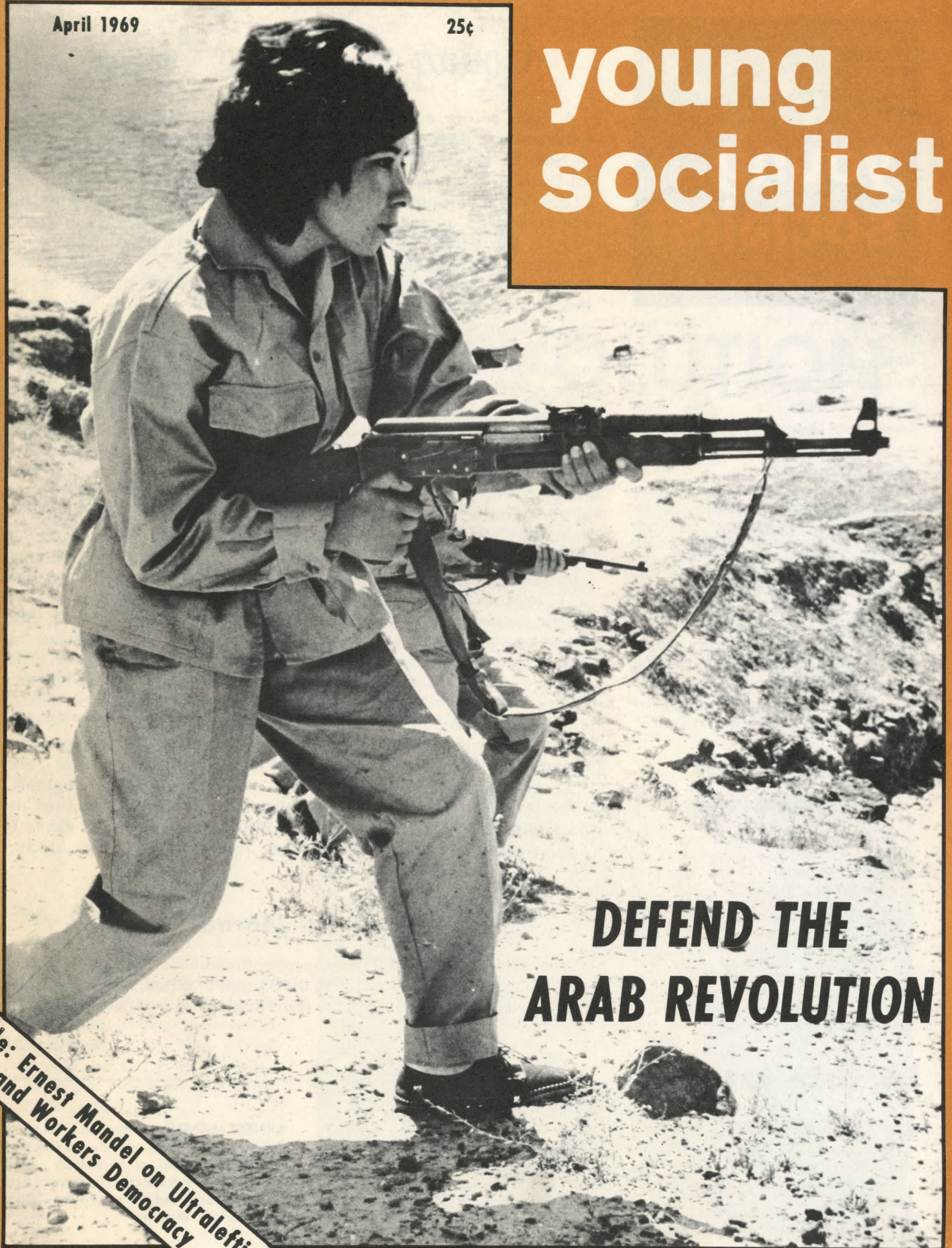


April 1969

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young socialist



**DEFEND THE
ARAB REVOLUTION**

**Inside: Ernest Mandel on Ultraleftism
and Workers Democracy**



Vol. 12, No. 5 (95)

April 1969

Editor: Larry Seigle

Business Manager: Flax Hermes

Design: Melissa Singler

Editorial Board: Charles Bolduc, Carol Lipman, Derrick Morrison, Susan LaMont, Tony Thomas, Joanna Misnik, Melissa Singler

Subscription Price: \$2.00 per year in U.S. and Canada. Write for foreign rates. Bundle rate: 20 cents per issue (15 cents for newstands). The Young Socialist is published monthly, except during July and August, when bimonthly. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Phone 989-7570. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Young Socialist.

Second class postage paid at New York, New York.



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Young Socialist Notes

A good source of information on the goals and activities of the Palestinian Liberation Movement is *Free Palestine*, a monthly paper printed by a group of Palestinians resident in Great Britain. In addition to editorials and coverage of commando activities, the January 1969 issue contains a book review, poetry, letters to the editor, and an ad for Al Fatah stickers. In one article, "Al Fatah's Aim: A Democratic Palestine," the goals of the Palestine Liberation Movement are explained: "The revolutionary action undertaken by Fatah and its military arm Assifah affirms the determination of the Palestinian people to liberate. . . the national territory conquered and colonized by. . . forces founded on religious sectarianism and racial hatred, practising a policy of discrimination and persecution against Christian and Moslem Arabs in Palestine. The revolutionary struggle sets for itself the example of national liberation struggles against colonialism and imperialism. . . . The Palestinian Liberation Movement Fatah declares solemnly that the final objective of its struggle is the restoration of the democratic and independent state of Palestine, where all citizens regardless of race and religion will enjoy equal rights." The Israeli Socialist Organization, a revolutionary socialist organization of Arabs and Jews, in a statement issued after the June 1967 "Six Day War," gives the following solution to the "Mideast Crisis": "The state of Israel must undergo a deep revolutionary change which will transform it from a Zionist state into a socialist state which represents the interests of the masses that live in it. . . . the only solution consistent with the interests of both Arab and Israeli masses is the integration of Israel as a unit in an economic and political union of the Middle East, on the basis of socialism. One can therefore sum up the solution which we propose by the formula: de-Zionization of Israel and its integration in a socialist Middle Eastern Union." The revolutionary struggle which the Palestinian Liberation Movement has undertaken is a step towards that solution. For copies of *Free Palestine*, write B. C. M. Box 3275, London W. C. 1., England. (The statement of the Israeli Socialist Organization is reprinted as part of a Young Socialist pamphlet, *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*, available for 35c from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003).

Ospaaal Journal

The January issue of *Tricontinental*, the bulletin of the OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America) commemorates the third anniversary of the OSPAAAL,

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In this issue

AMR ARMANAZI is the President of the Arab Students Club at Columbia University, and an active member in the Organization of Arab Students in the U.S.A. and Canada.

JOSE RUDDER is a Puerto Rican GI, stationed at Ft. Jackson. He is a leader of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

ERNEST MANDEL is editor-in-chief of the Belgian left socialist weekly, *La Gauche*. He is the author of numerous works, including *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory*, and the two volume *Marxist Economic Theory*.

Interview with an Arab student

DEFEND THE ARAB REVOLUTION

The following interview was given to the Young Socialist in March of this year by Amr Armanazi, the President of the Arab Students Club at Columbia University. Amr has been an active member in the Organization of Arab Students in the U. S. A. and Canada, and recently returned from a trip to the Middle East.

YS: Can you tell us in a general way when and where you travelled in the Middle East recently and what was the purpose of your trip?

Amr: Towards the end of October, 1968, we were called to take part in a sit-in sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students in the USA and Canada. The sit-in was mainly concentrated in the Mission of the Kingdom of Jordan to the United Nations. The Organization of Arab Students had been concerned over initiatives certain Arab governments were reportedly taking to achieve so-called "peaceful" or "political" solutions to the Middle East crisis. The OAS had on

several occasions clearly expressed its stand on such "solutions." The major one of concern at present of course is the November 22 Security Council Resolution. This resolution is viewed by us not as a prescription for peace in the Middle East but rather as a formula for capitulation of all Palestinian rights in the homeland. As such it is categorically rejected by the OAS. One purpose of our sit-in was to stress this point once more.

Another, more immediate, objective

"The path of the Fedayeen is the path to victory." A mass demonstration in Amman, Jordan, in support of the commandos and the resistance movement in Israeli occupied territories. Later, this crowd focused its attack on U. S. imperialism, and marched to the U. S. embassy.





of the sit-in related to information that had reached the OAS about an impending confrontation between Jordanian authorities and the commando movements. During the sit-in the protesters had the opportunity to meet the Foreign Minister of Jordan, Mr. Abdul-Monem Rifai, who was informed of the position of the OAS on these two matters. Mr. Rifai spared no effort in assuring the students that there was no disharmony between the commando organizations and the regime or any of the authorities in Jordan for that matter. After a heated discussion he challenged the protesters to send representatives to the area and have them investigate the realities of the situation. We took him up on that and preparations for the mission got underway. Of course a few days after the sit-in the confrontation that we had feared did in fact take place, but the mission was undertaken anyway, as it assumed a new significance.

Our visit took us to Beirut, via London, where we received support from the Union of Arab Students in the United Kingdom and Ireland. In Beirut we made various contacts, many of which were with student leaders. From there we went to Jordan, where we met with some of the leaders of the commando movements and spent some time in the training camps. The trip also included visits to Damas-



Top: a prospective commando runs an obstacle course in Al-Fatah training camp. Below: bayonet drill.

cus and Cairo. In total, it lasted twenty-one days, from November 21 to December 12.

As a result of the trip we were able to formulate a general and overall view of the status of the commando movement: its mounting strength, its increasing effectiveness, and its ability to surmount efforts to check its spread, such as those it was subjected to in Jordan in the first week of November. The net result of the confrontation in Jordan, which I spoke of before, was that the commandos made few, if any, concessions, and emerged as the general victors. Their main safeguard in this conflict with the regime in Jordan was not their strength per se, but rather the people in Jordan, and the Arab people as a whole who stood steadfast against efforts by certain authorities to clamp down on the vanguard.

YS: On the basis of your visit, how would you describe the development of the thinking of Arab revolutionaries since the defeat in the war with Israel in June of 1967?

Amr: One prime fact that the defeat of June 1967 has brought into clear perspective is that traditional approaches to the problems of the area were a total failure. Traditional approaches hinged on the hypothesis that regular Arab armies could defeat the Israeli army in classical type warfare, given only a sufficient degree of preparedness. As it turned out, June '67 was a total disaster for the Arab armies, and even more of a disaster for the leaders of those armies and the system as a whole. The first sustained commando movement, al-Fatah, had been initiated in the mid-fifties out of a recognition that the classical approach would always prove a failure. It took the war of June, '67 to demonstrate this beyond doubt.

Another fact that the Arab revolutionaries have come to recognize is that complete Arab unity is not a prerequisite for effective action against Zionism. In fact, Israel has successfully carried out its function as an effective deterrent to any meaningful movement towards achieving unity, or for that matter, towards achieving any effective development in the Arab world. The conflicts and contradictions within the Arab world can only be resolved by forging a path through



Refugees from Zionist oppression cross Jordan River.

this confusion and directing efforts towards the source of these conflicts and contradictions, which finds its embodiment in the state of Israel, the beachhead of Zionism and imperialism in the Middle East.

Q: What are the aims of the Palestinian liberation struggle? What solution do you see to the conflict?

A: The liberation struggle being waged today by the commando movement is, of course, still in its infant stage. In the long run, the commandos hope to break up the structure of the Zionist state, economically, politically, and militarily, and to establish in Palestine a secular democratic state open to all, regardless of creed. In other words, a non-sectarian state for Jews, Christians, and Moslems alike. This they know can be achieved. When the commandos maintain that they are not against the Jews as Jews, but against Zionism, they say it in good faith, not merely for public relations. This is a genuine recognition on the part of these people of the identity of their real enemy. In the past, before Zionism was introduced in the area, Jews, Christians, and Moslems lived in harmony in Palestine. It was only after Zionism and imperialism together forged the state of Israel (as a Western-based, transplanted society

thrown as a wedge into the Arab heartland) that the Arab people awakened to the realities of Zionist-imperialist designs in the area.

Q: Then what role can revolutionary-minded Jews in Israel play in the struggle?

A: It is recognized that most people in Israel today are captives of Zionism in one way or another. This is also the case with most so-called progressive movements in Israel today which seem to take an apologetic position rather than form a definite and active opposition to Israeli racist and oppressive policies. It is hoped that in the process of liberation these groups will come to terms with the true nature of the struggle, and will join arms in the fight against the tyranny and domination of Zionism. This is not too far-fetched a thought. Many revolutionary-minded Jews here and abroad have already associated themselves to varying degrees with the commando movement. This process is undoubtedly expanding as liberated people the world over are recognizing that the war being waged today by the Palestinian commando movement is not directed against the people in Israel, but against the oppressive Zionist state.

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The following letters were made public by GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, an antiwar group of soldiers at Ft. Jackson, S. Carolina. These letters are some of the numerous messages and telegrams that the GIs have received as statements of solidarity from GIs and civilians all over the country. In addition several telegrams have been received from GIs in Vietnam. The struggle of GIs United has won support from a wide range of people, including students at I.S. 271 in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, New York. The letters printed below came from students in 7th and 8th grade classes at I.S. 271.

Their teacher, in forwarding the letters to GIs United, wrote the following: "We have had a very stormy year at I.S. 271, as it was the center of the great school crisis in New York last fall. But nothing has excited my students so much as what is now happening at Ft. Jackson."

The letters were sent to three black GIs: Pvts. Albert Madison, Andrew Pulley, and Lawrence Hart. All three had been court-martialled on trumped-up charges as a result of their participation in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. Andrew Pulley was court-martialled for "not going to bed when told to by a sergeant." He was sitting on his bed at the time. For this offense he received the maximum sentence of 30 days in the stockade, \$100 fine, and busting in rank to E-1. The confinement was suspended, but can be reinvoked at any time if the suspension is violated.

Lawrence Hart was charged with assault, disrespect to a non-commissioned officer, and attempting to defraud the U.S. government. All of these charges are full of holes. At the court-martial all the witnesses testified that Pvt. Hart did not commit assault on anyone. Only one witness said he even came within ten feet of the person supposedly assaulted. The alleged disrespect occurred after a SP/4 called Hart a "motherfucker." But the amazing fact is that the SP/4 did not become an NCO until after this incident occurred. Concerning the alleged "defrauding": one of Hart's checks bounced due to an error either by the Army or by his bank, and Post Finance told Hart before the court-mar-

Letters from J.H.S. 271

to Black GIs at Ft. Jackson

"P.S. Let Whitey fight his own Gotdamn War!"

tial that the matter had been cleared up. In spite of all these facts, and even though the Army admitted its case was weak, Hart was sentenced to six months at hard labor.

Pvt. Madison was charged with assault. He was pushed by a white racist GI by the name of Dingedine. Madison had tried to prevent an incident by brushing aside Dingedine's hands and walking away. Dingedine, however, slammed the mess hall door in Madison's face. Madison was then restrained by his friends: he did not commit assault. If any assault was committed it was by Dingedine, not Madison. Yet Madison was sentenced to two months in the stockade and 2/3 loss of pay for two months. The stockade sentence was reduced to 20 days, but he was told to stay away from GIs United or the full sentence would be reinvoked.

Dear Sir, (Lawrence Hart)

My name is R.W. I attend J. H. S. 271. I know you have heard about our school of course (Everyone has) they say our school is the badest thing around but our school is together. Our school goes from 6 to eight grade, our school was alright until the union teachers came back. We have a new major subject Afro-American-History, and today we studied about the G. I.'s in Fort Jackson. And I feel that you are doing what you think is right. And I know you are doing what you think is right so more power to you! And he (whitey) has no right to hit you and curse you because you are Black! But! don't let their minds get in your way because you a winner! Because Rember what James Brown says
SAY IT LOUD YOUR BLACK AND PROUD

And you must continue to fight for your people forever. And I understand what your aim is for and I am with you all the way.

And Whenever you get out I wish you would visit my school.

P. S. Let Whitey fight his own goddamn war.

Yours truly R. W.

I don't believe you are guilty

Dear Mr. Albert Madison

My name is R. F., I am 12 years old. I have Brown Hair & Brown Eyes, I am living with my parent's. I am a black girl in brooklyn, N. Y. I am writing because i feel sorry for you. I would like to help you ifi could. I have heard that you have been trial for assaulted D. But I don't believe it. I don't believe that you have been trail only for that reason. You've been trail that certain way because you a black man.

Uncle tom's is dirty, Because they are Bringing the Black man to fight their war. And Uncle tom's are controlling the Black man in the white man's war. I feel that the black man Should not be in this war Being bossed around by the white man

there for I don't believe you are guilty for Anything.

Sincerely yours

Please come to J.H.S. 271

Dear Mr. Pulley,

My name is K. M., and I just wanted to say a few words about the incident that happened to you. I think that what you did was good, I would have done the same thing (sit on the bed). But at least you didn't get shot, I was just joking. And when you get out would you please come to Junior High School 271.

K. M.

Dear
Lawrence Hart:

My name is L. F. I am a senior at I. S. 271 I heard about you in Fort Jackson.

I am writing to you telling you about



Photo by Shannon

I. S. 271 in Brooklyn, center of conflict in New York City schools last fall.

the one that call you a M. F. I don't think that was right of him to say that. This is my opinion: I would of hit him and think nothing of it and I wouldn't care what he would of did to me.

Just because the man that call you a M. F. is "white" and the commander is "white" that don't mean he has to believe the other man. I am "black" and I proud, and I know you are black and I hope you are proud.

Sincerely yours
L. F.

Dear Brother Andrew Pulley,

My name is M. M. I go to J. H. S. 271. My reason for writing is, because, I'm 13 years old and I'm allowed to go to bed any time. Now I heard that you were put in a stockade because you didn't go to bed, And that you disobeyed an order. I think that a whole lot of bullshit. I wish I could mess up the off. that put you in. I wish that he would be full of bullet-holes.

Anyway, don't feel so bad. One day we'll get even.

Yours truly
M. M.

P. S. When you get to be a offi. and get into a fight with that fatass bitch, punch him one for me.

Dear Brother Hart

I think that the reason why you were one of the leaders that they had someone to spy on you and the try to get you separated from the other men in your group I think they should have give you a better lawyer. I hope you are trying to do I think what you

are doing is right the negroes should not fight for freedom for I trying to fight in the United States their own country.

From T. H.

From a Sister who cares

Dear Lawrence Hart,

I am a student of Junior High School who is very concerned about the Charges brought against you. I know I can't change the charges but I can assure you that we are doing every thing in our Power to help you.

I know that you don't know me but I have this thing deep down for all black brothers Old & Young. Young brothers especially you see I find that they are being used, tossed aside like a rotten apple. So keep you chin up.

D. B.
Sister
who cares.

Dear Lawrence Hart

We are studing about, "Why should or should not Black men serve in the U. S. Army. And we heard that you was accused of 1) Assault when you were 10 feet away I think you was telling the truth. 2) I don't know to much about the fraud but I think you and your three friends are doing all right and the right thing. Number 3) I would have call him back a name

too so don't feel bad I think you and your two friends are doing the right thing I think the black men have to get there freedom here first in the United States.

Say it loud, I'm Black and proud

Dear Lawrence Hart

I'm writing this to show you how we 7-306 of J. H. S. 271 care. I'm a Black Puerto Rican and I especially care.

I wish and I hope them white fuckers could go to hell and stay there. All they do is cause trouble in this world. I wrote to the captain and why that beech had to call you a Black M. F. and then get away with it. That white M. F. all he could do for me is kiss my black ass I told him that in the letter I wrote him. Cause he isn't nothing, nothing but shit.

I hope you feel better so that I could feel better too, I send you plenty of luck. Please Write Back home P. S. Say it loud I am black and proud

Dear Private Lawrence,

My name is G. S., I'm writing you because I myself and the rest of my class and teacher have discussed you and the other two GI's and I feel very strongly about what has happened to you and the other two. I think it's a dirty shame that a white could hate a black so much that he could lie on you the way he did. I wish very much that you could write me back but I guess that's impossible. But if there's any chance please do. My teacher says that it's not a black or white issue but I still think that if it were a white he wouldn't have it so hard. I know it's hard on you in that stockade, but, believe me, brother, it's not easy on us out here. You must have been a very good and powerful leader or else you wouldn't be where you are today. So I think you should be *very very* proud of yourselves for what you've done, because I am, really. I think you are wonderful and the other two also. But, as we say we are black and proud.

Don't pay no attention to those White Crackers

Dear Bro. Hart, Bro Pulley and Bro. Albert Madison:

My name is C. F., I go to 271 in the Ocean-Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn. My Afro-American History teacher told us about the frame-up they put on you there. It was a poor stupid trick. They deserve whatever punishment you Three (Bro. Hart, Madison and Pulley) can think of.

I would have torn up the draft card. anywhere, they call America a free country, but they make you go and fight in the Army! So America the Beautiful is really America the UGLY.

They want you to go and fight for another country, But they don't know how to treat you.

I'm sorry that the misfortune had to happen to you. They wouldn't have plan that if you were a whity.

They still think "Slave Days are Here." I know and you that it wasn't really your fault, But don't pay no attention to them White Crackers.

Keep on pushing and be free

Dear Private Madison, I think it took greater courage not to fight Dinglefine than it did to fight.

I think you showed you can do things if you try, and if you try to prevent more fights you are fighting for a better way of life.

I also think Dinglefine is no good and is very wrong.

And also he is mixed up and sick in the head he has been taught to hate and that is a terrible thing. if we could stop or get rid of his kind it would be a better world.

You musn't give up you must keep on pushing and be free, don't give up hope. I know there treating you badly and the other Negroe men too and I think it is no good. But listen don't take to much from them, but try hard to prevent things as you did. I know

it will be hard. But you and the others Can Do It! you showed that your self I guess this world is the Hell we always say is under ground and surely there must be a heaven Strive to find it.

Sincerely yours
B. M.

Dear albert

I don't think I should start my letter with how are you doing because I know how you are doing. I know you do not know me. My name is D. L. Us Negroes in J. H. S. 271 are thinking about you Brother I don't think the white man or those white men should leave us alone if they would like to fight they should have ask you to come to the back of the Baricks and you could fight him and I think you could bet him half to Death But he's a sergent and would not do it anyway. But Dig On This If We Can Get enough letters Down to your C. O. you'll have it made and Andrew Pulley, Lawrence Hart out.

Your Black Brother

Dig it, why should those commanders have all the rights?

Dear Albert Madison,

Just a few lines to let you know I'm fine and these few line find you like-wise. I was very sorry to hear about the indcent that happen to you and I were very very sorry to hear about it. I wish it was possible that I could do something to help you. I know it's very hard to be accused of something that you didn't do. I felt very strong about what the commander has done. I mean why do it happen to us don't we deserve some respect from these white people. I think what you and the GI's is doing something we all should be doing for our rights. I mean dig it why should the Commanders have all the rights. The Commanders shouldn't be able to accuse the men of something they didn't do.

Truly Yours
H. L.

Antiwar organizing in the Army

A Young Socialist GI at Ft. Jackson

By David Thorstad

Jose Rudder is a Puerto Rican serving in the U.S. Army, stationed at Ft. Jackson, in Columbia, South Carolina. He is one of the leaders of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, a group of soldiers which has been prominent in the news lately as a result of their petition campaign to force the Army to allow them to have a meeting on the post to discuss the war, and their rights as enlisted men to oppose that war. (See March, 1968 YS for text of petition.)

I had a chance to talk with Jose about himself, and about GIs United, while sitting in the UFO coffeehouse in downtown Columbia. Jose explained to me how GIs United had begun as a group of third world soldiers who decided to listen to tapes of Malcolm X, and rapidly grew to include antiwar white GIs after the brass launched a campaign of harassment and intimidation against the group. He explained that their main area of activity has been their petition drive, and the legal defense of those GIs who have been victimized because of their participation in GIs United. The legal work has been done in collaboration with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in New York.

"Our first reaction to the harassment," Jose said, "was to organize the

troops behind us, to get everybody together on a common foundation. And we did that by getting lawyers here in town, in Atlanta, and in New York, to aid our brothers who were incarcerated and confined in the stockade. Our immediate project against the war is the petition drive we have going. It is a petition calling for a meeting to discuss the moral and legal questions that relate to the war in Vietnam, and it is in full swing now. We realize that General Hollingsworth, the post commander, is not going to be too happy about letting us have a meeting because he knows that if he had to come to a meeting to discuss these questions relating to the war in Vietnam, he would be politically destroyed. He would be politically destroyed if he came to the meeting to try to explain to us why we have to fight and die in Vietnam, why we have to kill innocent people in Vietnam. So he'll say without thinking, a thing most lifers never do, that we can't have the meeting. We have the top constitutional lawyer in the country, Leonard Boudin, who is going to file suit against the Army for violating our First Amendment rights of freedom to petition, and freedom of assembly."

The harassment that GIs United has



Jose Rudder speaking at UFO coffeehouse in Columbia, South Carolina.

had to endure has encompassed a wide range, from severe sentences by courts-martial, to absurd petty attempts by the brass at intimidation. Currently, a black soldier, Tommie Woodfin, is facing a court-martial for circulating an "unauthorized" flyer (the petition). "This is typical of the Army brass," said Jose, "trying to twist and distort things, not realizing that when a piece of paper has signatures on it, it is no longer a flyer, it is a petition. And to petition is a constitutional right; and every GI, like every other American citizen, has the right to redress grievances against the government."

And then, of course, there are petty harassments, such as making bed-checks earlier in the evening than is usual, and then trying to put people on detail for missing bed-checks. "They make us stand in the chow line at parade rest, which is a modified position of attention, and it's very uncomfortable after ten or fifteen minutes. They make us stand outside the mess hall when there is plenty of room inside the mess hall. Also, all kinds of silly inspections are called at the last moment before a weekend, or before some kind of political activity." Last week Jose's company was restricted for five straight evenings, three of them for inspections (like to see if the pants leg of their dress green uniforms came down to the proper shoe-lace hole on their boots!) and two nights for mandatory basketball games.

I asked Jose what his thinking was on the position being put forward by some people, mainly some members of SDS, in opposition to attempts to organize large numbers of soldiers in antiwar activity. These people maintain that the Army is too repressive to allow work to be done openly, and that all that can be done is "underground barracks organizing." Jose replied that this line of thinking was not common at Ft. Jackson, but he had encountered a little bit of it. "But it is absolutely essential for us to operate on an open basis, with everybody knowing who we are and where we are. That's the only way we can be an effective force in the movement against the war. This idea of operating underground, you know, passing the newspaper under the mess hall table to the next man, who sticks it under his shirt and sneaks into the latrine and reads

it—damn that approach.

"If it's illegal to distribute papers, what you do is just leave them around. You forget where you left it and it gets picked up and guys read it. And guys talk about it, in the open, not in the latrine or in bed at night with all the lights off. If you take that 'barracks organizing' approach, your movement is stagnant, it doesn't grow, and it doesn't develop, and it doesn't blossom. And therefore it doesn't produce, it's not effective.

"On the civilian level it's the same way. Organizing within the community is fine, but it's not enough. You organize in the community in order to be able to organize on a national basis, on a massive scale. The only way that this damn war is going to be stopped is for a nationwide movement to develop the power to stop it. You don't have that power without masses in motion. You don't have little rebellions on 8th St. or on 14th St., that aren't related to something happening on the west coast. You have to operate on a national scale, a mass scale.

"And in the army it's the same thing. You don't organize in one company or in one squad or even at one post. When one post is getting organized, contact other posts and work together, especially the ones that are closest to you, because then you have unity in action. And for the rulers of this country, the capitalists, any kind of unity is trouble for them. Unity is poison for the capitalists, unity among workers and unity among soldiers.

"This 'barracks organizing' is important in initiating the movement, in getting it started. You have to make personal contacts with people, you have to organize on an individual basis, but this can't be the end of your program. You just can't take an egg out of the refrigerator and put it on the table and expect it to cook itself. You can't just go into the barracks and talk to individual GIs and just by talking to them and not doing anything expect the movement to blossom and flourish. You have to get people together from other companies, from other barracks, and start a program of direct political action. You have to take that egg, and put it in the frying pan, you have to put the fire to it, and you have to cook it."

Jose explained that far from leading

to victimization this was the best approach to combatting harassment on the part of the brass; in this way GIs are "strong, together, united." I asked him about the charge being made by some ultraleftists that it is "dangerous" and worthless for GIs to join with civilians in joint antiwar actions. "It's important for GIs who are not at this stage of the game involved wholly in the antiwar movement to see GIs involved with civilians. This gives GIs not yet involved the feeling that they're not alone in their thinking, and makes them feel that they can now become active with a certain amount of protection."

Jose has recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, although he is on a leave of absence, as are all YSAers in the service. I asked him to describe a little bit about his political background, which was in the Stalinist movement. Jose had been active in the civil rights movement and the peace movement since he was about 14. His first experience was as a SNCC worker in Washington, D. C. Later he drove a radio car for SNCC in the deep South. Then he moved to New York and became active in the DuBois Clubs and in the Communist Party. Jose described with some bitterness his experience with the CP. "I left with a great disappointment, greatly disillusioned about the whole left." It was then that he enlisted in the Army.

I asked Jose why he decided to join the YSA. "The day that Joe Miles got shipped out (Miles, a black YSAer, was transferred to Ft. Bragg in an attempt to break up GIs United) I began to think about where I was, and what would happen to me. I reached several conclusions.

"First of all, no matter how much I had tried to forget it for a whole year, I was a Marxist, a communist, and I believed in the revolution. It was just something that I had believed for so many years, no matter what experiences I had, no matter what the CP had done to me, and no matter how much I might have tried to keep that feeling within me down, it was just not meant to be kept down.

"I also realized at the same time that I have a certain talent, for talking to people, for organizing. To say this wasn't being egotistical at all, it just means that as a socialist I have a certain responsibility to teach people

what I know, to convince people that I'm right.

"The third thing that I realized was that no matter how I looked at it, I needed to belong to a revolutionary organization. I didn't bother to think about the DuBois Clubs and the Communist Party; I knew enough about them to know that I didn't want any more of that. I began to think about the YSA. I read *The Militant*, I read the *YS* constantly. I had been reading a lot of Trotsky lately. I was taught in DuBois that Trotsky was all wrong, but my eyes were opened. I began to realize that there was a political vacuum inside of me and I had to fill it. The only organization that I could see that was concerned about GI involvement in the movement, and was concerned about seeing the revolution take place in this country was the YSA. So I decided to join."

We talked about the kind of solidarity that the GIs at Ft. Jackson need and want. There is already a steady stream of statements and messages

of solidarity coming in from all over the country (as well as from GIs in Vietnam), and this has been a big factor in keeping up the fighting spirit of the GIs in their battle for their rights. Jose explained the importance of these solidarity messages: "This gives GIs who are for the first time involved in the antiwar movement a feeling that others know they are fighting for something that is right, and who support them." He also explained that funds were desperately needed for legal expense by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

Jose appealed for "civilian acceptance of the fact that GI involvement in the antiwar movement is here to stay and people who have reservations about GI involvement, you know just to keep quiet and to shut up, because GIs coming into the antiwar movement is inevitable.

"On a military level, GIs all over the country should organize, like other GIs are doing right now in Seattle, Ft. Dix, Los Angeles, and like we're

doing here at Ft. Jackson. Right now, I think there are some GIs at other bases who could put up petitions supporting our petition drive, and have their own petition drives and have their own meetings."

Members of GIs United, working with Leonard Boudin, one of the best constitutional lawyers in the country, will be suing the Army to win their rights. Boudin will be working with Howard Moore, the prominent Atlanta attorney who previously joined with Boudin in the fight for Julian Bond's right to sit in the Georgia legislature. Legal expenses are rapidly mounting, and the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which is handling the case, desperately needs funds to cover legal expenses. Contributions can be sent to the Committee at P. O. Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10011. Messages of support can be sent to GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, c/o Short Times, Box 543, Columbia, South Carolina. □



"Olive leaves . . . clever camouflage soldier."

Report from Cuba

Cristina and Atanagildo

By Linda Jenness



Photo by Linda Jenness

Cristina

Our second stop on the Isle of Youth was in a small village named Atanagildo. We walked to the new recreation center which was still being painted where we met Cristina. She was in an old pair of slacks and covered with paint and yelled "What a pity that you caught me painting—I'm a mess!" She is a short, very plump black woman in her late 30's or early 40's with a powerful voice and a shrill, hearty laugh. A confident, uninhibited, and wildly enthusiastic woman who simply takes over any situation in which she finds herself.

We introduced ourselves and she took us into the recreation center to talk. She pointed to her 16-year-old daughter who was on the roof painting and said "Look at that! Do women in the United States work as hard as that? Do they? Eh?" We said that some did.

Once inside Cristina wanted to find out just where we stood on things so she asked us what we thought of Stokely Carmichael. She thought Carmichael was great and one way of sizing people up was to see if they agreed. She then wanted to know why the Black Panthers were called Black Panthers and what the symbol meant. We explained that the symbol for the Republican Party was an elephant and that of the Democratic Party was a donkey, so the Black Panthers chose an animal that was black and much more aggressive. "Great! Very good!!" she shrieked several times and slapped her leg and laughed and laughed and

repeated the story to several other people as they came into the room.

After this initial exchange she completely relaxed and told us all about the village. Like almost everything on the Isle of Youth the village was very new. It consisted of about 50 houses, a nursery, a people's store, a restaurant and a recreation center. There is no school yet so the children are interned or semi-interned in the schools in nearby towns. There are two hospitals in nearby towns and a mobile medical unit comes once a week to the village. Mobile movie trucks also come every 5 to 10 days and show a variety of movies from many countries. The men in the village are employed in dam construction, agriculture, and some are in the Rebel Army. We were told that "Of course, everyone works, but not all of the women earn salaries yet because of the lack of equipment—but that will change soon."

Everyone had helped in the construction of the village itself and they were clearly very proud of it. For the most part the families had moved from old slum areas of Oriente Province to live on the Isle of Youth. By this time five or six other people from the village had joined us and often added their comments to our questions. It was clear, however, that Cristina was the political spokesman and was looked upon with both respect and tender amusement. We discovered that she had been elected as head of the Committee to Defend the Revolution (CDR) in the village.

"In the CDR we aren't armed—that's the Army and the militia job," she explained, "but we know what's going on and keep an eye on things! We watch out for any trouble," she graphically explained by opening her eye with a slight tug of her index finger and a cunning look. Whenever she wanted to re-emphasize their vigilance duties she would do this and the gesture clearly explained that they "kept an eye open and watched things!" She explained that whenever they heard about any problems the CDR would "check it out." Sometimes there are problems which have to be dealt with in mass meetings and other times people simply make mistakes and just need to be talked with and helped out a little bit.

Cristina and a group of 4 or 5



Photo by Shannon

Members of YSA delegation to Cuba hold New York news conference to announce campaign of solidarity with Cuba.

other people from the village are also studying English on their own. I asked her why she studied English and she said "I used to work in a company where many people spoke English and I knew from the type of people they were that I had better learn English so I'd know what they were talking about and could keep my eye on them!" She doesn't have to work in that company any more, but just thought she'd keep up her study of English.

We asked Cristina if she thought it would help Cuba to have a revolution in the United States and she cried "Of course! That's what we need the most!" She was clearly taken aback that we would even ask such a stupid question. Another woman chimed in that it was only the U. S. that was holding back the development of Cuba and that the very best thing for Cuba's development would be the end of American imperialism. We then asked Cristina how she thought we could end U. S. imperialism and after looking at us again as though we were awfully dense, she swirled around in her chair and pointed to a picture of Camilo Cienfuegos holding a machine gun and said "That's how! That's the only

way!" and briskly brushed her hands together to dismiss the subject.

We visited the nursery which was clearly the pride of the village. It was scheduled to open the very next week and everything was spanking new and clean and neat. The nursery will take care of children between 45 days old and first grade, some will be interned and others will be there just during the day. The children are clothed, fed, given medical attention, and taught—all completely free! We saw the room for the 4 and 5 year olds and saw their chess boards, musical instruments and barber equipment with which they learn to cut each others hair!

We were invited to another woman's home and served beer and cider while we listened to a record of revolutionary songs and marches. We told her how much we liked the record and before we left she gave it to Derrick Morrison, a black member of our delegation, with an inscription which read "To the black revolutionaries in the United States. The Cuban people, brothers in your just struggle, say to you—you will win!"

It was past time to go and we started saying our good-byes but Cristina

would hear nothing of it. She insisted that we come to her house and there was no saying no—not that we really wanted to leave. There were several people there including her attractive daughter. She introduced us as fellow revolutionaries and then turned on the radio and insisted that some of the U. S. men dance with her daughter. She laughed with delight but I was not quite sure why—it may have been because her daughter far out-danced her partners!

We finally simply had to leave and as Cristina began to shake our hands she suddenly held up her arm and pointed to her veins. "See this blood," she said, "it's good blood, it's revolutionary blood. We have fought here and will continue to fight and we aren't afraid of dying. We will shed our blood for you whenever you need us—just let us know. We know that life is useless unless you are free and we are not afraid of shedding our blood and dying in the struggle. Just let us know when you need us and we are ready." We knew that she meant it and that she spoke for herself and for the people in Atanagildo. I, for one, felt very humble but a good bit stronger as we drove away. □

YSAers tour country in defense of Cuban revolution

By Dan Rosenshine

Thirteen young socialists who were in Cuba for the month of January have been stirring up a small storm since they got back to the United States. From Maine to Florida, to Southern California and the Pacific Northwest, YSA members have been speaking to literally tens of thousands of people at hundreds of high school and college meetings, and on numerous radio and TV shows. Meetings have been large and enthusiastic.

Highlights of the Cuba trip included the January 2 anniversary celebration at which Fidel Castro spoke, a trip through Oriente Province, a visit to the Isle of Youth, and discussions with Cubans in all walks of life. The young socialist delegation saw first hand many of the gains of the revolution. They met revolutionaries from around the world, including a representative of the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam.

The delegation was composed of one person from some of the largest YSA locals across the country. Regional tours have been organized by a number of the locals. Hundreds of meetings have been scheduled, many of them on outlying campuses which have never before had socialist speakers. Meetings have been arranged and sponsored by YSA locals, antiwar activists, student governments, SDS chapters, and regional networks built up by the YSA during the 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

An important part of the tours has been meetings with high school students. Mareen Jasin spoke in three Philadelphia area high schools during the first week of her tour. New York high school YSA members built a city-wide high school and junior high school meeting for the Cuba travelers. The interest in Cuba in this area corresponds to the explosion taking place in this sector of the population and the increased recruitment of high school students to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Reports on the meetings and interviews with the YSA speakers have appeared in dozens of campus papers. Underground papers such as the *Great*

Speckled Bird in Atlanta, and *Helix* in Seattle have carried extensive articles by YSA members on their trip.

The bourgeois press, including the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Cleveland Press* and *Plain Dealer*, the *Columbus Dispatch*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and *Journal*, and the *Albany Times Union* have interviewed the Cuba travelers and published accounts of their meetings. Dozens of articles have appeared in campus papers. Robin Maisel of Chicago and Dan Rosenshine of New York have appeared on TV call-in programs in their areas.

A few of the meetings have been attended by Cuban exiles—known as "gusanos" (worms)—who have attempted to disrupt them. In most cases, the sympathy of the audience for the Cuban revolution has served to frustrate such attempts. However, Dave Prince of the Cleveland YSA was assaulted by 15 gusanos during his speech at Ohio State University in Columbus. Prince has protested the inaction of the university police, who were present during the attack, and demanded that the university prosecute the attackers.

Because of government interference with the right to travel, few Americans have had the opportunity to visit Cuba. Our meetings have shown that interest in Cuba is at an all time high. Most students come to the meetings as supporters of the revolution. Reports from the speakers confirms one striking fact: discussion after meetings usually turns to the same question: how should we organize to do it here?

The number of people joining the Young Socialist Alliance indicates the growing receptivity to one of Fidel Castro's most well known expressions: "the duty of the revolutionary is to make the revolution."

If you are interested in arranging a meeting for one of the members of the young socialist delegation to Cuba, contact the YSA in your area or write: Young Socialist Alliance, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. □

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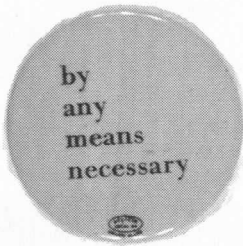
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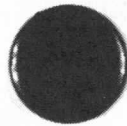
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Photo by Shannon

Ernest Mandel speaking to International Revolutionary Students' Assembly at New York University, September, 1968.

ULTRA LEFTISM AND WORKERS DEMOCRACY

out of the meeting hall.

[This incident raised serious questions about the norms of democratic debate and behavior in the working-class and socialist movement. In answer to some of the questions raised, Ernest Mandel, the well-known Marxist economist and editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, wrote an article on the subject of workers democracy which appeared in two parts in the November 16 and November 23 issues of *La Gauche*. Because of the timeliness of the topic, we are reproducing the article below. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The lamentable incidents which occurred at the ULB [Universitaire Libre de Bruxelles—Free University of Brussels] when Garaudy came to speak there have induced me to explain once again why we adhere to the principles of workers democracy.

Workers democracy has always been a basic tenet of the proletarian movement. It was a tradition in the socialist and communist movement to firmly support this principle in the time of Marx and Engels as well as Lenin and Trotsky. It took the Stalinist dictatorship in the USSR to shake this tradition. The temporary victory of fascism in West and Central Europe also helped to undermine it. However, the origins of this challenge to workers democracy are deeper and older; they lie in the bureaucratization of the large workers organizations.

[Roger Garaudy, one of the leading intellectuals of the Communist party of France, visited Belgium November 5 to give a lecture on "May 1968 in France," at the request of the Communist Student Union of Brussels University. It was not surprising that radical students considered a lecture on this topic by a representative of the French CP as a provocation.

[In any case, when the meeting started, a few dozen Maoists carrying portraits of Chairman Mao and anarchists carrying a black flag persistently tried—for the most part successfully—to prevent Garaudy from addressing the audience.

[A confused debate followed in which the question of whether Garaudy should be allowed to speak was mixed with the question of whether or not a revolutionary situation had existed in France in May.

[Finally, the Maoists and anarchists ended the debate by pushing Garaudy

The Social Democratic and trade-union bureaucrats were the first to begin to undermine the principles of workers democracy. They started calling general membership meetings at infrequent intervals. Then they began to rig them, or often to do away with them altogether. They began likewise to restrict or abolish freedom of discussion and criticism within their organizations. They did not hesitate even to appeal to the police (including the secret police) for help in fighting revolutionary minorities. At the time of the first world war, the German Social Democracy set a dismal example of collusion with the state repressive forces. In subsequent years, the Social Democrats everywhere followed this example.

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Ernest Mandel:



Photo by Shannon

Ernest Mandel speaking to International Revolutionary Students' Assembly at New York University, September, 1968.

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Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik Party, consistently fought for the principles of proletarian democracy.

under Stalinist leadership) simply followed the pattern established by the Social Democrats, extending it further and further. They abolished freedom of discussion and of tendencies. Slander and lies replaced argument and debate with opponent tendencies. They made massive use of physical force to prevent their opponents from "causing any harm." Thus, the entire Bolshevik old guard which led the October Revolution and the majority of the members of Lenin's Central Committee were exterminated by Stalin during the dark years of the Great Purge (1935-38).

The young generation of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist militants now developing a revolutionary consciousness are spontaneously returning to the traditions of workers democracy. This was apparent in France in May and June when freedom of speech for all tendencies was jealously safeguarded in the assemblies of students and revolutionary workers and students. But this new generation is not always conscious of all the principled and practical reasons for workers democracy.

This is why the youth can be vulnerable to a kind of Stalinist-derived demagogy being spread by certain pro-Chinese sects, which seek to make people believe that workers democ-

racy is contrary to "the interests of the revolution." Therefore, it is necessary to reaffirm these reasons strongly.

The workers movement fights for the emancipation of the proletariat. But this emancipation requires the abolition of *all* forms of exploitation to which the workers are subjected. Rejecting workers democracy means quite simply that you want to maintain a situation like the one today in which the masses of workers are unable to make their opinions heard.

The Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy starts from the idea that this democracy is only *formal* because the workers do not have the material means to exercise the rights which the bourgeois constitutions formally grant all citizens. Freedom of the press is just a formality when only the capitalists and their agents are able to get together the millions of dollars needed to establish a daily newspaper.

But the conclusion that follows from this critique of bourgeois democracy, obviously, is that means must be created enabling *all* the workers to have access to the media for disseminating ideas (printing presses, meeting halls, radio and television, posters, etc.). If, on the contrary, you conclude from this that only a self-proclaimed "leading party of the proletariat" — or even a little sect which declares that it alone

is "genuinely revolutionary" — has the right to speak, to use the press, or to propagate its ideas, then you risk increasing the political oppression of the workers rather than abolishing it.

The Stalinists often reply that abolition of the capitalist system equals emancipation of the workers. We agree that abolition of private ownership of the means of production, of the profit economy, and of the bourgeois state are essential conditions for the emancipation of the workers. But saying that these are "essential" conditions does not mean that they are "sufficient." Because as soon as the capitalist system is abolished, the question arises of who is going to run the factories, the economy, the municipalities, the state, the schools and universities.

If a single party claims the right to administer the state and the society; if it imposes a monopoly of power by terror; if it does not permit the mass of workers to express their opinions, their criticisms, their worries, and their demands; if it excludes the workers from administration — then it is inevitable that a widening gulf will develop between this omnipotent bureaucracy and the mass of workers.

Then, emancipation of the workers is only a deception. And without real workers democracy in all areas, including freedom of organization and

press, real emancipation of the workers is impossible.

These principled reasons are reinforced by practical ones. Like all social classes in history, the working class is not homogeneous. It has common class interests, both immediate interests and historical interests. But this *community* of interests is interwoven with *differences* which have various origins—immediate special interests (professional, group, regional, craft interests, etc.) and different levels of consciousness. Many strata of the working class have not yet become conscious of their historical interests. Others have been influenced by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. Still others are weighed down by the burden of past defeats and failures, of skepticism, or of the degradation caused by capitalist society, etc.

However, the capitalist system cannot be overthrown unless the entire working class is mobilized in action against it. And this unity in action can only be obtained if these various special interests and levels of consciousness can be expressed in, and little by little neutralized through, debate and persuasion. Denying this diversity can only result in a breakdown of unity in action and in driving successive groups of workers into passivity or into the camp of the enemy.

Anyone with experience in strikes has been able to see in practice that the most successful actions are prepared and conducted through numerous assemblies, first of the unionized workers and later of all the workers concerned. In these assemblies, all the reasons in favor of the strike can be developed, all opinions can be expressed, and all the class enemy's arguments can be exposed. If a strike is launched without the benefit of such democracy, there is much more risk that many workers will observe it halfheartedly, if at all.

If this is true for an isolated strike, it holds all the more for a general strike or for a revolution. All the great revolutionary mobilizations of the workers—from the Russian revolution to the revolutionary upsurge of May and June 1968 in France and including the German and Spanish revolutions, to cite only these examples—have been characterized by ver-

itable explosions of workers democracy. In these instances, many working-class tendencies coexisted, expressed themselves freely in speeches and in the press, and debated before the entire class.

The word "soviet"—council of workers delegates—expresses this unity of opposites—the *unity* of the workers in the diversity of their tendencies. In the Second Congress of Russian Soviets, which took power in the October Revolution, there were a dozen different tendencies and parties. Every attempt to repress this workers democracy—by the Social Democracy in Germany, by the Stalinists in Spain—has presaged, if not expressed, a setback or defeat for the revolution.

The absence of workers democracy not only hampers unity in action, it also obstructs working out a correct political line.

It is true that the workers movement has an excellent theoretical instrument to guide it in the often extremely complicated twists and turns of economic, social, and political struggles—revolutionary Marxism. But this tool must still be used correctly. And no one person has a monopoly on its correct application.

Without any doubt, Marx and Lenin were geniuses. But life and history ceaselessly pose new problems which cannot be solved simply by turning to the scriptures. Stalin, who was considered by many honest Communists before his death to be "infallible," in reality committed many errors, to say nothing of crimes, some of which— as in agricultural policy—have had pernicious consequences for three decades for the entire Soviet people. Mao Tse-tung, whom other naive souls also consider "infallible," endorsed the policy of Aidit, the leader of the Indonesian CP, up until the eve of the military coup d'etat. This policy was at least partially responsible for the deaths of 500,000 Indonesian Communists and workers.

As for the myth that the Central Committee of a party is "always right," or that the majority of this committee is "always right," Mao himself rejected it in the famous resolution passed by the CC of the CCP [Chinese Communist party] on the "cultural revolution" in April 1967.

But if no person or group has a monopoly on truth and wisdom, then

discussion is *indispensable* to determine a correct political line. Rejection of discussion under any pretext (and the pretext that a political opponent is "counterrevolutionary" or an "enemy agent" is as old as bureaucracy), or substituting epithets or physical violence for debate, means condemning oneself to remain the victim of false ideas, inadequate analyses, and errors with debilitating if not catastrophic consequences.

Marxism is a guide to action, they often say. That is true. But Marxism is distinguished from utopian socialism by its appeal to *scientific* analysis. It does not focus on action per se. It focuses on action which can influence historical reality, which can change it in a given direction—in the direction of socialist revolution, toward the emancipation of the workers and of all humanity.

Out of the clash of ideas and tendencies, the truth emerges which can serve as a guide to action. Action inspired by "monolithic," bookish, and infantile thought—which is not subjected to the uninhibited criticism possible only in a climate of workers democracy—is condemned to certain failure. It can only result, in the case of small groups, in the disillusionment and demoralization of individuals; in the case of unions or larger parties, in defeats for the class; and where the mass of the workers is concerned, in defeats with a long train of humiliations, privations, and impoverishment, if not casualties.

Often these arguments in favor of the principles and practice of workers democracy are countered in Stalinist circles by the assertion that workers democracy cannot be extended to the "enemies of socialism" inside the workers movement. Curiously, certain groups which claim to be antibureaucratic and very left take a similar line to justify booing and hissing or resorting to physical violence as a substitute for debate with their political opponents.

Both the Stalinists and the ultra-leftists cry: "You don't argue with revisionists, capitalist forces, and the representatives of the enemy." In practice, the Stalinists try to replace debate by repression, if not murder and the use of tanks against the workers (from the Moscow Trials to the intervention in Hungary and Czechoslo-

vakia). The ultraleftists limit themselves more modestly to preventing Garaudy from speaking, doubtless until the dreamed-of day when they can use more "effective" means modeled on the Stalinist ones. . . .

Of course, the working-class bureaucracies objectively act in the interests of capital, primarily by channeling the workers' periodic revolutionary explosions toward reformist outlets and thereby blocking opportunities to overthrow capitalism. They play the same role by influencing the workers on a day-to-day basis in favor of class collaboration, undermining their class consciousness with ideas taken from the bourgeois world.

But the objective function and role of these bureaucracies is not confined to maintaining class peace. In pursuing their routine reformist activities, they come in conflict with the everyday interests of capitalism. The wage increases and social welfare laws won by the reformists—in exchange for their pledge to keep the workers' demands within limits that do not threaten the bases of the system—reduce the capitalists' profits somewhat. The trade-union organizations which they lead inject the collective power of labor into the daily relationships between the bosses and the workers. And as a result, these conflicts have an altogether different outcome from the past century, when the strength of the trade unions was slight or nonexistent.

When the capitalist economy is flourishing, the bourgeoisie is willing to pay the price represented by these concessions in return for "social peace." But when the capitalist economy is in a bad way, these same concessions rapidly become unacceptable to the bourgeoisie. Then, it is in the capitalists' interest to eliminate these organizations completely, even the most moderate and reformist ones. The very existence of the unions becomes incompatible with the survival of the system.

This shows the real nature of the reformist bureaucracy in the workers movement. This bureaucracy is not composed of owners of capital who buy labor power in order to appropriate surplus value. It is composed of salaried employees (of the workers organizations or the state) who vacillate and waver between the camp of

capital and of the proletariat, sometimes leaning toward one, sometimes toward the other, depending on their particular interests and the pressures to which they are subjected. And, in facing the class enemy, the vanguard workers have every reason to do their utmost to force these bureaucrats to return to their camp. Otherwise, the common defense would be greatly weakened.

Overlooking these elementary truths leads to the worst of catastrophes. The workers movement learned this to its cost during the rise of fascism. At that time, the "genius" Stalin invented the theory of "Social Fascism." According to this theory there was no difference between the "revisionist" Social Democrats and fascists. It was even proclaimed that the Social Democracy had to be defeated *before* the struggle against the Nazis could be won.

While the Social Democratic and Communist workers were happily bashing each other's heads in—the reformist leaders shared the responsibility this time equally with their Stalinist counterparts—Hitler came to power, massacred thousands of worker militants, and dissolved all the workers organizations. Thus, he made possible a temporary, if somewhat embittered, reconciliation between the Social Democrats and the Communists . . . in the concentration camps. Would it not have been better, while not making any concessions in the ideological struggle against revisionism, to fight together against the Nazis and prevent them from taking power?

On an infinitely smaller and less tragic scale, the situation in the university can lead to a dilemma of the same type overnight. All the left tendencies are fighting to gain recognition of their right to carry on "political activities" on the campus. But it is quite possible that the administration will take the incidents surrounding Garaudy's visit as a pretext for banning any more political lectures. What other course, then, is there but to fight together to win minimum political freedom in the university? Would it not be preferable to respect the rules of workers democracy from now on, since they conform to the common interests of the workers movement and the student confrontation movement?

In 1957, in response to the official revelation of Stalin's crimes made at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party (which he approved of at the time), Mao Tse-tung stressed the necessity of distinguishing carefully between how to settle differences among the people—by persuasion, debate, practical experience—and how to proceed in conflicts with the class enemy. Here he was only implicitly reaffirming the need to uphold workers democracy "among the people."

But this distinction has meaning only if it is based on *objective* criteria. The capitalists (and in less industrialized countries, the landlords) are the enemy. The people are the mass of producers, white-collar workers, and, in semicolonial countries, the poor peasants.

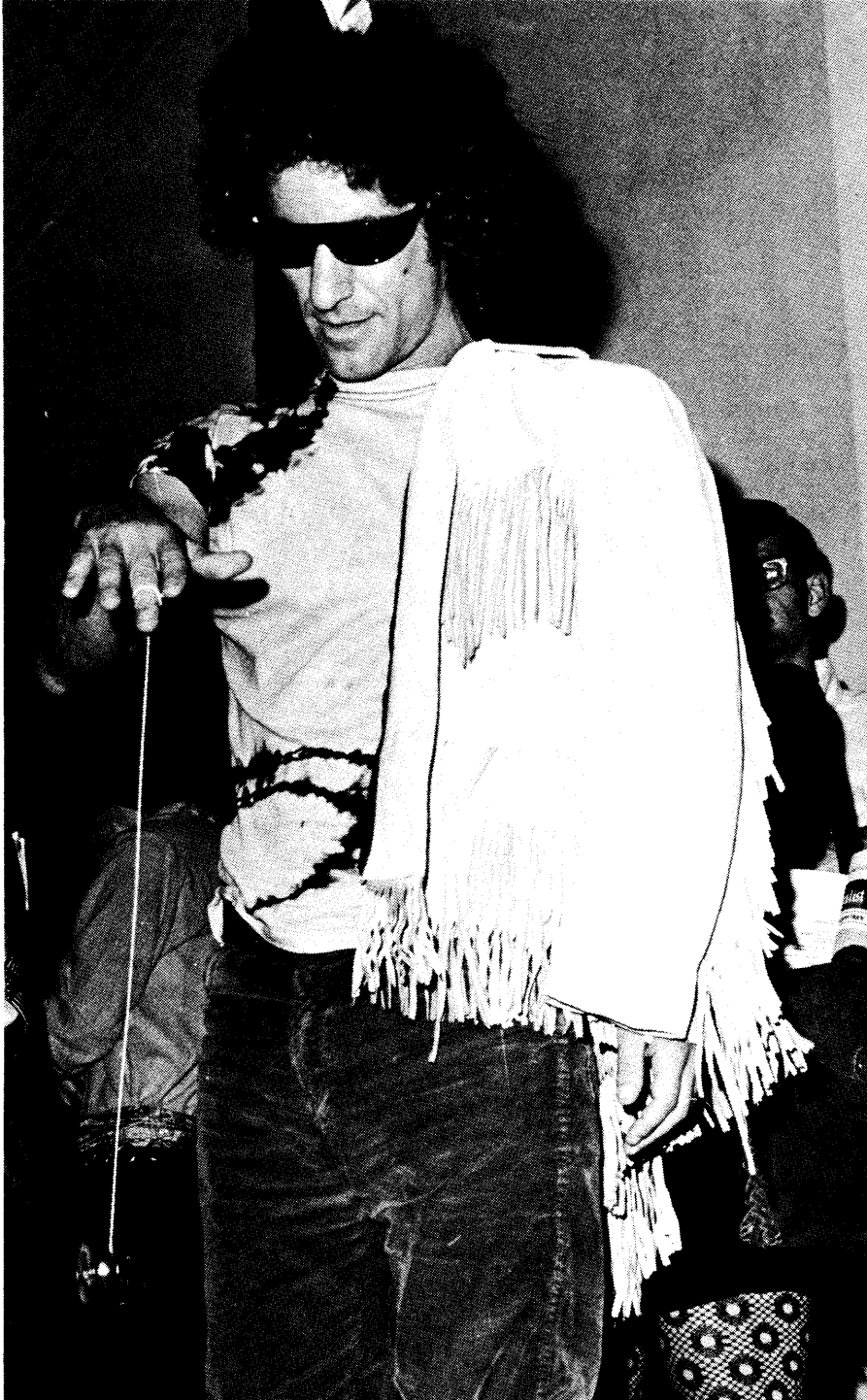
If subjective criteria ("Anybody who doesn't support every one of my tactical turns is a capitalist and a counterrevolutionary, even if he served as president of the People's Republic of China and vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist party for twenty years!") are substituted for these objective criteria, then you fall into complete arbitrariness. You end, of course, by wiping out the distinction between "contradictions among the people" and "conflicts with the class enemy," treating the former more and more like the latter.

Of course, it is impossible to make an absolute and total separation between the two. Marginal cases are possible. We advocate frank debate in meetings of strikers. We do not think that we need restrict ourselves to polite discussion with strike-breakers.

In every marginal case, however, we must distinguish acts (or crimes) from opinions and ideological tendencies. Acts must be proved and judged according to clearly established, well-defined criteria of the workers' interest (or after the overthrow of capitalism, of socialist legality) so as to prevent arbitrariness. Failure to distinguish between acts and opinions can only result in extinguishing workers democracy, lowering the level of consciousness and mobilization of the workers, and progressively robbing the revolutionists themselves of their ability to orient themselves politically. . . . □

Book Review

The Yippies: Liberals in Despair



Abbie Hoffman plays with his yo-yo as House Committee on Un-American activities opens hearings on demonstrations in Chicago last August.

By Stacey Joslin

"Yippie! There is no program. Program would make our movement sterile. We are living contradictions. I cannot really explain it."

"What the fuck does political mean?"
— Abbie Hoffman

Abbie Hoffman and Dial Press have produced a book about the hippie-yippies called "Revolution for the Hell of It." (The Dial Press, Inc., 1968). The book is Hoffman's attempt to explain the hippie-yippie movement, although he would deny he is explaining anything; or agree, depending on his mood or how hard you pushed him. In any case, there is obviously a national interest in the hippie phenomenon, hence a market for the book; and, in terms of the radicalization which has been shaking America, a reason to take note of it. The hippie-yippies have played a role in the radicalization of the country. They deserve a place on the spectrum of liberal-radical thought. The media, more or less as a whole, identify all of us — peacenik, Trotskyist, Maoist, etc. — as hippies. And a great many young people who are not clear about what they believe, see the broad hippie label as somehow applying to themselves. Therefore, it is important to try to be clear about what Hoffman is really getting at in his book, and exactly where he and the hippie-yippies fall along the political spectrum.

My contention is that, rather than being the revolutionary he claims he is, Hoffman and his followers make up a contingent of liberals who are in despair over the failure of American capitalism. Instead of objectively analyzing the crises which capitalism is facing, the hippie-yippies turn cynical,

and have become a kind of theatrical counter-part to those congressmen and intellectuals who bewail and bemoan poverty, the "race question," the War, with no intention of ever taking the necessary measures to set things straight. However, Hoffman lays claim to being a revolutionary, and so I will attempt to analyze him as such.

Briefly, Hoffman presents the "spark" theory of revolution; that is, one day the American people will throw off their clothes and dance naked in the streets; everything will be free and minds will be able to expand to their fullest. On that great day private property will disappear and production will just "happen." The way to this revolution is for each revolutionist to declare it has already happened, and to begin to "live" it. If enough guerrilla theatre groups could only reach enough young people, why! in a few years *everyone* would be living the revolution. It's obvious. Isn't it?

Hoffman condemns the socialist movement in America, yet his heroes are Che Guevara and the Vietnamese National Liberation Front. He never attempts to reconcile his disapproval of revolutionary socialist politics with the fact that these heroes — Marxists — represent a most dynamic and significant development in the world revolutionary movement. It is unfortunate he is not creative enough to see how the principles of revolutionary politics in the "third world" relate to revolution in the United States.

His whole book is full of ideas which are in complete contradiction to the ideas of his alleged heroes. For example, to say that "the revolution . . . will happen because the time is right," as he does, is to dismiss as a waste of time the years spent by Castro and Che in the mountains of Cuba, years in which by slow and patient teaching and exemplary behavior, they built a solid mass base of support, so that when they rode into Havana on New Year's Day, 1959, a whole people were behind them. Compare this to Hoffman's pitiful attempt to call the Chicago convention demonstration "revolutionary," and the maybe 10,000 people who came, many on their summer vacation, revolutionaries. Getting smashed by the cops per se is *not*

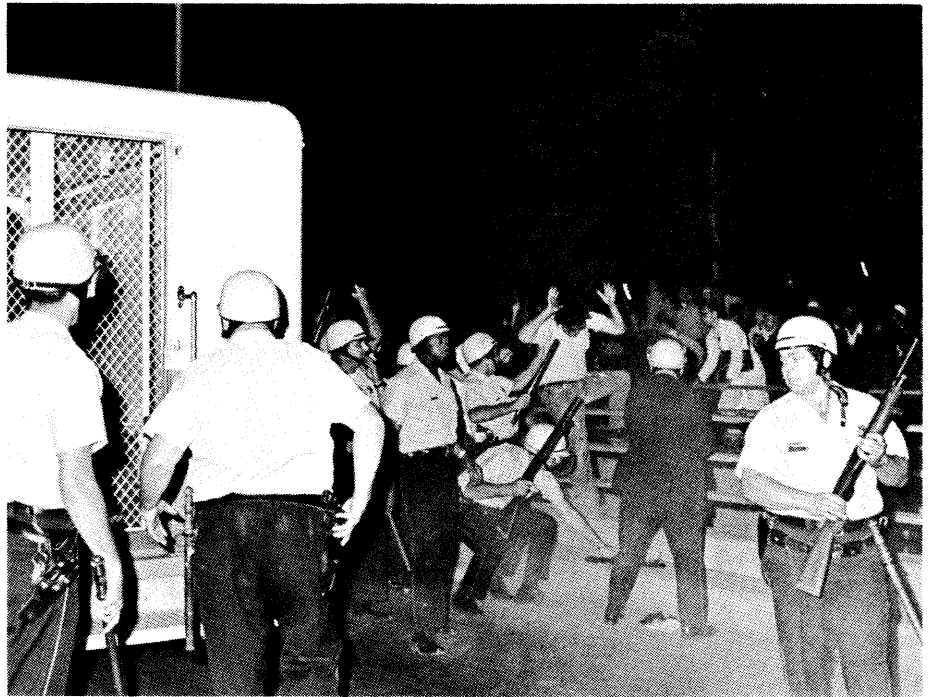


Photo by Shannon

At the Democratic Party Convention protests. "One could secretly cheer for him [McCarthy] the way you cheer for the Mets. It's easy, knowing he can never win."

revolutionary.

There are other instructive comparisons to be drawn between Hoffman and Co. and their "heroes." For instance, can you imagine the National Liberation Front encircling the American Embassy in Saigon to levitate it, in order to exorcise the "evil" within? As though the evil were some abstract substance that could be wished away? Yet this was precisely the tactic advocated by the hippie-yippies at the Pentagon antiwar demonstration on October 21st, 1967. Hoffman wrote a poem about it: "Ring around the Pentagon, a pocket full of pot/ Four and twenty generals all begin to rot./ All the evil spirits start to tumble out/ Now the war is over, we all begin to shout."

Magic! But magic is used by people who are, or who believe themselves to be, incapable of effecting real change, such as making a revolution. Magic is a substitute for action. Again, think of Che and the Bolivian guerrillas running up to the Bolivian Army and sticking flowers in their guns. (There are those who argue the Pentagon and other actions are only metaphorical. Probably. But all the worse for the seriousness of their intent. Blood is real, not metaphorical.) It takes a truly staggering amount of cynicism

for Hoffman to compare hippie-yippie actions to guerrilla tactics or the NLF. Fortunately, however, there are a growing number of people in this country who believe the Pentagon can be *really* occupied, and who offer a serious alternative to capitalism.

Hoffman's ideas are not only not revolutionary, they are nothing more than unimaginative adaptations of bourgeois ideology. Although he claims dance is "his thing" he does not believe in *motion*. His vision of the world is identical to the static vision of those who form and follow American capitalist policies. Neither he nor they can imagine the majority of American people, the working class, ever demanding what is rightfully theirs — that is, the ownership and control of the means of production. Even after Afro-America, the most oppressed sector of the working class, has come so far along the road to revolution (from a grateful acceptance of a Supreme Court decision to a Black political party with revolutionary intentions), even so, his mind is too small to push past the bourgeois propaganda that assures us "Most workers in America have a good deal materialistically." (That is a quote from Hoffman!) Although the hippie-yippies claim to have a way out of

the American nightmare, they refuse to believe that the contradictions of capitalism, which is what they perceive in a distorted way, will ever become evident to a large number of people; in other words, they have a typically bourgeois attitude of condescension towards the working class.

So far, I have tried to deal with Hoffman and his followers in terms of some of their general attitudes. I hope I have shown how their ideas reveal them to be cynical about the possibility of making a revolution and crude in their characterizations of the international revolutionary movement. Fortunately, we can analyze one specific instance of hippie-yippie tactics, the Chicago Democratic Party Convention demonstration of August 1968, to make crystal clear our assertion that Hoffman and followers are nothing more than liberal-types.

The key to this analysis lies in one sentence in "Revolution for the Hell of It." Before I quote this revealing sentence, let me remind readers that a significant section of the antiwar movement opposed the Chicago action because it believed the demonstrations would turn out to be pro-McCarthy. The people who went to Chicago, most of them that is, vehemently denied this, some even insisting that this action would begin the revolution! Who was right? Hoffman,

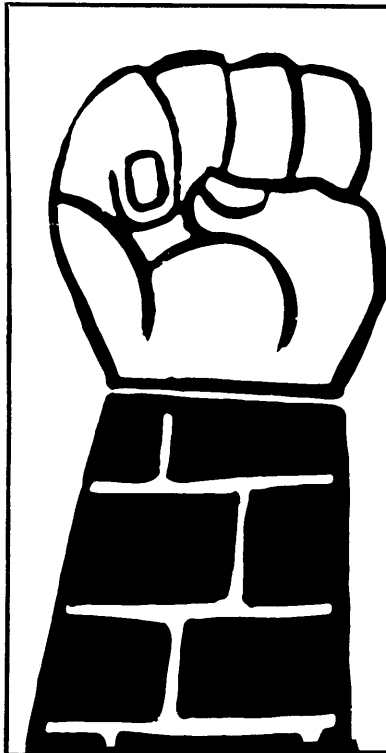
Rubin et. al., who planned the Chicago action, or the others? On page 104 of his book, the whole fabric of Hoffman's "revolution" is revealed as nothing more than tattered threads of liberal cynicism. Listen: "One could secretly cheer of him [McCarthy] the way you cheer for the Mets. It's easy, knowing he can never win." So good old Abbie was really OK all along, don't you see? The whole book, the whole hippie-yippie movement, hinges on this admission. Hoffman was not only totally aware of the farce he was creating by bringing all those kids to Chicago, he was secretly rooting for the Democratic Convention to nominate McCarthy. Surely this will boggle the mind of those who went to Chicago believing their action to be a true "confrontation with the American Establishment."

There is further evidence of the character of Hoffman's revolutionism. In Chicago a leaflet was printed which lists 17 demands of the Yippie Movement. It is reprinted in the book. The leaflet *does not* mention the abolition of private property; it does call for the disarmament of *all* people, and, in classic reformist double talk, calls for a "political system which is more stream-lined and responsive to the needs of all the people . . ." Mr. Hoffman, is this your revolution?! Prison Reform and a National Arts

Council. For this we shed *blood*??

Now we can see why the hippie-yippie movement, as presented by Abbie Hoffman, makes a policy of confusion, of denying that words have meaning. ("Don't rely on words. Words are the absolute in horseshit.") If they were to speak clearly, their alliance with bourgeois America and their reformist character, would be too apparent. Their real goal is to show how "bad" they can be, hoping all the time that the ruling classes will turn face and take the road back to when Freedom Rides were the extent of the movement, and nobody knew about Vietnam.

A revolutionary situation develops by stages; objectively, in the crises of capitalism; subjectively, in the growth of revolutionary consciousness. The road to revolution is uneven, however, and individuals can be diverted along the way by false ideas. But not for long. The hippie-yippies have already lost ground; Hoffman, the liberal dressed in feathers and beads, got forty dollars a day consulting with Mayor Lindsay of New York on "urban problems"; he and his clique of crazies have retreated to the "safety" of the system. But some, perhaps still under hippie-yippie influence, are serious in their hatred of capitalism; it is they who will join with others to make the revolution. □



WORLD REVOLUTION 1969

May Day Socialist Educational Weekend

May 2 - 4 873 Broadway New York City

- Movie on the May-June 1968 worker-student uprisings in France
 - Talks and discussions on revolutionary theory and action
 - Campaign rally to launch Socialist Workers 1969 mayoral campaign
- Sponsored by: New York Young Socialist Alliance
New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee

Clip and send to: Young Socialist Alliance, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

- I would like more information on May Day Weekend.
- I would like to attend. I will need housing.

Name

Address City State

School Phone

Cont'd from p. 5

Q: What has been the role of American imperialism in the Middle East?

A: We would have to offer a little historical background before answering this question. In 1917, the idea of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine was given unprecedented impetus by the infamous Balfour Declaration. This document is a historical milestone in the interplay of imperialism and Zionism in the area: the potential of such a state as a wedge or beach-head for imperialism in the area had been recognized. A Western-oriented, Western-based, colonial settler state would ensure a continued presence of imperialism in the area in a more or less permanent form—so it was thought. Britain had recognized that, given time, the entire area would be liberated of the traditional form of colonialism that had been practiced up to that time.

The much-proclaimed Israeli view that the Jews in Palestine fought the British colonialists in their "War of Independence" is, therefore, a practice in self-deception. Israel has continuously served the interests of imperialist powers and, as such, has impeded true Arab development in the area. It is also irrefutable that Israel is a totally external incursion into the area due to its structure, its imposed Western culture, and, of course, due to the fact that it exists where the state of Palestine and its people rightfully belong.

The role of Great Britain in the area was diminishing, particularly in the wake of the Suez War of 1956. In the

period immediately preceding the Suez War, Britain, France, and Israel recognized that their interests were being threatened for various reasons. At that time, President Nasser had begun his progressive changes in Egypt. The turning point was to come when he would nationalize the Suez Canal through which Britain had been exercising its control in the area. Nationalization of the Canal would deal a serious blow to what remained of British imperialist influence there. The French also had similar interests in the Canal, though not to the extent of Britain's. An additional reason for French participation in the war was the fact that the Algerian Revolution had been ignited, and Nasser was providing it much-needed support: here was an opportunity to check him. Israel, on the other hand, saw an opportunity to destroy Egyptian forces, to take up strategic positions in Sinai and Sharm el-Sheikh, to obtain access through the Gulf of Aqaba, and to put a stop to commando activities that were being mounted from the peninsula.

The Suez War was a serious setback to France and Britain. Israel, however, secured some of its objectives: commando activities were halted, and it gained access to the Gulf of Aqaba. It is of particular significance to note that prior to its aggression in 1956, and while Egyptian troops were stationed in the Sinai and at Sharm el-Sheikh, Israel had no access through the Gulf of Aqaba. It was the presence of U. N. troops in the Sinai between 1957 and 1967 that gave Israel the

access it had sought, and the blockade imposed by the U. A. R. upon removal of those troops in 1967 was a natural follow-up. (But then to expound on why Israel wanted a war in 1967 would take more space than we have.)

In 1956 the U. S. was concerned about reducing British influence in the area, and this partially explains the positive stand it took at the time with respect to Israeli withdrawal. Since then, however, American interests in the area have mounted. The U. S. has grown to play a more direct role, having taken up where Britain left off. Its association with and support of Israel, as we observed in the events leading up to, during, and after the June War, exhibit a more organic relationship than had been anticipated. Before the war we saw American spokesmen taking great pains to express support for the territorial integrity of *all* (their emphasis) countries in the area. What was meant, apparently, was the territorial integrity of Israel. The territorial integrity of three Arab nations was flouted, and the U. S. certainly did not take any action to prevent this, or to reverse it once it had taken place. The U. S. has continually been taking a very negative stand in terms of Arab aspirations in the area. In its continued and unabated support of Israel, the U. S. hopes to maintain its varied influences. Thus, it is keen on halting the commando movements out of a recognition that these movements constitute the basis for a marked transformation in the entire area.

Q: What has been the role of the Soviet Union since June, 1967, particularly in regard to the UN "compromise" proposal?

A: Undoubtedly, the role the Soviet Union has played, particularly since the '67 War, has not been entirely to the satisfaction of the Arab people, and certainly not to the satisfaction of the revolutionary movements that have been taking root in the area. Particularly in regard to the various proposed so-called "peaceful" or "political" solutions, the degree of initiative that the Soviet Union seems to be taking is disturbing indeed. In its initiative at getting a four power meeting going, or in its successive proposals for "peaceful" solutions which



Scene in Al-Fatah training camp.



Arab students and intellectuals provide many of the cadres for the commando movement. Many university graduates are among them: shown here are trainees.

each time seem to include further concessions by the Arabs, the Soviet Union has been acting as an obstacle to the aspirations of the commando movements in their mounting warfare against Israel. Recent news indicates that the Soviet Union is reassessing its stand vis-a-vis these movements. It is hoped the Soviet Union will exhibit a definite and more positive attitude towards them.

Q: What has been the role of the various Arab regimes in regard to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine?

A: By and large, the various Arab regimes seem to fall short of meeting the demands of the situation. The degree of support offered the commandos varies. The protracted type people's war called for by the commandos is not a readily accepted concept for most of these regimes. This no doubt increases the probability of confrontation, and it explains why the commandos are viewed with caution by these regimes. If and when a confrontation between the commandos and the regimes should arise, the Arab people will have no difficulty choosing sides and meeting their responsibilities.

Q: What is the state of the student movement in the Arab states?

A: A prime motivating and active force in the commando movement today is the Arab intelligentsia. The

commando movements include university graduates from various institutions at home, and abroad, for that matter. Students particularly have recognized that this is a prime new force in the area — a genuine force that must be allowed to develop. As a result, many are getting incorporated into these movements, as political elements or as fighters. You also find that a lot of students (who had been completely apolitical or unmotivated before the war) have experienced a true transformation. It has been quite a remarkable phenomenon.

For example, take a country like Lebanon. After the attack on Beirut airport, various elements seemed prepared to take action against the commandos. This is the kind of pressure Israel had thought it could bring to bear in the aftermath of its attack. There was a marked outcry, mainly among student circles in Lebanon, against this to the extent that they staged protests, demonstrations, and went on strike in an expression of solidarity with the commando movements. Schools and universities were subsequently closed for extended periods.

So there is a kind of organic link that is developing between the student movement in the Arab world and the liberation movement. This fact is being recognized even in this country. I recently watched a program on TV. CBS' Harry Reasoner had gone to the area, and in his report, he spoke about the activity of the "commandos

and the students." It is significant that he put them in the same category. Students are persistently asking for the opening of training centers, and they are particularly keen on joining commando rather than official army training units. In this country, as well, you will find the main emphasis of the Arab students being placed on the liberation movement rather than on any of the Arab regimes.

Efforts are also directed towards achieving a better understanding of the movement: its significance, principles, aims, and purposes. The Arab students here are also playing a role in conveying and explaining the true nature of the movement to other groups. This is no easy matter, considering the distortions and slanders that are daily being projected in many circles and news media here. Various progressive groups in this country have begun to view the struggle in its true context, and this is a measure of the impression this new emerging force is having on these groups in particular.

Q: What parallels do you see between the struggle for liberation in Palestine and the struggle in Vietnam, and possibly Cuba?

A: The struggle for liberation in Palestine has parallels wherever liberation movements are being waged against oppression around the globe: in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Each struggle, though possessing its own distinctive features, is part of a whole, and as such deserves the support of freedom-loving people everywhere.

The struggle in Vietnam provides a vivid and contemporary example of a people who have successfully waged a war of liberation for several decades. In keeping the mightiest power in the world checkmated, the Vietnamese people have demonstrated that might is not measured by the sophistication of military arsenals, but by the will and determination of the people to resist oppression in the face of great odds. It is small wonder, therefore, that the Palestine liberation movement reserves singular admiration for the people of Vietnam. The Palestinian commandos foresee a similar struggle in Palestine and stand to gain from this and other experiences such as those in Cuba and Algeria.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DEMAND

Following are two sets of demands put forward by high school students in San Francisco. These demands have been distributed nationally by the Community Conference to Support the S. F. State Strike, and by the AFT Local #1928 in San Francisco. We are reprinting these demands for the information of those who have been following the high school struggles.

Poly High Demands

1. We demand that the percentage of black and third world teachers equal the percentage of black and third world students.
2. We demand education that teaches us our true history and our true role in this present society.
3. We demand that no student-teachers be sent to Poly for the purpose of experimenting. (48 out of the 50 S. F. State student-teachers are white.)
4. We demand that all shops be properly repaired and that the photo lab be reopened with proper instructors (These shops have not been working since the beginning of school. Most men students take their major in one of them.)
5. We demand a black education department be set up and run by black people.
6. We demand books about black and third world people picked by black and third world people.
7. We demand a screening board to screen old and new teachers and administrators at Poly. The board will consist of the principal, students,

parents, and a black psychologist and psychiatrist. This board will have the power to determine whether teachers qualify to teach at Poly.

8. We demand a counseling system geared to the needs of black and third world students.
9. We demand an end to political expulsions, suspensions, and intimidations. We demand a review board to determine the nature of political expulsions and suspensions must be abolished and students reinstated.
10. We demand the right to determine our own educational destiny.

Mission High Demands

1. Development of a program of studies in black and chicano history, music, art, literature courses would be offered after history courses have been implemented. The English department should be changed to include an ethnic studies program, and help for low potential readers from chicano and black background.
2. There must be more black and latin teachers and counselors. There must be black and chicano academic tutors. Also, black and chicano youth counselors from our own community should be working in the schools. These youth counselors do not necessarily need high school diplomas.
3. Establishment of a class specifically related to immigrants of the United States, explaining rights of the United States citizens and laws pertaining to immigrants.
4. Establishment of orientation class to acquaint students with all courses of study open to students at Mission High— not just vocational classes— which would be open to all students.
5. Removal of present hall monitors, and replace them with youth teachers' aides from our own community picked by students.
6. Cleaning and remodeling of school cafeteria. The cafeteria must also offer ethnic foods and generally a better quality of food.
7. We must have better sanitary facilities in gym showers and lavatories. They should be cleaned, painted, repaired, and maintained.

8. Students must have more voice in government of the school. Three Black Student Union members must be instated in the Student Senate. In addition a disciplinary court must be set up, made up of elected students and faculty members.
9. Do away with I. D. cards because Mission High School students must be able to freely attend our school without the need for identification.
10. Removal of police around campus.
11. Qualified black and chicano faculty members should be instated into the administration, more specifically a third world vice-principal who will relate to the students.
12. There must be an end to discriminating racist policies of the administration.
13. Eliminate IQ tests or develop some tests that are in our own language and our own culture. The present tests do not reflect our intelligence because the tests are not relevant to us.
14. Eliminate adjustment courses that only contribute to our negative self-concept and cause us to see ourselves as failures.
15. Black and brown history courses must be required courses.
16. All required courses for graduation for brown students must be bi-lingual. Additionally, this bi-lingual curriculum should be open, on a voluntary basis, to the rest of the student body.
17. We want all disciplinary action suspended and all truancy records removed.



Police "guard" a corridor in Brooklyn's Franklin K. Lane High School. In New York and elsewhere, cops are used to maintain "law and order," as high school students fight for their rights, against the war, and for black control of the black schools.

TWLF AT BERKELEY

The Fight for Self- Determination

The fight for self-determination of oppressed minorities has been at the heart of the recent wave of protests, student strikes, sit-ins and rallies led by Third World students on campuses across the country. The demand for black and Third World studies, under the control of the black and Third World students is based on an understanding of the fact that oppressed minorities must have the right to determine their own lives, and to have the kind of education that is of benefit to their communities.

Third World students have initiated mass struggles around their demands for self-determination. White students, in large numbers, have supported

those struggles, and in the process have been won over to an understanding of self-determination and the revolutionary thrust of black and brown nationalism.

At San Francisco State College and at the University of California in Berkeley, the centers of the two most sustained student strikes, Third World students have united in organizations known as the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), which on each campus has initiated and led the strike. In the February Young Socialist we printed in full the 15 demands of the TWLF at S. F. State. The demands put forward by the Berkeley TWLF are similar. At Berkeley, as at S. F. State, the TWLF has run the strike,

with the support of white students organized in Strike Support Committees.

Thousands of white students at Berkeley have been won over to support of the strike, and the strike has won wide backing from the Third World community.

Recently, however, some of the white radicals at Berkeley have launched an attack on the TWLF, its leadership, its politics, and its insistence on the right of Third World students to organize and lead the strike without white participation in the TWLF. In the past month, the Progressive Labor Party, the Independent Socialist Club, and the newspaper the Guardian have all opened up attacks on the TWLF. While these three groupings have different attitudes towards black nationalism, all of them are upset by the role being played by the TWLF.

In the case of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, their disagreement with the TWLF is part of a general offensive against black nationalism. "Nationalism," says the February issue of PL magazine, "is reactionary, and this is its main aspect . . . The political and economic basis of nationalism is capitalism. It is bourgeois ideology." PL has been opposing black nationalism everywhere, by opposing the fight for black control of the black community, by opposing the idea of black studies under black control, and by denouncing the fight for self-determination for Afro-America.

A recent issue of Berkeley PL News attacks the TWLF this way: "The Third World leadership itself has often shown real weaknesses and played a bad role in the strike. It, too [along with the Young Socialist Alliance and others that PL considers "fake radicals"] has diverted the political struggle away from the fight against racism by emphasizing Third World self-determination meaning Third World Student power. The TWLF leaders have taken a nationalist position. They do not see that the questions of racism are not just Third World questions but class questions. . . . To demand Third World student power is simply a bourgeois demand to be a more privileged stratum . . ." Moreover, PL thinks, the TWLF leaders "are taking a liberal position of pressure group tactics . . ."

The Independent Socialist Club (ISC) is a left social-democratic



grouping. It objects to the fact that "TWLF at Berkeley has at times tried to limit white participation in the fight strictly to 'strike support,' without the right to make policy decisions or raise their own demands." This, ISC claims, has made it "difficult to build a real base for the strike among the majority of students." This, of course, is precisely the type of whining we heard when the civil rights movement was transforming itself into the black power movement, and whites were told that they would no longer be allowed to make decisions in organizations like SNCC.

A third line of attack against self-determination was detailed in the Guardian of March 1, 1969, where the TWLF was indicted for focusing "almost exclusively on winning a third world college . . ." and for trying to prevent the adventurist type of physical confrontations with the cops (a la the August 1968 Democratic Party Convention demonstration) which the Guardian thinks is the best way to "radicalize" people.

With this type of attack by tendencies within the radical movement at Berkeley, it is not surprising that a motion was actually presented to the Strike Support Committee on Feb. 26 that three whites be placed on the central committee of the TWLF!

One of the best answers to this kind of thinking on the part of white radicals was given by Benny Stewart of the Black Student Union at S. F. State in an interview printed in the January 22 issue of Open Process, a paper put out at S. F. State:

"... during the strike, we have formed a coalition with white radicals that functions on two levels. One, although we have been depicted as people with bodies but no minds, this strike has shown that we do indeed have minds and that we can lead our own struggle. So therefore, we don't need any people telling us how we can help ourselves and this including white radicals. The second thing is that we operate and function from a principle . . . We see ourselves developing along the lines of revolutionary nationalism in conjunction with the principles that will aid us in liberating our people. And what we say is that if anyone wants to join us in that struggle based on Third World people having self-determination then we wel-

come them and see them as an ally. Anyone else who does not align with us on these principles we see as enemies. So where radical whites are struggling with us under our leadership and the operating principles put forth, a struggle against the racist dog power structure, where they struggle with us in this manner, we see them as allies . . ."

The position of the Young Socialist Alliance on this debate is explained in the leaflet which is reprinted below. It has been circulated on the campus at Berkeley, as part of the YSA's vigorous campaign in defense of self-determination.

In the first major leaflet issued by the TWLF the underlying principle behind the strike was made clear.

"The fundamental issue of this strike is the right of Third World people to determine the structure and content of the Third World programs on this campus . . . We of the Third World feel that we have the right to be able to decide for ourselves what courses and faculty are relevant to our lives. We don't need to be told what to think or how to do it; we are capable of determining on our own what kind of education we want and need. We must have the right to determine our own destiny!"

Although most white students in the Strike Support Committee defend the right of oppressed Third World people to determine their own destiny, some have only given lip-service to this principle and are now attempting to violate it. In essence they support the "right" of Third World people to self-determination *in-so-far-as* Third World people struggle for demands whites think important, and by means whites think are correct. For some people this attitude stems from a lack of understanding of the relationship between racism and self-determination. They view self-determination not as a principle but as a tactic. For others it flows from the belief that Third World people are incapable of leading their own struggle without white advice.

Racism as exemplified in the policies and structure of the university is not just a product of the consciousness of

individual men or groups of individuals. Rather, individual or institutional racism flows from a system, capitalism, which profits and perpetuates it. To expose the racist nature of the university, we must explain and defend the principle which can not only smash racism, but in the long run through revolutionary struggle, the system itself. That principle is the revolutionary right of all oppressed peoples to self-determination in all aspects of their lives, from education to the place of work.

The right of oppressed people to self-determination is a central part of the world-wide conflict against imperialism. That principle is as important to Berkeley as it is to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Flowing from that principle, *Third World people have the right to determine their own demands, their own strategies, and their own tactics.*

Some people have been arguing that since white students are supporting the TWLF, putting themselves on the line and risking arrest, that they should therefore have a say in determining tactics and strategy in the strike. The key to this is what is meant by "have a say." The TWLF leadership has not only been open to suggestions and ideas about strategy and tactics, but has actively sought these ideas from white students and particularly from the Strike Support Committee. What is really aimed at here is that whites should have some *control* over Third World struggles. This was made explicitly clear by a motion presented yesterday, February 26th, at a meeting of the Strike Support Committee. This motion advocates putting 3 whites on the Central Committee of the TWLF!

Demanding that even one white should sit on the C. C. of the TWLF with voice and vote is a flagrant violation of the right of Third World people to lead their own struggle. It was precisely because whites had in fact been controlling the struggle of Black people through such organizations as the NAACP, SCLC and the Urban League that Malcolm X called for the building of an independent Black political party, led by Blacks,



Photo by Dave Warren

TWLF member arrested at Berkeley by the Alameda County Sheriff's Department.

financed by Blacks, and fully controlled by Blacks to struggle for their liberation as they saw fit. This same concept applies to all Third World people. To say that whites should have some control over TWLF tactics is no different than Heyns saying that whites know best what should be taught in the Third World College, and that therefore whites should have some if not all the control.

The Vietnamese have been engaged in a struggle for self-determination. As a result a massive anti-war movement has emerged in this country. The slogan of that movement, "Bring the GIs home now," is based on the principle that only the Vietnamese have the right to determine what kind of social, political and economic system they want. It is true that in fighting for the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, many U.S. students have been victimized and arrested. (Remember the Oakland 7.) It is also true that NLF tactics and strategy (negotiations etc.) "affect our ability to mobilize our constituencies." Does this then, give the U.S. anti-war movement the right to demand of the Vietnamese that our people sit on the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front or have some control over the tactics of the NLF? If this violates the self-determination of

the Vietnamese, it likewise violates the self-determination of the TWLF.

The function of the Strike Support Committee is to build and organize support for the demands of the TWLF among white students, and non-Third World community people. In the process of this struggle new demands can and will emerge. The AFT strike is already an extension of the TWLF demands. New demands may arise out of the departmental organizing which is taking place. But for white radicals to get together and pull some new demands out of a hat is artificial and would not help clarify the issues in the strike. They would not have a mass base and would therefore not mobilize more students. Every student on campus who is supporting the strike has been set into motion by the TWLF and its demands and this will remain the case.

In addition to the specific demands of the TWLF, the violation of our civil liberties by the police has set in motion broader layers of the campus community. Some students sneer at democratic freedoms, seeing that they are largely illusory. Yet one cannot short-circuit history by demanding of people what they do not yet understand. Lenin, Malcolm X and Che have all

utilized democratic freedoms as a means of preparing their people for revolution. We, who regard ourselves as revolutionaries, see as healthy the tendency of people to assert their rights of freedom of speech, freedom to assemble, freedom to picket. But we realize that these freedoms are curtailed whenever those in power are in danger of losing that power. We use these guaranteed freedoms as another weapon by which we can expose the nature of the state and through this process win new people to the demands of the TWLF.

One of the major points of student oppression is the classroom. It is here where liberal capitalist ideology is imparted. Third World and white students are deceived by this ideology. They are denied knowledge of their true history (the racist history department also imparts a pro-management conception of labor struggles) and they are taught to admire the ruling class and look down upon working people, when in fact most students will become workers after they graduate. We must center a large portion of our strike energy into reaching students in the departments. We must help them organize in support of the demands of the TWLF, while at the same time explaining to them the capitalist essence behind the facade of liberal education.

It is through mobilizing the broadest possible support for the demands of the Third World Liberation Front and consciously organizing this support in effective mass actions that we will win the strike. We must not limit our organizing to the campus but must try to involve every segment in the community which can be won over to the TWLF demands. AFT is already moving in the direction of broadening labor support. We must strengthen our ties with the oil workers, reach out not only to other college campuses, but to the high schools as well.

Tony Camejo
Byron Ackerman
Rick Feinberg
Jean Savage
Kendal Green

For the Young Socialist Alliance

Cont'd from p. 2

which held its founding conference three years ago in Havana. In articles on Chad, Vietnam, South Korea, Colombia, and Palestine, the Cubans solidarize themselves with the revolutionary struggles for national liberation and against U. S. imperialism going on in the Third World. One especially interesting article on "The Role of the Students in Latin America" outlines the role played by revolutionary students in Uruguay, Brazil, and Mexico: ". . .the students have always been an explosive force of enormous significance for the revolution and have always taken a vanguard position in the revolutionary movement. . . . In Latin America it is clear that the student movement has thrown in its lot with the dispossessed and the exploited." The Latin American students are part of an international movement of revolutionary youth who, from San Francisco State to the Sorbonne, have linked their struggles with those of the working class and oppressed national minorities to produce an ever more troublesome thorn in the side of U. S. imperialism. *Tricontinental* is a good source of information on struggles going on in Asia, Latin America, and especially Africa, about which it is very difficult to get information in this country. For copies, write: OSPAAAL P. O. B. 4224, Radiogramme OSPAAAL, Havana, Cuba.

Mandel Meets SDS:

"Excuse me comrade, but you are a revisionist!"

"Does Mr. Mandel believe that Leninist party structure is necessary to win a struggle of the kind he projects?" "What has all this economic theorizing got to do with our problems of action in the student movement?" "Can a transitional society return to capitalism as well as go forward to socialism?" "Aren't you wrong in operating with the old, worn out Marxist categories instead of seeing the processes as they actually unfold?" "What can be done about improving the relations between the student movement and the American workers?" "Shouldn't moral incentives take priority over material ones in building a socialist economy?"

These are just a few of the questions that were asked of Ernest Mandel during his appearance at the SDS-sponsored "International Revolutionary Students' Assembly" held in New York City last fall. Mandel's speech to the conference, along with the question and answer period, have just been published by the YSA as a pamphlet entitled *The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice*. The pamphlet is 40 pages long, and sells for \$.65. It can be ordered from Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003.

Mrs. Betty Shabazz in LOOK

"When Malcolm talked about black freedom, he meant freedom by whatever means. It is considered a point of honor for all peoples to defend their rights; but here, the whites consider it criminal for blacks to fight for their rights. Malcolm believed in what Patrick Henry said: 'I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!' But Henry and others like him weren't talking about liberty for all, but for the white, Protestant male adults of the Colonies. The U. S. Constitution was written to protect the rights of these white, Protestant male adults, and every group that has come to these shores has had to fight to be included in the Bill of Rights—even women." This is an excerpt of an interview with Mrs. Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, which appeared in the March 4 issue of *Look* magazine. Although the interviewer, Fletcher Knebel, tends to be overly concerned with the family life of Mrs. Shabazz and her six daughters, the interview is definitely worth reading for the insights which Mrs. Shabazz's comments give into Malcolm's life and ideas.

The Black Dwarf

One of the most interesting, informative, and well-put-together newspapers put out by revolutionary European youth is the *Black Dwarf*, published in England. The *Dwarf*, which is about a year old, represents a variety of points of view on the "left," from Trotskyist to Maoist. The newspaper comes out every two weeks and covers international as well as domestic struggles. In the February issue: the student action at the London School of Economics, defense of Tim Daly, a young pacifist who set fire to the Imperial War Museum, a run-down of recent student struggles on five continents, an analysis of the relationship between capitalism and the universities, an article on Brazil, and the platform of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Tariq Ali, a leader of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign which organized the anti-Vietnam war demonstration of 100,000 in London last October 27, is one of the editors. The *Dwarf* is written in a familiar style—they refer to their readers as Dwarfs, i.e., "Dwarfs will be pleased to know that. . . ." It is not only enjoyable to read, both in writing style and lay-out, but is a valuable source of information on the antiwar, student, and working class movements in England. For copies, write: The Black Dwarf, 7 Carlisle Street, London W. 1. A 4PZ, England.

— Susan LaMont

Colleges Liberal Schools Campus Turmoil Worth the Trouble

Swarthmore Says Ranks Were Overdue; Ranks After Crisis Offer Resistance Seen

By ELLIOT CARLSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Swarthmore College, a liberal arts school in Pennsylvania, has been tormented by a crisis that has been described as the most serious since the 1960s. The school's administration is trying to bring the crisis to a close, but the students are resisting. The school's administration is trying to bring the crisis to a close, but the students are resisting.

The West
It hasn't been this bad. Clashes at
Berkeley and San Francisco State and
of California at Berkeley have
students, faculty and admin-
istrators seems to have uni-
versity bickering. A case in point: In
drive, Brandeis alumni in a few
pledged a fund-raising goal of
for all 1969. The school estimates
l contributions may double that

students' revolt manifestly mobil-
ized of white support. "The effect
was increased recognition of the
black demands," says Eric Yof-
of the student council. But at the
asserts, "Brandeis wasn't radi-
cals wanted to preserve the uni-
versity.

the 11-day crisis, professors de-
manded of coercion in an academic set-
ting, they refused to ask that
led. With student prodding, they
formation of an Afro-American
ment and speeded other conces-
sions say these concessions
the works, but were more than a

trace the relatively benign re-
action at Brandeis to the singular
small school, where long-standing
ties give demonstrators a built-
in audience. At the same time, they say, the
size of the university (2,100 under-
graduates, of whom are Jewish), enables
immunity to be intensely involved
period of time to settle conflicts,
a take on the aura of family
rather than confrontations between
over blocs.

Too
small school where differences
were resolved with the same uni-
l is Swarthmore College, Swarth-
with 1,900 students. There, black
elated concessions after gaining
y offices in January. Faculty
in almost continuous session for
and finally agreed to raise Negro
they also agreed to accept a num-
black students who wouldn't ordi-
narily admit.

students made gains inside the
ere," says Robert Savage, an as-
sor of biology. "We'll now have to
ly aware of the sensitivities of
decision-making."

What's News— Business and Finance

ING-TEMCO-VOUGHT was put on notice the Justice Department plans an antitrust suit to force the big conglomerate to divest itself of its 63% interest in Jones & Laughlin Steel. The agency also said it intends to seek an injunction to halt LTV's tender offer for the rest of J&L. LTV said it will meet with Government officials today to present an "alternative to the drawal of the tender offer."

Tax reform goals for this year being narrowed by the Nixon Admin- istration. An official says crackdown on conglomerate mergers and abuses foundations remain among the top five objectives for passage by Sep- tember 1969. The Administration meanwhile is laying groundwork for overall simplification of the tax code later, perhaps with the help of a spe- cial Presidential commission.

Steel orders are continuing with mills reporting business up as 10% ahead of a month ago. Pro- ducer terms its book of orders for since April 1968. Most of the lead times for the orders are stretch- ing out.

Plywood prices are rising from their recent low. A major western mills Friday about \$118 a thousand quarter-inch sanded stock down from \$136 about Lumber prices also est- imate the break were a price burg Lumber Co. and the rise by banks last week.

Gulf & Western recorded a 22% rise in \$1.92 a share in the first half of 1968. The 22% rise in a year was caused by a on the sale of securities million gain in fiscal were lower in the Panama and the manufacturing

Pan American Sulphur Harry C. Webb, suggested he leave the company if it merged Susquehanna Corp., which of the sulphur company's stock. Webb said that he believes Susque- hanna plans a merger of the companies, and that the move probably be stopped if a court proceeding ing in Texas fails.

Crude oil prices paid by producers in six states were raised by the Hum- ble Oil Co. of Jersey Standard. The in- crease was from 5 to 20 cents a barrel.

Finance Cos. is considering Mill Factors Corp., the a major concern. Oxford, a financier of semifinished homes, is said to believe that a loss uncovered recently at Mill Factors was less than the preliminary estimate of \$35 mil- lion.

Humphrey advised Democrats to give Nixon 100 days in office before they assess the administration's actions and come up with alter- native programs. The hallmark of Nixon's first 100 days has been caution the former Vice

Strike Activity Up

Industry	Man-days Idle
Auto	1,200,000
Textile	800,000
Food	600,000
Other	400,000

Wallace's Coattails: Congress Race Tests Whether He Can

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The Outlook Appraisal of Current Trends In Business and Finance

Much comfort can no doubt be drawn from the close contact maintained by the major industrial firms with the government. The health of the economy system and to monetary crises perhaps the most international in months, the Bay, New York facility

Mr. R. "In my business, New York is the hub. But the more I thought about the city's problems and costs of living there—the high rent, the pollution, the traffic—I finally decided to stay where I am. Mr. R. isn't the first to shy away from New York—or other major cities like Chicago. There always have been some who can't stand the city at any price. But suddenly, to the dismay of corporations, accountants, real estate brokers and management consultants, the metrophobes are legion.

Indeed, as urban problems worsen and cost rise in relation to the rest of the country, big companies with management outside the nation face an agonizing paradox: almost all workers are mobile; and never has been so many who want to move to headquarters. The majority still come when called, of course, but it's the growing number who won't that hurts.

Although few companies will admit it, executives say the trend is crimping management flexibility and even beginning to take its toll on productivity. "New York companies in particular are increasingly drawing on an ingrown pool of local talent," says one executive search agent. "Some are starting to lose the vitality that comes with new blood." A personnel expert with the National Industrial Conference Board confirms that "it's getting to be a awful mess; companies are damn sensitive about it."

It is so sensitive, in fact, that few companies will discuss it. Yet the symptoms are all around. "Four years ago, any candidate we approached for a job in New York was interested almost without exception," says Richard Enton, president of Enton Associates Inc., an executive search firm in Philadelphia. "Today half the people we talk to turn down New York jobs without even considering them. It's a growing problem."

A spokesman for Western Electric Co., a manufacturing subsidiary of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., says, "New York used to be Mecca for our second and third level supervisory executives. Now these guys are kicking and screaming when they are asked to transfer here; three just recently turned down."

Coupled with reluctance of executives to move into the cities is a growing inclination to those based in cities to leave, usually changing jobs in the process. "In the past 18 months we've been concentrating our scouting on Chicago, Cleveland and New York because they are the easiest places to get people to move from," says E. A. Butler, president of a New York executive search firm with offices around the country. "Headhunters" like Mr. Butler also say they are receiving an increasing number of rejected resumes from big city executives. "Professional men indicating they want to leave at lower pay. Arthur B., a 32-year-old telephone lawyer with a top Wall Street firm, took a \$4,000 pay cut to practice in a small town. "I knew what I was doing," he says, "but living isn't all that much cheaper here, but housing is, and it was worth it just like a human being." At \$229, only \$9 more than he was paid for a cramped two-and-a-half room apartment in mid-Manhattan, Mr. B. now rents a seven-room house with a garage in adjacent Cambridge.

The Metrophobes Many Executives Are Hesitant to Take Jobs In the Biggest Cities

Cost of Living, Urban Woes Cited; Some Men Decline Raises to Avoid New York

Tired Blood at Headquarters

Tired Blood at Headquarters

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