

THE MILITANT

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A special feature

Revolutionary dynamics of women's liberation

— pages 7-10 —

GET THE GI'S HOME!

Strike Nov. 14! March Nov. 15!

(After the moratorium — an analysis, p. 13)



Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara

June 14, 1928 — October 8, 1967

Two years ago Che Guevara died in the mountains of Bolivia fighting imperialism. The fight against Washington's aggression in Vietnam and the imperialist system responsible for that aggression is helping to advance the world revolutionary struggle for which Che lived and died.

Funds sought to get GIs to Nov. 15 actions

Eager to participate

Washington, D.C. There are many GIs on military reservations eager to participate in the massive Peace Marches to be held November 15th in San Francisco and Washington, but they need transportation. Funds are being sought to charter busses. We ask your readers to show their support by sending their contributions to New Mobilization/Operation Transport: 555 North Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90004, or 1029 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 900, Washington, D. C. 20005.

Donald Duncan
Roger Lee Priest, USN

(Mr. Duncan is a former Green Beret active in the antiwar movement. Mr. Priest is an active duty sailor who is currently awaiting court-martial for his publication of an "underground" GI newspaper.)

Racist UFT bureaucrat assures income

New York, N. Y.

For those who have been wondering how United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker has been so successful in fostering anti-union sentiment among teachers, this should be of interest:

Last year more than 15,000 teachers quit the UFT because of the seven-week racist strike directed against efforts of the black and Puerto Rican people to control their schools. Most of these 15,000 simply stopped paying union dues. After falling three months behind they were dropped from membership.

Shanker helped speed up the process of driving former union militants from the UFT by pushing a constitutional amendment which changed the grace period from three months to one month in arrears.

The hooker came when these teachers learned they would be paying union dues despite being out of the UFT! Dues are simply deducted from their salaries by the board of education which, under the system of dues payment known as check-off, then gives the money to the UFT.

Prior to Sept. 1967, when the UFT lost check-off for 18 months because of the imposition of the union-busting Taylor Law penalties, dues were automatically deducted from teachers' checks. If a teacher wanted to quit the union he had to inform the board of education of his intention to do so in writing during the month of June. If he failed to do this he lost his opportunity to resign until the next June arrived.

Since 1967, all dues money received by the UFT had to have been paid

Letters from our readers

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

directly to the union each month. Now under the new contract Shanker secured a provision specifying that all teachers formerly on check-off, whether in the union now or not, will have dues deducted from their pay.

As it now stands, these 15,000 teachers will be paying dues to a union which they don't belong to and will not be able to "quit" until June 1970. For those who want to "rejoin" the UFT, they will be graciously reinstated upon payment of all arrears.

A UFT member

Wants to join

Lincoln, Neb.

In what way do I get into SWP-YSA? Count me in.

P. M.

Against antidraft stand

Minneapolis, Minn.

On the eve of the revolution the chief weapons in the hands of reactionaries will be the army and the police. The nineteenth century conservative, Gaetano Mosca, explained in *The Ruling Class* that as long as the army is "sound (i.e. a professional army, not a civilian army) . . . it can deal successfully with any attempt at armed insurrection."

The growing dissatisfaction among young GIs and the resultant military disorganization is evidence of the correctness of this analysis. An army composed of young *short-term* soldiers is much more easily swayed by public opinion, ultimately to sympathy for the revolution, than a professional mercenary army composed solely of 'lifers' who are responsible only to their pocketbooks. I have served in the Army and, believe me, there are a good many lifers who would shoot their own mothers if told that military expediency required it. Whereas, few draftees would

turn their rifles on their own families. Few would risk firing into a crowd where their own relatives might be congregating.

The point is this, while the draft is full of inequities and ROTC is an odious institution, these systems at least insure some measure of civilian grass roots control over the military. Is it any wonder that the ruling class is ever pressing for the discontinuance of the draft and for the formation of a professional army? When the final showdown comes, the reactionaries do not want their weapons to misfire.

As long as capitalism is in force there will be a standing army. We may not like that, but until the revolution there is little that we can do about it. We can at least try, however, to weaken the strength of our ultimate enemy. In view of the above I do not see that it is to the advantage of socialists to support the formation of a professional army.

J. B.

Vacation highlight

New York, N. Y.

As we were driving back from Alabama where we had visited relatives, we passed a convoy of army trucks filled with black and white GIs. When we came alongside the first open truck a young soldier leaned out and hesitantly gave us the "V" sign. As we sped past the next truck I leaned out of our car window and gave the same peace sign. The response in that split second was overwhelming. Black and white young faces broke into joyful smiles as the soldiers tumbled over one another to lean out of their truck and return the peace greeting.

As we drove on past the convoy we were left with a wonderful feeling. In that moment we learned as only direct experience could teach, that in the South, in the U.S. Army conscious antiwar feeling is prevelant. It was one of the highlights of our vacation.

E. B. L.

Wants truth about American scene

Chicago, Ill.

I am a student from England currently spending a year studying in this country at the Urban Training Center. Most of the contents of *Militants* I have seen impresses me very much.

I look forward to reading some of the truth about the American scene.

S. L.

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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Volume 33



Number 41

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Arabs fighting on many fronts

Berkeley, Calif.

In answer to D. A.'s letter advising the Arabs to fight for socialism instead of *against* Israel, you say (in part): "it is not 'Arabs' in general who are fighting the Israeli rulers. The guerrillas are not Lebanese or Jordanians or Egyptians. They are Palestinians."

Isn't it better to say that the Arabs are many, and can fight on more than one front? Because what you do say is misleading. It is important to recognise that now the war with Israel, on all levels, involves Palestinians first, but many other Arabs also.

Since June 1967, when Syrian, Jordanian, and Egyptian citizens had their land seized by Israel, persons who never considered themselves Palestinians have also joined the Arab guerrilla movement. And incidentally, contrary to what D. A. says, this movement covers a wide political spectrum: it includes clearly anti-socialist elements.

"Arabs' in general" are certainly involved, too. Egyptian soldiers and civilians are dying every day in the conflict. And all the major Arab nations are deeply involved, politically and economically if not militarily. I agree that most of this involvement has proved futile. But it exists on a level to effect everyone.

Finally, let me make clear which side I am on in the Arab-Israeli war. I am on the side of a better understanding of the issues and the facts. It is a help that you support the Arabs, because most Americans have been brainwashed into seeing only through Israeli eyes—even Arab news comes to us datelined "Tel Aviv." However, you will be a good friend of socialism in the Arab world only if you are clear about the facts as well as the issues.

C. K.

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA . . .

clip and mail

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

☐ I would like more information

☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Beverly Scott
Business Manager

700 new readers in one week

By BEVERLY SCOTT
Business Manager

OCT. 8—Seven hundred new subscriptions this week—our biggest week so far! We try to be realistic and proceed on the assumption that the initial spurt will not continue. But each week the campaign to obtain 4,000 new readers for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* by Nov. 15 becomes more successful. Each week we receive a greater number of new subs than the previous week. We are now 12 percent ahead of schedule nationally.

Half the cities listed on the scoreboard are ahead of schedule, and several of them are already discussing increasing their quotas.

Where are all these new subscribers coming from? The letters accompanying the batches of subscriptions tell the story.

Cleveland writes: "We've had a lot of help in meeting our sub quota from our regional traveler who was at Ohio State last week. This should prove to anyone who discounted the importance of college sub sales—the great majority of our subs sold so far have been on college campuses."

A note from Philadelphia reads, "Here are subs from a mobilization we had tonight at Haverford College. It was one comrade's first time out all season, and he beat us all with nine subs for the night. Selling 29 subs in an hour and a quarter seems to be our all-time high—so far. People are having fun going on these mobilizations."

Ft. Bragg GIs continue actions

OCT. 4—GIs at Ft. Bragg, N.C., have been working actively to build a GI antiwar march and rally scheduled for the base on Oct. 11. The action is sponsored by Ft. Bragg GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

GIs United continues to grow on base and holds regular meetings. The last meeting was attended by some 55 GIs including several officers.

One of the central concerns of GIs United at this time is their court fight for the right to speak out and distribute literature on base against the war.

This past week Chief Judge Butler of the U.S. District Court set Oct. 17 as the date for a hearing on a suit filed last May 19 on behalf of 18 GIs at Ft. Bragg. The suit asks for a court decision declaring that GIs have the same constitutional rights as other citizens.

Though every one is finding it easy to sell subscriptions, some people are doing a particularly effective job. For example, Los Angeles writes: "Although our branch and local are putting out an excellent collective effort in sub getting — particularly at college campuses — we must single out Steve Bloom, who has sold 80 of our 193 new subs. He has inspired everyone with his persuasive technique and excellent results. Will anyone else take him on?"

Mike Arnall of New York seems to have taken the challenge. He's sold 53 subs mainly at Columbia, so far, and he's still going strong. Is there anyone else in this league?

Two New Yorkers, Robin Maisel and Larry Birkner, spent several weeks trailblazing for the YSA, visiting campuses in upstate New York and New England. After a week of successful sub-selling, they wrote back to the New York YSA challenging any other team of two to match their results. Several twosomes accepted.

When the results were in, Robin and Larry, who got a total of 51 subs, had been soundly beaten by Mike Arnall and Bill Yaffe, with 87 subs. And two other brand new YSAers came close to beating the challenger. This is the kind of healthy, socialist competition we like to see!

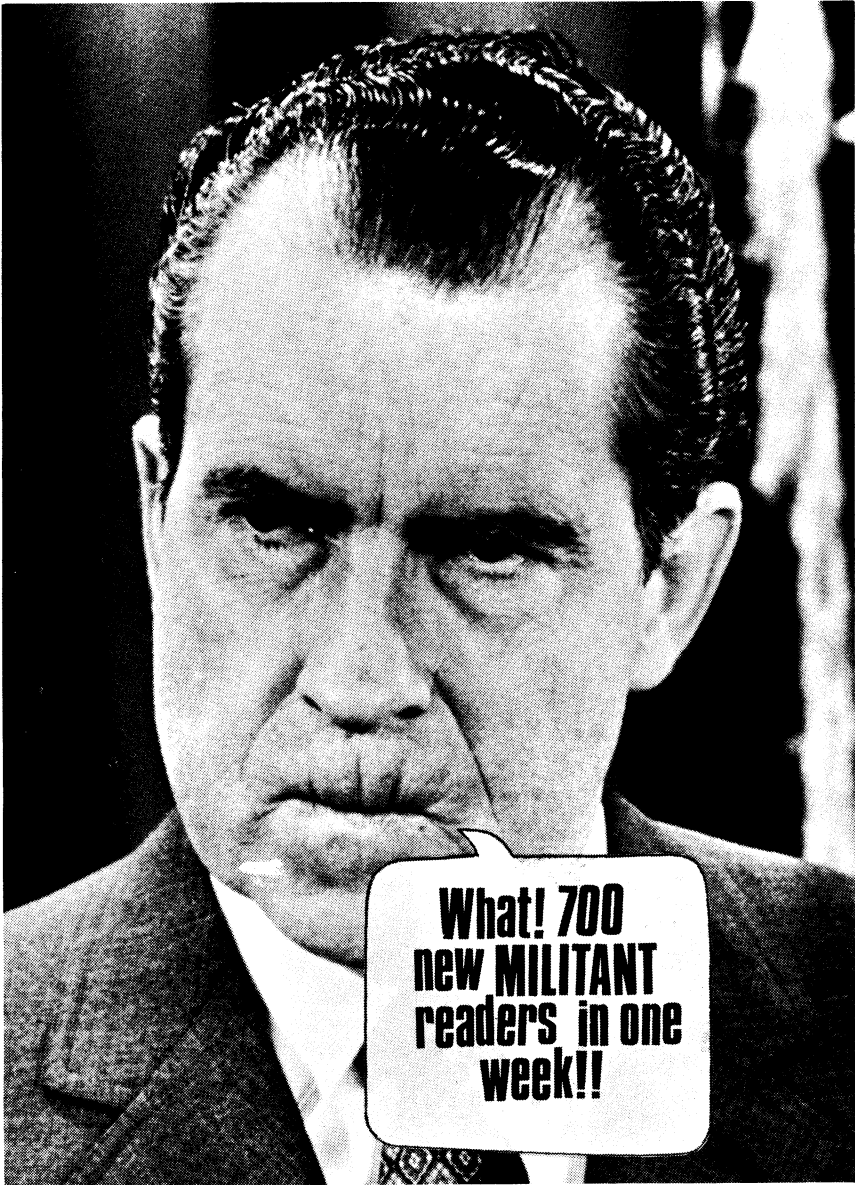
We also want to note the spectacular efforts of some of the individuals who make up the "general" category in the scoreboard. These subs come from readers living in cities where there are as yet no organized YSA-SWP groups.

Most outstanding has been the work done by several YSAers in Columbus, Ohio, who in the last week have sold 25 subscriptions. We have also received the following subscriptions from lone YSAers:

New Hartford, N.Y., 17; Hamilton, N.Y., 7; Mansfield, Pa., 6; Hebron, Maine, 4; Amherst, Mass., Colorado Springs, Colo., and Glen Ellyn, Ill., 3 each; and Van Dyne, Wis., 2. We also received four subscriptions from a new *Militant* reader in Pacific Grove, Calif. for his teachers, with the comment, "They'll be turned on by *The Militant*."

In the pages of this issue is another record we are proud of. On page two is printed our statement of ownership, as is required annually by the Post Office. In this statement, we show our total average press run for the year of 10,366. Compared to the capitalist media, this may sound like a very modest figure. And it certainly is far less than it should be and one day will be.

But taken in a given political context that figure represents something



very significant. It is the first time since the beginning of the witch-hunt, some 20 years ago, that our circulation has gone above the 10,000 mark.

For a long period, during the McCarthy era, it took devoted revolutionaries to maintain even a minimum circulation for the paper. Then as the witch-hunt began to ebb we began a slow climb upward.

And in recent months, weeks and days the climb has not been slow. That figure of 10,366 does not include the period since the present subscription drive began, or reflect the impact of the present offensive against the war.

This present issue, for example, which is being sold at Moratorium actions, had a press run of 17,000. And we're not finished.

Cleveland's Mayor Stokes pledges allegiance to Democratic Party

By DAVE WULP

CLEVELAND—With a call for party unity and the declaration, "We are all Democrats first," Carl Stokes, the black mayor of this city, announced his victory in the Democratic mayoralty primary over "law and order" candidate Robert Kelly. Stokes won over 90,000 votes, or more than 60 percent of all the ballots cast in the Democratic primary. He got some 99 percent of the black Democratic votes.

Stokes tried to compete with his right-wing opponent on the "law and order" issue. The mayor proudly cited figures showing that he had put 300 additional cops in the city's streets, and he proclaimed at every opportunity that he had stumped for a gun-control bill designed to pacify whites aroused by newspaper tales about a "black nationalist army."

Stokes also intervened in a boycott in the black community of the MacDonald's hamburger stands and managed to have picketing called off two days before the election. In another attempt to demonstrate his usefulness to the white ruling class here, Stokes offered an unsolicited statement that he had changed his former "pro-labor" stand and could now understand "the mutual dependence of labor and capital." At the same time, his breaking of a city waterworkers' strike showed which side he depends on.

Stokes's efforts to compete with Kelly for the white, ethnically mixed West Side vote reached astonishing proportions in the last days of the campaign. The mayor asserted he would support

Kelly if the latter won the primary, just two days after Kelly made a well-publicized reference to his "nigger neighbors."

And when Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate Syd Stapleton challenged Stokes to denounce the frame-up conviction and death sentence of black nationalist leader Ahmed Evans, Stokes made his first mention of the case by saying that Evans had gotten a fair trial and that the jury system—the jury was all white in the Evans case—"is the best thing we have going for us."

Militant-Young Socialist subscription scoreboard

City	Quota	New Subs			
Lawrence, Kan.	30	29	Detroit, Mich.	275	107
Providence, R.I.	40	37	Houston, Texas	50	19
San Francisco, Calif.	250	211	St. Louis, Mo.	30	11
Philadelphia, Pa.	200	158	Antioch College, Ohio	30	10
Binghamton, N.Y.	80	61	Champaign, Ill.	30	10
Ann Arbor, Mich.	25	18	Bloomington, Ind.	30	9
Kent, Ohio	50	37	East Lansing, Mich.	30	9
New York, N.Y.	425	310	Chicago, Ill.	275	72
Kansas City, Mo.	30	22	Washington, D.C.	75	19
Twin Cities, Minn.	200	143	San Diego, Calif.	45	10
Los Angeles, Calif.	275	193	Austin, Texas	150	35
Boulder, Colo.	30	20	Seattle, Wash.	150	26
Madison, Wis.	75	49	DeKalb, Ill.	80	12
Phoenix, Ariz.	30	19	Hayward, Calif.	40	5
Newark, N.J.	35	20	Logan, Utah	25	3
Boston, Mass.	275	146	Albany, N.Y.	25	3
Cleveland, Ohio	250	124	Gainesville, Fla.	35	4
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	12	Carbondale, Ill.	25	2
Atlanta, Ga.	125	58	Chapel Hill-Durham, N.C.	30	2
Berkeley, Calif.	225	93	Portland, Ore.	20	0
			General	205	153
			Total	4330	2281

Large-Format Paperback Books From Merit Publishers

Produced in this format to keep prices down, these books have pages, 8 1/2 X 11 inches, containing 2 1/2 to 3 times as many words as those of the average book.

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Reminiscences and appraisals by 18 writers
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Photo by George Basley

Boston SMC regional meeting

N.Y. Third World activists organize antiwar committee

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Black and Puerto Rican militants have recently gotten together here to form a Third World Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam.

The TWCSVN is planning an Oct. 15 rally at Rockefeller's state office building site on 125th St. and 7th Ave. This action will help build toward a Nov. 14 strike in Black and Puerto Rican high schools and toward massive participation by Third World people in the Nov. 15 antiwar march on

North Koreans assail attacks on Panthers

The Black Panther Party announced Sept. 28 that officials of the People's Republic of Korea have sent them a telegram of solidarity in their fight against nationwide repression by federal and local government.

Addressed to Bobby Seale, Black Panther chairman, the telegram was sent by the Association of Democratic Jurists of Korea and the Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity of Korea.

It said in part: "We energetically demand the immediate liberation of the militants of your party along with that of Mr. Huey Newton who have been illegally arrested and imprisoned by U.S. imperialism. . . . In hoping that the progressive, peace- and justice-loving peoples in the United States will be reinforced, the Korean people who are struggling to chase the occupying army of U.S. imperialism out of our country wish you great success in your struggle against the war of aggression and the racism of U.S. imperialism."

The Black Panther Party returned a solidarity message to Premier Kim Il Sung of the People's Republic of Korea and to an international conference of journalists about to open in Pyongyang.

Washington. The TWCSVN hopes that Third World people all over the country will be mapping out plans for participation in the Nov. 14-15 actions.

In their Call to Action the Black and Puerto Rican militants state that the "heroic struggle being waged by the Vietnamese has inspired Third World peoples everywhere. African guerrillas fighting the racist imperialist dictatorships in southern Africa keep on pushin' as a result of the heroic example set by Vietnam. The Latin American peoples hold steadfast in their aim of expelling U.S. imperialism due to the valiant Vietnamese. And Asia is aflame.

"The struggle of the Vietnamese has also accelerated the struggle being waged by the black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Indian, and Asian-American peoples here in the United States. . . .

"In fact, the war in Vietnam . . . affects and ties together all of the problems Black and Puerto Rican people are concerned with on a day-to-day basis. The cuts in the welfare budget, the school budget and hospital budget are all linked to the continuation of the war in Vietnam. . . .

"Right now, inside the armed forces, Black and Puerto Rican soldiers are organizing against the war. Our soldiers are not only subjected to racist treatment inside the armed forces, but they are also found in very disproportionate numbers on the front line. Thus the Black and Puerto Rican communities are being bled dry in order not only to pay for the war, but to fight it also.

"For this reason, Black and Puerto Rican people have a bigger stake in ending the war in Vietnam than anybody else. And the only way the war is going to end is if all of the troops are brought home now."

Those interested in the activities of the Third World Committee and the Call to Action should write to: TWCSVN, 407 E. 107 St., New York, N.Y. 10029. Phone: 722-0364.

Boston SMC builds area-wide fall action

By BOB BRESNAHAN

BOSTON—The Oct. 15 Moratorium will be marked here by a massive march and rally to demand "unconditional and immediate" withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The Greater Boston Faculty-Student Coalition has mapped out four feeder marches to converge on Boston Common.

Speakers at the Commons rally will include Senator George McGovern; Peter Camejo of the Student Mobilization Committee; Howard Zinn of Boston University; Kay Hurley, chairman of the Welfare Rights Organization; Cora Weiss, New Mobilization Committee cochairman; and the Rev. James Breedan of the National Council of Churches.

Meanwhile a large number of university and high school administrations have agreed to close their schools Oct. 15.

The Greater Boston SMC is growing rapidly and now estimates its active membership at 2,000. Some 600 attended a regional meeting Oct. 2 to approve coalition plans for the Moratorium march and rally.

There are 12 functioning SMC chapters on the colleges in Boston, including Boston University, Harvard-Radcliffe, MIT, U Mass and Brandeis. Nine more college SMCs are in the process of formation. There are also a city-wide and local high school chapters. There are also four SMC chapters in nearby Worcester.

The real strength of the SMC is not only in its numbers, but also in the mass support it has for its politics, methods and actions. SMC's non-sec-

tarianism is uniting all students who support immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. This stand has won the SMC the respect of all serious opponents of the war on campus.

Once organized, each campus SMC holds weekly meetings where the activists make decisions by democratic vote. An open steering committee is set up, composed of working committee chairmen and those willing to devote a large amount of time. Occasionally, when major decisions are involved, the SMC city-wide steering committee calls regional meetings, like the Oct. 2 meeting.

Some local SMC chapters have started to form sub-SMC groups in each campus dorm. A network for contacting people and sending out mailings has been set up by SMC dorm representatives.

The citywide steering committee has approved a budget of \$10,000 for the immediate period. With a staff of seven, it is providing buttons, leaflets, posters, sound equipment and other services to the SMC chapters. A campaign is underway to sell 10,000 one-dollar student pledge cards.

Fund-raising has been undertaken in a variety of other ways and it seems like collections for SMC can be taken anywhere. At Tufts, a hat was passed around at a dance for \$200; there was a collection at the Oct. 4 Harvard-BU football game. An Oct. 15 SMC button sold out the original run of 2,000 in three days.

The citywide SMC office is located at 595 Massachusetts Ave. in Cambridge, 491-8030, 491-8583.

...and across the country

AUSTIN — The Texas University SMC suffered a mild setback here Oct. 2 at the pre-game pep rally for UT vs Navy.

About 50 SMCers, carrying a 20-foot banner and cards reading BRING ALL THE GIs HOME NOW, took part in the pep rally which had been called to whip up spirit for the Longhorns against Navy.

While the official cheer leaders spelled out T-E-X-A-S and gave the "Hook-'em-Horns" symbol, antiwar students spelled out P-E-A-C-E and gave the "V" sign. But the Cowboy Spirit Award, going to the group which exhibits the most spirit, went to POSSE, an official school-spirit group.

Meanwhile action to build the fall offensive has been going strong in Austin.

ATLANTA — The Atlanta Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is making plans to fill at least six buses for the march on Washington Nov. 15. This would be the largest Atlanta turnout to date for a national antiwar demonstration.

On the campuses, the SMC at Georgia State University reports that 50 people have been attending the meetings held every week. The SMC is planning a teach-in on campus Oct. 15 and plans to contact faculty members to build a faculty committee against the war. About 100 students at Emory University attended a Vietnam Moratorium meeting on Sept. 22.

CARLISLE, Pa. — The Student Mobilization Committee of Dickinson College is organizing a "March for Peace" against the United States Army War College in Carlisle on Oct. 15, Moratorium day. Aside from the Pentagon, the Army War College in Carlisle houses the

largest concentration of military brass involved in the strategic planning of war.

The Dickinson SMC hopes for the largest possible turnout and welcomes people from other areas. Housing can be provided. For more information contact the SMC, Box 769, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 17013 or phone (717) 243-4011 and ask for someone on the SMC steering committee.

By DAVID KATZ

DETROIT — About 225 people attended the first Student Mobilization Committee meeting at Wayne State University and unanimously voted to strike on Oct. 15.

Wayne's meeting is indicative of the antiwar upsurge in the Detroit area. On Oct. 4, a Michigan student antiwar conference was held, with representatives from 20 colleges and 17 high schools. All 150 students at the meeting attended the SMC's workshop.

Although many of these schools will have their own activities Oct. 15, students from throughout the area plan to converge in the center of Detroit for a march down Woodward Avenue, followed by a rally in Kennedy Square.

LOS ANGELES — The Nov. 15 Mobilization against the war has received the unanimous endorsement of the statewide executive board of the Social Workers Union, Local 535, AFL-CIO.

The action was taken Sept. 20 on the motion of Walter Lippman, a delegate from the Los Angeles chapter of the union, which had taken the same action earlier in the week.

The four-part resolution also encouraged the largest possible participation in the antiwar demonstration by other trade unions, and the appointment of



Photo by Alan Goldstein

SMC PRESS CONFERENCE, D. C., Sept. 29. Standing (left to right): Robin Yates, Georgetown U; Norman Goldstein, Montgomery Junior College. Seated (left to right): Allen Myers, GI Press Service; Don Gurewitz, New Mobe staff; Frank Greer, U. of Maryland; Alice Feathers, American U. Goldstein, Myers and Greer are SMC staff members.

an official local coordinator from the union to work with the antiwar movement in the preparations.

By DERREL MYERS

MINNEAPOLIS — Two hundred-seventy five college, high school and junior high students attended the largest antiwar planning meeting in Minnesota history here Oct. 4. Students from 28 high schools, 18 colleges and two junior highs attended the SMC gathering.

The conference, originally planned only for the Twin Cities metropolitan area, turned regional when representatives came from 14 schools outside the Twin Cities including schools in Sioux Falls, S. Dakota; Des Moines, Iowa; and Lawrence, Kansas.

By CARL FRANK

NEW YORK — An Oct. 4 meeting of more than 120 high school antiwar organizers from 40 N.Y. high schools called for a massive organizing effort in the high schools on Oct. 15 and projected plans for the Nov. 14 student strike.

The High School SMC initiated a call for a demonstration in downtown Manhattan on Nov. 14. The action, part of the student strike, will focus on the city hall and on the federal building complex in Foley Square.

Reports from high school activists indicated that almost every school will see some expression of organized antiwar protest Oct. 15. In many schools, the teachers are joining students in an-

tiwar activity.

High school students in Queens are planning to work with the Queens College SMC in organizing a dramatic action at the Mets' world series game at Shea Stadium on Oct. 15. They are planning a massive leafletting effort, followed by a post-game antiwar rally in nearby Flushing Park.

The New Coalition, the major opposition party in the United Federation of Teachers, has planned a series of antiwar activities by New York City teachers. These include Moratorium school closings, teach-ins, special assembly programs and teacher-student demonstrations throughout the city.

The New Coalition is organizing buses for teachers to the mass march in Washington Nov. 15 and the march against death.

A city-wide UFT referendum will be initiated to reverse the "no position" policy of the teachers' union. The New Coalition is beginning a campaign to gather the required 4,000 signatures to place the issue before the membership.

By JOSEPH TRAUGOTT

PROVIDENCE, R. I. — About 2,500 antiwar demonstrators kicked off the Providence fall antiwar offensive with a spirited march and rally on Oct. 4 — the largest in Providence history. Fifteen local antiwar groups backed the march under the slogans: "There is nothing to negotiate, bring *all* the troops home now" and "Black control of Black communities."

The thrust of the demonstration was to mobilize a wide spectrum of people to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. The GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace leafletted at the Newport Naval Station. A leaflet, "Who Pays for the War?" was distributed at factory gates and at shopping centers. Black activists distributed a leaflet calling for Black control of the Black community.

Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson 8 was keynote speaker at the rally at the steps of the State House.

Howard Kalish of Providence High School SMC called for support to the Oct. 15 Moratorium and the Nov. 15 march on Washington. The high school SMC has representatives in almost every high school in the Providence area and has already sponsored a successful teach-in.

Other speakers included Charlie Fortes of the Providence Corporation, a Black anti-poverty organization, and Jack Russell of the New University Conference. Representatives of the grape boycott, Womens' Liberation Movement and a Peace and Freedom antiwar referendum tied in their issues to the antiwar movement.

By LARRY SWINGLE

ST. LOUIS — One hundred fifty people from Missouri and southern Illinois came to a regional antiwar conference here on Sept. 27-28. The meeting, organized by the Greater St. Louis Peace Coalition, mapped plans for the fall offensive against the war. It included workshops on GI organizing, high school organizing, campus organizing, the Oct. 15 Moratorium, housewives against the war, and the march on Washington.

By DAN ROSENSHINE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — An Oct. 4 regional SMC conference drew 500 activists from 15 colleges and 33 high schools. Among the speakers were Dr. Sidney Peck, cochairman of the New Mobilization Committee, and Jose Rud-der of the Ft. Jackson 8.

Peck received a prolonged standing ovation after he explained how the American people have the power to force the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

The conference capped the first month of intensive organizing by SMC since the school year began. American U. held its first SMC meeting of the fall with 250 in attendance. U of Maryland SMC has had over 200 at meetings. Initial antiwar meetings at Georgetown and George Washington Universities were 500 and 300 respectively.

High school students have been circulating petitions for day-long antiwar programs on Oct. 15, and have been holding SMC organizational meetings in the schools themselves. Regional

SMC has sent speakers to meetings in over 20 high schools, many attended by more than 100 students. The largest meeting, 250, was at Bethesda-Chevy Chase H. S.

An important gain of the Oct. 4 SMC conference was the money raised. An afternoon collection brought in \$200. An evening rock concert took the day's total to over \$1,000.

VANCOUVER — Some 7-8,000 people demonstrated at the Blaine border crossing between Canada and the U. S. Oct. 1 to protest the U. S. planned Amchitka nuclear explosion. The significance of the demonstration's size is indicated by the fact that the border is 30 miles from the central city.

The demonstration actually blocked the main highway at the border so that traffic had to be re-routed over a secondary highway.

On Oct. 4 a conference is planned in Vancouver to organize action against the Vietnam war on Nov. 15. The conference has received the endorsement of the Vancouver and District Labour Council and the Burrard and Point Gray New Democratic parties.

TORONTO — More than 100 antiwar activists met here Sept. 20 to map plans for Canadian action against the war in Vietnam on Nov. 15. The meeting, called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee decided to call for a mass march in Toronto on the weekend of Nov. 15-16.

Theme of the action will be "Withdraw All U. S. Troops Now — End Canada's Complicity."

Parade Committee parley maps plans for New York

By JOEL ABER

NEW YORK — Some 300 antiwar organizers met here Oct. 4 to map plans for the fall offensive against the war in Vietnam. The meeting, sponsored jointly by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee and the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, involved a very broad range of participants and endorsers.

Morris Rosenzweig, an official of District 65, RWDSU, told a press conference preceding the meeting that the leadership of his union would recommend sending 1,500 members to Washington for the Nov. 15 mass march against the war. In an indication of other labor support for the action, Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Employees Union, and Thomas Flavell, manager of Local 169, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, lent their names to the list of endorsers of the meeting.

Rabbi Balfour Brickner of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations told the press that the national organization of reform Jews has gone on re-

cord in support of the Oct. 15 Moratorium and will probably do likewise for the Nov. 15 antiwar mobilization in Washington.

In addition to Rosenzweig and Brickner, other speakers at the news conference included Joanna Misnik of the SMC; former U.S. Undersecretary of Commerce Howard Samuels, currently a contender for the 1970 gubernatorial nomination; Dave Dellinger, one of the "Conspiracy 8" now on trial in Chicago; Robert Schwartz, chairman of New York SANE; Dan Collins, chairman of the NY New Democratic Coalition (reform wing of the Democratic party); Adam Walinsky of the New York Moratorium Committee; James Johnson of the Ft. Hood 3; and Cora Weiss of Women Strike for Peace, a cochairman of the New Mobilization Committee.

Scores of newspapers, radio and TV stations were present. They crowded around Samuels after his statement in support of immediate withdrawal of the troops from Vietnam and besieged Joanna Misnik after she outlined the SMC's plans for the fall offensive culminating in the student strike Nov. 14 and march on Washington Nov. 15.

Further statements of support came at the meeting of antiwar activists, which heard Shirley Chisholm (D. — N. Y.), the first black congresswoman and U. S. Senator Charles Goodell (R. — N. Y.).

"If there's one thing I've learned since going to Washington," Mrs. Chisholm said, "it's that the only thing those men will listen to is force. . . . Keep the pressure on."

Goodell told the meeting, "I'm here to support what you're doing — both the Moratorium and the mobilization."



Joanna Misnik



At Providence rally

BACK AT SCHOOL? If so please let us know your change of address. Important: Be sure to include your old address.



U.S. plane downed early in war in which Pentagon says we're not intervening. Photo was released by Pathet Lao.

Background analysis (II)

The role of the CIA in Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

"Laos? It doesn't exist. I know. I've been there." The quip dates from the era of 19th-century French colonial rule. But it is the height of hypocrisy when politicians run around Washington today pretending that they barely know where Laos is and certainly don't know anything about U.S. involvement in combat there.

"There might be some skirmishes or something like that going on," Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Stennis opined in a floor debate Sept. 17, "but it is not anything that has been recognized that I know anything about."

The truth is that civil war has raged in Laos off and on since the collapse of French rule there in 1954, and Washington has donated over one-half billion dollars in war machinery to keep it going. Such appropriations must be cleared by the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate as a whole each year.

On April 25, 1966, the *New York Times* printed the first of a five-article series on the CIA—a series written to answer criticism of the agency's role in South Vietnam. The first article contained the following two paragraphs:

"In 1960, CIA agents in Laos, disguised as 'military advisers,' stuffed ballot boxes and engineered local uprisings to help a handpicked strongman, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, set up a 'pro-American' government that was desired by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

"This operation succeeded—so much so that it stimulated Soviet intervention

on the side of leftist Laotians, who counterattacked the Phoumi government. When the Kennedy administration set out to reverse the policy of the Eisenhower administration, it found the CIA deeply committed to Phoumi Nosavan and needed two years of negotiations and threats to restore the neutralist regime of Prince Souvanna Phouma."

The real story is more complicated. The 1954 Geneva Accords left Laos partitioned between the anti-imperialist Pathet Lao forces in the north and the constitutional monarchy bequeathed by the French to the south. But there were strong forces in the Laotian government who favored a coalition with the Pathet Lao promised by the Geneva Accords and who set about building it. The CIA made it its business to mold a right-wing, anti-communist force in order to stop the elections and block a coalition government.

Dulles succeeded in stalling the coalition process, but by 1958 the neutralist party of Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao had agreed to the formation of a "National Union Government" and a joint party, the Neo Lao Haksat Party. In elections held in May 1958, the Neo Lao Haksat won 13 of 21 seats in the national assembly. This threw Washington into a panic.

Even last June, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J.W. Fulbright could recall the situation: "I remember when a group of us were called to the White House and consulted about whether or not we should authorize the President to send 30,000 troops into Laos. . .

"All of those persons who were called

to the White House said it was a very bad idea, and [Eisenhower] did not send them. . . That was in 1958, as I recall." (*Congressional Record*, June 19, 1969, p. S. 6833.)

But Washington did pump millions into the coffers of the reactionary parties and in the same month, May 1958, pulled out of the hat the "Committee for the Defense of National Interests," composed of young army officers and government officials. Under prodding from the State Department, this organization advised the Royal Laotian government "against an agreement integrating the Communist forces with those of the government, then advised putting the Communist cabinet ministers out, disarming the Communist units and opening a determined anti-Communist campaign," Dana Adams Schmidt wrote in the *New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1959—after it happened. Phoumi Nosavan was the strongman of this organization.

Nosavan acted quickly. The government was purged of Neo Lao Haksat ministers, leftwing leaders were imprisoned, including Pathet Lao leader Souphanouvong (who was not released until May 1960, two years later), and the right launched a general repression that rekindled the flames of civil war.

Whatever its errors in trusting in the possibility of forming a neutral coalition regime, the Pathet Lao had not made the mistake of following the Geneva Accords' dictate to disarm. Its guerrillas were in the battlefield again, and they grew rapidly.

Meanwhile, Henry Cabot Lodge, at that time U.S. Ambassador to the UN, created an international crisis in 1959 by beating the drums about an invasion of "Free Laos" by Chinese and North Vietnamese armies. Washington threatened to send troops.

A UN investigating team looked around in the fall of 1959 and reported back in November that it could not find any proof of invasion, although it found some evidence of "outside" aid in the form of arms and supplies. The crisis fizzled out.

The second Laotian crisis was more serious. It brought Washington to the brink of massive military intervention in Laos but ended up with a compromise between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

The forces of Pathet Lao resistance were strongly reinforced in 1960-61 by Royal Laotian Army paratroopers who rebelled under a Captain Kong Le. They were further substantially aided by a Soviet airlift of arms and munitions from North Vietnam.

Why did the Kremlin interrupt its long pursuit of peaceful coexistence and a detente with Washington in order to come to the aid of revolutionary forces in Laos? Perhaps the decision was rooted in the Sino-Soviet rift which was

then beginning to emerge. A British journalist familiar with the situation argues that Moscow acted to offset the advantage Maoists were gaining in the North Vietnamese Lao Dong Party: "The Soviet Union had calculated that this move would preclude accusations by Lao Dong Party militants that the USSR's conciliatory policy was betraying the Communist cause." (Arthur J. Dommen, *Conflict in Laos*, London, 1964.)

Whatever his reasons, Khrushchev backed down shortly. Kong Le had won a series of battles, Nosavan's regime was on the verge of collapse and Kennedy was providing the Royal Laotian Army with AT-6 trainer aircraft and a contingent of 400 Special Forces troops. (Vietnam war opponents will remember the AT-6, armed with machine guns and equipped to fire rockets and drop bombs, from "Operation Sunrise" in the opening stages of the CIA's pacification efforts in Vietnam.)

On March 23, Kennedy made a national TV address: "My fellow Americans," the new president declared, "Laos is far away from America, but the world is small. . . . The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. Its own safety runs with the safety of us all—in real neutrality observed by all."

The threat to Moscow was clear enough. Khrushchev and Kennedy agreed on restoring Souvanna Phouma to power. A cease-fire was called. The Geneva conference of 1961-62 was opened. After many months of negotiations, Nosavan was put on ice in Bangkok and a "neutralist" Laos was re-established under Souvanna Phouma. The Pathet Lao remained in control of the northern provinces. And today, of course, Souvanna Phouma's "neutralist" regime is playing the same role that Phoumi Nosavan's did formerly: servitor of U.S. imperialist interests in Southeast Asia.

The 1962 compromise between Washington and Moscow—so far as U.S. imperialism is concerned—succeeded in saving the situation when an untenable rightist regime was caving in to the forces of revolution.

The Laotian events themselves show that Washington and the CIA will not be satisfied until they crush the Pathet Lao once and for all if they can, and if they don't get away with it one year they will try the next.

This is the main purpose of the escalated attacks on Laos that Nixon ordered last month. It is a new attempt on Washington's part to carve away at the Pathet Lao. They hope to do this while the eyes of the world are riveted to Vietnam.

(Second of two articles)

600,000 homeless in Laos after genocidal B-52 raids

Washington is subjecting Laos to a genocidal bombing attack on the pattern of its horrendous B-52 missions against North and South Vietnam. This has already reduced one quarter of the nation's population to homeless refugees.

Facts and figures on this savage attempt to crush the revolutionary forces of the Pathet Lao were revealed in a startling dispatch by *New York Times* reporter T.D. Allman, written from Vientiane, Sept. 30:

"The main U.S. targets now, according to sources in both the Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao rebels, are the rebel economy and social fabric.

"The restraints on the U.S. in bombing Laotian territory have been significantly relaxed over the last six months. The daily total of U.S. bombing sorties has risen to the hundreds

with U.S. jets often refueling over Laos rather than returning to their Thai or South Vietnamese bases as they continue their round-the-clock search for targets. . .

"The war has also become increasingly a war for control of populations rather than territory. With U.S. bombers able to destroy almost at will, any given town, bridge, road or concentration of enemy soldiers or civilians, control of specific territory has become increasingly less important. . .

"The bombing has contributed directly to the production of refugees, many of whom have been evacuated from Communist held territory, usually in U.S. aircraft. The Laotian war, according to Government figures, so far has produced more than 600,000 refugees, or about a quarter of the population of the kingdom."

Revolutionary dynamics of the struggle for women's liberation



Mary Wollstonecraft,

By GEORGE NOVACK

The current ferment in radical circles around the issue of women's liberation betokens a new and higher phase of a social struggle which has periodically erupted in the West for 200 years. The demand for female equality is democratic in character. It asserts the legitimate right of one-half the human race to be placed on a par in all respects—legal, social, economic, educational—with the dominant male half.

This kind of demand is at odds with the patriarchal, feudal conception of woman's place in society, which was tersely formulated by John Milton, who fought for the right of divorce and had an enlightened attitude toward women for his time, in *Paradise Lost*:

"Man was made for God
and woman was made for man."

The general struggle for political democracy and civil rights against the hierarchical institutions, customs and standards of the precapitalist past dates back to the 16th century. It began with the 80-year war to free the Netherlands from Spanish shackles, continued through the two English revolutions of the following century and the American and French revolutions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and terminated in the American civil war.

As these mobilizations for democratic objectives unfolded, the ruling powers were compelled to take cognizance of the most insistent needs of the masses. The big bourgeoisie, which was the principal beneficiary of these upheavals, was disposed to short-change the claims of the plebeians. But the

exigencies of overcoming their feudal foes, consolidating their supremacy, and maintaining social and political stability prevented them from totally denying the demands from the lower orders and enabled the latter to make considerable advances over feudal times in their freedoms.

The appeal made by the bourgeois radicals to "the rights of the people" against the privileges and prerogatives of the old regime had tremendous dynamism. This abstract slogan, which inspired the democratic forces, became a seedbed for the sprouting of specific demands articulating the urgent needs of diverse contingents of the oppressed. These passed from the peasants, wage workers, slaves and subject nationalities to the religiously persecuted, racially discriminated, pariahs and paupers, the aged, the sick and disabled, criminals and prisoners, the insane, and the young. As the democratic movement and its ideals spread through bourgeois society, each of these downtrodden groups found defenders and evangelists who strove to secure redress of their grievances and betterment of their situations.

The first cries for women's liberation resounded in this historical setting. Whenever the rest of society was shaken up and set into motion during the bourgeois era, what was then termed "the distaff side" of the population was sooner or later stirred up, and calls for reforms in their subordinate status came from militant women as well as sympathetic males.

It is noteworthy that, in contrast to protests by isolated individuals, sustained movements for women's rights emerged rather late in the upswing of bourgeois society. This tardiness was in itself an index to the extent of the oppression and submissiveness from which women suffered. They were slow to rouse themselves, organize, and act in a concerted and self-confident manner.

Although the women of Holland and Great Britain played active and prominent parts in many of the most dramatic developments of the Dutch and English revolutions, they were kept in the rear and assumed minimal roles in political affairs. Their place was still in the home, not in public life. The Levellers, for example, who were the most vigorous exponents of democracy in the British civil war and whose leaders displayed high regard for the capacities of their women adherents, did not request any share in government for them, any more than they proposed to extend the franchise to "servants," as the wage workers were then designated.

The American colonists could not have settled and cultivated the land without the skills and strength of the pioneer women, nor could they have waged their seven-year war of independence successfully without the efforts and sacrifices of their wives, sisters and mothers. In 1777, at the start of armed conflict, Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, wrote her husband: "In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you should remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we had no voice or representation."

Her half-jocular plea was not acted upon. When the U.S. republic was founded, women received little more political recognition than did the black slaves.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the materialist philosopher Condorcet, under prodding from his wife, was one of the first, and very few, male heralds of the French revolution to propose giving women certain political rights. In 1790 he declared that "either no member of the human race has true rights or all have the same." But his attitude was exceptional among the spokesmen of the time.

The 8,000 working-class women who marched on Versailles in October 1789 were instrumental in breaking the royal power, and the women of Paris played a decisive role in all the great days which accelerated the revolution. Yet that epoch-making charter of bourgeois democracy, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, adopted in 1789, did not provide any special civil rights for the women of France.

Four years after this declaration was proclaimed, Olympe de Gouges, the daughter of a butcher who was one

of the first champions of her sex to write on politics, published a Declaration of the Rights of Women. It contained these memorable lines: "Women are born free and equal to men in their rights. . . . Women have the right to go to the scaffold; they should also have the right to ascend the tribune. . . . Women, arise!"

However, many leaders of the first women's organizations were guillotined and imprisoned and the Convention voted to dissolve and prohibit all the women's clubs that had sprung up under the impetus of the revolution. Whereas divorce was authorized in 1792, the Napoleonic Code of 1804 placed the wife under strict subordination to the husband.

Despite figures like Mary Wollstonecraft, the author of *Frankenstein* and a radical critic of many spheres of social life, who issued one of the earliest challenges to male supremacy in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, published in 1792, public agitation for women's rights in the English-speaking countries does not go back much further than 150 years ago. Interest in the question rose in England soon after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, which somewhat liberalized the franchise.

So long as the rural family with its cottage industry remained intact, the plight of women attracted little public attention. This changed when large-scale industry pulled increasing numbers of women and small children into the mills and shops, where they were pitilessly ground down. Their severance from the home and entry into social production singled out the sex for the first time as a force apart from the family. Thanks to the propaganda of the proletarian Chartists as well as middle-class reformers and writers, the problem of working women came to the fore between 1832 and 1850.

During this same period, the feminist movement in the United States was stimulated by the visit in 1820 of the Scottish reformer Frances Wright. She contended against conventional prejudices on the proper position of women and called for an end to their social degradation. The struggle for women's equality before the civil war became closely associated with the other reform crusades of the time, and especially with antislavery agitation. The matter of the priorities to be accorded the two issues generated dissension among the Abolitionists.

The first Women's Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, the year that saw the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. It adopted a Declaration of Sentiments, patterned after the Declaration of Independence, which was somewhat ecclesiastical and middle-class in flavor. But the document deserves extensive quotation for its forceful indictment of the "long train of abuses" inflicted upon American women and the determination expressed by the most defiant defenders of their cause over a century ago:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of men toward woman, hav-

(Continued on page 8)



"Well, boys, we saved the home."

(Rollin Kirby's famous cartoon in the New York World on November 3, 1915.)

"The history of mankind is a history of

(Continued from page 7)

ing in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

"He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and, in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law in all cases going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of men, and giving all power into his hands.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognises her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolised nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives

but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues of wealth and distinction which he considers most honourable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

"He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

"He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

"He has endeavoured, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

"Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation; in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

"In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions



Recent New York welfare mothers protest reflects growing radicalization

embracing every part of the country."

This initial nationwide campaign won some minor reforms for women before it had to be suspended at the outbreak of the civil war. The agitation for women's rights was rekindled by the palpable inequity of the Fourteenth Amendment of 1866, which granted voting rights to the freed slaves but not to women. The Northern men of money in charge of the Republican Party justified this discrimination because they could make use of black votes to beat the Democratic Party in the South but saw no political purpose in giving the franchise to the other sex.

It took over a hundred years of persistent endeavor by small bands of suffragists to break down the barriers, state by state, and finally force through the Nineteenth Amendment which, in 1920, legalized women's right to vote in national elections.

The gains in civil rights made by women in the most favored of capitalist nations indicate that the overcoming of the grosser disabilities inherited from patriarchal feudalism was one of the most difficult jobs encountered by the bourgeois movement of democratization. The obdurate resistance to their removal testifies both to their deep roots in class society and to the conservatism of the upper classes, even in the most progressive periods of bourgeois development. They fear any tendencies which threaten to weaken the social supports of private property and profiteering upon which their system rests.

Male prejudice, family custom, religious beliefs and all the other baggage of the patriarchal past would not have deterred the capitalist class from equalizing the situation of American women much faster and further than they have done had it been in their interest to do so. But the exploiters have failed to promote the emancipation of women beyond its present limits for the same reasons that Afro-Americans have been held down and held back. More freedom for women would have been too costly and cut into the profit-making which is the be-all and end-all of the capitalist system.

Male predominance and female subordination is a permanent fixture in bourgeois society because this relation of inequality is an integral component of the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Women are oppressed both within society as a whole and within the family. The fountainhead of that double degradation is their economic dependence upon the male wage-earner who is the initial recipient and disbursing of the household income. If she does not have an outside job, the woman as daughter, sister, wife, mother and homemaker relies for her ration upon the husband, father, and brother, who are in turn dependent upon the employer who buys their labor power.

In the second place, capitalists require not only cheap but constantly renewed supplies of labor power, which must primarily come from the younger generation. Women have the prime responsibility for raising children. Their unpaid or poorly recompensed labors in the family household serve to lower the costs of reproducing and renewing the labor force.

These costs would be much higher if the capitalist regime had to take over the multiple services provided gratis or at minimal expenditure by the family setup and the domestic drudgery of married women. The socialization of such services would have to be paid for by taxation, which would in part fall upon the capitalists. This shift would increase the cost of the most vital factor of production, the work force which creates value, and reduce whatever advantage accrues to the national capitalist class in that respect.

Third, where women work in large numbers in industry, trade, offices, schools and the professions, discrimination against them is directly profitable to the employers. Degradation and domesticity keep them in the category of lower-paid labor. The capitalists always benefit from maintaining national, racial and sexual differentials in income and status among the work force. The working class as a whole would be a far more homogeneous and formidable antagonist if all discrimin-



FREDERICK DOUGLASS. Abolitionist leader was also in the forefront of the women's rights struggle. He participated in the first women's rights convention held in Seneca Falls, N. Y. in 1848.

and usurpations

repeated injuries



Photo by Michael Hardy

ong black and Third World women

ations and divisions within it were eliminated.

Fourth, women are a detachment of the reserve army of labor required by the capitalists during periods of labor shortage. This supply can be impounded or tapped according to the fluctuating rate of the accumulation of capital. During wartime, women can be mustered out of the household and drawn into the productive processes, as was done during the first and second world wars. Then, with the end of hostilities, they can be sent back to the family hearth, there to be kept in storage until capital needs to recall them again. The family home is a depot where surplus labor is deposited and kept in mothballs at least expense to the profiteers.

Fifth, females of all ages are the prime target of the advertising hucksters who must induce them, by fair means or foul, to purchase all kinds of commodities, useful and useless, from gadgets to cosmetics. In this con-game even the appliances which are supposed to relieve and lighten household toil become devices for fastening the family to the credit companies.

Social as well as economic reasons lead the possessing classes to shore up the cult of the family. The ordinary urban family with the male at its head acts as a stabilizing and conservatizing agency in an otherwise unsettled world. It is a corral where the domestic servant works for the master in the kitchen, nursery and dining room. Though the family nest may often provide the sole sanctuary from the buffetings and harassments of a cruel outside environment, it fosters immersion in purely private concerns, narrowness of outlook and exclusiveness among its members. Here attempts are made to tame, discipline and conservatize adolescents. All sorts of backwardness, from religion to racism, are nurtured within its walls.

These ever-present factors are more potent than long-standing prejudice in preventing the capitalist regime from giving women the freedom they desire. The rulers can under duress bestow

upon women the same formal juridical, political and constitutional rights that men possess: the right to own and dispose of property, the right to vote and hold office, and the right to divorce, although these rights may be curtailed in practice. They can even be pressed to legalize birth control and abortion.

But just as the bourgeois revolution transformed the Southern chattel slaves into impoverished landless freedmen and then returned them to new forms of bondage, so bourgeois reforms have allowed women to escape from being a complete chattel of the male master and become a "free individual" in the bourgeois sense. What they have not done is to release women from the grip of the men and give them equality in all spheres of social life.

The exploitative structure of their system sets limits on the scope of the freedoms the monopolists can grant to any segment of the oppressed. Just as the American capitalists have failed to give equality to the blacks a hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, so they have not truly emancipated women. They cannot make good on their promises of "liberty for all" because they lack the material incentives and class impulses to do so.

It will take a thoroughgoing reorganization of the entire social setup from the economic foundations up to and including family relations before women can eradicate the causes of their inferior status and the evils flowing from it. In order to accomplish that, a socialist revolution, which will transfer state power and the ownership of the means of production from the monopolists to the majority of the people, must be carried through.

These are the lessons to be learned from the disappointing results of the democratic epoch in improving the position of the female sex and from examining the actual role of women, and especially working-class women, in the functioning of American capitalism today.

These conclusions likewise correspond with the tenets of the permanent revolution, which were projected by Marx and Engels in 1850 and elaborated by Leon Trotsky in the light of 20th century conditions. This theory affirms that, whereas the bourgeoisie could be a progressive and at times a revolutionizing force during the expansion of capitalism, this class has become more and more conservative and counterrevolutionary in the period of its decline and death agony.

Trotsky originally applied this proposition to the political role of the bourgeoisie in backward regions like Russia and the colonial world, which had not yet experienced a bourgeois-democratic revolution. As a Marxist, he took for granted the elementary premise of the socialist movement that the imperialist plutocracy of the industrial metropolises was utterly reactionary and had to be overthrown.

However, the historical-sociological generalization he made holds good not only for retarded countries which had not been democratized but also for those advanced capitalisms whose bourgeois revolutions defaulted in consummating their democratic assignments, as all of them did in one or another respect. Though our war of independence and civil war had many revolutionary accomplishments to their credit, they failed to make blacks equal with whites and women with men.

What has happened in the century since 1865 has served to aggravate both problems. Consequently, these un-

solved tasks of the democratic era have been transmitted for solution to the next stage of revolutionary advancement in this country, which is centered around the struggle for socialism. The American revolution now in the making is called upon by the course of our national development to do two sets of jobs at one and the same time. It must tackle the unfinished business left over from the preceding revolutions, such as equality for blacks and women, together with the tasks connected with the construction of socialism. This simultaneous combination of missions belonging to successive stages of historical progress is characteristic of the age of permanent revolution we are living through.

* * * Some participants in the women's liberation ranks approach the intolerable predicament of their sex in a highly personalized and unpolitical way. They seek relief and release through some sort of psychological readjustment, anti-male attitudes, or by gathering together in small utopian communes. These reactions are understandable in the first flush of revulsion against family domination and male chauvinism and in the desire to cast off the yoke of servitude without delay.

Indignation against injustice is a mighty motive force in the individual and in society. But bitter hatred for what is detestable has to be enlightened and guided by scientific understanding in order to become politically useful and socially effective. Rational inquiry into the underlying causes of the age-long oppression of women is indispensable for working out the best ways and means of attacking and abolishing it.

The Marxist explanation for the subjugation of women is based upon recognition of the fact that private ownership of the means of production, plus the right of property inheritance, was the prime condition for woman's downfall. This began at the dawn of class society and has provided the foundation and framework of her servitude

throughout civilization. It persists today in the most developed countries because property and power are monopolized by the capitalist rulers.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these fundamental truths? First, that women cannot find freedom and independence or develop their capacities as a sex or as individuals within the confines of the most liberal capitalism. A liberal bourgeois attitude toward women involves no more than lengthening the chain which remains riveted to the stake of private property and the evils of the family, marital and sexual customs derived from it.

It also signifies that women cannot liberate themselves unless the socio-economic basis of male and capitalist supremacy is destroyed. A democratic workers' regime and the collective ownership of the means of production are required for any fundamental and beneficent transformation of the relations between men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children.

It further signifies that the exploited of both sexes must make common cause in getting rid of the capitalist class structure behind their deprivations.

Finally, it signifies that there can be no socialist movement and no socialism without the participation of women on an equal footing with men in all spheres of activity and without conscious counteraction against the habits of male chauvinism.

If the demand for woman's equality is democratic, the call for her total liberation can only be socialistic. The relations between capitalism and the struggle for democracy have undergone a dialectical reversal in the 20th century. During its confrontations with the feudalists, the progressive big and little bourgeoisie promoted democratic rights and institutions. Now, as imperialistic capitalism holds sway, the monopolists and militarists have become the deadliest enemies of democracy. They deny the elementary right of self-determination to other nationalities abroad and

(Continued on page 10)



HARRIET TUBMAN. A leading fighter in the liberation movement and famed "conductor" on the "underground railroad" which aided fugitive slaves to escape to the North. She appeared regularly at Women Suffrage meetings.

on the part of men toward women..."

Third-world liberation notes

Report rising militancy among black Viet GIs

The Sept. 19 issue of *Time* magazine contains an article entitled, "Black Power in Vietnam." Its author, Wallace H. Terry II, neatly sums up the situation: "The military is dealing with a different breed of blacks from those I interviewed in Vietnam for a *Time* cover story more than two years ago."

Terry interviewed over 400 black troops, ranging from jet pilots to airborne soldiers, from the demilitarized zone in the North to the Mekong Delta in the South. Forty-five percent said that they would fight with arms in hand to gain their rights in the States; 60 percent said that black people should not fight in Vietnam because of the race problem back home; 64 percent said that racial conflict was on the rise in Vietnam; 56 percent said that they use the Black Power salute—raising a clenched fist; 60 percent said that they wear Afros, which means simply allowing your hair to grow in racist America, but 17 percent said they couldn't exercise this right because of orders from commanders; 55 percent preferred to eat their meals with blacks and 52% preferred to live in an all-black barracks.

Another Indian publication making the scene today is the *Cherokee Examiner*. It is a combination newspaper-magazine, published in Los Angeles. Right beneath the masthead an inscription reads, "An International Ghost Dance Publication, 'No Uncle Tomahawks Here.'"

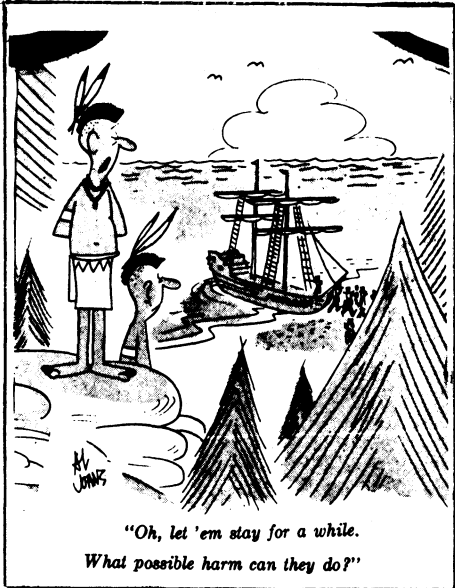
As an article in the second issue of the paper explains, the Ghost Dance is an Indian religion that calls for a return to the original way of life, the way of life that existed before the white man ever set foot on these shores. The climax of the Ghost Dance movement, it seems, is to be realized in a sort of apocalyptic action in which all whites will be driven from the shores of America.

Aside from this apocalyptic action, however, which is supposed to come from above, the Ghost Dance movement developed amongst different Indian tribes in the West as these tribes were being restricted to reservations in the 1870s and 1880s.

Among the most daring exploits of the Ghost Dancers was the action taken at Wounded Knee Creek, somewhere in the Dakotas, on Dec. 29, 1890. Several hundred Minneconjou Indians had

been herded into a ravine by U.S. cavalry troops. Under the pretext of disarming the people, almost 1,000 soldiers on top of the ravine lowered their rifles and started shooting into the gathering; four howitzers on top of a hill also opened up. Then the soldiers started entering the ravine to take closer aim.

Among the troops was a battalion from the 7th U.S. Cavalry. This was the unit that had once been led by



Ladies Home Journal

General George Armstrong Custer and was wiped out in an attack on several Indian nations on June 25, 1876. So the underlying motive behind this massacre at Wounded Knee, in which 300 men, women and children were killed, was to avenge Custer. "Remember the Little Big Horn" was the cry of many of the soldiers.

Suddenly, during this "battle," a handful of Ghost Dancers of the Oglala nation rode into the ravine. This audacious action put the soldiers to flight. The Ghost Dancers then rode directly into the fire of other troops, allowing some of the people in the ravine to escape.

Six issues of the *Cherokee Examiner* are available for \$3.50; 12 issues cost \$6.00. Send subscriptions to: *Cherokee Examiner*, P.O. Box 687, South Pasadena, Calif. 91030.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Youthful pickets greet Golda Meir in Los Angeles

By NANCY GALLAGHER
LOS ANGELES—Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir was greeted by more than 200 anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist demonstrators when she arrived at the Beverly Hilton Hotel here Oct. 1.

The demonstration, composed mainly of Arab, Iranian, and African students and members of the Young Socialist Alliance, was marked by enthusiastic militancy and loud chanting. As they hurried into the hotel, members of the prime minister's entourage hurled various red-baiting epithets at the protesters, but a number of passers-by indicated sympathy with the demonstrators.

After the Meir party was inside, the demonstrators circled the hotel in procession and then dispersed. After the action, a number of Fatah stickers were to be seen on buses in the vicinity.

The demonstration was not only an unusual event in the Beverly Hills section of Los Angeles. It also indicated a big step forward in the growing cooperation here between students from third-world countries and U.S. revolutionary youth.

...Women's liberation

(Continued from page 9)

at home. They no longer safeguard and extend the previously acquired rights of the American people but imperil and chip away at them. Any large-scale effort to broaden democratic liberties must be directed against the repressive rule of the rich.

Under present conditions, the struggle for the expansion of freedom on any front and for any sector of the population cannot be separated from the anticapitalist movement of the workers, black and white. Only a socialist revolution can create the conditions for eliminating social inequalities of all types. Not least among these are the subjugation of women and the antagonisms between the sexes fostered by the alienations of a competitive capitalist environment.

The emergence of a new stage in the fight for women's liberation confronts revolutionary Marxists with a challenge and a responsibility. From its birth, the socialist movement has been acutely sensitive to the abominable treatment of the female sex in class society and has sought to find out its causes and combat its effects. Such utopian thinkers of the early 19th century as Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen were brilliant pioneers in this field. The scientific socialists who came after them have exposed the fraud of formal bourgeois equality between the sexes as well as between the contending classes. They have worked to reduce and remove the disabilities endured by women and, above all, to point and lead the way to their full emancipation.

Women have been one of the major forces in all the socialist revolutions of our time. The Russian Revolution and its sequels in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and Cuba have, whatever their deficiencies, introduced tremendous improvements in the lives of the terribly trampled upon women of these countries, raised their dignity and opened new vistas of opportunity and achievement to them.

All the earlier efforts to enlarge women's rights in our own country have been connected with broader movements of social protest. The pre-civil-war agitation was part of the upsurge against slavery. "It was in the abolition movement that women first learned to organize, to hold public meetings, to conduct petition campaigns," writes Eleanor Flexner. "As abolitionists they first won the right to speak in public, and began to evolve a philosophy of their place in society and of their basic rights. For a quarter of a century the two movements, to free the slave and liberate the woman, nourished and strengthened one another." (*A Century of Struggle*, p. 159.)

The feminist crusade of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was mainly a branch of that middle-class progressivism which tried to effect democratic reforms in the structure of American capitalism.

The socialist struggle against wage slavery is today's parallel to the abolitionist struggle against chattel slavery—and the current strivings for women's liberation bear a comparable relation to it. Marxists must be in the forefront of this movement, which is a component of the most progressive tendencies of our time, and vigorously participate in



LNS

it with their program and ideas. Many of the most effective fighters for women's liberation will get their organizational training and political education within a revolutionary movement, such as that represented by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rebirth of interest in "the woman question" indicates that the vanguard of "the second sex" is beginning to swing into action along with the insurgent blacks and student rebels. They will be joined in turn and in time by re-aroused contingents of militant workers.

To be sure, these elements are still marching separately and at their own pace. The strategic task is to have them strike at the main enemy together. The unified struggle of all these forces against capitalist domination is the key to bringing about "a new birth of freedom" for both women and workers through a socialist America in a socialist world.

Sept. 25, 1969

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Black magazine sets publication

Nathan Hare, author of *Black Anglo-Saxons* and a leader of the struggle for a black studies department at San Francisco State, is the publisher of a new magazine scheduled to make its appearance Nov. 1. The magazine, which will be directed toward enriching the black studies discipline, is entitled *Black Scholar, Journal of Black Studies and Research*.

According to a brochure announcing the journal, it will provide "a forum for significant thought of black intellectuals, students, and public figures and will disperse that material throughout the academic community." In the first issue there will be articles by Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, LeRoi Jones, John O. Killens, Sekou Toure, Nathan Hare, and the magazine's editor, Robert Crisman.

For a year's subscription to the magazine, send \$10 to *The Black Scholar*, Box 31245, San Francisco, Calif. 94131. The subscription rate for students is \$6.

Problems of

Women's Liberation

A Marxist Approach

by Evelyn Reed

64 pages

paper 95 cents

Two views: RYM-II vs. YSA

Is socialist campaign in Atlanta un-Leninist?

Since it took control of the SDS national office, the Weatherman, or RYM I, faction has gone so far out that other groups in SDS begin to look good in comparison. For that reason, some remaining SDSers are expressing the hope that maybe RYM II, now contending for control might offer an alternative.

But an examination of the politics of RYM II, we feel, will show that it shares the same ultra-left premises which sent RYM I into orbit. Or, to put it another way, what's wrong with RYM I is essentially an advanced stage of the ultra-left disease that afflicts RYM II.

An example of this is to be found, we think, in the refusal of the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM II) to support the mayoralty campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in that city.

The candidacy of Linda Jenness represents the first socialist campaign in Atlanta, at least in contemporary history. It has brought socialist ideas to a wide number of people—a worthy accomplishment anywhere, and certainly so in the south.

Even though they succeeded in keeping her off the ballot on a technicality, the rulers of Atlanta have been compelled to concede that the Jenness campaign has been an effective one. (Her victorious fight to force them to lower the candidates' filing fee is testimony to that.)

One would expect that any serious revolutionary group in Atlanta would have jumped at the chance to join in on such a campaign.

This is particularly so, since nothing would have stopped them from using the Marxist method of giving critical support to another socialist tendency with which they have disagreements.

That is, RYM II could have gone to the people of Atlanta and said in effect: "We disagree with the SWP on this, that and the other question. But they are running as socialists and we think it important to pile up the biggest possible socialist vote. For that reason—keeping in mind our political differences with them—we urge you to vote SWP."

Instead, Atlanta's RYM II chose to find contrived or petty reasons to justify refusing to get behind a revolutionary candidate. Such politics lead only to sterile isolation.

We publish here the open letter of the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement explaining its refusal to support the Jenness campaign and the reply issued by the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance. (Points emphasized are as in the original.)

An Open Letter to the Linda Jenness Campaign:

The Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement, as a socialist organization, cannot support the Linda Jenness Socialist Workers Party campaign for mayor of Atlanta. We find the manner in which the campaign has been conducted to be in fundamental contradic-

tion with some of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. We feel that the basis of these contradictions lies in the analysis of the Socialist Workers Party: an organization which puts no faith in the people; an unprincipled, opportunist, Trotskyite organization.

How do we, as communists, participate in bourgeois elections? Do we attempt to reinforce the myth that the needs of the people can be met through the bourgeois electoral process? Do we run to lose, as an "agitational campaign"? Do we hide the fact that we are communists? Do we opportunistically raise slogans which, in practice, breed racism?

We believe that to do any of the above is unprincipled. The primary job of a communist is to raise the consciousness of the people to the recognition that a socialist revolution is the only way in which the people's needs can be met. Only when the people demonstrate their real strength will the bourgeoisie grant reforms which meet their needs. These reforms are stop-gaps set up by the ruling class in an attempt to halt the tide of revolution. But the stop-gap of the velvet glove will be replaced by that of the mailed fist when the ruling class recognizes that the former will not work.

It is through struggling for the people, not through participation in bourgeois elections, that a communist party legitimizes itself in the eyes of the people. When a party's only mass work is around campaigns for election to bourgeois offices (as is that of the SWP) that party cannot call itself a Marxist-Leninist vanguard organization. A party's main work must be centered around organization of the working people to struggle for socialism. Elections are only one tool to be used in organizing the people—they must not be the primary tool.

ARYM is not, in principle, opposed to communists running candidates for bourgeois offices. These campaigns, however, should not be "agitational" campaigns. They must be campaigns to meet the needs of the people through struggles for just reforms. You don't serve the people by failure—a communist fights to win. Campaigns must be run with the recognition that: 1) only socialism, can, in the end, meet the needs of the people; 2) mass struggle, not elections, is the only road to socialism; 3) a communist official can heighten (sic) the contradictions of capitalism by fighting for reforms which are against the interest of the bourgeoisie and are in the interest of the people. Communists should always raise these points when running for office. They should run openly as communists and attack anti-communism. In her campaign literature, speaking engagements, etc., Linda Jenness has not fought anti-communism.

While it is correct to call for "Black Control of Black Communities" it is objectively racist to call for "Community Control of Those Institutions Which Affect Your Life." The white mother country already controls the entire non-socialist world. We don't organize white people as whites we organize them as workers, for socialism, not community control (syndicalism). Black people, on the other hand, because of their colonial oppression, must be granted control of their communities.

Marxist-Leninist theory holds that the working class is the agent of socialist revolution. Therefore, all communist campaigns must be directed primarily at the working people, uniting all who can be united around proletarian politics. The ideology of the Jenness campaign is clearly shown by ob-



serving those sectors in which she has been conducting her campaign. She has made no organized attempt to reach the working people. She has spoken before Kiwanis Clubs, the Unitarian Church, the National Council of Jewish Women, etc.—she has not attempted to organize mass meetings for working people, to speak before trade union meetings, etc. She has not conducted a working class—a communist—campaign.

We hold that the Jenness campaign is not a communist campaign and has acted in an objectively opportunist and racist manner. We cannot support such (sic) a campaign. We call on all those who are truly (sic) interested in serving the people to join with us in our struggles against American Imperialism and for the building of a proletarian socialist movement in America.

Dare to struggle, dare to win,
The Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement

YSA reply.

A few weeks ago the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance issued an appeal to several radical youth organizations, including the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement, to support Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in the city elections on Oct. 7.

The Movement for a Democratic Society discussed the question and decided to endorse "the candidacy of Linda Jenness for mayor of Atlanta, while in no way adopting or endorsing the platform and policies of the SWP or the YSA as a whole." The Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement (ARYM), however, responded with "An Open Letter to the Linda Jenness Campaign" outlining their reasons for not supporting it.

You indicate that you are not in principle opposed to running candidates in bourgeois elections, but only in the manner in which the SWP carries this policy out. You find the "manner in which the campaign has been conducted to be in fundamental contradiction with some of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism," and that the basis for this deviation from revolutionary principles flows from the SWP's lack of "faith in the people," its "opportunism," and its "objective racism."

To back up these charges you raise a number of specific arguments. The first is that the SWP campaign has supposedly served to reinforce the myth that the needs of the people can be met through the bourgeois electoral process." The SWP does this, you contend, by making electoral work its "only mass work."

We agree that to totally concentrate on electoral activity or to create illusions that revolutionary change is possible through bourgeois elections would be a serious error. However, your assertion that the SWP is guilty of this error flies in the face of well-known facts. In her campaign speeches, Linda Jenness has never indicated that she expected the points in her election

platform to come about without a mass revolutionary struggle. On the contrary she emphasizes the need for and supports mass actions of the working class, the black community and students, and has often used her speaking engagements to publicize such actions.

Although we agree that electoral activity is always subordinate to the direct action of the masses, we feel that you underestimate the gains that revolutionary socialists can make by running in elections. It can be an effective means of reaching thousands of new people with socialist ideas and winning them to the revolutionary socialist movement, of demonstrating in practice the kinds of campaigns mass parties of the black community and the labor movement can run, and of struggling for just reforms.

In Atlanta as well as many other cities, the SWP has been an important builder of and participant in actions against the imperialist war in Vietnam, and has carried out this activity during the election campaign. The SWP in Atlanta has participated in demonstrations called by black tenants protesting against the bureaucratic control of the Atlanta Housing Authority and in demonstrations against the recent hike in bus fares.

If election campaigns are the "only mass work" carried out by the SWP, then does ARYM expect that the SWP will fold up after October 7 or at least go into hibernation until the next elections come along? You could not be more wrong. The post-election period will see a stronger SWP organization in Atlanta which, among many activities, will be throwing considerable energy into building mass actions against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

The second argument against support to the SWP campaign is that it has been a pure-and-simple "agitational" campaign (apparently you mean educational), rather than a campaign that projects the perspective of winning, and "meets the needs of people" by involving itself "in struggles for just reform."

It is very difficult to believe that you have been in the city all summer. From the very beginning of the campaign, the SWP has attempted to project the image that it is out to win—and has never admitted defeat in advance. By fighting the exorbitant qualifying fees and winning a partial victory, the SWP demonstrated the seriousness of its election campaign and its ability to play a leading role in a struggle for a just reform. The fight is a good example of how the SWP campaign is not simply just an educational campaign. This issue was particularly good because it helped to expose the lack of democracy in bourgeois elections which is one of the reasons revolutionary socialists run in elections.

The third and least clear argument is that Linda Jenness has not fought "anti-communism." No specific references are cited to back up this charge.

It is a matter of record that the Socialist Workers Party has a long tradition of defending all radical organiza-

(Continued on page 12)

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Report on Upstate N.Y. SDSs

By LAWRENCE BIRKNER

"I can't understand it." "I am not sure which faction I'm in." "October 11 . . . it's crazy." "We're looking around, SDS just isn't our bag anymore." Such are the comments you hear from the average SDSer in the New York region.

On a recent YSA tour of campuses in the Northeast we frequently found SDS conspicuous by its absence. You do find a Weatherman here and there—the only specie that is loyal to a "national" organization. You find a WSAer now and then. The SDS Labor Committee rears its ghostly, and quite-di-

vorced from reality head on rare occasions. Most of the rest place themselves in RYM-II but disavow Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian.

The following are brief reports from four major campuses in the New York region which we visited:

ANNENDALE, N. Y.—All the radical students at Bard College were around SDS until the national convention in June. After the convention, the chapter became convinced of the bankruptcy of the national organization when two Weathermen from the regional office visited the school. As usual, they denounced everybody in the room.

At the next SDS meeting the membership decided that maintaining any affiliation with "that" national organization was an impediment to radical action of any kind. The group began to look for a new name and actions in which it could participate. These actions included building the Oct. 15 Moratorium, the Nov. 14 student strike and the Nov. 15 mass march on Washington.

Two of these disenchanted SDSers joined the Young Socialist Alliance and there are prospects for a local in the very near future. A campus SMC will also be a reality shortly.

* * *

ITHACA, N. Y.—SDS still maintains an organizational form at Cornell. The national split took place at Cornell, but with an interesting twist. There has been no political hooliganism here. Every week all the factions meet in an "SDS" meeting and democratically discuss their political differences, and once a month all the factions contribute to a political journal in written discussion.

Very few—three, to be exact—Weathermen are building the Oct. 11 massacre. There has been, and continues to be, good discussion around the Washington action and the international student strike. A large part of the campus, including the majority of SDS, will be in Washington Nov. 15.

* * *

HAMILTON, N. Y.—On the Colgate campus the Young Socialist Alliance has become the campus radical organization. SDS closed up when its leadership joined the YSA.

The Student Mobilization Committee has planned a three-day antiwar pro-

test for Nov. 13-15, culminating in Washington.

The tri-school area (Colgate, Hamilton and Kirkland) is on the verge of recruiting a YSA local. Beyond that there are a number of high school students in nearby New Hartford who read *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* regularly.

* * *

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The radical tendencies at Syracuse are the student government and a very small Peace and Freedom Party (they haven't received

the word yet from New York that they were dissolved).

With the total demise of SDS on the campus the student government has moved into the foreground. The elected representatives of the student body are carrying out the mandate of the students—i.e., working for an immediate end to the Vietnam war. The student body president has already proposed plans for transporting all the students to Washington on Nov. 15.

SDS has really pushed the SELF-DESTRUCT BUTTON!!

Boston, Chicago marches by PL's SDS fizzle out

BOSTON—The first of various SDS antiwar demonstrations was held here Oct. 4. Anti-Moratorium, anti-SMC, anti-march on Washington and anti-other SDS factions—this was the PL-SDS version.

The PL-SDS is strongest in Boston where its national headquarters is located. It called for a Greater Boston antiwar march Oct. 4 to "get the jump" on other groups.

At a planning meeting Sept. 13, Jared Israel, a leading spokesman for the PL-WSA faction of SDS, predicted a turnout of three or four thousand for the PL-SDS march and the number of 5,000 was indicated on the march permit.

The actual head count Oct. 4 was 300.

CHICAGO—About 250 turned out from the Midwest for a "mass" antiwar march called by the Worker Student Alliance faction of SDS. Under the twin slogans, "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now" and "No Deals," the group marched to the Federal Building and back to their assembly point to hold workshops.

Speakers attacked the national antiwar coalition and the Moratorium without any proposals of their own for building the antiwar movement. The dissipated gathering reflected this defeatism. It was a "make the record" kind of a demonstration.

Kent antiwar meeting target of SDS disruption

By MOLLY KIRSCH

KENT, Ohio—On Oct. 4 a small group of SDS Weathermen tried to disrupt a kick-off rally held here to build the fall antiwar actions. The meeting at Kent State University had attracted 100 people to hear the invited speakers: a Kent SMCer; Auda Romine, a unionist who had attended the Japanese anti-A&H bomb conference; a RYM-2 spokesman and Jerry Gordon of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council. A local rock band provided music.

Near the end of Gordon's talk, six SDS Weathermen came in and started a five-minute disruption. The audience began clapping to drown them out. When the SDSers stopped, the clapping stopped; when they began again, the clapping resumed. This was the mood of the Kent meeting.

The meeting finally agreed to give the Weathermen time after Gordon finished his talk. But all they did was spout a series of phrases—"Revolution Now," "Bring the War Home." To the question, "So now what do you want us to do? What's your program?" the Weathermen replied, "Oh, man, what kind of question is that? We want the

revolution now."

When the SDSers tried to take up more than their allotted time, the drummer of the rock band began pounding his drum, and the meeting grew impatient. The Weathermen then walked out.

Despite the disruption, the meeting was a success in two ways: 1) It made the fall actions known. Support for them is growing at Kent; 2) People became familiar with two sides of the movement and know what steps to take to end the Vietnam war—ALL OUT FOR THE FALL OFFENSIVE!



SDS (I) leader Rudd

...Atlanta YSA-SDS debate



tions from witchhunters, red baiters, and governmental attacks. Linda Jenness is running openly as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and in over 95 percent of the newspaper, radio and television coverage she is clearly referred to as a socialist candidate. On numerous occasions she has strongly expressed her support of the Cuban revolution when asked which country has a government closest to her views. Where then is her "anti-communism?"

The fourth alleged error is that the campaign raises "slogans which in practice breed racism," and the particular example that is singled out is the slogan: "Community Control of Those Institutions Which Affect Your Life." While agreeing with the SWP campaign slogan, "Black Control of Black Communities" on the basis that black people constitute an oppressed nation, you argue that white people should not be organized as whites on a nationalist basis because they are the oppressor nation. Rather they should be organized on a class basis as workers. To do otherwise you contend reinforces racism.

Your line of argument is correct in our opinion and if you will take the time to re-read the SWP election platform you will discover that the slogan in question, "Community Control of the Institutions Which Affect Your Life" is not to be found there. Nor can it be found in any other piece of campaign literature, or in any of Linda Jenness's speeches. You have totally fabricated this slogan and attributed it to the SWP campaign. The election platform reads as follows: "Public Control of the Institutions that Affect Our Lives! Socialize the public utilities, the bus lines, and the chain stores under control of elected worker-consumer committees!"

Socializing service industries and chain stores under the control of worker and consumer committees are working class demands and have nothing in common with the demand that white people control white communities. Similar slogans were raised by the Bolshevik Party in Russia in 1917 and by workers in many countries since.

The fifth accusation leveled against the SWP campaign is that it has not been directed primarily to working people. As proof you cite Linda Jenness' appearances before the "Kiwans Clubs, the Unitarians, the National Council of Jewish Women, etc." in order to show what sectors she is really trying to reach. (A lot of hypocrisy can be discerned here in relation to the Unitarian meeting which was a panel on women's

liberation that included a member of ARYM as well as Linda Jenness.)

If ARYM were correct in their accusation that the SWP campaign is not attempting to reach workers with its program this would be a bad mistake. However, it is precisely through this election campaign that we've communicated socialist ideas to more workers, both black and white, than anybody has done in this city for years and years. Linda Jenness, and other spokesmen for the campaign, have been able to obtain considerable radio and television time and newspaper coverage of their socialist views. Unless ARYM believes that most workers do not have TV's and radios or that they do not read, then it is difficult to see how they can say that workers weren't reached with the campaign's ideas. It is true that many meetings at which Linda Jenness has spoken did not have working class audiences. Nonetheless at some of these meetings, especially in high schools and universities, there were young people who were interested in socialist ideas and interested in the campaign.

At other meetings, there were news media that picked up parts of her speeches carrying them to a much wider audience. In addition, she has spoken directly to hundreds of workers. When she toured Mead Packaging with other candidates her campaign supporters went along and distributed campaign literature to the workers. Several black workers greeted them with the clenched fist salute. She has spoken to several large meetings in the black community, one of them a mass rally against police brutality. Attempts to set up meetings before members of the UAW and Steelworkers unions were met with a cold response by the bureaucrats.

It is our opinion that the criticisms ARYM has raised against the SWP campaign are false. The evidence that you presented to show how the SWP campaign is "opportunistic" and "objectively racist" just does not stand up under examination, and we urge you to reconsider your position. Even if you still find that you have objections to this or that aspect of the campaign, you should consider the possibility of doing as MDS has done: critically supporting Linda Jenness' candidacy on the grounds that she is the only socialist candidate running independently of the capitalist political parties and their policies.

Venceremos
Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance

After Oct. 15 Moratorium

Mass action is key to stopping the war

By DICK ROBERTS

The opportunity of Americans to force an end to the war in Vietnam is better now than it has ever been in the course of the war.

The Vietnam Moratorium promises to be the largest demonstration against the war in its history—and one of the largest domestic demonstrations against the policies of the government in the history of this country.

From Main Street to Telegraph Avenue. From Harvard to UCLA, tens and hundreds of thousands of Americans will be declaring that the U.S. has no right to be in Vietnam. American GIs are killing and dying to preserve a regime that is corrupt and hated.

The war represents the interests of only a tiny minority in this country. The vast majority oppose it.

This massive groundswell of antiwar sentiment coupled with the fierce and unyielding resistance of the Vietnamese freedom fighters has driven deep divisions into the U.S. ruling class and its representatives in the state apparatus.

They view with extreme trepidation the mounting radicalization of American students, especially when it is scooping deeper and deeper into the ranks of the high schools and even the grade schools.

They take anxious note of the fact that more and more this radicalization is reflected in the ranks of the armed forces itself.

From city to city, capitalist mayoralty and other local candidates for office are finding that they have to answer to pressing political questions they never expected would get in their way.

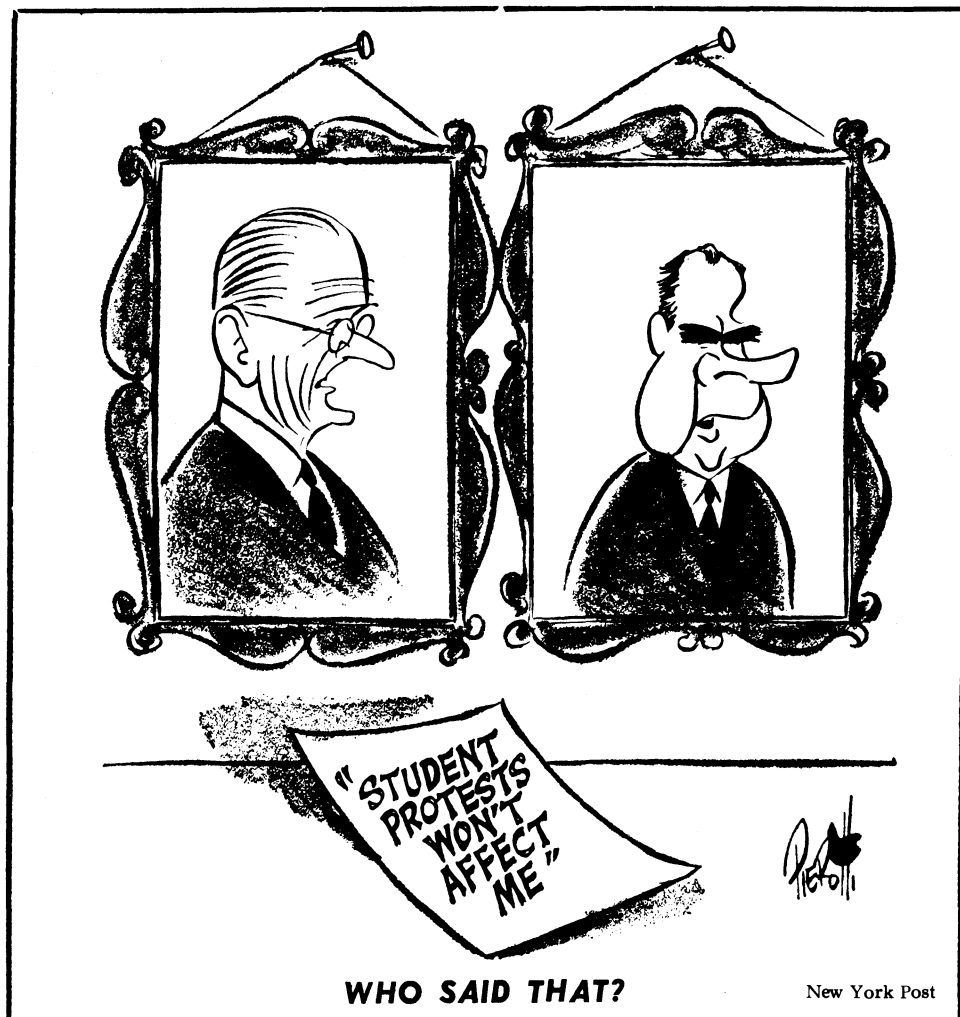
Indeed, the fact that many capitalist politicians are "joining" the peace movement is the surest sign of its strength.

The Democrats and Republicans have supported the genocidal U.S. aggression from its inception. In Congress, they have voted the billions of dollars of war taxes necessary to keep it going, while slashing to a minimum the budget for health, education and welfare.

They are far from being crusaders for unpopular causes no matter how just. They are divided on how to contain the Vietnamese revolution and how to contain the American antiwar movement.

They have not accepted the only just, truly honorable and rapid solution to the war—immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces; it is crucial to keep this in mind.

The fundamental direction of the antiwar movement runs counter to the pro-



gram and policies of these capitalist politicians because it stands for immediate withdrawal of American troops and self-determination for the Vietnamese.

The antiwar movement can and must use the support of capitalist politicians, but under no circumstances should it allow these politicians to use the antiwar movement.

It adds a significant force and momentum to the movement to have influential and respected figures associated with it. This helps to involve new layers of the population who oppose the war but are afraid to speak out on it to express their real sentiments and it should be fully exploited.

But this can only be done by keeping the movement on course. The movement must recognize that any politician who says he is against the war but remains a member of the Democratic and Republican war parties is double-talking.

A movement with that understanding, which demands immediate and uncon-

ditional withdrawal, which stands for the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese, cannot be co-opted. It can force Washington to bring the troops home.

Concretely, this means continuing to build the fall offensive. The forces of Oct. 15 must be welded together and new forces added in order to strike new blows against the war. It is the nationwide student strike Nov. 14 and the mass marches on Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15 which constitute the next step for the antiwar movement.

Such mass actions in the streets, demanding immediate withdrawal, are the best guarantee against the attempts of the capitalist politicians to use the movement for their own ends. Such mass actions are clearly directed against the policies of those who rule this country, and cannot be interpreted otherwise.

After Oct. 15, it's on to the student strike Nov. 14 and the mass marches on Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15!

Columbia Senate withdrawal stand leaves university president uptight

By PAULA REIMERS

NEW YORK—The Columbia Student Mobilization Committee organized a rally Oct. 6 to protest a threatened attempt by Columbia President Cordier to overturn an antiwar resolution of the University Senate.

The Columbia University Senate, in its meeting on Sept. 26, voted 51-25 to approve a motion stating that, "While as individuals we differ in detail, we are all agreed that the most reasonable plan for peace is the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops." It also authorized Columbia's students, faculty, and staff to participate in the October 15 Moratorium "without penalty or prejudice."

The 101-man University Senate (on which students and non-tenured faculty—the most radical members—have only 35 votes) is composed of representatives elected from the administration, tenured faculty, non-tenured faculty and student body.

The Senate is the governing body of Columbia, second only to the board of trustees. So the September 26 decision was official university policy and put Columbia formally on record in favor of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. This is the first time that a major university has officially adopted such a position. Its

passage was greeted with elation and some disbelief.

But on Oct. 3, barely a week after the first senate meeting, President Cordier called its Executive Committee into session and said that the senate decision was merely a "sense of the meeting" and did not commit the university.

This statement by Cordier unleashed a ground-swell of opposition from every section of the campus community. *Spectator*, the campus daily, in an editorial entitled "Resolution or Counter-Resolution," declared, "We suggest that students and faculty make it clear to Dr. Cordier and the trustees that they cannot undercut the senate's action without a fight."

The SMC called a demonstration today outside the trustees' meeting. At the rally were SMC spokesmen and speakers from other campus organizations involved in building the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium.

When Cordier's statement was finally released, in "revised" form, after the trustees' meeting, it was found to be much modified. All he said in the final version was that the senate members meant to go on record for immediate withdrawal with the resolution, and "that they had no intention that these views should become binding on other members of the student body, faculty, administration or staff."

Canadian reports new low of GI morale in Vietnam

When Company A refused to go into battle in Vietnam last summer, it was big news everywhere. The import of troops refusing to fight was clear to all.

Quickly, Washington propagandists tried to establish the idea that Company A was an isolated incident and not to be taken as a significant gauge of antiwar sentiment in the armed forces.

But on Sept. 24, the Congressional Record reprinted an article from the *Montreal Gazette* under the title: "Morale of U.S. Troops in Vietnam at Its Lowest." The following are excerpts.

SAIGON—The sagging morale of U.S. troops in Vietnam was the most striking difference I noticed between my visit this summer and my 1967-1968 tour.

The morale of many troops has plunged like the stock market the past year, and some of the troops feel they are being sold short by speculators in the stock of Thieu and Ky. . . .

GIs from Hue in the north to Can Tho in the Delta told me this summer if the men were given a free choice to line up at Tan Son Nhut airport and fly home and forget Vietnam "about 100 percent would go."

Many were openly skeptical and cynical about troop withdrawals. "Sure, we'll pull out 50,000 troops," a Marine in Danang said. "Fifty-thousand dead."

. . . Marines at the Danang airport who had just arrived in the country looked sad and gloomy. . . .

"My wife is pregnant and doesn't know why I had to come. Nobody

explained to her. I couldn't either. All I know is that I got orders for Vietnam and had to go."

. . . A GI who had been in Vietnam eight months said, "There's so much hostility among the people here, especially in the smaller places. Around Phu Bai, for example, they're all farmers who sympathize with the VC. They don't like us and they wish we'd go home. So why are we here anyway? How can we be helping the people if the people don't want us here? I don't get it."

. . . The student radicals and pacifists are winning some points. The boys sent now are caught between the pressure of the VC and the pressure of ideas. Some were students a year ago, listening to talks on campus.

Now they're in dangerous situations where they're getting incoming and need to be in the best possible shape. But they're not. Many think it's a money war and wonder why they should die to win points for Thieu and Ky.

Special Forces men are often among the toughest and most gung-ho troops, but one sergeant stationed at a camp near the Cambodian border told me, "This is my fourth tour here. We're doing the same things we were doing six years ago here. It's crazy. We're getting a lot of incoming and getting our tails shot off—for what? Two of my best friends were killed this week in a fight with the friendlies by mistake."

Incoming? Outgoing? Kill or be killed? Like for what? That's the question of Americans in Vietnam today. . . .

The week of Che's death -- a memory of Havana

By EVA CHERTOV

I was living in Havana two years ago on Oct. 9 when all the Cuban daily papers began publishing dispatches from Bolivia announcing the capture of the guerrilla forces and the death of Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara. The dispatches were published without commentary.

The reaction of the students at the University of Havana, where I was studying, and at the "Maximo Gorki" Language Institute, where I was teaching, was similar to the attitude expressed by men and women on the buses and in the ration lines as well. As far as they were concerned this was just one more lie from Bolivia. We all assured ourselves that if not tomorrow, then the next day, the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party would issue a statement proving conclusively that the reports from Bolivia were false.

But a general feeling of uneasiness began to spread when such a statement was not forthcoming in the following days. The central committee, people would say half-hopefully, was obviously waiting to receive a direct message from Che, and perhaps some

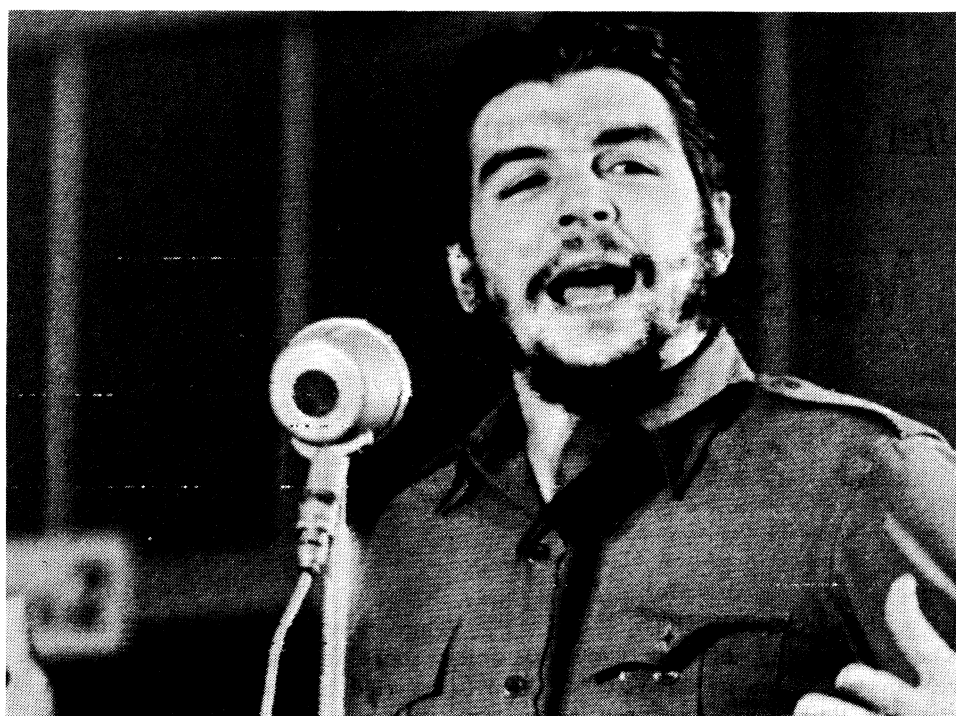
photographs.

No messages, photos, or even commentaries appeared in the Cuban press, and by Oct. 12 or 13 a rumor was going around that the central committee was meeting day and night. Logically, the idea that Che was dead had to be considered. But such a thought seemed unreal.

As one of my students said to me, "I won't believe anything and I don't even want to think about it until Fidel tells us. And even if he says that Che is dead I know I won't be able to accept it. It would be like accepting that the best part of all of us is dead. I don't care where he came from. He was one of us. He ate the same rations that all Cubans eat and he even earned less than my father."

On the night of Oct. 15 what seemed like a caricature of the Prime Minister of Cuba appeared on the television screens throughout the country. From Fidel's utterly worn and haggard look we all knew what he was going to say before the first painful words were out.

We sat in a state of shock as Fidel carefully explained why the central committee had waited so long to report



to the people—that they wanted to make absolutely sure that every angle had been checked out and that they had enough evidence to make a definitive statement one way or the other. The friends who were with me kept saying to each other, over and over, "It can't be true," until Fidel showed the now famous photograph of Che's body and explained why the photo had to be accepted as genuine.

The following morning the Communist Youth joined in plastering huge posters of Che all over Havana, along with Che's words: "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men come forward to join in our funeral dirge with the chattering of machine guns and new calls for battle and for victory."

Those heroic words expressed one side of the man the Cuban people loved. But there was another side to him which was expressed in a story that was repeated everywhere in Havana. Che was talking to a worker and the man began to complain about the food situa-

tion. Che responded that he didn't think it was so bad. The worker then replied that maybe Che was receiving special rations. That night when Che got home he checked and found that what the worker had said was true—he was getting a major's rations. The next morning Che went and put himself on the normal ration card.

The bus ride to work the morning after Fidel's broadcast was an added emotional experience. In Cuba, the buses are always lively and I had assumed that people, though subdued, would be talking about Che and their feelings. But the silence on the bus was overpowering.

After about 15 minutes an older woman sitting next to me said, in a musing way, "Last night Fidel told us that a man who we love and respect as much as Fidel, who for me is the same as Fidel, died. . . . I cried all night and I just can't anymore. But you know, I realized something. Che is dead, but our island has not sunk into the sea. The wheels in our factories have not stopped turning. We are all going to work. For the first time I understand, *we* are the Revolution."

A veteran revolutionary dies

By CHARLES SCHEER

Henry Schultz, long-time revolutionary socialist, died Sept. 24, in Madison, Wis. He was 67 years old.

Hank joined the Socialist Workers Party in the early thirties. He worked as an electrician, railway brakeman and conductor, and as a union organizer.

In 1934, he was working for the state of Minnesota and involved in a successful organizing drive among the state employees. When the general drivers strikes erupted in Minneapolis, his union sent him over to lend a hand. He pitched in as he did in many strikes and organizing drives over the years.

When the National Guard returned the seized strike headquarters to the workers, Hank was the man who accepted it back, and characteristically he demanded and got a detailed accounting for all the guns and other weapons belonging to strikers that were being returned with the headquarters. This arsenal had spontaneously appeared at the strike headquarters after a bloody attack by the cops. Hank had opposed converting the strike into urban guerrilla warfare, as did the strike leadership which had put the weapons under lock and key, but he wasn't about to see any of the workers' property expropriated.

The *Northwest Organizer*, paper of the drivers union, was one of the best union papers ever put out—a fighting workers' paper that was written with wit and contained many a chuckle. Hank was assigned to it, to work with skilled journalists and revolutionary socialists. He was not a journalist but on organized guy with a real feel for the workers. He not only knew how to deflate an intellectual who might get too pompous, but he could be depended on to see that the paper go out on time.

The second line of defense for the bosses in the Twin Cities area after the drivers had breached the open shop was the giant utility Northern States Power. Henry Schultz became the main organizer of the utility men's local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The union drive was successful. Hank became a business

agent for the IBEW. In 1939, the union struck NSP. The company called in the IBEW vice-president from Chicago. Hank organized such a reception for him by the workers that after his first sleepless night the v.p. returned to Chicago. The strike was won.

Hank got hired as an international organizer for the IBEW by the same v.p. that he'd given a hard time. He remained on this job until the Roosevelt administration made its 1941 attack on the SWP and the Minneapolis general drivers union leadership as part of the preparation for entry into World War II. With a blast at the AFL fakers for their support of the government's attack on the vanguard of the working class, Hank quit as IBEW organizer and went to work part-time as a passenger brakeman and full-time as a revolutionary fighter.

Henry served as organizer for the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party for a period and as a member of the party's national committee. When it became apparent that Leon Trotsky was in imminent danger of assassination in Mexico City, Hank went there in 1940 to aid in the physical defense of the household. Among other things he wired the place with burglar alarms.

To the worried, insecure worker in an unorganized shop, Hank brought confidence and enthusiasm for what organization could do. To the young revolutionary he brought questions and criticism to sharpen him up and make him do some serious thinking. In the party Hank was a perennial skeptic who made comrades justify any tactical proposal. In his last years this skepticism led him to differences with and withdrawal from the party. But there will be many revolutionary union activists who will remember his emphasis on Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*—the emphasis on the decisive importance of going beyond union politics to revolutionary politics.

Those who worked with him will remember Hank Schultz as a crusty, bull-headed critic and also as a soft-hearted, totally unselfish worker for, and believer in, the socialist future of mankind.

Army decides socialist GI not in their best interest

OCT. 7—On Sept. 27, after months of harassment because of his antiwar and socialist ideas, Pvt. Steve Dash of Ft. Jackson, S.C., was given less than a day's notice that he was discharged from the Army. He was told that his discharge, an honorable one, would be mailed to him.

Dash was active in GIs United Against the War in Vietnam last spring at Ft. Jackson. On May 27 he was given a security board hearing to determine his "fitness" to remain in the Army. The Army charged that, because of his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, his retention in the Army was not in the "national interest."

According to attorneys, this case marks the first time that an honorable discharge has been given after a security board hearing to an admitted member of an organization which appears on the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. The Socialist Workers Party appears on this list, which was originally compiled by the Attorney General in 1948 and which includes organizations arbitrarily deemed by him to be "subversive."

Attorney Dorian Bowman, who defended Dash at his hearing, said of the honorable discharge, "Since he had a perfect military record, the Army apparently felt that a less than honorable discharge would not stand up in court." The Army regulations clearly state that the type of discharge issued is to be determined solely by a serviceman's

military record.

The discharge notice came only a week after Dash was restricted to post on a weekend he was scheduled to speak at an antiwar meeting at the University of South Carolina. He was told he was being restricted "for his own good."

CALENDAR

BOSTON

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE. Speaker: Susan LaMont, member nat'l exec. comm., YSA. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:15 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

GIs UNITED AGAINST THE WAR. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, one of the Ft. Jackson 8. Fri., Oct. 17, 7:30 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

BLACK CAUCUSES IN THE TRADE UNIONS. Speaker: Kenny Horston, Black Panther Caucus, UAW Fremont. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St., 269-4953. Dona. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

41ST ANNIVERSARY BANQUET. Sat., Nov. 29. Hold the date; more details in future.

NEW YORK

THE TRUTH ABOUT IRAN. Panel of Iranian Student Association members. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:30 p.m., 873 B'way (at 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION—A SYMPOSIUM. Speakers: Fred Stanton, SWP candidate for traffic court judge; Craig Williams, Black Panther Party candidate for the 1st councilmanic district. Fri., Oct. 17, 8:30 p.m., 686 N. Broad (cr. Fairmount). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

The Great Society

For Old Glory—"WASHINGTON—A congressional subcommittee is considering a suggestion that the President proclaim it unpatriotic for a couple to produce more than two children." — The Oct. 1 *Los Angeles Times*.

How symbolic can you get?—A Sept. 30 *New York Times* dispatch headlined, "Alcatraz to Be Space Shrine," reports: "SAN FRANCISCO—A plan by Lamar Hunt, the son of H. L. Hunt, the Texas oil millionaire, to turn the federal prison site of Alcatraz Island into a monument to the United States space program was approved today by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors."

Big-deal dep't—An allegedly luxury dog pound in New Jersey offers a six-by-six kennel for \$10.50 a day. We got the same size and price at our last stay at the Chicago Y.

Be it ever so 'umble . . .—The Countess of Seafield, reputedly Britain's wealthiest woman after the Queen, died. According to a *New York Times* obituary, "The countess lived a simple life despite her fortune . . ." The paper reported: "Her home in Banffshire, Cullen House, had 40 bedrooms and about seven miles of corridors. She spent much of her time in Paris and in the Bahamas, where she also owned property."

Tough-situation dep't—Vice President Spiro Who? says he won't address liberal campus audiences for fear of disruption.

No cause for alarm—Those readers who have expressed occasional concern that reports in this column might be interfering with coffin-nail consumption can, lungs permitting, breathe easier. According to the UN, cigarette consumption is increasing by 70 billion a year and now stands at an all-time high of 2.8 trillion per annum. Pipe

and cigar smoking, which authorities regard as somewhat less harmful, has, however, declined.

She wears the cloak—Mrs. Richard Helms, wife of the CIA chief, doesn't wear pant suits. "My husband doesn't like them," she explained. "I never wear anything very out of the ordinary. My husband believes in a low profile, so I don't wear anything that will attract attention."

Free-world philosophy (I)—"Except for war, there is nothing in American life which trains a boy better for life than football."—The late Senator Robert Kennedy.

Free-world philosophy (II)—"Assassination is a very important way to run a country in the Far East. You just gotta learn that." — Robin Moore, author of *The Green Berets*, who told newsmen he attended a Green Beret assassination school and even carried out one for them.

Free-world philosophy (III)—"War is a nasty business in which you find a number of high-sounding objectives, such as freedom against evil aggression, to justify killing people." — Col. Robert Rheault of the Green Berets.

Free-world philosophy (IV)—"I regard all enemies as dangerous. When you find one, you kill him. That's what they pay me for, not to worry about his social problems." — Former Eagle Scout Budge Williams, one of the eight Green Berets released on murder charge.

The final touch—The U.S. image abroad was doubtless significantly enhanced when the Army gave a \$6,472 "missing persons gratuity" to the widow of the Vietnamese who was murdered by the Green Berets.

—HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

- ARIZONA:** Phoenix YSA, c/o Lindley Garner, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-0430.
- CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.
- Hayward: YSA, Caryl Towner, 2010 B Street, Hayward, Calif. 94541. Tel: (415) 537-3653.
- Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.
- San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
- San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.
- COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Chuck Melien, 1816 19th, Boulder, Col. 80302.
- FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
- GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 1176-1/2 Peachtree St., all correspondence to P.O. Box 7818, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.
- ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 5496214.
- Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.
- Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.
- DeKalb: YSA and bookstore, c/o Frank Boehm, 235 N. First St., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.
- INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
- KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Tel: (913) 843-2073.
- KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, c/o Ed Jurenas, 1610 S. Limestone, Lexington, Ky. 40503. Tel: (606) 278-8544.
- MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8857.
- MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.
- Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.
- East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.
- Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 417 Olive St., Ypsi-

- lanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.
- MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.
- MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmittlein 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64118. Tel: (816) 523-5468.
- St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, Schardell Hotel, Rm. 30, 280 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130.
- NEW JERSEY:** Newark: YSA, c/o Allen Pump, 158 Hamilton, E. Orange, Newark, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 674-3144.
- NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.
- Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.
- New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.
- NORTH CAROLINA:** Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. Tel: (919) 942-3024.
- OHIO:** Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Oh. 44112. Tel: (216) 249-8250.
- Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.
- Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Janet Gogolick, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.
- OREGON:** Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.
- PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.
- RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R. I. 02902.
- TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Marianne Hernandez, 4522 Ave. G, P.O. Box 7753, Austin, Texas.
- Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.
- UTAH:** Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.
- WASHINGTON, D.C.:** YSA, c/o Dan Rosenshine, 4103 Davis Pl. NW, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 965-0253.
- WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP and YSA, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 523-2555.
- WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Reading for revolutionaries

Radicalizing generation

THE WORLD WIDE YOUTH RADICALIZATION and the Tasks of the Fourth International, a Young Socialist Pamphlet, 32 pages, 40¢.

The radicalization of the young generation is historically unprecedented. Its sweep has gone far beyond anything ever seen before in this respect. The industrially advanced capitalist countries, the colonial and former colonial nations and the workers' states have all experienced this new revolt to one extent or another. One would have to look hard to find a country that has not been affected.

Now almost 10 years after this radicalization first became evident, the present work, based on concrete experiences around the globe, is welcome as an analysis and a program for the youth. This is a resolution presented to a recent congress of the Fourth International as the basis for an international discussion now taking place in that organization.

Among other things the document seeks an answer to the question: what is the real political meaning of the youth radicalization? Is it just a conflict of generations? Or does it reflect a basic sickness in society the youth feel they cannot live with and must find a cure for? The authors of the document believe that the youth revolt reflects the major class conflicts of our times.

They set out to prove this thesis by analyzing the position of youth in the

tries the youth played a tremendous role in mass movements.

In the United States the recent process of splintering that has beset SDS, hitherto the largest and most presumptuous radical youth organization, suggests that such a basic analysis of the youth uprising, and a program that can make the young people more effective in their struggle to change society, is vitally necessary.

The present work is an excellent contribution to a discussion of this question.

—MILTON ALVIN

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French Students, May 1968

various sectors of the world and proposing a programmatic solution to the problems.

The program is not confined to the questions that have arisen on campuses although these are included. The program ties in the specifically student demands with a broader social program. As a result it attempts to build a bridge between the student elements and the workers and oppressed minorities in a common struggle against a common enemy.

Emphasis is placed upon the necessity to build a revolutionary party in each country and a revolutionary international with a correct program.

Many examples are cited to show how the role of the revolutionary youth, even without a party in some cases, has had a major influence on the political life of a country. Among these are France in 1968, Pakistan, Mexico and Czechoslovakia. In each of these coun-

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SWP tells Lindsay: 'We're still in race!'

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK—Mayor John V. Lindsay will have his way. His name will appear twice on the top row of the voting machines in this fall's mayoralty election. To accomplish this, he has succeeded in depriving the Socialist Workers Party of its legal ballot place.

But Lindsay has lost something too—a good portion of his illusory image. In the eyes of many who formerly responded to his articulateness, his polish, his stance of agonized statesmanship, his posturing of sympathy for progressive causes, he now appears as the political jobber of average meanness that he really is. And the Socialist Workers ticket, which will now conduct a vigorous write-in campaign, will use its extensive slated radio and TV time to help drive that reality home.

The New York County division of the state supreme court refused on Oct. 3 to overturn a city board of election's ruling that barred the SWP and the Socialist Labor Party from the ballot. Because of a nit-picking technicality in the filing of court papers, the SWP will be unable to appeal the decision in its case.

An SLP appeal is now pending in the state appellate court, and the SLP, with New York Civil Liberties Union aid, will appeal all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary. The SWP is fully supporting the SLP's continuing legal fight.

On Oct. 15—Moratorium day—Paul Boutelle, the SWP mayoralty candidate,

will encounter Lindsay himself at Columbia University. On Oct. 17, before the New Era Educational Alliance, Boutelle will debate Rasheed Storey, the Communist Party's mayoralty nominee, whose candidacy has provided cover for the CP's real, if critical, support of Lindsay. On Oct. 24, Boutelle will discuss the issues in the campaign with Charlene Mitchell, the CP's 1968 presidential nominee, at the City College of New York.

And on Nov. 1, just three days before the elections, the SWP mayoralty candidate will share the platform at a windup rally with a number of prominent individuals who support the socialist campaign or the right of the SWP to be on the ballot. Among the non-SWP speakers who have already accepted invitations are Herman Ferguson, East Coast president and minister of education of the Republic of New Africa; Lionel Rogosin, film producer and director; and Burt Neuborne, a prominent civil-liberties attorney associated with the New York Civil Liberties Union.

At these meetings, at the many others scheduled for Boutelle and the other SWP candidates, and on all their radio and television engagements, the revolutionary socialists will continue their relentless exposure of the fraudulence of Lindsay's "progressive" claims.

This sanctimonious and pretentious hypocrite is the very model of a liberal capitalist politician. He is a demagogue of a more subtle and thus more dangerous dimension than his blatantly



Paul Boutelle

reactionary opponents, Democrat Mario Procaccino and Republican-Conservative John Marchi.

He has declared himself the "peace" candidate in this election, and he is seeking to justify the abject failure of his administration to tackle any of the critical issues facing the people of this city with the pious excuse that the necessary funds are not available because of the Vietnam war. But he did not hesitate to proceed against the one political party that has placed total opposition to that war at the center of all its activity during the past four years.

Lindsay has proclaimed himself the defender of the black and Puerto Rican people against the racist threat presented by his chief opponents. But he has not only done everything in his power to suppress the struggles of the black and Puerto Rican people; he also tried to deny a public hearing to that party

that more than any other has consistently defended the right of black and Puerto Rican people to fight for their liberation by any means necessary and has stressed the need for them to conduct that fight in absolute independence of their enemy.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that Lindsay is not interested in ending the war in Vietnam, and he is not interested in the liberation of black and Puerto Rican people. His usefulness to the white, capitalist ruling class of this country is precisely his ability to pervert the struggle for these goals, to tame it and accommodate it to the interests of the nation's rulers.

And that is what John Lindsay is interested in: to remain useful to the ruling class.

The revolutionary socialist candidates are insisting on these truths. There are many people in this city willing to listen.

New Yorkers act to void state anti-abortion laws

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

NEW YORK—More than 125 women, medical personnel, attorneys, social workers, writers, clergy and others have joined as plaintiffs in a Federal Court action to declare the New York State abortion laws unconstitutional.

At a press conference here Oct. 7, Attorney Diane Schuler, one of the lawyers for the plaintiffs, explained the grounds for the action, and others involved added further information based on their own experiences.

"The New York State abortion laws are almost identical to the California abortion statutes which the Supreme Court of that state declared unconstitutional on Sept. 5, 1969," Diane Schuler explained. The action being taken in New York is to demand a permanent injunction restraining the State Attorney General, as well as the Bronx County and New York County District Attorneys, from enforcing or threatening to enforce the New York abortion laws. The plaintiffs are further asking that the laws be declared unconstitutional.

The complaint filed in the U.S. District Court on Oct. 7 argues that the laws abridge the fundamental right of every woman to choose whether to bear children. In addition they represent an invasion of privacy, deprive people of free, safe and adequate medical care, constitute cruel and unusual punishment by forcing women to bear and raise unwanted children.

The attempt to secure an injunction is a crucial issue as a Bronx County grand jury under the instigation of Bronx D.A. Burton Roberts has been

investigating what he considers to be abortion law infractions for several months. After a raid last May on a private house alleged to be an abortion clinic, and the subsequent arrest of four individuals, the grand jury has been pursuing its witchhunt, calling up women who have received abortions, clergy, medical personnel and many others. The next grand jury session, slated for Oct. 8, has subpoenaed *Realist* editor Paul Krassner.

At the press conference Krassner indicated that he had no idea why he had been subpoenaed, but Bronx D.A. Roberts had personally told Krassner, "You may be a target, that is, a possible defendant in this case"—i.e. in any prosecution arising out of the grand jury hearings. Krassner has spoken and written frequently on the need to legalize abortions for all women.

Patricia Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan Councilman-At-Large, and one of the plaintiffs in the suit, told the press conference, "New York's medieval abortion laws are but one example of the kind of violence prevalent in American society and the kind of treatment accorded to women as second-class citizens. But just as women fought to obtain the right to vote, they are fighting to gain greater control over their lives. We are not begging. We are organizing to use our combined strength to gain our rights."

In addition to the individuals listed, both the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal are listed as plaintiffs in the action.

Socialist stand on abortion laws

The following statement on the fight for New York State abortion law reform was issued by Patricia Grogan, a plaintiff in the abortion-law suit and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan Councilman-At-Large.

* * *

Anybody who doubts that women are discriminated against only has to look at the archaic abortion laws in this state. Women do not even have the basic right to decide for themselves whether they will bear children.

The state of New York doesn't provide free birth control information or adequate facilities for the care of children—such as day care nurseries—and yet forces women to bear children they cannot provide for.

The abortion laws especially discriminate against poorer women and black and Puerto Rican women and drive

thousands of them each year into the hands of butchers who can seriously damage their health. At the same time the laws prevent qualified doctors—under pain of imprisonment and loss of professional status—from being able to give safe abortions.

It seems incredible that women were once denied the right to vote. It will seem equally incredible to future generations that women in 1969 are denied the right to free, legal abortions. Women will have to fight for this right, just as they fought to get the right to vote.

Cops victimize Atlanta SDSers

ATLANTA, Oct. 9—Fourteen demonstrators, some of them members of the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM II) have been arrested and sentenced to 40 days in jail for participating in an action against David Rockefeller on Oct. 3. The arrests came after the demonstrators attempted to enter the hotel where Rockefeller was addressing a trade conference.

The demonstration was organized to help publicize the national SDS action in Chicago Oct. 11. The sentences are being appealed, but bail has been set at \$1100 each and at this time they are still in jail.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have expressed their solidarity with the 14 victims of capitalist "law and order" and Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for mayor, hand delivered a statement to Mayor Allen on election night demanding that he immediately order their release and drop all charges against them.



Photo by Shannon

Patricia Grogan