationships with the Panthers, and for distributing information about them.

How effective SDS will be in carrying out these proposals remains to be seen. In the past SDS' nationally organized activities have not been directed toward support for the black liberation struggle, although a few local SDS chapters have done so on their own initiative.

The second important discussion involved campus actions. A resolution entitled, "The Schools Must Serve the People," was submitted by the SDS national office and passed 95-92. The resolution, as the title indicates, was meant in counterposition to the student power approach which had characterized SDS' stand in the past.

The resolution listed a 10-point program which reflected some of the demands that have been raised in campus struggles these past few months, including support to the BPP's 10-point program for schools.

### "Mass Line"

The central discussion on the schools proposal involved the concept of a "mass line," which was presented as the strategy underlying the 10 points. The mass line, as it was presented, is a program by which revolutionaries participate in the immediate struggles of the day, raising demands relevant to the needs of the moment. These demands, it was said, can be partially obtained through struggle, but not completely. Through raising these demands, which point to working-class control of society, it was said, revolutionary consciousness could be brought into the mass struggle.

On paper, this is a step in the right direction. But, like the previous resolu-

tion, it remains to be seen whether SDS can plan and give national coordination to campus struggles, struggles which up to now have not been led by national SDS.

The verbal radicalism and revolutionary rhetoric abundantly displayed at the SDS national-council meeting reflected two processes: 1) the growing socialist consciousness of student radicals both inside and outside SDS; 2) the continued process of political differentiation within SDS.

While PL suffered a setback at the Austin meeting, that may be only a temporary change in the relationship of forces in SDS. PL still represents the only organized tendency within SDS with a consistent political line, however false and sectarian it may be. Accordingly, the non-PL SDSers are forced either to adapt and capitulate to PL or to seek a counterline. Either way means the disintegration of SDS as a broad, catch-all organization of the youth radicalization.

At the December national-council meeting, the anti-PL SDSers were unable to simply red-bait or attack PL organizationally, as they had done in the past.

**PL SERIES.** The series of articles on the history of the Progressive Labor Party which began in our last issue will appear every other week. The second article will appear next week.

They tried to answer PL politically but were unable to do so. This time, they were more successful, but in doing so, took some dangerous steps.

At the December meeting, the national office amalgam portrayed themselves as Guevarists, and in attempting to answer PL, they took an uncritical attitude to the entire position of the Cuban leadership. But at this meeting, Cuba was hardly mentioned.

### Stalin revived

This time a few anti-PL spokesmen—Avakian and Trager especially, but also Klonsky, Dohrn, Coleman, and Jennings—took some of their arguments from Mao and held him up, along with Stalin, as the representative of Marxism-Leninism. The overwhelming majority of SDSers did not take this approach, but neither did they respond to it critically.

In presenting their pitiful arguments, this small grouping tried to outflank PL from the left, claiming that they, and not PL, were revolutionary communists, that they, and not PL, were the genuine representatives of Maoism. Thus, for example, a resolution on Vietnam condemned PL for not having the same position toward Vietnam as did China. Some, like Avakian and Trager, falsely portrayed PL as representative of "classical Trotskyism," distorting, along the way, both PL's line and the Trotskyist position.

Neither the SDS leadership, nor SDS as a whole, represents a serious Maoist tendency. However, in the search for a line to counter PL, they attempted to use

Mao and Stalin, as well as Marx and Lenin. But as the logic of the internal struggle within SDS is towards capitulation to PL or development of a counterline, the use of Mao and Stalin could become more than just a temporary phenomenon. To think that this "new left" formation could come to respond sympathetically—if only embryonically, and for light-minded, demagogic reasons of debate—to Stalinism is a lesson in the inadequacy of SDS in developing a revolutionary perspective.

Most important in SDS' development is the fact that the internal factional struggle has paralyzed SDS' ability to act in a nationally coordinated way, not only against the war in Vietnam but on other issues as well.

Although the campus struggles of the past few months gained some press publicity for SDS, they were always initiated and led locally. SDS chapters often participated in these struggles, often as a part of the leadership, but not as a result of a nationally coordinated strategy. The national office of SDS supported but did not really help initiate the campus struggles, and that lack of leadership is likely to continue in the future. SDS' program for the schools is more a summary of demands that have already been raised in these local campus struggles than a call for coordinated national action.

Given SDS' past record of abstention from the black liberation struggle, its program of support to the Black Panther Party is also likely to remain merely rhetorical.

### No antiwar program

Finally, SDS did not even attempt to propose any activity against the war in Vietnam. In fact, since the 1965 March on Washington, SDS has failed to organize or actively build a single national antiwar action. Abstention from the struggle against the war is also likely to remain a feature of national SDS, although of course, not of many local chapters.

As the factional struggle in SDS continues unabated, with neither grouping able to pose a comprehensive and adequate political program for the socialist revolution, many SDS members and other radicalizing youth are turning increasingly to the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA's analysis of the major issues in world and national politics, and its ability to transform that program into action, mark it as the revolutionary socialist youth organization in the U.S.

The YSA has been in the forefront of the antiwar movement; it is building a significant Third World cadre of revolutionaries who participate in the struggle for national liberation; through participation and leadership in high-school and campus struggles it is building an increasing base of student activists; and as militancy develops in the working class, it has also been able to recruit young workers to its ranks.

The Young Socialist Alliance table at the SDS meeting sold \$375 of its literature; almost a hundred SDSers signed the list for more information about the YSA; and several asked to join.



# Blow-out hits Denver schools

By Antonio Rios

DENVER—Chicano schools here erupted in a massive citywide blow-out March 20. It was in the pattern and on the anniversary of the Los Angeles blow-out in the schools last March, when over 10,000 Chicano students walked out.

About 20 percent of Denver's population is Chicano. Of 4,500 teachers in the school system only seven are Chicano. The average level of Chicanos' education is ninth grade; and the drop-out rate in the Denver barrio is higher than 60 percent.

But, there are no drop-outs when it comes to the blood tax for the Vietnam war. Half the casualties from Colorado are Chicanos.

The school system has no relevance for the Chicano youth. Instead of an educational institution, it is a prison that maims and cripples him for life, ceaselessly and remorselessly creating more semi-illiterates for the army of the unemployed and the war machine.

This was the explosive mixture that ignited at West High School, a school that is 40 percent Chicano with a drop-out rate of 48 percent.

The unrest that led to the explosion on March 20 goes back several months. One of the teachers at West, a Harry Schafer, reportedly insulted and humiliated Chicano students in his classes with remarks such as, "If you eat Mexican food you'll become stupid like a Mexican" and "All Mexicans are stupid because their parents are stupid and their parents' parents were stupid." He delighted particularly in insulting students whose parents were members of the Crusade for Justice, the militant Chicano organization headed by Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales.

The Crusade demanded a meeting with the school authorities to discuss Schafer's behavior, and one finally took place Feb. 27.

At the meeting, Corky Gonzales told the school board, "Either you take care of it your way or we'll take care of it ours." The school board did nothing. Finally, after waiting almost a month for action by the board, the West students decided to move.

On Thursday, March 20, West High School blew. Hundreds of students walked out. Their demands were:

"(1) That no West High School student involved in the boycott or who supported the boycott should be removed or dismissed from school;

"(2) Dismissal of Schafer. Schafer has proven to be a racist teacher. We, the Chicano students of West High School, request that such an inadequate teacher be fired;

"(3) That through the office of education, West High School enforce the inclusion of our people history, our culture, our language, etc., and its contributions to this country;

"(4) That bilingual education from elementary school through college become a reality and that our cultural rights cited in the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848 be recognized and abided by;

"(5) Chicano literature must be provided in the West High School library;

"(6) Teachers should become more aware of the economic and social problems of the community surrounding West High School;

"(7) That the school system and teachers refrain from counseling West High School students to join the armed forces;

"(8) Class size at West High School should be reduced so teachers can be more effective in the classroom. Team teaching will be used;

"(9) Members of ROTC will not have their stripes removed. No student will be dropped from a school team of any kind for being in the walkout;

"(10) No seniors will be stopped from graduation;

"(11) Chicano food will be served in the lunchroom;

"(12) Chicanos must have a definite reason for being suspended from school, also allowed a representative. All drop-outs should be allowed to be admitted back into school represented by a counselor;

"(13) All police charges will be dropped for all students involved in the boycott;

"(14) A Chicano council will be formed for Chicanos with equal power of the student council."

At 9:30 a. m., March 20, a mass rally of over 1,000 was held in front of West High School. Corky Gonzales and student leaders spoke. At 10 o'clock Denver's cops reacted with an attack on the rally, while

a helicopter circled overhead firing tear gas.

Gas launchers were mounted on the school and fired at the students. The high school's doors were locked, and police with shotguns sat there to prevent students from leaving the school and joining the boycott. The cops moved in, shotguns at the ready, firing mace and tear gas indiscriminately at the crowd of students and community people. Twenty-five persons were arrested, including Gonzales, while many more were injured and three hospitalized.

Several hundred people marched to the police station, where they demanded Gonzales' release. He was released on a \$500 bond after being charged with assaulting an officer.

The next day, the blow-out spread citywide, involving East and Manual high schools, where the majority of the students are Chicano and black.

Over 1,000 brown and black students



Froben Lozada, of Berkeley Socialist Workers Party, discusses with another participant in Denver Chicano parley.

## Glen Ellyn, Ill., has its first demonstration--(good, too)

By Derek Jeffers

GLEN ELLYN, Ill.—Over 400 people rallied here March 30 at Lake Ellyn Park in opposition to the Vietnam war, despite constant weather in the twenties.

The action was organized by the March 30 Peace Fair Committee, a loose coalition of local high-school student and adults. Primary support came from Glenbard West High School in Glen Ellyn, the school I attend.

We called for support to the massive antiwar demonstration in Chicago April 5. Chanting, "Peace, Now!, Peace, Now!" nearly 300 marched after the rally to the Village Hall, demanding a Glen Ellyn referendum on the war in Vietnam.

Glen Ellyn is a white, suburban, upper-middle-class community 20 miles west of Chicago. This was the first public demonstration in its history.

Throughout the week preceding the Peace Fair rumors had circulated that gangs of socialites, football players and frat rats would break it up. About ten hecklers did appear, but were obviously discouraged by the cold weather and the tremendous turnout.

Speakers were Clark Kissinger; Father Thomas Peyton of Maryknoll College; Jack Schwartz of Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace; Tony Yazzolino, Maryknoll student; Alan Traugott, adult sponsor of the Peace Fair; myself; Guy Miller, a recent vet; and Richard Lesnik of the Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

marched across town to a mass demonstration at West. Corky Gonzales and Lauren Watson of the Black Panther Party spoke. Watson said, "This is the day of black and brown unity."

The students carried signs saying, "Chicano Power," "Brown and Black United," "The Blood of Our Brothers is Here."

By Monday, March 24, the blow-out involved a dozen high schools and dozens of junior high schools and elementary schools in Denver. It had even spread to schools as far away as Pueblo and Colorado Springs, where solidarity walkouts were held which involved thousands of students. Overwhelmed by the massive action, the board finally agreed to meet with the people. The meeting was held at the board of education on Tuesday, and the board accepted some of the demands.

Hundreds of Chicano students held a rally at West during the "negotiations" and heard Gonzales, who said, "If we want these changes, we're going to have to make them ourselves. I didn't walk into a school today, I walked into a penitentiary, with policemen with shotguns guarding the way. This is the way they have brutalized and harassed us for 120 years."

Gonzales compared the struggle of the West High School students to the Mexican student revolt: "We are doing the same thing, fighting the establishment."

Telegrams of support, received from Texas to California, were read. Gonzales urged that the Denver blow-out spread throughout the Southwest. Augie Botelle, a leader of the students from West, said, "We're going to tell them [the police] who's boss from now on and not let them throw dirt on us any more. I consider myself a man because I'm willing to put up my life for my rights."

Gonzales also called for a mass movement: "Chicanos must be willing to give up their lives in the revolution. One of the biggest mass movements in the Southwest has to begin if Chicanos are to protect themselves from the fate of the American Indian."

The students have returned to school under the compromise, but it will probably not last long. There are strong indications that the leadership of the Crusade for Justice may be victimized because of the actions.

Messages of solidarity should be sent to Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colorado.

## Chicano youth meet in Denver

By Antonio Camejo

DENVER—Chicano youth from all over the country began a five-day Chicano Youth Liberation Conference here March 27 called by Crusade for Justice, headed by Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales. Among the participants were the Young Lords Organization (YLO), a militant Puerto Rican youth group from Chicago; 40 Puerto Ricans from New York; Third World Liberation Front representatives from Berkeley; UMAS (United Mexican-American Students), with over 2,000 members from California and the Southwest; the Brown Berets; MAYA (Mexican American Youth Association); MASC (Mexican-American Student Confederation); and the Mexican-American Student Organization.

This is an historic conference. For the first time, Chicanos and Latin Americans are meeting to discuss their problems on a national level. A revolutionary caucus, formed on the first day of the conference, issued a call for an independent Chicano political party to fight for liberation at all levels on a national plane. This call was endorsed by Corky Gonzales, who declared, "We must build a movement based on solidarity of every struggle of Chicanos." He said that Chicanos have to organize themselves in self-defense and build a new political party of Chicanos. "We will have a Chicano congress of our own people, and then we will talk about internationalism and coalitions with other oppressed peoples."

## Even Presidio MPs are flashing the 'V' sign

By George Johnson

SAN FRANCISCO—Leafleters for the April 6 GI-Civilian Easter Peace March returned to the Presidio Army base Saturday, March 29, after being physically attacked by MPs a week earlier. This time, the brass had changed tactics. The week earlier, they had not prevented leafleters from entering the base, and the attack seemed to stem primarily from panic. This time, the entire 30th MP Battalion was mobilized in battle gear—including gas masks, riot batons and camouflaged helmets—for a caravan of 10 cars which held 30 people, most of them girls.

At the main Presidio gate, an NCO was telling newsmen to wear their identification so they wouldn't get hurt. Organizers of the march, who had been told of the 30th's alert by friendly GIs, felt the brass was trying to stage a bloody "confrontation" to use as an excuse to keep GIs from the April 6 march. (Army Regulation 600-20 allows GIs to take part in marches and rallies off duty, out of uniform, and if there is no possibility of violence.) They decided not to give the brass the handle they needed to prevent mass GI participation, and after being denied permission by a Lt. Emperor to ride through the Presidio, which is an open base, they left.

They then prepared a special leaflet for Presidio GIs explaining what had happened and telling the 30th MPs the brass was responsible for their extra duty, not the leafleters. Later, leafleters who had been distributing this leaflet to GIs on the base were apprehended by members of the 30th who took their leaflets and apologized for having to escort them off base.

The MPs said they already had their own personal leaflets and copies of Task Force (a Bay Area GI antiwar newspaper) in their foot lockers. They would be with the march and rally (at the main Presidio gate), one of them said, even if they were physically on the other side of the gate. They expected to be alerted again. When the leafleters left, the MPs flashed the "V" sign from their jeep.

Press coverage on the Peace Fair was extensive and rather interesting. Originally we were red-baited by a local paper because Bettina Aptheker, a Communist Party member, participated in the founding of the Student Mobilization Committee, a group that was to speak at the Peace Fair. We had expected red-baiting on a different point, the fact that both Dorothy Dillon (St. Francis High School) and myself are members of the Young Socialist Alliance. This was never raised by the press, however.

Other, more favorable coverage, included that of NBC-TV in Chicago, the Chicago Tribune, and WCFL, Chicago radio station.

High school students comprised over three-quarters of those at the Peace Fair, although we were surprised at the number of adults, including an elderly lady in a wheelchair.

Police must have photographed everyone in the demonstration at least five times.

On the roof of the Village Hall a police photographer waited for us at the end of the march. He only provoked further chants of "Peace, NOW!" and the flashing of the antiwar "V" sign.

The march was by far the most spirited part of the entire demonstration. It completely involved everyone, and was for most their first experience with any type of march.

The question filling the air after the march was: What do we do next?

The answer: On to April 5!

## On revolutionary organization

# Qualities of leadership in a Marxist party

By Jack Barnes

Over the past several issues we have carried memorial tributes to Beatrice Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, who died suddenly in Los Angeles March 9. The lessons of her experiences and her contributions to the building of the revolutionary movement are of enormous value to the many young people who have now become active in the movement.

Of particular interest in this regard is the memorial speech made in Los Angeles March 23 by Jack Barnes, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. On the basis of knowledge gained during six years of close political collaboration, he gave an extensive description of her concepts of revolutionary party building. The following is an abridged version of that speech.

\* \* \*

Bea Hansen devoted the last six years of her life in the revolutionary socialist movement to one major task: the education and integration of an entire new generation of revolutionary youth into the Socialist Workers Party. For three years in Chicago, one in New York, and two in Los Angeles, Bea played a unique role in the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party in the number of young people she personally influenced and helped to assimilate into the party.

More than half the current organizers of the SWP branches—from the newest and smallest in Portland to the largest in New York—worked with and were educated by Bea in these six years. One half of the young members of the staffs of the party's national office and print shop, of the editorial and business offices of *The Militant* and of the publishing department were trained by her, as were many branch activists and leaders around the country.

As one who devoted her entire life to the socialist movement, Bea understood that the most crucial task in the 1960s is to build the revolutionary party, to bring in and educate as many youth as possible. She could not have been more clear in her mind about the importance of the national and international radicalization of this new generation of youth and the opportunity and challenge this presented. She also knew that intervention in the present struggles—the black liberation movement, the student movement and the GI revolt—is an indispensable part of the preparation for the future radicalization of even larger mass forces.

Working with young comrades on a day-to-day basis, Bea was more capable than

anyone I've ever worked with of imparting the lessons about how to construct the revolutionary movement and inspire and assimilate each and every one of its members.

### Living experience

She was best at passing on many of those lessons acquired over generations which are most difficult to write down in books and which can really only be learned from the experiences of dealing with concrete day-to-day problems. She understood and continually spoke about the complete tie between the daily tasks of building the party and the ultimate goal of socialism. Everything from selling the paper to organizing election petition drives and planning campaigns and finances—all these so-called routine activities—were seen as the vital building blocks for the construction of the party. She spent hour after hour with young people, inspiring them to accomplish these tasks and teaching them their political significance.

Bea thought it indicated a lack of political consciousness to underestimate the importance of each and every task which contributes to the building of the revolutionary movement. Not only is each task important in and of itself, but each task is important as a model and training ground in preparation for the expanded, mass party that is to come.

She used to describe how it was when she worked with *The Militant* business office in the post-World War II period, when subscription drives were in the 20 thousands and when press runs were up close to 100,000. She was always conscious of the need to ensure that a maximum number of people were trained and ready for these kinds of larger-scale openings that come sometimes more suddenly than anticipated.

The various projects in which Bea involved herself showed how she was looking toward building and preparing the party for future tests and growth. Many projects which she initiated or worked on in one branch served as examples to be followed by others as the party expanded.

Bea was part of the leadership of the executive committee in Chicago when they organized their finances to support the first full-time regional organizer to do "trail-blazing" work, to travel to new areas to talk to and organize new youth into the Young Socialist Alliance. Today, almost every single branch of the party strives to do this.

It was Bea who was instrumental in initiating the practice of taking down on tape the forums, speeches and classes held by the party, and in organizing the Chicago branch toward beginning what became the national tape library of the SWP.

### Financial system

She was the person who worked to get the Chicago branch over to a new sustainer system of finances more suited to the needs of a rapidly growing movement. This change has now become a model for the organization of finances of every branch of the Socialist Workers Party in the country.

Bea was active in promoting some of the first experiments in holding socialist schools during the summer, and she pushed strongly for establishing the schools in all the various locals on a regular basis.

One project would often lead to another. Out of the summer schools and the needs for education came two special editions of Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, published by the Chicago branch.

The printing of these books was an example of the determination with which Bea approached everything she did. The summer schools and YSA needed the books, but they were out of print and we were not in a position to immediately reprint them. So, using a small offset press in a comrade's basement, and gluing them together by hand, we got out 500-copy



**REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY.** Scene at 1968 Young Socialist Alliance convention, its biggest so far. Beatrice Hansen played a key role in developing the political and

organizational possible the YS. and its consequ

editions of both *In Defense of Marxism* and *Revolution Betrayed*.

It was through such activities as these that Bea used to convince us of the concrete meaning of the professional revolutionary. All organizational tasks were to be approached in a serious, creative and professional manner. You did this not only to accomplish the immediate tasks, but to prepare yourself and the movement for the bigger tasks of the future.

Bea was a critic. She had the highest standards for doing party work and was outspoken and critical of anything in the movement she thought was wrong. She was constantly making suggestions on how to improve things. But the criticism was always constructive. She understood how to make her criticisms felt. Never from the sidelines, sniping or complaining, but always as a tool for building the party. She could not tolerate unserious or off-the-cuff criticism of the party or criticism which was in reality an attempt to justify one's own weaknesses or errors. Criticism was too important to be treated in a way that would destroy the tolerance of the leaders and party activists to hear it.

### Relations with others

One of the most important things which made Bea an effective organizer was the particular way she worked with people. She had a deep understanding of the problems and pressures faced by revolutionaries living in this society. Her ability to understand and identify with the problems of others stemmed directly from her understanding of the complete rottenness of this system and the distorted character of human relationships which a capitalist society produces. She understood the stresses and difficulties this places on even a very conscious revolutionary trying to change this system, and she helped countless people with these problems.

Bea was an honest revolutionist. I never knew a petty or subjective thing she did in her party work. If a person came to her for a discussion of a problem, she lent an ear and was willing to help. But if the person came to her with the intent of using the problem as an excuse to cover up for his own weakness or failures, he went away feeling very uncomfortable because he couldn't do that with Bea.

Bea consciously combined her deep, personal human understanding with objectivity in political work. She insisted that there is no final personal or individual solution to the very real problems which face everyone at one time or another in this capitalist society. The only thing to do was to put forward a goal larger than oneself, to fight for a change in the whole society.

To meet the challenge of organizing the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary party must of necessity be politically homogeneous, that is, built on the basis of an adherence to a common revolutionary program and perspective. Comradeship, the special bond which comes from working together for this common goal and program, is what holds the movement together.

At the same time, the party, like the working class, like the oppressed of the world, is not personally homogeneous, it is heterogeneous. It is made up of all different types of people, from different backgrounds with different likes and dislikes and different strengths and weaknesses. Bea never tried to build a party

made up exclusively of people who resembled herself or any other single individual. Her opinion was that every person is valuable. Be yourself and give what you can.

She had no concept that there is some special group of cadres within the movement or some special category of leaders who have all the answers. She knew that it is very easy in any revolutionary organization for friendship to slide into a substitute for comradeship, for people to start substituting personal relations, personal favors, and personal responsibilities and empathies for political judgment.

Bea was the fiercest enemy of any party formation based on "cliquism," "circleism," or individual stars—that is, all substitutes for leadership teams at all levels of party work.

### No self-pity

There was another way in which Bea provided an example for us. She always inspired and never moaned. She felt that moaning, even if it was legitimately inspired, is a form of feeling sorry for yourself. Part of being a fighter is to recognize that the personal scars and blows that make you feel like moaning are going to be part of your life up to and through the revolution. By looking at the long-run struggle and by looking at what you're trying to accomplish—the real and exciting possibilities we have for overturning capitalist society—you can deal with these problems.

She inspired us on the daily and personal level in the same way that great revolutionaries like Che Guevara and Malcolm X inspired masses of people.

In one of Malcolm X's speeches at the Audubon Ballroom in New York, he dealt with the great kingdoms of Africa, saying that "their leaders were kings and queens, and they carried themselves like kings and queens, and they looked at themselves like kings and queens—and that's how we're going to look at ourselves."

Bea always liked that part of the speech, and she would try to convey the same thing. When anyone would get down in the dumps, when things would go bad in the branch, Bea would always be hammering away at what political tasks should and could be done—because she knew the dead end of turning away from this.

Bea was especially demanding of the people she worked with who took on leadership responsibilities. In this sense she had a certain kind of double standard: If you are elected to some post of responsibility, whether the branch executive committee, the local social committee or the party's national committee, by accepting that position you take on an added responsibility to the movement as a whole which must be taken seriously. You must consider yourself responsible for the entire movement, regardless of what your specific assignment is.

I remember once how Bea reacted when she was walking through the headquarters one day and the phone rang and a younger comrade who was close to the phone didn't answer it. Bea said, "Why didn't you answer the phone?" I heard the comrade answer, "Well, that's not my assignment; I'm doing something else." Bea's angry reaction to this was a rich lesson on the question of responsibility.

### Leadership must be earned

Bea insisted that comrades who are asked



Jack Barnes



## Queens College fight continues despite jailings

By Steve Zippin

NEW YORK— Over 500 tactical police entered the Queens College campus at 2:30 a.m. March 31 to break up a five-day sit-in protesting political suppression on campus. Thirty-nine people, including one English professor, were arrested, and over 150 students and faculty were driven from the building.

The sit-in began on March 27 when 500 students went to Dean of Students Pierson to protest the suspension of three SDS members after a demonstration against campus recruiting by the General Electric Company. To our demand that all charges be dropped against the three SDSers, we added two others: that Shiela Delany, a radical English teacher fired for her political views, be rehired and that the Max-Kahn Report, a report recommending complete secrecy for all faculty-contract and tenure proceedings, be rejected.

Two to three hundred students were in the building at all times, and on Friday, 1,200 students attended a support rally. We quickly organized life in the liberated zone, forming food, publicity, and security committees. All-night discussions were held during which the political consciousness of all of us was raised.

On Monday night, after the three-day weekend due to the death of Eisenhower, Joseph McMurray, president of Queens College, suddenly appeared at our building to speak to us. He stated his position and presented a mimeographed letter which made clear that he refused to have the charges dropped or to deal with the other demands.

We felt that before we could respond to his sudden visit, full discussion was needed, so he was told that we would answer him at a rally 1:00 p.m. Tuesday. A long discussion followed, and it was decided to maintain our occupation until concrete steps were taken to meet the demands. Later, after the cops came, we learned that McMurray had notified the police at 6:00 p.m., an hour before he came to speak to us!

At 2:00 a.m. Dean Pierson came and told us that police were on campus and that all students and faculty who did not leave in 30 minutes would be arrested. Over 150 decided to leave at this time and 38 decided to dramatize the struggle by staying and being arrested.

When the students began coming to class the next day, they were greeted with hordes of leafleters and sign-carriers telling what had happened. Demonstrators were at every gate, and others went from class to class asking instructors to allow them to discuss the events. Over 3,000 people attended an afternoon rally to mobilize support to continue the struggle.

## Antiwar marine sent to Vietnam

By James Boggio

An example of "military justice" is the current case of Pfc. James Addington, 5th Shore Party Battalion, Camp Pendleton. Having submitted an application for conscientious objector, having a serious physical handicap, and having spoken out against the war were good enough reasons, so the Marines think, for sending Jim to Vietnam.

On April 1, Pfc. Addington, was called in from the field and given orders to pack his gear and to prepare to leave for Vietnam. He was on his way by midafternoon of April 2.

The drafted Marine was very active in the Los Angeles GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the building of the Los Angeles April 6 GI-civilian antiwar demonstration.

Fearful that Pfc. Addington's attitude toward building the antiwar demonstration might spread to the receptive Marines at Pendleton, the brass chose to make Pfc. Addington an example.

GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War has asked that protests be made against this. Such protests should be sent to General Leonard S. Chapman, Commandant of the Marine Corps, Washington, D. C., with copies to GIs and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, c/o Echo Mike Coffeehouse, 743 1/2 S. Alvarado, Los Angeles, 90057.



Understanding of the cadres whose work made effective intervention in key youth struggles expansion.

to carry leadership responsibilities earn that position through respect. Most important, a leader has to see himself primarily not as an individual leader but as an individual responsible to, and working to build, a leadership team.

It was on this question of what she demanded of comrades that I think Bea had one major weakness. Although she understood you should not expect more of comrades than they were capable of—because you would get less—she sometimes went against this and asked too much of individuals she worked with, and too much of herself.

Sometimes she would come into the branch and pound the table and say, "We must do this," or "What about that?" And sometimes we would have to say right back to her, "You're absolutely right, but we can't do it now, because we don't have the forces." Then she would realize she was pushing too hard. She was so desirous that people give the utmost, for themselves and for the movement, that she sometimes found it hard to be patient.

Bea was convinced that the future of the struggle for socialism does not lie primarily in the individual geniuses or individual stars, but in the capacities of people of common clay to build a strong movement through absorbing the lessons of the past and constructing a team. This did not mean that she underestimated in any way the contributions of great revolutionary leaders. On the contrary, the key question for her was how to take those revolutionary cadres that you have and help them to absorb and use to the utmost the lessons and ideas contained in the experiences of great revolutionaries and party work of the past.

Needn't be giant

We used to say that you don't have to be a giant to accomplish great tasks, if you can stand on the shoulders of giants. By learning from the entire history of the revolutionary movement and assimilating the lessons passed on to us through the writings of the revolutionary giants, we were convinced we could be successful.

Bea herself was an example of how an individual can contribute to the making of the socialist revolution by absorbing this history and using it to build the socialist movement. If there was ever anyone who didn't think about being a leader or plan to have titles of leadership, it was Bea. But because of her complete devotion and faith in the revolutionary struggle, and her abilities as an organizer, she found herself taking on more and more responsibility and earning more and more respect as a leader.

Bea was not prepared for the sudden death which came. She was in the midst of a multitude of projects and assignments. We, of course, were not prepared either. Her personal understanding and love, and her contributions, can never be replaced. We're all diminished by that loss.

But in one sense, Bea was prepared because she fulfilled to the letter the major lesson she tried to teach us: Whatever your assignment, one of the key things you will be judged by is not simply what you are doing yourself, but whether you've helped to build a team and train new people to carry on with that job.

This test, which she considered most important, she passed in an exemplary manner.



Photo courtesy Queens College Phoenix

BUSTED

## Oakland 7 victory a gain for the entire movement

By Hal White

OAKLAND, Calif. April 3— Cheers and applause filled the usually staid Alameda County Superior Court March 28 as a jury of eight men and four women brought the 11-week conspiracy trial of the Oakland Seven to a dramatic end by acquitting all the defendants.

The seven antiwar militants had been charged with conspiring to induce thousands of demonstrators to trespass and obstruct police during Stop the Draft Week demonstrations at the Oakland induction center in October, 1967.

The defendants, all in their twenties, were Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Bob Mandel, Steve Hamilton, Jeff Segal, and Mike Smith. They faced possible three-year jail terms and \$5,000 fines.

According to the local press, the jurors who acquitted the seven felt it was not fair that "the defendants were picked out and charged with conspiracy when scores, maybe hundreds, of other people were doing the same thing." Three jurors said that their final decision was based on the right of free expression. "Freedom of speech, that was the great issue," said Ulysses Peters, 55, the only black man on the jury.

Contributions to help the Oakland Seven meet the expenses of their long trial may be

sent to Stop the Draft Week Defense Fund, 6468 Benvenue Ave., Oakland, Calif. 95618.

## New conspiracy trial slated in Berkeley

BERKELEY, Calif., April 3— The trial of the Berkeley Three— Peter Camejo, Paul Glusman and Jack Bloom—is scheduled to open May 26. Like the Oakland Seven, who were acquitted March 28, the three Berkeley campus leaders are charged with "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor."

The indictments against the three stem from a sit-in at Moses Hall on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in October 1968. The action was in response to the university regents' attempt to prevent Eldridge Cleaver from delivering a series of lectures he had been scheduled to give.

If convicted the Berkeley Three face possible three-year prison terms and \$5,000 fines. Contributions to their legal defense should be sent to the Berkeley Defense Committee, 2158 Emerson St. Berkeley, Calif., 94705.

## Turmoil at Chicago State; black demands blocked

By L. P. Johnston

HARVEY, Ill.— Student frustrations erupted in violence at Chicago State College March 20. Tension had been mounting on the campus since black students began demanding a curriculum change.

Earlier that week the school saw demonstrations and walk-outs by black students. March 19, the already hostile atmosphere at the school rose to a pitch when a woman who is a member of the Black Panther Party of Chicago and a male student, also a Panther, were maced by a white male student to whom the woman was talking in the school cafeteria. Some spontaneous fights broke between students. The student who did the macing was taken into custody by the college security guards, and the school was closed for the rest of the day.

Finally on March 20, black students, already angered by the administration's lack of action to meet their stated demands for a more relevant curriculum and other changes to improve the college, were further enraged when the student who had done the macing was released from custody with no charges against him. It was discovered that his father is an alderman in favor with Chicago's Mayor Daley.

Arguments between black and white students in the cafeteria and the breaking of a window led to the calling in of a Chicago police task force of over 75 men

and numerous plainclothesmen. Fist fights, overturning of tables and trash barrels, and confrontations with the college security guards and the Chicago police finally resulted. Three leaders of the school's Afro-American Organization were arrested though they did not actively participate in the violence. Several students have stated that they overheard security guards say the AAO leaders would be taken into custody when they began making arrests.

In spite of the violent disturbances, the school remained open. Isolated incidents of fights and assaults occurred on the campus throughout the day, but college president Milton Byrd says he will not give in to pressure.

Chicago State was closed March 21, but students met with faculty, staff, and administrators to discuss the problems and possible solutions. Meetings with Byrd that day proved fruitless, however. He told black students that he could not understand their English and invited white students to leave his office. He also made it clear to everyone that he would make the final decision concerning anything at the college. At the moment there is a definite anti-Byrd feeling among students, black and white, and some faculty and administrators. Byrd has been deemed the "Hayakawa of Chicago State."



**REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY.** Scene at 1968 Young Socialist Alliance convention, its biggest so far. Beatrice Hansen played a key role in developing the political and

organizational possible the YS and its consequ



erstanding of the cadres whose work made effective intervention in key youth struggles expansion.





Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York

# New York hospitals hit by major crisis

By Marvel Scholl

NEW YORK—The perpetual crisis which has afflicted New York City municipal hospitals for many years finally boiled over two weeks ago when the medical board at Harlem Hospital announced it was throwing in the towel, closing the hospital. Dr. Herbert Cave, medical director of the hospital, said, in more elegant words, that it was time to stop fooling the public into the belief that it could provide first-rate medical care with tenth-rate equipment, lack of staff, and insufficient money to operate the huge facility which serves central Harlem.

Dr. Cave and his associates immediately put their threats into action. All 62 clinics were closed. Ambulatory patients in the hospital were either transferred to other hospitals or sent home. The emergency doors closed.

Hard on the heels of the Harlem medical board's action came announcements from two other municipal institutions. Lincoln Hospital, which serves the largely Puerto Rican and black community in south Bronx, announced that it would also close its doors rather than submit to Mayor Lindsay's demand that all municipal hospitals begin trimming their budgets for the 1969-70 year.

Meanwhile the state legislature went merrily on its way, passing Governor Rockefeller's new budget which cuts aid to New York City by five percent, most of the cuts lopping off funds for health services, welfare and education.

Early in the current crisis, Mayor Lindsay had threatened to close down nine of the 21 municipal institutions. He drew back sharply when Mrs. Lillian Roberts, executive director of District 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents most of the paramedical hospital employees, said that if the mayor carried out his threat, the union would close all 21 hospitals.

Public sentiment against the curtailment of hospital and clinic services to the medically indigent of the city has run high. Mass meetings have been held in the area of Harlem Hospital, addressed by all brands of politically ambitious characters, but also by representatives of the organized labor movement, civic and civil rights organizations, and the churches.

Meanwhile, within the hospitals themselves, the kind of chaos which is normal continues to exist. Harlem reopened its emergency room last week, but the hospital population continues to go down—from 729 when the current crisis began to 498 on April 1. All 62 clinics remain closed.

Patients are being referred to other municipal institutions. Those from Harlem are being sent mainly to Metropolitan, a long ride and even longer walk, where they join other hundreds in long, long waits for minimal care. Metropolitan, the third largest municipal hospital, has clinic facilities for approximately 150,000 annually. Today, it is serving 450,000 with the same number of doctors and nurses.

And as if to add insult to injury, Medicaid rolls are now being cut by 85,000, with another 800,000 enrollees forced to pay 20 percent of their bill. This means that the already overcrowded city hospitals will be forced to accept those people cut off from Medicaid but still unable to pay doctor bills.

The Socialist Workers Party, in its mayoralty campaign, places first-rate health care among its top demands—along with all of the related problems which interact directly on the general health of all the population: adequate housing, clean air, decent education.

Every citizen in this city, in the nation, has a right to good health. Genuine health means far more than the absence of disease. It means the kind of preventive medicine which can stop the erosion of health and create a new kind of man—a man whose body is his servant, not his master.

It will take a socialist transformation to achieve that kind of a situation. Meanwhile New Yorkers are urged to support a socialist ticket fighting for free, first-rate medical care, in the hospital or out.

## Welfare indignity hit in New York

By Hedda Garza

NEW YORK—Along with the serious material deprivation involved in the welfare cutback just voted in by the New York state legislature, a simultaneous assault on the human rights of welfare recipients here has been unleashed by the local department of social services. In the future, all persons receiving welfare aid in New York City will be photographed and required to carry this "passport" as identification.

Protesting this policy as one that "smacks of a police state . . .," the Bronx Council for Welfare Rights at a March 28 press conference proposed instead that welfare clients have their monthly grants deposited directly into individual checking accounts. The Council commented that such a system would not only end check thievery and put organized check-cashing rings out of business but would also have an opposite effect to the picture-card policy "also used by the Union of South Africa by the white racist government to subjugate black citizens."

Spokesmen for the council reiterated the necessity to wipe out the "callous lack of respect" for welfare clients. Plans are being made for mass protests against the cutbacks in funds, the segregating of welfare clients into only certain areas of the city, and the new identification method.

# Shanker fails in attempt to silence WBAI



Albert Shanker

NEW YORK—WBAI, the New York City Pacifica Foundation radio station that through the years has presented a wide range of opinion on controversial topics, won an important victory in its continuing struggle to remain on the air. The station has been constantly beset by attempts of reactionaries of all kinds to compel the Federal Communications Commission to revoke its broadcasting license.

Most recently, Albert Shanker and the other bureaucrats at the head of the United Federation of Teachers have sought to put the station out of business. The UFT brass is furious at WBAI because it gave air time to black spokesmen to present their point of view during last fall's UFT racist school shutdown, which was directed against the black and Puerto Rican communities' struggle to gain control of their schools.

As a pretext for their attack, Shanker and his colleagues used the reading of a poem in the Julius Lester Program written by a black junior-high-school student during the teachers' work stoppage. The poem is a bitter attack on Shanker and contains passages expressing anti-Jewish prejudice.

On March 28, the FCC ruled that it had no authority to judge or act on WBAI's programming. The commission found that WBAI's controversial programs are protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution and that the station has fulfilled its responsibilities under the "fairness doctrine" to present different points of view on matters of public interest.

WBAI has been subjected to intense pressure of all sorts by the UFT brass and other groups opposed to the struggle for black self-determination. They are attempting to mobilize Jewish support for their reactionary positions by manipulating legitimate anxieties about the prevalence of anti-Semitism in the U.S. through the fabrication of an illusory danger of "black anti-Semitism." The station has been compelled to withstand heavy pressure.

# Mental health workers say community control needed

By Robert Langston

NEW YORK—The struggle of the predominantly black and Puerto Rican community of the southeast Bronx for control of the mental-health services at Lincoln Hospital (The Militant, March 21) was the subject of intensive discussion at the 1969 convention of the American Orthopsychiatric Association (AOA), which met here March 31-April 2.

Composed largely of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and psychiatric social workers, the AOA is the professional organization of workers in the public mental-health field. Its members are concerned with the prevention and early treatment of emotional disorders.

The workshop on community control, where the Lincoln Hospital struggle was discussed, had not been scheduled by the convention arrangements' committee; it was organized informally, and to the evident distaste of the AOA "establishment," by some radical, mostly young, rank and filers.

In obvious violation of prevailing canons of professional dignity, the workshop organizers invited "nonprofessionals"—workers in the mental-health field from the community who do not possess the master's

degree required for AOA membership and representatives of community organizations interested in improving mental health services—to join the panel and speak from the floor at the workshop. The professionals at the workshop treated the nonprofessionals as colleagues engaged in a joint effort to solve urgent problems in orthopsychiatry, not as "clinical exhibits."

The professionals by and large took a strictly professional approach to the question of community control! They are interested in doing their work as effectively as possible, and they want to define the contribution that community control could make to this end and to develop strategies for achieving it. The discussion showed that they look at community control on three more-or-less distinct but closely related levels.

Some stressed the extent to which the established bureaucracies—city hospital boards, hospital administrations, etc.—by their conservatism and callousness prevent the working professionals from giving the kind of help they know how to give. One young psychiatrist related that the Lincoln Hospital mental-health services had never provided 24-hour facilities until the take-over there last month by the working staff with the support of the community. During the four days of the take-over this simple but crucial service was instituted. After the workers were forced to return under the old administration, 24-hour service was eliminated.

Other participants emphasized the importance of professionals learning from members of the community. Community control, they felt, would not only free the services from the dead hand of bureaucratic control; it would provide a source of insight and information which professionals, who come in almost all cases from outside the community and with a life experience radically different from their patients, need, in order to develop effective programs and effective techniques of therapy. Community control would assure an atmosphere in which the special expertise of the highly trained professionals could merge with the broad and concrete experience of people who live in the same social and cultural world as the professionals' patients.

Finally, some of the participants in the workshop touched on the most fundamental issue. The illnesses that they are trying to prevent and to cure are, they recognize, the natural products of a society that generates poverty, in the broadest meaning of the word, and denies human beings control over their own lives. Thus the struggle for community control is part of a broader struggle for social transformation to end the exploitation, oppression and alienation that are the root causes of most emotional disorders.

## CALENDAR

### BOSTON

THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Speaker: Dr. Gerald Kroll. Fri., April 11, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum

### DETROIT

DO HOURS LAWS AID WOMEN WORKERS? A panel on recent attempts to repeal a Michigan law which limits working hours for women. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward, Contrib: Employed 75c, unemployed and students 35c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

GIS UNITED AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM—THEIR PERSPECTIVES. Speaker: Joe Miles, a black leader of GIs United at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg. Fri., April 11, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, high school 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

Meet and hear Socialist Workers Party candidates speaking on community control of the schools and on the Vietnam war. Speakers: John Benson, SWP candidate for district attorney; Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for municipal judge; Mike Walker, SWP candidate for city controller; Richard Feigenberg, SWP candidate for municipal judge. Fri., April 11, 8:30 p.m. 686 North Broad St. (corner Fairmount). Donation: \$1, students 75c, Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Intercontinental Press

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

*Intercontinental Press*, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

# DRUM spokesman scores PL stand

By Raphael Rivera and Paula Reimers  
NEW YORK—More than 1,000 Columbia University students and community people heard John Watson, a spokesman for the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in Detroit (DRUM), speak at a teach-in on white racism and black liberation March 25.

The teach-in, sponsored by the Columbia SDS, had panels on white racism, community control and social institutions, and rebellions in the schools. Speakers included a representative of the Black Panther Party, Carl Davidson of the *Guardian*, David Spencer of the I.S. 201 governing board, and Jeanette Washington of the Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups. Films on the black liberation struggle were also shown.

John Watson was very enthusiastically applauded as he spoke about the work of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in organizing the black workers in the auto industry in Detroit. He gave a brief history of DRUM and explained how white workers had been attracted to DRUM in its struggle against the United Auto Workers' bureaucracy. "The reason DRUM has been successful," he said, "is because it is consistently revolutionary and consistently serious."

Watson pointed out that DRUM had served as an example for other workers and helped organize the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM), the Eldon Ave. Revolutionary Union Movement (ELRUM), and others. He also pointed out that high-school and college students had played an important supporting role in aiding the workers—manning picket lines, passing out leaflets, and publicizing the movement. He said that this aid was very valuable in making the movement a success.

Watson said that "DRUM will form coalitions with any group that has the same goals," but he had some sharp words for "certain so-called revolutionary organizations" which are "theory and talk." "The Progressive Labor Party," he said, "was especially long on talk and no action. They are a bunch of jives—so-called revolutionaries."

Attacking the PL position that black nationalism is essentially reactionary and counterrevolutionary, Watson explained why the nationalism of black people is not racist and is, in fact, inherently revolutionary. "Those who claim that nationalism divides the working class and helps the ruling class are liars and hypocrites," he said, pointing to the experience of DRUM, which "is organizing black and white workers along class lines and to fight for class demands . . ."

Watson pointed out that the last issue of *Challenge*, Progressive Labor's newspaper, had unscrupulously rearranged

photographs of DRUM workers on strike to make them appear as reactionary elements. He also said that *Challenge* openly insinuated that DRUM was an agent of the ruling class when an article by Bill Epton asked rhetorically why the capitalist press gave DRUM wide coverage. Watson pointed out that the press coverage of DRUM had been hostile, intended to attack, not build, DRUM.

In conclusion, Watson had a word of advice for the white revolutionaries in the audience. "What you have got to do is get ahold of these fools, these PLers, and set them straight." The audience gave him a standing ovation.

## Teach-in slated at Columbia U on Arab struggle

"Arab Liberation vs. Imperialism-Zionism" will be the topic of a teach-in, open to the public, on Friday, April 18, from 7 to 12 p.m. at Columbia University in the Harkness Theater of Butler Library.

Within the context of support for the Arab revolutionary struggle, the teach-in will feature lectures and discussion on the Palestine liberation movement, the nature and strategy of Israel, the Arab revolution, Zionism, and the role of colonialism and U.S. imperialism in the region.

Several eminent Arab scholars will speak, including Dr. Hishami Sharabi and Dr. Ilyas Shufani, both professors at Georgetown University; Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, professor at Northwestern University; and Mrs. Randa Khalidi El-Fattal, editor of *The Arab World*.

Other speakers include Peter Buch, Socialist Workers Party; Rita Freed, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation; and Larry Hochman, Radical Education Project.

A number of foreign student groups are among the teach-in's sponsors, including the Organization of Arab Students at Columbia University, the Iranian Students Association, the Ethiopian Students Association, DEMOKRATIA (Greek student group) and MPI (Puerto Rican Independence Movement). Also among the sponsors are the Columbia SDS, the Columbia Young Socialist Alliance, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, Youth Against War and Fascism, Columbia Progressive Labor, CO-AIM, and the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF.

Educational literature on the questions to be covered will be available at the teach-in, which promises to be important in clarifying these issues.



VICTIM. Child burned in July 8, 1968 Israeli shelling of Egyptian town. Ruthless conduct of Israeli government has fanned deep-going opposition among Arab people.

## Israel occupiers facing rising Arab resistance

Israeli military forces in the territory seized from Arab nations during the six-day war in June 1967 are playing an oppressive and reactionary role typical of occupation armies and—as with all occupation forces—they are meeting increasing resistance from the Arab inhabitants in the occupied lands.

On March 28, according to a *New York Times* dispatch from Jerusalem, hundreds of Arabs clashed with Israeli "security forces" when the Israeli police turned a mounted water cannon on Arab mourners.

The mourners were protesting the death of a 30-year-old Arab who had died after one week of imprisonment on charges of "suspected sabotage." The Israeli prison authorities contended that the young Arab

had not been beaten by cops but had died of a "disturbance of the liver."

"Policemen fought with the Arabs, injuring several and arresting four women," the *New York Times* reported.

The following day, *New York Times* reporter James Feron disclosed that "Arab reprisals against persons who collaborate with the Israelis may be starting in the occupied areas." Feron described a situation all too reminiscent of Nazi-occupied lands in Western Europe three decades ago.

"The life of a west-bank resident is a watchful one. The majority remain clear of terrorist activities, fearful of Israeli retribution. But it seems clear that many cheer the saboteurs on," Feron reported.

An Israeli military official told Feron that the occupation authorities had destroyed more than 250 homes of suspected terrorists since the 1967 war.

Asked why they don't wait until the suspects are tried, the military official said: "We do not destroy houses as punishment but as a deterrent, and we do not want someone who is thinking of putting a bomb in a supermarket to wait six or nine months until he sees what happens to someone else."

Feron mentioned some of the ways Israel has cracked down on Arab inhabitants in their own land. "Men between the ages of 18 and 45 find it difficult to get travel passes," he wrote. "Demonstrations are severely restricted."

These news reports in the *New York Times* confirm a front-page editorial in the February 1969 issue of *Free Palestine*, a newspaper supporting the Palestine liberation movement published in London.

"The events of the last few weeks," *Free Palestine* stated, "tended to point out that the Palestinians will continue to resist surrender and submission at all costs."

"In Gaza the Palestinians' popular revolt against the brutal Israeli forces of occupation is not merely a heroic act of resistance; it is a decisive proof that no amount of Israeli oppressive measures, deportation schemes, and collective punishments can break the will of the Palestinians to liberate their homeland from Zionism and foreign occupation."

"The widespread strikes and massive demonstrations in the West Bank during the first half of the month of February demolished once and for all the Israeli contention that the Palestinian resistance has its mainspring across the Jordan river."

### Parley draws record turnout

# Cleveland peace action conference

CLEVELAND—The biggest local antiwar conference ever held in Cleveland took place last week at Case Western Reserve University. The March 29 conference was called by the Cleveland Peace Action Council to help build the April 5 GI-civilian demonstration in Chicago and to begin discussion aimed at broadening and revitalizing the antiwar movement.

A majority of the more than 200 people present at the conference were students, most of whom had attended a Student Mobilization Committee meeting just prior to the conference. The SMC meeting heard reports from junior and senior high schools all over the Cleveland area. It was announced at the meeting that the most popular local Rock station has begun making spot announcements about the SMC's upcoming demonstrations (in Cleveland on April 4 and in Chicago on April 5) and giving out the SMC's phone number—as a public service. It was clear from the reports that this set of demonstrations was reaching and involving more young people in Cleveland than ever before.

The enthusiasm of the SMC meeting spilled over into the CAPAC conference that followed. The conference opened with a speech by SMC staff member Don Gurowitz, who reviewed the tremendous growth

of the SMC in the past two months. He emphasized the growing dissatisfaction with the Nixon administration and the need to keep the antiwar movement visible and in the streets.

The SMC speaker was followed by Sidney Lens, chairman of the Chicago Peace Council and co-chairman of the National Mobilization Committee. Lens gave a historical review of American foreign policy in which he emphasized its essentially imperialist nature. He called for the continuation of militant antiwar actions and for the development of a movement capable of combating all aspects of American imperialism.

There were a number of workshops, the most important of which was probably the one on "Perspectives for the Antiwar Movement." In that workshop, Dr. Sidney Peck, a co-chairman of the National Mobilization Committee, pointed out that the growing antiwar sentiment made it possible for the antiwar movement to reach out to sections of the population as yet uninvolved in the peace movement and build truly massive, active opposition to the war. He stressed the importance of distinguishing between an anti-Vietnam-war movement and a movement for radical social change in America. Confusing

the two, he said, leads to the weakening of both.

Many groups and individuals have differing ideas on radical social change, he said, and each seeks to achieve its aims in its own way. Many people in groups against the war do not even seek social change, he added. To build a movement capable of ending the war, he said, it is necessary to united all these various elements into one mighty coalition committed to militant action against the war.

If such a coalition were to force an end to the war, he said, it would be a tremendous victory for those who do seek radical change, not to mention for the Vietnamese Revolution.

Also worth noting was the workshop on "Trade Unionists and the Antiwar Movement." In the past, such workshops at Cleveland conferences have never drawn more than a half-dozen or so people. This time more than 20 attended.

After the workshops, the conference reconvened briefly. It ended on a very optimistic note—everyone seemed impressed by the size of the conference and the growth of youth participation. Everyone seemed even more impressed than before with the need to build the April 5 GI-civilian demonstration in Chicago.



# Did U of P students "sell out" by winning demands?

By Joel Aber

A six-day sit-in at the University of Pennsylvania by 1,200 students from every major Philadelphia area campus last month has evoked a dispute in the radical press. The overwhelming majority of the participants viewed the result of the demonstration as a decisive victory. But articles published in *SDS New Left Notes*, *Liberation New Service* and Philadelphia's main underground newspaper, the *Distant Drummer*, have scored the student action for allegedly selling out.

The two key issues facing all Americans—black control of the black community and the Vietnam war (in this case, university complicity)—were the central focus of the struggle.

Two years ago at Penn a student sit-in had forced the termination of Projects Spicerack and Summit, two biological and chemical warfare research contracts with the U.S. Army and Air Force. However the prohibition on secret or war-related research did not extend to the University City Science Center, a private corporation located four city blocks from Penn's campus, in which Penn owns 49 percent of the stock; the remaining shareholders are none other than Temple University, Drexel, Swarthmore, Haverford, Villanova, Bryn Mawr and several other area colleges.

To direct the Science Center, this unholy consortium had chosen Dr. Jean-Paul Mather, a proud lineal descendant of Salem witchcraft prosecutor Cotton Mather. A true believer in the American Way of Death, Dr. Mather stated that he would engage in any kind of research for which his institution is paid; "I'd even work on a death ray if the government wanted it," he once told a reporter. For a while Mather courted the \$900,000-a-year Projects Summit and Spicerack—"And the students can march outside with their picket signs from now till kingdom come," he declared.

While the student mood was such that the Penn trustees considered it inadvisable to turn Spicerack and Summit over to the Science Center, Mather was left free to obtain government contracts for other unspecified killer projects. The students aimed at a total ban on such research.

The second major issue involved was that 106 acres of West Philadelphia ghetto housing had been torn down to build the Science Center.

The student action on these two issues began Feb. 18 with a project action by about 150 SDS-led students. The demonstrators picketed College Hall, Penn's administration building; then they decided to enter the building and sit down in the hallways outside the office of Penn president Gaylord P. Harnwell.

By that evening nearly a thousand from Penn and other campuses had joined the sit-in. It was then that a series of plenary sessions were initiated among the participants. There was extensive, democratic discussion about what the specific demands should be and what strategy and tactics should be employed. All issues were decided by majority vote.

On the question of knocking out all war-related research there was complete, immediate agreement.

The issue of expansion of the Science Center into the black community was not so quickly resolved. There were several days of debate, with a variety of proposals as to what demands the students should make regarding the area being held by the Science Center (should there be a housing project, how many acres should be returned to the black community, etc.).

This issue was clarified when leaders of the black community addressed the students, telling them that it was the responsibility of the community to formulate such demands and that they would welcome student support for the demands to be put forth by the community.

This was immediately agreed to by the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators.

From then on, the position of all but a few of the demonstrators was crystal clear. A campus call distributed to gain further support for the sit-in said in part:

"Exact wording has been changed many times, but the principles upon which the demands have been made have been constant. This is what is important, and this will be the basis of the support this sit-in has. Our principle is support for the basic democratic rights of the members of the



"IF THEY TRY TO MESS WITH US WE'LL BE BACK." That's what a spokesman shouted as 1,000 victorious demonstrators at the University of Pennsylvania marched out of College Hall into the cold, snowy night on Feb. 23, ending their six-day sit-in. All that remained inside the building was a banner: "This is just the beginning. Justice will be the end."

community surrounding the UCSC. These rights have been violated by the UCSC and its member universities. . . . We, as members of the university, are in solidarity with the black community in the exercise of the right to determine their own lives." [emphasis in original.]

After four days of occupation of College Hall, the Penn trustees began what David Sanford in the March 15 issue of *The New Republic* called "a novel approach—capitulation."

The trustees conceded on the first student demand: that the Science Center would not accept war-related research and that an advisory council including some of the demonstrators would act as a watchdog over the agreement.

By day six of the sit-in, the student negotiators reported to a jubilant plenary session that an agreement between the trustees and the black community representatives had been reached. A four-part commission was set up, consisting of five representatives chosen by each of the following: the demonstrators, the black community, the faculty and the administration; this commission, rather than the administration, is to oversee all decisions relating to university expansion and community development. The trustees also made commitments on donations for low-income housing to be administered by the black community.

The trustees conceded that black community members who are not appointed by and have no official ties with Penn are legitimate negotiating representatives.

In principle the trustees agreed to the control of university policy, at least in part, by the residents of the community in which the campus is located. It is this very principle on which S. I. Hayakawa and other college administrators have so stubbornly refused to give in. Thus the magnitude of the victory is great.

How, then, can this demonstration be characterized as having "sold out," as Steve Kuromiya in the Feb. 27 *Liberation News Service* and Kit Bakke and David Millstone in *SDS New Left Notes* charge?

These critics berate the students for accepting the settlement to which the black community had agreed. This approach implies that the students should decide what is best for the black community. This attitude flies in the face of the most elementary concept of the principle of self-determination.

An examination of the tactics that resulted in victory reveals where the writers in *New Left Notes* and *Liberation News Service* went astray and also shows why the trustees were forced to give in.

Bakke and Millstone call the tactics that were used "non-struggle politics," accusing the leadership of being more concerned with "preventing demonstrators from disrupting classes" than in "stopping jocks from beating up demonstrators." Kuromiya is upset that "suggestions of dis-

ruptive tactics were loudly shouted down and liberal school administrators and faculty members worked closely with the student leaders."

Regarding the jocks, there was little problem, since the Inter-Fraternity Council was openly friendly to the sit-in. The tactic of nondisruption of classes was decided upon early in the struggle by the demonstrators as a means of mobilizing wide support.

Penn has a regulation, which grew out of previous protests against Dow Chemical recruiting on campus, affirming the legality of a sit-in so long as it does not physically block the orderly functioning of the university, thus making the sit-in entirely legal. There was no pretext for any police attack or suspension of students.

Kuromiya frets about support from "liberal professors," yet it was precisely the winning of such support that was decisive in forcing the trustees to give in so swiftly! Broad support extended not only to professors and fraternities at Penn, but also to nearly every other major campus in the area. At formerly conservative, Catholic-Church-run Villanova University, the student government supported the action. The Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement, A Quaker Action Group and the Philadelphia GI-Civilian Coalition for April 5 all sent messages of solidarity.

And members of the black community were discussing whether they should march on Penn.

Such support may be of small significance to ultraleft sectarians. But the trustees apparently estimated the situation somewhat differently. They decided to capitulate.

Barricading doors can be an excellent tactic when the situation calls for it. But to elevate such an action into a principle—a principle more important than building a broad mass movement capable of winning agreed-on demands—is the politics of despair, not belief in the ability of the masses to effect revolutionary change.

What were the results of the action which these critics so loosely call a "sellout"? A significant blow was dealt to campus complicity with the war. (Or is that supposed to be only a rhetorical slogan to be cherished only to the degree it isn't won?)

Important, if partial, gains were won by the black community and closer ties between the students and the community were established.

Moreover, a genuine deepening of the radicalization took place during the six days in College Hall. The extended discussion and analysis of the issues provided an intensive education resulting in greater understanding of the politics of the struggle than had been gained by the participants in 12-16 years of capitalist education.

To cite a partisan bit of evidence: the Young Socialist Alliance reported that its daily sales of revolutionary literature at the sit-in increased ten-fold from the first to the final day of the action.

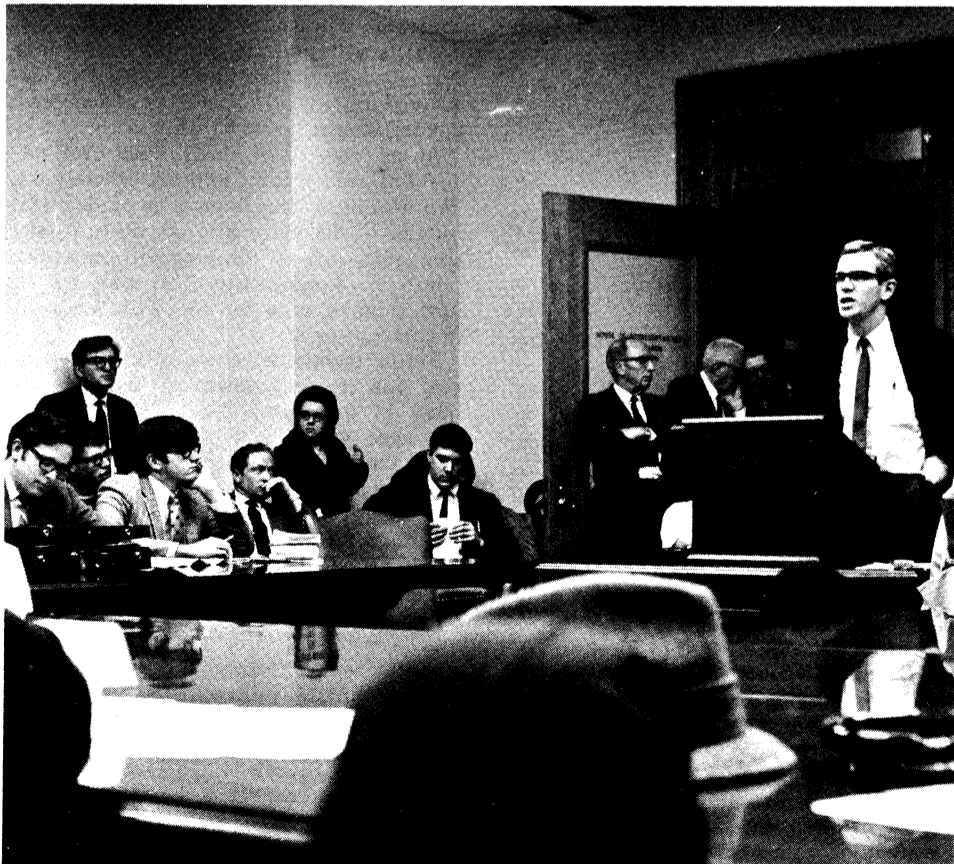


Photo by Seth Widgerson

**ASSAULTS ANTI-STUDENT BILL.** Derrell Myers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Minneapolis school board, addresses Minnesota State Education Subcommittee considering bills to penalize participants in "disorderly" campus demonstrations. The proposed measures were vigorously assailed by Myers and others, including Anna Stanley of the University of Minnesota Afro-American Action Committee, Ed McComb of SDS, other students and professors and spokesman for the black community.

# The Great Society

**All They Need Is Hayakawa**— Bob Jones University in Greenville, N. C., has no rebellion problem. Beards, miniskirts, hand-holding, liberals, radicals and blacks are all strictly verboten. Armed guards patrol the campus, on the alert for "outside agitators." Daily chapel attendance is mandatory and rock music is strictly out. "Off-beat syncopated music makes for an off-beat syncopated life," shrewdly observes William Livermore, dean of men.

**And Rightly So**— "Wall Street Mourns Death of Eisenhower." Headline in the March 29 *New York Times*.

**Note to Production Foremen**— Adele Davis, author of *Let's Eat Right to Keep Well*, says: "The first thing I do when I employ help to work in the garden or house is to feed them B vitamins; they not only work three times as hard for the same amount of money but they work three times as cheerfully."

**Pot of Gold?**— The *Wall Street Journal* says the tobacco industry "vehemently denies" it is experimenting with marijuana to get ready for the day its sale may be legalized.

**Sorry About That**— Amedeo Cruz, the Philippine Secretary of Health, was scheduled to address a graduating class at the hospital at the U. S.'s Clark Air Force Base near Manila, but was unable to do so. Guards refused to let him through the gate. U. S. Ambassador G. Mennen Williams apologized.

**Pro-Obscenity?**— Senator James Allen, Alabama Democrat, has an obscenity bill

in the hopper. If passed, the *New York Times* reported, the senator hopes "for an enforcement drive equal to the nation's fight on poverty."

**Got It All Psyched Out**— Explaining to the readers of the *Sunday Oklahoman* that the student rebellions are led by "well read, committed Marxists," the Rev. Herbert Conley offers this right-handed compliment: "This is not an 'international communist conspiracy' led by some Communist country . . . Within the movement, some are followers of Mao, others are pro-Moscow and the growing majority (and the most dangerous) follow the thinking of Trotsky." His shrewdest observation comes in his explanation of "stage 5" of the campus revolution: "It is time for the major attack. This is to occupy the computer center of the university. This is the brains of the administration."

**More Far-Out Leftists**— The Minnesota college Republicans voted the United States should begin unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam within two months.

**Potent Argument**— Actor Tony Curtis, who will head a Cancer Society anti-smoking drive, confided to newsmen that when he kicked the habit his sex life improved. Asked to elaborate, he replied: "What are you, a wise guy?"

**Sheer Pragmatism**— A reader, apparently irate at our reporting of the coffin-nail situation, sent a clipping about veteran actress Estelle Winwood being asked if smoking had affected her health. The 86-year-old woman replied: "Not yet."

**Solid Stuff**— The Federal Trade Commission disclosed that Campbell's has been putting marbles in its soup for television to make it look more solid. The marbles prevent the meat and vegetables from sinking to the bottom. The company explained they weren't trying to deceive anyone with this. They were keeping the garnishes up top so everyone could see what they were getting.

**Thought for the Week**— "I think all mothers are Jewish mothers." Mrs. Herman Roth, commenting on the complaint that her son Philip's book, *Portnoy's Complaint*, presents a stereotype of overly protective Jewish mothers.

— Harry Ring

# Play on Rosenberg's has 'powerful impact'

By Jean Tussey

CLEVELAND— The play about the trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had its world premier here March 14. Its impact on the capacity audience that has filled the theater for every performance is something this reviewer has not seen since the Thirties.

**The United States vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** is not a mere play. It is an experience in total involvement presented in a social climate which again values personal choice, responsibility and involvement. The perception and skill of the playwright, Donald Freed, of the young director, Larry Tarrant, and of the actors and staff of the Play House Brooks Theater combine to present a great modern tragedy.

The political atmosphere in which the trial took place is recreated as the context for the courtroom drama on the stage

an espionage trial. It was a political trial. The political trials today are against the antiwar protesters and blacks. The fact is still the same—when the DA is prosecuting a political case, he is allowed the utmost leniency."

Playwright Freed was also present for the Friday night premiere, and after that performance and each show for the entire first weekend, including Sunday night's, which I attended, he held a discussion with the audience and answered questions.

Sunday night Freed called two men up from the audience to participate in a panel discussion of the play with him and Larry Tarrant, and the audience. They were Los Angeles producer Lou Shaw, who flew in to see the play, and Prof. Sidney Peck of Cleveland, prominent national antiwar leader recently named as co-conspirator, but not indicted, with eight others on charges stemming from the Chicago police violence of last summer.

In a sense the post-performance discussions were a continuation of the involvement of the audience which, by its comments and questions, contributed to further polishing of the script by the playwright and the performance by the producer and cast.

It was also a continuation of the involvement that began with the opening of the play as a trial with the theater as a courtroom, the audience as jury, and the witnesses and other actors coming from the audience.

But the power of the drama, and its impact, lies not in the techniques employed, effective as they are, but in the center-stage trial itself, the unequal contest of the powerful United States government versus two better than average, very human beings, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The audience becomes not a jury, but a Greek chorus, with constant premonitions of the inevitable, horrible conclusion, the executions, which are shown in silhouette. And the tragedy is not only for the Rosenbergs and their children and friends, but for all of us who were powerless as a Greek chorus to intervene to change the outcome of the struggle.

One does not applaud at the end of this play. One considers what can be done to assure a different outcome of the next political trial.

## S. F. Mime Troupe to be in New York

NEW YORK— The San Francisco Mime Troupe is returning to New York for two performances only. The last time the Mime Troupe was in New York (1967) they won an Obie award "for uniting theater and revolution and grooving in the park."

On April 11 at 2 p.m. the Troupe will bring their Gorilla Marching Band and Gutter Puppets to Washington Square Park for a free outdoor performance. Also, on the 11th they will perform *The Farce of Patelin*, a commedia dell'arte play about the evils of the greedy system based on profit, at Wollman Hall, Columbia University at 8 p.m.

The Troupe is traveling to New England after they leave New York. For further information, call the Radical Theater Repertory, 777-7703.



Morton Sobell

by use of multimedia techniques: flashing of filmed newspaper headlines about the spy trials of the period, slides of Senator Joseph McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover and other public figures, audio (taped) quotes from these figures, motion films of some of the principals and some made by the actors in the play (in Cleveland) portraying events described in the testimony.

For the older members of the audience, memory of the reality of the time was sharpened by these techniques. For the youth who do not identify with that period, but rather with the protest movement, the radical thought and the active involvement of today, there is a prologue assuring the audience that every word in the play is taken from primary, documented sources—even the most bizarre statements.

Adding to the drama of the opening night performance was the presence of Morton Sobell, the third man in the Rosenberg case (although not mentioned in the play), who came to Cleveland with his wife Helen to attend the premiere. After 18 years imprisonment, Sobell, wearing a peace button, appeared cheerful about the new political climate. But he expressed a cautious optimism.

"Theoretically, it was impossible to convict me then," he said in an interview quoted in *The Plain Dealer*. "But my trial wasn't

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## Detroit cops cover role in shoot-out

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, April 3—Shortly before midnight of March 29, Detroit police charged into the New Bethel Baptist Church and fired upon a crowd of 200-300 Afro-Americans who were holding the first annual convention of the Republic of New Africa (RNA). Moments before, one white policeman had been killed and another seriously wounded in a shooting incident outside the church.

Police claim that the patrolman's attackers ran into the church and that the cops were fired on from inside the church when they arrived to help the wounded officer. When the police finished spraying the crowd inside, which included women and children, there were pools of blood under the pews and trails of blood down the aisles.

About 135 women, children and men were rounded up and taken to the police station where they were released early the next morning by Criminal Court Judge George Crockett, Detroit's top-ranking black jurist.

The shooting and Crockett's actions unleashed a storm of attacks against Afro-Americans and Crockett. Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh has defended the action of the police and is using the incident to revive demands for a gun-control law. Wayne County prosecutor William Cahalan defied Crockett's release order and immediately rearrested two of the men. Cops picketed recorders' court, condemning "Crockett's Justice."

Policemen from all over the country attended the slain officer's funeral and called for stiffer methods to insure "law and order." The state senate has asked the judicial-tenure commission to investigate Crockett.

Brother Gaidi (Milton R. Henry), a Pontiac attorney and vice-president of the RNA, commented, "The truth will ultimately be tested in the courts. We do have witnesses. We do believe there was [police] provocation. We do believe [black] people were assaulted on the outside of the church."

## Frame N. Y. Panthers

NEW YORK, April 3—Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today assailed the Lindsay administration for the indictment of 21 black people on a variety of vague charges ranging from "conspiring" to bomb department stores to "conspiring" to kill policemen.

He charged the action was one more in a series of moves intended to terrorize black militants into giving up their liberation struggle. The particular target of the frame-up, Boutelle charged, was the Black Panther Party whose members have been systematically harassed and victimized by the police. He recalled that Panther members had been beaten by cops in a city courtroom.

The very fact that the lurid charges are all based on alleged "conspiracies," Boutelle noted, is a giveaway as to the trumped-up character of the case. Conspiracy charges notoriously are used by the police when they have no evidence of actual crimes committed.

Any evidence of such "conspiracy" that is likely to turn up, Boutelle predicted, will be the work of police-employed provocateurs, as in the notorious "statue of liberty" case when the only one who actually did anything was an undercover police agent.

The present indictments, the socialist nominee said, have the twin purpose of attacking the black community and of seeking added popularity among racist voters as Lindsay opens his campaign for reelection.

Boutelle condemned as exorbitant and unconstitutional the \$100,000 bail set for those indicted. He predicted a broad, united campaign in behalf of the defendants. The final outcome, he predicted, would be a rise, not a decrease, in militancy.

## Army keeps the heat on Ft. Jackson GIs

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 3—The Ft. Jackson Nine are still confined, four in their barracks and five in the stockade under maximum security.

The nine soldiers have been associated with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, a predominantly black and Puerto Rican group of Ft. Jackson servicemen. They were arrested March 20, following an orderly discussion meeting held on the post by more than 100 GIs. Five days later, the nine were formally charged with a variety of fabricated "crimes," including "disrespect to a commissioned officer," "willful disobedience to a superior officer," "failure to obey a lawful order," and "breach of the peace."

The nine are Pvt. Eugene Jose Rudder, Pvt. Andrew Pulley, Pvt. Joe Cole, Pvt. Adilberto Chaparro, Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, Pvt. Dominick Duddie, Pfc. Delmar Thomas, Pvt. John Huffman, and Pvt. Curtis Mays. Several have been court-martialed previously on various trumped-up charges because of their antiwar views and activities.

Delmar Thomas, who had been restricted to barracks, is now in the stockade. He was switched because, after being handled by a sergeant with a history of such activity, Pvt. Thomas allegedly threatened the sergeant.

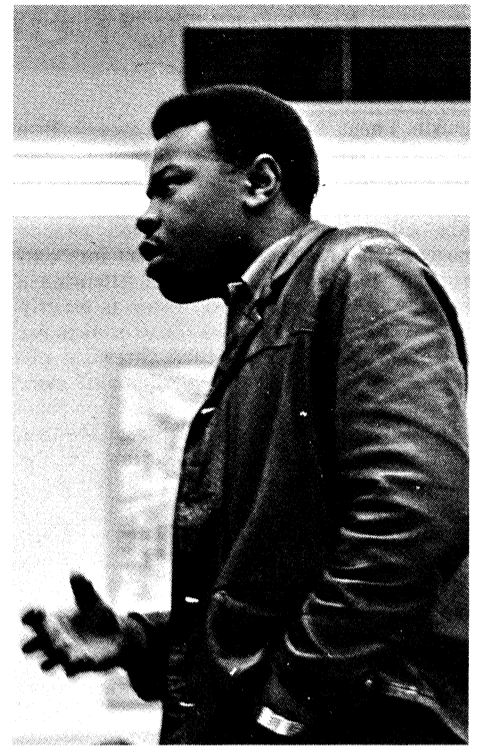
On reading the prosecution witnesses' statements, the nine marveled at the monumental paranoia, or deceit, of those who saw in the peaceful meeting of GIs United

a "riot" which could have sent the men marauding through the post brandishing boots and broomsticks.

In the past week, two other activists of GIs United have been victimized, giving further evidence for the belief—widely held here—that the commander of Ft. Jackson, Gen. Hollingsworth, in concert with the Pentagon, is out to destroy the organization. Pvt. Joe Goodman of Queens, New York, with only eight months of time remaining to be served, has received orders to go to Vietnam. This in itself is highly irregular, but, in addition, Pvt. Goodman has an Army physical-fitness profile that lists bad knees as a physical disability. After the victimization of the nine, Pvt. Goodman played a key role in getting out the GI antiwar newspaper, *Short Times*.

Pvt. Steven Dash of New York City, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance active in GIs United, has learned that the Army is preparing to discharge him for "unsuitability." He will fight anything less than an honorable discharge and has requested a field-board hearing on the matter.

The antiwar GIs are being represented by attorneys David Rein of Washington, D. C., Dianne Schuldors of New York City, Michael Smith of Detroit, and Thomas Broadwater of Columbia. Leonard Boudin, general counsel of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, has been overseeing the case from New York.



Pvt. Andrew Pulley

## It's nowhere—brass exiles an antiwar GI

By Paul McKnight

SAN FRANCISCO, April 2—Don Pyle, a socialist GI who was shipped out of Ft. Benning, Ga., because of his antiwar activities, was transferred out of Ft. Ord, Calif., on March 26 for the same reason.

Pyle had been active in preparations for the April 6 antiwar march in Atlanta while he was at Ft. Benning. He was shipped off to Ft. Ord, where he was kept incommunicado for 20 days. Later, he became one of the key GI organizers of the San Francisco April 6 demonstration.

On March 26, Pyle received an order for a permanent change of station to Camp Roberts, Calif. He was given only 24-hours notice about this transfer and didn't even have time to pack his clothes.

The Committee for the GI-Civilian Easter Peace March charged here that this was a punitive transfer aimed at preventing Pyle from participating in the preparations for the demonstration.

This charge was born out by subsequent developments at Camp Roberts. When Pyle arrived, he was immediately put to work at hard labor, still wearing his Class A (dress) uniform. He was told that he would not be able to get a pass until "he earned one." Other GIs who arrived at Camp Roberts at the same time Pyle did had already obtained weekend passes.

He was told that even when he did get a pass, it would be good for only a 75-mile radius from the base. Since Camp Roberts is an isolated base in central California, about the only things within a 75-mile radius are the Pacific Ocean and a stretch of desert.

Pyle was informed that he would be on duty Easter morning, the day of the antiwar demonstrations in San Francisco and Los Angeles. His job would be to process the papers of any officers who happened to be transferring into Camp Roberts on Easter morning.

The San Francisco Committee for the GI-Civilian Easter Peace March announced that it will seek a court injunction to free Pyle to allow him to participate in the April 6 demonstration.

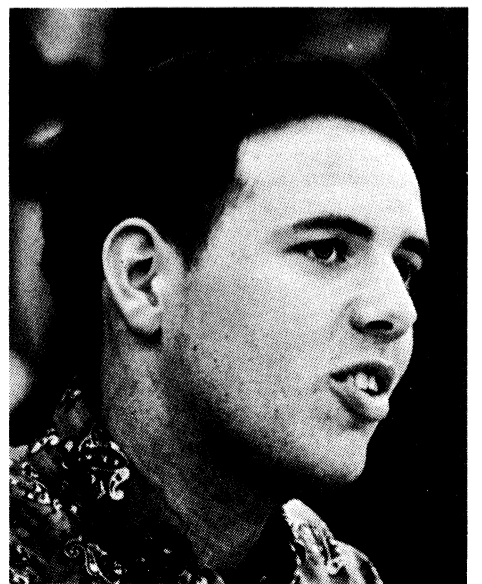


Photo by Shannon

Pvt. Don Pyle

## Easter antiwar marches saluted in NLF greeting

The following is the text of a letter received by the Comité de Mobilisation in Montreal, Quebec, from the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front mission in Havana, Cuba, expressing support for the antiwar demonstrations Easter weekend.

\* \* \*

First of all, we would like to extend our warmest greetings to the people of Canada and of the United States, to the various progressive North American organizations, the workers, the students, the intellectuals and women's organizations whom we have had the pleasure to meet during our recent visits to your country. We know that all of you are struggling for a just peace consistent with the most legitimate hopes of the Vietnamese people.

We are happy to see that world public opinion, and particularly the North American public opinion, has chosen April 6th INTERNATIONAL DAY OF MOBILIZATION AGAINST THE AMERICAN AGGRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

At this moment, the people and the armed forces of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have doubled their efforts to harass and strike severely the American

aggressors and allies over the whole territory of South Vietnam.

By inflicting these crippling blows, we are simply replying to the repeated violations of the 7-day cease-fire declared by the NLF for the traditional Tet celebrations, which were interrupted by the intense and indiscriminate bombings by the B-52s of the civilian South Vietnamese population.

We have shown our sincere desire to promote world peace and particularly peace in our own country, by going to the Paris conference, by declaring unilaterally a 7-day truce and by liberating American prisoners of war.

However, the massacre of the civilian population, the deliberate violations of the Tet truce on the military front by the American aggressors and satellites, their systematic refusal to discuss in Paris, the essential of the Vietnamese question, that is, its political content, oblige us to make the following rectification:

The basis for any settlement of the Vietnamese problem is very clearly defined by the Geneva agreements of 1954 concerning Vietnam. These agreements declare, as early as 1954, the recognition of the independence, the sovereignty, the unity and the territorial integrity of Vietnam. On this basis the Nixon government must withdraw totally and unconditionally all its troops and those of its satellites from the southern part of the Vietnamese territory.

The people and the NLF SVN have declared many times that if the American government does not agree to withdraw totally and unconditionally their troops and those of their satellites, which sow death and destruction daily, our people and the NLF have the legitimate and inalienable right to pursue their struggle, to strike heavier and heavier blows against the aggressors anywhere in the southern part of Vietnamese territory until not a single of their soldiers remains.

What more to say than that we are entirely pleased with your suggestions to concentrate on the themes:

**TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS!**

**VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!**  
/s/ Huynh Van Ba  
Charge d'Affaires  
NLF-SVN, Havana,  
Republic of Cuba



Photo by Evelyn Kirsch

Huynh Van Ba