

THE MILITANT

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'VIETNAMIZATION':



PROLONGED WAR

How you can help in drive for 7,500 new readers

As of Feb. 15 we are opening a drive to gain 7,500 new readers for The Militant and we are urging our reader-supporters to help us achieve that goal.

More and more, The Militant is gaining recognition as a principal educator and organizer of the most militant forces in the radical movement—among those involved in the fight against the Vietnam war, for Black and Third World liberation, for women's liberation, on the campuses and wherever else people are fighting this reactionary capitalist system.

Last fall we decided to try to add 4,000 new readers to our lists. At the end of a two-month drive, we had obtained more than 6,000 subscriptions.

So we decided to see if we could do it again. We started out with the idea of getting another 6,000 new readers. But after discussing it with our supporter groups

across the country we all agreed this was too conservative. So we upped the ante and are aiming for 7,500 new subscribers.

The unique feature of a revolutionary paper is that its readers aren't simply readers. Almost all of them are doers. Otherwise they wouldn't be interested. And that's why increasing numbers of our readers have come to regard themselves as active supporters of The Militant, not simply subscribers.

It is to these friends that this message is addressed. We would like to enlist your participation in getting those 7,500 new readers by April 15.

Almost every movement activist has a friend who would benefit from reading a Marxist paper. All it takes is a bit of initiative on your part, and a dollar on theirs to gain a three-month subscription.

And perhaps some of you (individually

or as a group) will want to do more, maybe set a goal of your own—five new readers, or 10 or 20. If so, contact our business office or the local group nearest you (see listing page 15). We'll be glad to send you subscription blanks and include your quota on our scoreboard.

On returning from abroad, Malcolm X once commented on how impressed he was by the number of places where he found that The Militant was known and appreciated. If you put the truth in a paper, he observed, that gets it around. Sales-conscious supporters help too. We hope you'll pitch in.

Harry Ring
Editor

Flax Hermes
Business Manager

CIA kept off U of Illinois campus

Cancels due to 'unstable political atmosphere'

Chicago, Ill.

Students and faculty were successful in barring the CIA from the University of Illinois Chicago campus last week. Fifteen student and faculty organizations had signed a letter to the chancellor demanding that the CIA be refused recruitment privileges, and a rally and demonstration were planned. On Jan. 26, we learned that the CIA had canceled its visit because of the "unstable political atmosphere."

The next day, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a victory rally followed by a meeting in which students made plans for demonstrations against Army, Navy, and General Electric recruitment on campus.

C. B.

Angered by pill reports

Montreal, Quebec

The reports that the contraceptive pill probably causes cancer, particularly breast cancer, have made me extremely angry. I am angry because the pill, given all its benefits, has been foisted on us women by avaricious pharmaceutical companies without adequate research.

The drug companies are worse than backstreet abortionists. We should immediately nationalize all of them without compensation. The millions they have already made is more than enough. We should begin research at all levels into the pill and all alternate methods, and make hospital abortions free and available on request.

That is the only way we can fight these cynical companies who have been using womankind to line their own pockets.

Penny Simpson

Story in Picket Line column misleading

Chicago, Ill.

I would like to set you straight about what the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies is and how it functions. From your article about the Jewish dayschool faculties threatening to picket the Federation's headquarters [Jan. 30, *Militant*], you obviously think that this is a labor dispute, which it certainly is not. Your readers will be misled and misinformed by your putting this story in The National Picket Line column and placing it right after a seemingly similar article about the Catholic teachers and other workers striking the Catholic Archdiocese of New York. The Federation does not have a management role, and does *not* function at all analogously to the Archdiocese. In fact, this is not a labor-management issue.

The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies is an umbrella *fund-raising* organization and employs only the people needed to run it. It raises huge sums which it gives to help finance neighborhood centers, summer day campus, social work agencies, hospitals, day-care centers, and some for Jewish day schools. All the services other than for Jewish education are nonsectarian and for general service to the community. What is at issue here is that the day-

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.

school groups feel that the humanitarian projects have been overfunded and that more money should go to parochial Jewish schools, since to them it is more important.

N. D.

[Thank you for your letter. I can only say I'm sorry. Usually every *Militant* staff member researches thoroughly every subject about which we write. In this case I violated the rule, and I am glad you called me to task. — *Marcel Scholl*]

Students picket GE plant

Yellow Springs, Ohio

At 4 a.m., Jan. 28, 90 Antioch students went to Evandale, a ride of one hour, to picket the GE plant there. An injunction had been issued prohibiting the GE workers from picketing in front of the plant gates between the hours of 6 and 9 a.m. Picketing was orderly and militant and well received by the workers.

Traffic was tied up at several plant gates, and a large traffic jam resulted on Interstate 75, the main access road from Cincinnati to the plant. Radio broadcasts advised motorists to avoid the Evandale area at all costs and reported the fact that students were picketing. Picket signs read: "GE gets rich, G Is die"; "Beat GE!"; and "Students Support GE Workers on Strike."

Around 8 a.m. the Evandale police instructed the pickets to stand on the side of the roadway and not block the flow of traffic into the plant. Although the injunction applied only to the unions, the students decided not to fight the cops and risk a large number of arrests which could in no way support the strike. As pickets were leaving several carloads were stopped and harassed by police.

In all, students showed their seriousness in wanting to aid the strike and took a first step toward the formation of a *real* worker-student alliance.

Duncan Williams

On settling international disputes

New York, N.Y.

The following item appeared in a recent issue of the French newspaper *Le Monde*:

"A Middle East statesman was heard to say that if the American and Russians could settle the Israeli-Arab problem between them, he saw no reason why the Arabs and Israelis shouldn't

get together and make peace in Vietnam.

"The remark was meant ironically, but there is much truth in it. One always sees the problems of others far more clearly than one's own, and one can always argue more convincingly and be more conciliating when one is not directly involved.

"And, after all, mightn't it be worth trying? Biafrans and Nigerians could perhaps forget their differences to mediate between China and the Soviet Union, though, of course, there is no guarantee that the two great powers would be prepared to listen. For, as La Fontaine reminds us in several of his fables, the real difficulty in a reconciliation is the relative size of conciliators and reconciled, and the appetite of the former when they are too big."

M. L.

1970 SWP campaigns

Waco, Texas

The 1970 SWP campaigns will be an important step in the development of socialist consciousness in this country. In many areas for the first time *socialists* will be explaining what socialism is. All revolutionaries should lend their support to these campaigns.

Marshall Wittman

About Mikis Theodorakis

New York, N.Y.

Mikis Theodorakis, the national composer of Greece, the man most famous in America for his music for "Zorba, the Greek," and the more recent film "Z", has been transferred from his place of exile in the mountain village of Zatonina in the Peloponnesus to the military prison of Oropos north of Athens. He has been held a prisoner by the Greek military regime for two-and-a-half years without trial, and this most recent incarceration in a damp, isolated cell is a deliberate attempt by the Greek government to make certain that Theodorakis, who has been ailing, dies of natural causes. Reportedly, the prisoner is being denied medical attention for the tuberculosis he suffers, as well as numerous other ailments.

On Jan. 26, The Committee of Academicians and Artists for Mikis Theodorakis held a news conference in New York at which they outlined their plans to mount a campaign to save Theodorakis. In the words of one unidentified committee spokesman, "The Greek government couldn't survive for three days without the support of the U.S."

Send letters of support to The Committee of Academicians and Artists for Mikis Theodorakis, P. O. Box 159, New York, N.Y. 10021. For further information, contact Dr. Loomis at (212) BU 8-5896, or Dr. Lardas at (914) BE 7-1462.

Dave Haldane

GI wants to keep abreast

APO Seattle, Wash.

Enclosed is \$1 for a GI subscription. Your newspaper is vital to me in keeping abreast with the political world and its revolutionary changes.

N. M.

Stop smoking and support movement

San Francisco, Calif.

Apropos Amy Lowenstein's plaint in the Jan. 30 issue of *The Militant* regarding the rather sly way used to increase the price of cigarettes, I would like to suggest that not only she but other smokers as well give up the habit and by doing so have more money for themselves while legitimately depriving the establishment of their taxes.

At least during income tax week, April 12-18, we should refrain from using tobacco and alcohol and other heavily taxed luxury items, and donate part of

THE MILITANT

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Number 6

Friday, Feb. 20, 1970

Closing news date — Feb. 13

the money saved to our favorite political movement.

E. M. J.

[It might be possible to build a bigger movement on this by sticking to the single issue of cigarettes. — *Editor*]

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A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE

Malcolm: By any means necessary

Feb. 21 marks the fifth anniversary of the assassination of one of the outstanding revolutionary leaders of our generation, Malcolm X.

Malcolm X began his political activity as a member of the Nation of Islam but his unswerving determination to find a basic program by which his people could end their oppression led him consistently in the last few years of his life toward a revolutionary program and an international, anticapitalist perspective.

At the time he died, Malcolm's militant espousal of Black nationalism led many liberals (and some who call themselves radicals) to condemn him as a "racist in reverse." Since his death, Malcolm's view of the Black liberation struggle has become so deeply rooted among militant young Black people that few now dare to openly condemn them. But what is important is to study his ideas in their evolution and to absorb the profound lessons to be derived from them.

Until now the principal source of study of Malcolm's ideas have been the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* and, equally important, *Malcolm X Speaks*, first published by Merit and reprinted by Grove Press.

Now Pathfinder Press is making more of Malcolm X's ideas available in its new Merit book, *By Any Means Necessary*. The following brief excerpts from the book are presented as a memorial tribute to an exemplary revolutionary fighter.

On politics

Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race.

(April 12, 1964, speech to Group on Advanced Leadership in Detroit)

By any means necessary

That's our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary. We don't feel that in 1964, living in a country that is supposedly based on freedom, and supposedly the leader of the free world, we don't think that we should

have to sit around and wait for some segregationist congressmen and senators and a President from Texas in Washington, D.C., to make up their minds that our people are due now some degree of civil rights. No, we want it now or we don't think anybody should have it.

(June 28, 1964, speech to first meeting of Organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm founded.)

The role of women

One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive. If you're in a country that reflects the consciousness toward the importance of education, it's because the woman is aware of the importance of education. But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward, and in every country where education is not stressed it's because the women don't don't have education. So one of the things I became thoroughly convinced of in my recent travels is the importance of giving freedom to the women, giving her education, and giving her the incentive to get out there and put that same spirit and understanding in her children. And I frankly am proud of the contributions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men.

(Paris interview, November 1964.)

On religion

This afternoon it's not our intention to talk religion. We're going to forget religion. If we bring up religion, we'll be in an argument. And the best way to keep away from arguments and differences, as I said earlier, is to put your religion at home, in the closet, keep it between you and your God. Because if it hasn't done anything more for you than it has, you need to forget it anyway.

(Group on Advanced Leadership meeting, Detroit, April 12, 1964.)

On teaching hate

Somebody's got nerve enough, some whites have the audacity, to refer to me as a hate teacher. If I'm teaching someone to hate, I'm teaching them to hate the Ku Klux Klan. But here and in America they have taught us to hate ourselves. To hate our skin, to hate our hair, to hate our features, hate our blood, hate what we are. Why, Uncle Sam is a master hate teacher, so much so that he makes someone think he's teaching law when he's teaching hate. When you've made a man hate himself, you've really got it and gone.

(Speech at the London School of Economics, February, 1965.)

Extremism and liberty

I don't believe in any form of unjustified extremism, but I believe that when a man is exercising extremism, a human being is exercising extremism, in defense of liberty for human beings, it's no vice. And when one is moderate in the pursuit of justice for human beings, I say he's a sinner. And I might add in my conclusion—in fact, America is one of the best examples, when you read its history, about extremism. Old Patrick Henry said "liberty or death"—that's extreme, very extreme.

I read once, passing, about a man named Shakespeare—I only read about him passing, but I remember one thing he wrote that kind of moved me. He put it in the mouth of Hamlet, I think it was, who said, "To be or not to be"—he was in doubt about something—"whether it was nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune"—moderation—"or to take up arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them." And I go for that. If you take up arms, you'll end it. But if you sit around and wait for the one who's in power to make up his mind that he should end it, you'll be waiting a long time.

And in my opinion the young generation of whites, blacks, browns, whatever else there is, you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's a got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods. I for one will join in

Opportunity to advance antiwar fight

Set plans for Black Vietnam poll

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Last week it was reported that church-associated groups in the Black community were organizing a national referendum of Black people on whether or not they favored the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Now literature has become available from the organizers of the National Black Referendum on Vietnam.

One piece of literature states: "Official voting will begin Palm Sunday, March 22, 1970, and continue daily that entire week, ending on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1970, at 2 p.m. Voting stations will be all Black Churches participating in the campaign, in every Black Community throughout the entire United States.

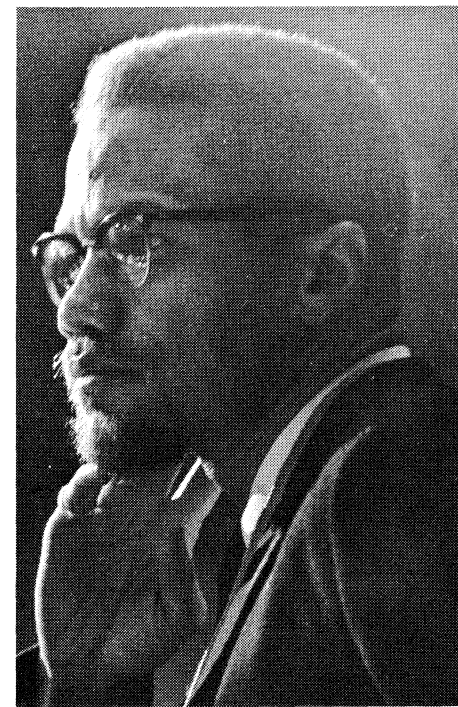
"Additional voting stations outside the church may be established in some cities. Look for signs in your areas. Every Black male or female who is 17 years old and older may vote (if Black youth are old enough to die in the war, they're old enough to vote against it).

"This also includes all Black GIs, draft resisters, and prisoners. Black ministers should make a special effort

to visit these brothers, taking ballots and getting their votes. It should be understood by all involved that we see this as a political campaign and the candidate we're backing is Proposition #1 of the National Black Referendum on Vietnam. Our party and constituency is the Black community and our common ideology is their interest in every form from Welfare to Humanity, which this vicious war is against.

"It is also important that a cross-section of the Black Community participates and votes. Black Churchmen and Black Political and Social organizations' support is very key and our efforts should pour out to gaining their cooperation. Campaign tours, speeches, rallies, publicity, etc. This should be an educational tool, organizing tool, call-for-unity tool, as well as a demand upon the government that the voice of the Black Community be heard."

The literature then states some facts about the illegal and costly nature of the war, like the fact that the government spends \$400,000 to kill one Vietnamese and 66 cents to feed one hungry Black child. It also describes the war-engendered problems which hit Black people particularly hard, such



Malcolm X

with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth. Thank you.

(Oxford Union Society debate, December 3, 1964.)

The role of youth

I knew back in 1961 and 1962 that the younger generation was much different from the older, and that many students were more sincere in their analysis of the problem and their desire to see the problem solved. In foreign countries the students have helped bring about revolution—it was the students who brought about the revolution in the Sudan, who swept Syngman Rhee out of office in Korea, swept Menderes out in Turkey. The students didn't think in terms of the odds against them, and they couldn't be bought out.

(January 18, 1965, interview with Young Socialist magazine.)

The young and the old

The students all over the world are the ones who bring about a change; old people don't bring about a change. I mean I'm not saying this against anybody that's old—because if you're ready for some action you're not old, I don't care how old you are. But if you're not ready for some action, I don't care how young you are, you're old . . . Some of us get too old while we're still in our teens.

(From Young Socialist interview)

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'Vietnamization':cruel new hoax

By DICK ROBERTS

Senator Hugh Scott, the Senate Republican leader and a key spokesman for the Nixon administration, made an exceptionally important admission about the administration's Vietnam policies Feb. 4.

Scott was being cross-examined by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He had asserted over and over again that Nixon intends "to continue the process of withdrawal until the situation arises that permits total withdrawal."

But at one point in the Foreign Relations Committee hearing, according to the Feb. 5 *New York Times* "Scott said it was possible that some U. S. troops would remain after the bulk of the American forces had been withdrawn.

"Saying that the American people have accepted the continuing presence of 50,000 U. S. troops in Korea, Senator Scott declared that if American troops were necessary to keep the peace in Vietnam, the good judgment of the American people would be able to surmount the hysteria of a limited number of critics."

I have italicized the last paragraph because as short as it is, I think it is the most accurate statement about the real goals of the Nixon administration in Vietnam that has yet been made public. These goals are not fundamentally different from those of the Johnson and Kennedy administrations before Nixon.

And that strategy bears recapitulation. The paramount aims of Washington's attack on Vietnam were three-fold:

- To crush a popular revolution that threatened capitalist rule in South Vietnam.

- To roll back, to the maximum extent possible, the gains of revolutionary North Vietnam, escalating this attack to China, if the relationship of forces allowed it.

- To establish a powerful military base in South Vietnam: on one hand to stabilize the puppet regime in Saigon; on the other to provide a "jumping off" point for future counterrevolution, the ultimate "prize" again being China herself.

Has Nixon departed from these strategic goals? Has he given up seeking to stabilize the military dictatorship in Saigon? Does his perspective include moving out of the military bases—some of which are the largest in the whole Southeast Asian war theater—of South Vietnam? All the evidence is in the opposite direction. And Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization" is the best clue.

The history of the long U. S. attack on Vietnam is replete with just such fabrications and lies the capitalist politicians have used to cover their bloody aggression. Recall only the last six years, beginning with the phony Johnson "peace" campaign against "escalator" Goldwater.

Johnson's "peace" offensives; summit "peace" talks; an Asian "peace" tour; "pacification"; "revolutionary development"; "Operation Phoenix"; Johnson steps down—for "peace"; the Paris "peace" talks are opened; bombing of North Vietnam "ceases"—and is shifted to Laos and South Vietnam; Nixon's "secret plan" for "peace"; troop "withdrawal." Each one of them stood for prolonged war and new layers of dead.

"Vietnamization" falls in exactly the same category. It is a new lie, another catchword, calculated to dupe the American people into believing that the war is coming to an end.

Such a concerted effort at brainwashing takes its toll, even in the ranks of



the antiwar movement—and that is exactly where it is most consciously aimed. Maybe, some begin to say, Nixon really is "giving up"; maybe he recognizes that the U. S. "just can't win in Vietnam" and is going to phase out the war. Many in the antiwar movement are affected by that kind of thinking, and some in the movement help promote it. Take, for example, a recent attempt by the Communist Party.

Writing in the Feb. 3 and Feb. 4 *Daily World*, Victor Perlo attacks Noam Chomsky's article, "After Pinkville," which appeared in the *New York Review of Books*, Jan. 15. In that article, Chomsky provided a really devastating exposure of Nixon's phony "Vietnamization" line and urged intensified mass actions by the antiwar movement.

According to Perlo, Chomsky failed to point out that "the Vietnamese people are winning" and have forced "a shift in U. S. policy." Chomsky "ignores the military setbacks of the U. S." Chomsky "interprets the end of the bombing of North Vietnam and the Vietnamization program as mere tactical shifts to pacify Americans, with no military retreat involved."

But it is Perlo and not Chomsky who confuses Washington's tactical and strategic aims. Washington's strategic aim is to stay in Vietnam indefinitely, no matter how costly in blood, no matter how long—provided only and precisely that it can "pacify Americans."

No one can underestimate the valiant role of the Vietnamese revolutionaries. (And all of Chomsky's writings make clear that he certainly doesn't.) The remarkable accomplishments of the Vietnamese liberation fighters have been the inspiration of a worldwide revolutionary youth movement. That is not the question.

The question is whether the Vietnamese can win without the forceful and massive aid of the U. S. and worldwide antiwar movements. And to this Washington's answer is crystal clear. It was contained in the few remarks by Senator Scott stated at the outset.

If Washington can reduce the antiwar movement to the "hysteria of a limited number of critics," it can and will stay in Vietnam indefinitely. The harsh reality is that if Washington could silence the American people, it would almost certainly re-escalate the bombing of North Vietnam and bomb it massively—a tactical turn that is not only not ruled out in Washington but has been threatened over and over again by President Nixon himself.

The Vietnamese are well aware of this and they have never ceased to point it out. Perlo omits to quote the Vietnamese.

"Pham Van Dong[North Vietnamese premier] calls 'Vietnamization' America's 'Grand Design' to win the war," Richard J. Barnet reported after inter-

viewing top leaders of the Vietnamese revolution in Hanoi last November. (*New York Review of Books*, Jan. 29.)

"In his view, Nixon is giving the following signal: 'I will reduce U. S. forces in Vietnam to a level which the American people can accept and these forces will be used to keep the present South Vietnamese regime in power for years to come.'"

And a recently received letter from the Federation of Trade Unions for Liberation of South Vietnam hailed the American movement's antiwar offensive and declared:

"... the American people's movement for an end to the aggressive war against Vietnam has unfolded in full strength under such urgent mottoes as 'Peace in Vietnam,' 'Immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops.'"

"This movement of yours not only aims at defending the vital interests and lives of the American youths and people, but also bespeaks the solidarity and friendship between the American and Vietnamese peoples, and constitutes an active contribution to the safeguard

of world peace."

There speaks the authentic voice of revolution. "Vietnamization" has not fooled the Vietnamese people, nor could it, for they are daily subjected to the shells and bombs of U. S. invasion.

It has certainly not fooled the GIs on the front lines. *New York Times* reporter James Sterba writes from the Vietnam battlefield Feb. 8 that virtually all combat GIs detest this gruesome war: "It was a rather neat dichotomy," he writes, "between the men in the military and the kids in the war; the majority in the rear and the minority in the front; the comfortably bored and the miserably scared... the living and the dying."

And one of many 18-, 19-, 20-year-old GIs Sterba quotes: "It doesn't seem right, all those lifers back there in the Pentagon makin' us come out here and fight this thing. Just doesn't. I haven't seen hardly anybody here who says they are for it unless they're back in the rear."

"Vietnamization" should least of all fool the antiwar movement.

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WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35¢

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A draft counselor's analysis

Class and race bias in the draft system

By JAMES LAFFERTY

(Attorney James Lafferty is cochairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now. He is a nationally recognized authority on the draft law and has been a longtime draft counselor.)

By now everyone knows that the "draft" is unfair. What is not understood by most, however, is that its unfairness is not merely an accident of sloppy legislation, nor of loopholes enlarged by crafty lawyers. Rather, its unfairness is built in, at the factory as it were, in keeping with the class bias contained in the broader American society, of which the draft is but a reflection.

The principal feature of the class discrimination existent in the draft law, is the fact that every single deferred classification is predicated upon factors that make it easier for the wealthier, more educated young man to obtain such deferments than the poor, less-educated youth.

In the case of some deferments, this economic, class discrimination is obvious to all. The II-S college deferment is such an example. Where it used to be fashionable to buy one's way out of the Army, now one can simply buy one's way into a college.

The II-A occupational deferment is also obviously weighted in favor of the wealthier better-educated young American. For, the very jobs that are viewed as being in the "national health, safety and interest" and thus defensible, are the kinds of jobs one needs a college educa-

tion to obtain. A factory worker, or postman, or garage mechanic is not deemed to be working in the "national health, safety and interest."

Other deferments are not so obviously stacked against the poor, but that is owing to the insidious nature of class oppression, not to any lessening of the oppression in the case of these deferments. For example, how does one obtain a I-Y or 4-F health deferment? First, it is necessary to have some health problem. Certainly the poor in our nation are generally the most unhealthy. However, in addition to having the health problem the young man must also have letters from doctors confirming the condition, showing the treatment, etc. But the poor, unlike the wealthier, do not always go to doctors for treatment and secure medical records. It's funny, but I've never met a poor kid with asthma, or bad allergies, or slipped discs, or high blood pressure. Yet, every recent college grad seems to suffer from one or more of these maladies.

Conscientious objector status is a highly sought after deferment. Yet, in order to obtain it, it is necessary to fill out a form asking the applicant to "describe the nature of your belief which is the basis of your claim and state why you consider it to be based on religious training and belief."

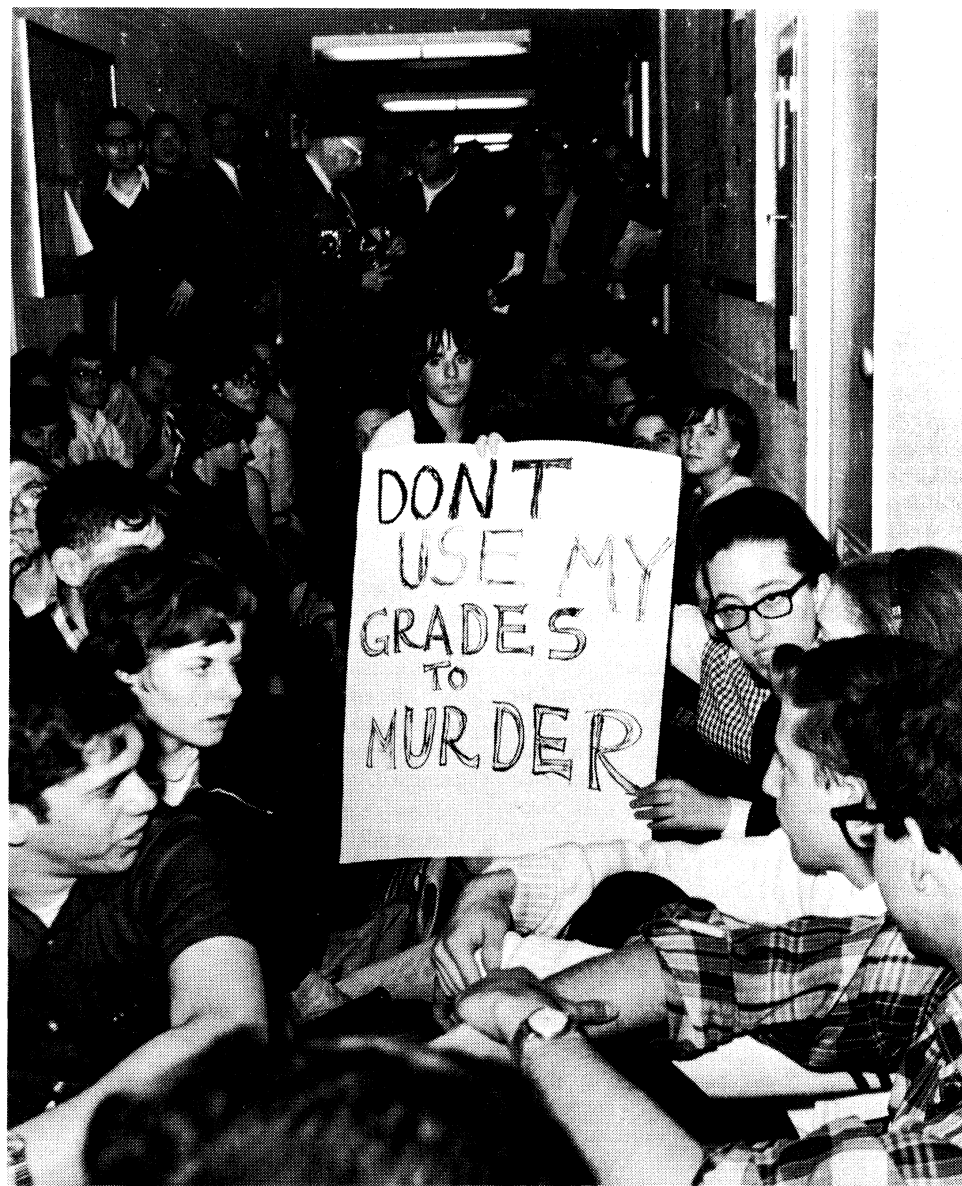
How does one articulate sophisticated ideas concerning his innermost beliefs? It is difficult enough for the college student who has been trained to write such abstract and often pointless tracts. But what of the uneducated working-class youth who is not schooled in "theme writing"? Again, to this class the status of conscientious objector is generally unobtainable. In fact, they do not generally know such a classification exists.

The IV-D ministerial deferment is also more easily obtained by the wealthy than the poor. A poor Black or white minister, whose flock is so poor that he must work in the plant during the week in order to minister to the congregation on Sunday, is not entitled to a IV-D because the ministry is not his *principal* vocation.

But, what about the III-A hardship deferment? Surely here, at last, is a deferment provided with the poor in mind! Not so. In fact, the young man *least* likely to obtain a hardship deferment is the poorest, unemployed, uneducated young man. Why? Because he can show no hardship. Indeed, if he goes into the Army, his family will



James Lafferty



Antidraft sit-in at New York City College

be better off, according to the Selective Service System, since he will get a roof over his head, three meals a day, and an allotment check to send home to his family on welfare. Since he was poor and often unemployed to begin with, this young man cannot show that going into the Army will produce any "hardship."

On the contrary, the young man with a good job who, for example, supports his wife and mother, can show that hardship would result from his being drafted and has a good chance to secure a III-A hardship deferment.

The remaining deferments are not relevant to the discussion either because of their narrow applicability (IV-B, official deferred by law; IV-C, certain aliens); or because they are really not deferments at all but merely classification categories (V-A, overage; I-C, member of armed forces; etc.).

Cutting across what has been described above and what we can call the exploitative class nature of the draft, is the problem of the racist nature of the draft. What I wish to stress at the outset of any discussion of the racist nature of the draft, however, is my belief that it cannot be understood apart from the exploitative class nature of the Selective Service System. It does not advance an understanding of the problem to simply say that Blacks are discriminated against under Selective Service law. In fact, a good argument can be made for the position that the draft law is so structured as to discriminate in favor of Black men. Consider: Blacks have traditionally served in the armed forces in less numbers, percentagewise, than the whites. Only in the last couple of years has Black participation reached 11 percent. Blacks, among the population who have only eighth-grade or less education, still serve in far smaller percentages than whites.

The principal reason for this is that three out of five Blacks fail the "mental" test, whereas only one out of seven whites fails these tests.

Thus, America is caught up in an ironic situation of its own making. This racist nation has, since its first plunder of Africa's humanity, denied equal educational opportunity to the Blacks. The result: higher proportions of illiteracy among Black youth than white, and thus more Blacks are rejected for service on the basis of their so-called mental test scores than whites.

But, racist America is not to be denied. Among those Blacks who *are* able, despite the odds, to secure sufficient knowledge to pass the mental test, more

are drafted, percentagewise, than whites.

It is at this juncture that the class and racial nature of the Selective Service System merge. More Blacks who pass the mental test go into the Army than whites because fewer Blacks qualify for deferments. The reason is obvious: Blacks, percentagewise, make up the largest portion of the poor; and it is the poor who are least able to secure any deferment.

Furthermore, it is well to note what happens to those Black youth who are drafted, once in the Army: Blacks make up 18 percent of combat units in Vietnam, though they make up only 11 percent of the nation's population. In some airborne units, where casualties are highest, Blacks represent 40 percent of combat units. In contrast, Blacks make up a far smaller proportion of officers than whites.

It should surprise no one to learn that the Selective Service System is undemocratic and that the system is stacked against the poor. In a capitalist nation where the exploitation of one class by another is in the order of things, one would expect nothing else. And if the inequity is rooted in the class-caste society that is America, then the elimination of such inequities can come about only through struggle between the classes.

Those who would take up the struggle would be well-advised to avoid viewing the antidraft struggle as one based more in personal morality than in political and economic reality. Too many young American men have only viewed their challenge to the draft as a personal challenge, often a personal flight into martyrdom. "If I turn in my draft card, I will start a movement." And indeed, such brave and principled acts did influence the movement, did help awaken a spirit among growing numbers of American youth.

But in truth, if the struggle against the draft is a class struggle, then it must also be a mass struggle; a mass movement, such as has grown to oppose the Vietnam war, will be needed to end the draft. The antidraft movement does not need more draft card burners; what is needed is struggle on a class basis.

This struggle must not be merely by individuals who resist, or reformers who want to change this or that feature of the draft to make it more "equitable," but by class opponents who organize mass actions in the streets independent of the ruling class' political parties or governmental institutions. The demand must be—and the SMC states it forthrightly—that the draft be abolished.

Emory U Mobe zeroes in on GE and HHH

By STEVE ABBOTT

ATLANTA, Ga.—The Emory University Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam scored two victories here Feb. 3. Early in the day the Administration announced that GE recruiters, who were to be on campus that day, had "postponed" their visit. The announcement came after the EMC sent a letter to General Electric telling them they were *persona non grata* and if they wanted to come they should be prepared for a debate.

Later that same day, Hubert Humphrey, who has recently been touring selected college campuses in hopes of revitalizing his political image, was shown that even the Democrat-Dixiecrat South is not a haven for Vietnam war apologists. The EMC organized pickets and an atrocity band in front of the church where Humphrey was to speak.

Inside the church, the audience of 1,500 was dotted with signs saying "Humphrey—War Criminal," and a large NLF flag was draped over the balcony. As a representative of the Pillsbury Company, the ones who sponsored Humphrey's talk, tried to introduce Humphrey a section of the audience sang the Pillsbury song, "Nothin's as lovin' as somethin' from the oven. . . ."

Humphrey's hour-and-a-half speech was applauded only once, when he criticized Nixon for vetoing the health and education bill. Questions after the talk scored Humphrey for his own record of perverted national priorities and imperialist foreign policies.

Young Socialist response to IS

Mass antiwar action is still key

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK
YSA National Organization Secretary
Many different radical political groups will be represented at the Student Mobilization conference in Cleveland, and alternative political perspectives for the antiwar movement will be debated and voted upon.

This article by Nelson Blackstock discusses the position paper put forward by the International Socialists (IS), printed in the Jan. 21, 1970, issue of the SMC's Student Mobilizer. The IS paper is a serious attempt to argue for a perspective of turning the SMC away from concentration on the war issue and toward building an all-purpose political organization. As such it raises a number of questions which are on the minds of many antiwar activists and, for that reason, are well worth discussing.

The SMC conference in Cleveland has before it two important tasks. The first is to map out an action program for the spring mobilization against the war. The second is to reaffirm the basic character of the antiwar movement—a movement united around the single issue of antiwar action in the streets, and in which the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam is central.

Challenges to the single-issue, mass action orientation of the antiwar movement are not new to the movement's history. Precisely because it is such a key question it often comes under attack, and one of the most recent challenges is contained in the position paper, "Toward the Working Class," put forward by the International Socialists for discussion at the SMC conference.

The general line of IS's reasoning runs as follows: The antiwar movement has grown substantially in the past period, but now "faces its greatest threat" because "its political program has not kept pace with its potential."

The task of the antiwar movement is to set into motion that section of society which is "capable of stopping the war," namely the working class. To do this, says the IS, requires abandoning the basic strategy upon which the antiwar movement has been based, and in its place "putting forward a full program of proworking-class demands." This program should call for "political actions, including electoral actions, that are genuinely oriented toward working people."

Now, some of the premises upon which the IS bases its arguments are valid, a number of the specific demands that are proposed in the IS position paper have already been raised by the SMC. But taken as a whole, and especially in its central proposals, the IS position paper is dead wrong and should be rejected. It is not simply a question of arguing over this or that demand. What must be rejected is the attempt to substitute an entirely different program and orientation for the one on which SMC has been built, and which has enabled it to be so effective.

Labor and the war

First, on labor. It is absolutely true that labor is the decisive force in society and has real potential power that the students lack. That's why it is important to orient toward involving the working class in antiwar action. The real question is *how*.

The IS approach is based on the concept that "working class opposition to war is derived primarily from the effects of the war," such as inflation, taxes, etc. Unlike students, it seems workers do not object to the war per se and can't really relate to the de-

mand for immediate withdrawal.

This is nonsense.

Virtually everyone who opposes the war does so for a variety of reasons. Millions of people, including workers, are against the war because they think it is immoral and a violation of the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Others are affected primarily by inflation, high taxes, cutbacks in spending for housing, schools, hospitals, and other social services. And affecting almost everyone is the mounting toll of GI dead and wounded. This is the major basis for the widespread acceptance of the immediate withdrawal demand.

How many young workers are in Vietnam? How many face the pros-

chose the former. Although many striking GE workers may not have consciously opposed the war, nevertheless their struggle did deal a blow against it. The SMC and other antiwar groups supported the strike as a war-related issue.

But the SMC did not abandon antiwar actions to become a strike support group, pure and simple. Nor did it try to formulate a general program for the labor movement. To the contrary, the SMC carried out antiwar activity, but did it in a way related to the strike. The "GE Off Campus" campaign was an antiwar, anti-campus-complicity campaign directed at the same target as the GE strike.

And in the process of this antiwar

But could the antiwar movement actually form an independent political party? And should it try?

We answer no to both questions. The antiwar movement is a movement of action, which implements its demand for immediate withdrawal by organizing mass demonstrations which all can agree upon—despite the multitude of differences among ourselves on how best to change society, and what other types of political action to engage in.

The antiwar movement is composed of people who support rival political organizations which compete with each other during elections and between elections. The reason they cannot all get together is simple: they disagree politically. There are supporters of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the IS, RYM and other groups on the left. There are people who do not believe in election campaigns at all. Others favor support to liberal or dovish major party candidates. There is no basis for a common political program among them.

This does not mean that the YSA thinks individuals within the antiwar movement should abstain from political action around other issues simply because the antiwar movement itself cannot provide the vehicle for such diverse forces to express themselves on such a wide range of questions. If we thought that, we wouldn't be in the YSA. On the contrary, we do everything we can to persuade antiwar activists that if they really want to fight to change society they should join the YSA. We support every movement that is fighting oppression and exploitation and we're active in all the movements for social change. We build support for the Socialist Workers Party and for independent Black, Chicano, and other Third World candidates as the only meaningful electoral alternative to the capitalist parties.

But we don't expect that everyone in the antiwar movement will agree with us, and we don't try to shove our full political program down anyone's throat. Such a course would destroy the antiwar movement.

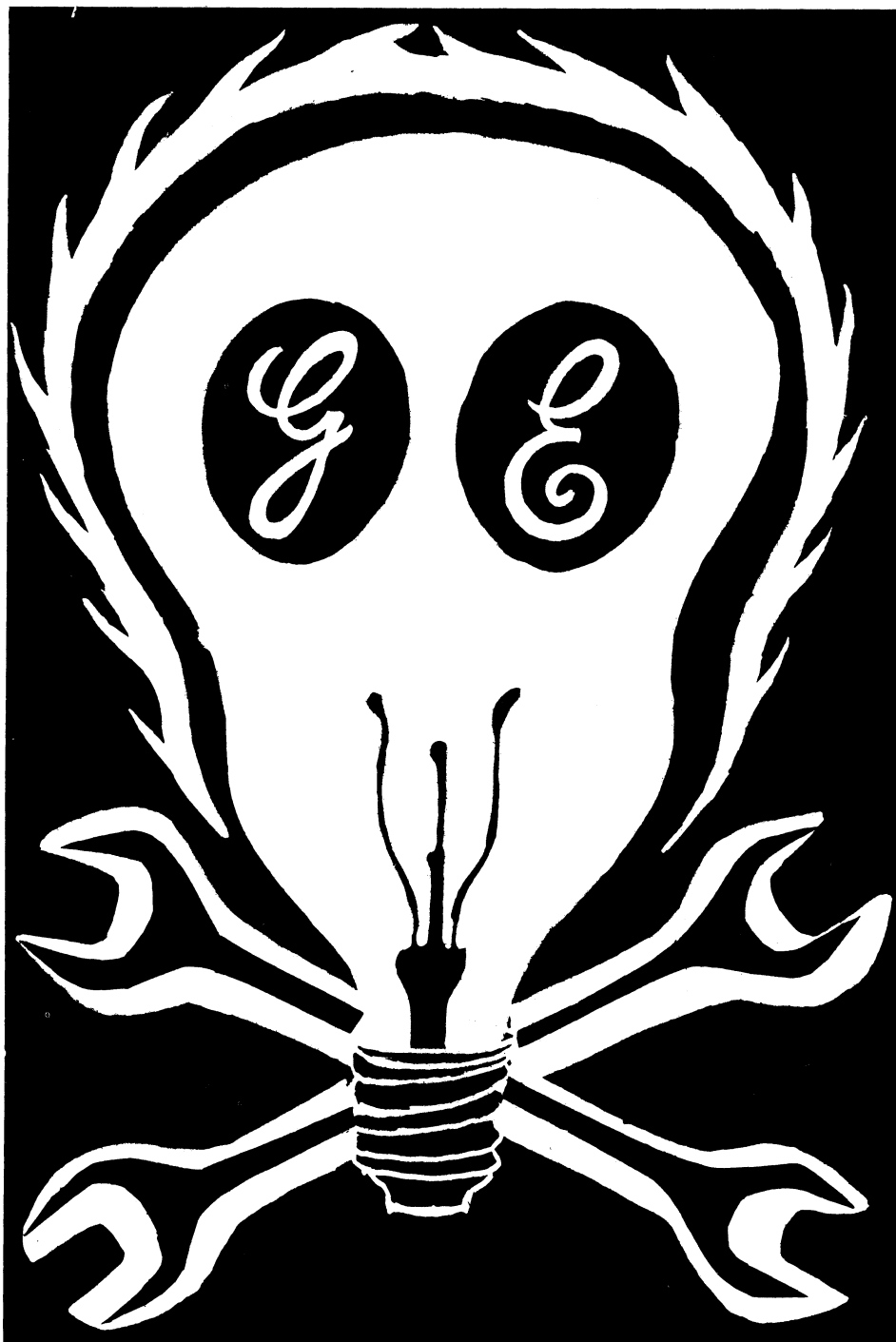
If the antiwar movement were to adopt the course outlined by the IS the result would be equally disastrous, and for the same reason: it would destroy our effective unity around the one question on which there is real agreement—the need to fight for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam by means of mass actions in the streets.

The antiwar movement cannot provide an electoral alternative to the Republicans and Democrats. But it can, through militant mass antiwar actions, contribute immeasurably—as it already has—to educating people about the true role and nature of the capitalist parties and the capitalist system. It has helped to change the entire political atmosphere in the United States, and it has contributed immensely to the radicalization of millions of Americans, especially the youth.

It has played an incalculable role in aiding the Vietnamese revolution. By mobilizing millions of Americans against the war we have acted as a millstone around the neck of the American ruling class. We have prevented them from waging the kind of all-out war they would prefer. We have made it possible for the Vietnamese to eventually triumph.

But the battle is not yet over, and for us to abandon our post now, to allow our forces to be divided and disoriented, would be a tremendous blow to the Vietnamese revolution as well as to the growing radical movement in the United States.

We must continue to work together and fight together around the issue we all agree on—mobilizing masses of Americans to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.



pect of being sent there? How many working men and women have friends and relatives in this situation? Immediate withdrawal is the central demand which can win the widest acceptance from the working class—or any other sector of the population for that matter.

What about other demands? The single-issue orientation of the antiwar movement does not mean that we must limit ourselves solely to chanting "Bring the GIs Home Now!" This is an extremely mechanical conception. The antiwar movement has always tried to relate the war to various sectors of society (Third World people, labor, GIs, women, etc.). The key point, however, is that the antiwar movement has never substituted political propaganda around an amorphous reform program for the task of building mass antiwar actions based on immediate withdrawal.

GE strike

Take the SMC's approach to the GE strike, for example. The strike was an indication that, forced to make a choice between defending their living standard against war-accelerated inflation or sacrificing for the war, the GE workers

campaign, the SMC both helped educate students about the importance of winning support from the working class, and also tried to show workers how the antiwar students could become their allies, thus creating more favorable opportunities to draw labor directly into action against the war.

The same basic approach can be taken in the future in relation to the labor movement and other sectors of the population.

A new party?

When we get beyond all the IS rhetoric about moving "toward the working class" we find out the real essence of the IS proposal: the transformation of the antiwar movement into a political party, much like the fiasco they pushed in 1968—the Peace and Freedom Party.

It is certainly true that one of the main dangers facing the antiwar movement is that of turning away from the streets and being diverted into support for capitalist candidates. The SMC has an important task in 1970 in remaining independent and keeping the perspective of continued mass actions.

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A Democratic politician meets Texas socialists

By MELISSA SINGLER

AUSTIN—The Texas socialist election campaign met the Democratic Party head-on at a meeting of more than 1,600 University of Texas students and faculty here featuring Sen. Abraham Ribicoff.

Young Socialists for Styron, Hernandez and Burgeson (YSSHB) distributed a leaflet entitled "War, Racism, Poverty, Pollution—Brought to You by the Democratic and Republican Parties." The leaflet asked whether Ribicoff backed SWP-supported demands for immediate withdrawal, a national referendum on the war, Black and Chicano control of their communities, a 100 percent tax on profits of pollution-causing industries, an immediate end to the national persecution of the Black Panther Party and a trial of the murderers of Panthers

to be conducted in the Black community.

During the question period, one person stood up and read all the demands and asked where Ribicoff stood on them. Ribicoff, reading from the leaflet, didn't show much support for anything, although he did spend considerable time fulminating against Black and Chicano nationalism. Then, holding the leaflet up, he said he didn't know who the SWP was and he didn't care.

Then, another person in the audience pointed out that the system of capitalism creates pollution and that she thought it might take socialism to correct things.

Neither of these questioners had been previously associated with the YSSHB.

In another campaign development, Marianne Hernandez, candidate for U.S. senator, scored a report from the Austin Human Relations Commission which stated that the police "overreacted" during a recent high school basketball game in Austin.

Commenting on one Commission member's proposal that police go through "sensitivity training" as a cure for this tendency to "overreact," Marianne Hernandez said, "I have a better idea for dealing with police racism. My plan is this: Replace police occupation of the Black and Mexicano communities with a community-controlled police force recruited from the Black and Mexicano residents themselves. . . . I say the answer to rising police-community tensions is: Put the police under the control of the oppressed communities." The major focus of her campaign, she said, would be to press those demands throughout the Southwest.

To help carry on an effective statewide campaign, the SWP has opened a new headquarters in Austin, located at 1701 East Avenue.



Marianne Hernandez

Penna socialists prepare drive to win ballot place

By BILL HEVNER

PHILADELPHIA — The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party has announced the opening of its 1970 state and local election campaign. Campaign organizers will be seeking speaking invitations from every college in Pennsylvania, and a statewide campaign supporter organization, the Young Socialist Campaigners, is projected.

The campaign platform pledges support for building spring and fall mass antiwar actions for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and for free speech for GIs. The candidates will be using their campaigns to support all struggles for control of schools in the Black community, like the one last fall at West Philadelphia High School.

Pollution will be a major issue, since Philadelphia ranks third among major cities in airborne filth.

The candidates are active builders of the antiwar, Black liberation and women's liberation movements.

Robin Maisel, candidate for U.S. senator, was an organizer of the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam and is a former national field secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. He will be running against Sen. Hugh Scott, the chief Republican apologist for the Nixon administration.

Pearl Chertov, candidate for governor, has been in the socialist movement for over 30 years, was an organizer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and is a leading figure in the Philadelphia antiwar movement.

Mark Zola, who is running for Lt. governor, has been a civilian staff member of the *Ultimate Weapon*, a Ft. Dix-based GI antiwar newspaper.

Candidates for state representatives from Philadelphia are Carol Lisker,

a member of the U of Penn. SMC, and Arnold Terry, a member of the ILGWU and an activist in a number of Black liberation groups. Before joining the YSA, he was a member of the Black Panthers. Terry will confront David Savitt, a white Democrat who earns his living by allegedly representing Black Philadelphians.

The first major activity will be a statewide petition campaign March 11 to April 1 involving supporters from all over the state, to gather 20,000 signatures to place the party on the ballot.

The state campaign headquarters is at 686 North Broad Street, Philadelphia.



MINN. CANDIDATES MEET PRESS. At Minneapolis press conference (left to right): SWP candidates Mimi Harary, Derrel Myers, Nancy Strebe and YSA spokesman Bill Scheer.

SMCers and the '70 elections

If the opportunities offered by the 1970 elections are recognized and correctly utilized, significant gains can be achieved for both the antiwar movement and the struggle for a socialist America. To accomplish this, however, requires a sound approach to both the antiwar movement and to the elections.

We believe that such an approach is embodied in the various statewide election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party.

We believe that it is correct that the SMC, as an organization, should take no stand in support of any candidates, including those of the SWP. We see this as correct for two reasons.

First, if an antiwar coalition takes a position supporting any candidate, the automatic result will be to narrow the participation in the coalition.

Second, the main thrust of the SMC is to keep the antiwar movement independent of the major capitalist political parties so that it can maintain its mass street actions without being co-opted. It could not do this if it were to begin endorsing candidates of those political parties.

This does not mean, however, that antiwar activists should abstain from participating in electoral activity. On the contrary. To do so would be to deprive themselves of the opportunity to make use of the elections in order to help put forward their point of view. And at the same time, it would permit phony capitalist "peace" candidates to co-opt activists who may be less politically experienced.

The state campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party provide individual antiwar activists with exciting vehicles for carrying out such a perspective. Unlike other campaigns that will no doubt appear, the SWP campaigns are being run on a program that is both antiwar and anticapitalist.

In major campaigns across the country this year, the SWP will be confronting well-known spokesmen for the Democratic and Republican parties. It will be using the capitalist electoral system to help spread and popularize a program for struggle against the capitalist system.

And not only will it be reaching millions of Americans with the ideas of revolutionary socialism, but it has credentials no other party can meet: It is the only party whose candidates are all activists and who will use their campaigns to help build the mass struggles and actions of the antiwar, women's liberation and Third World liberation movements.

Those credentials strongly recommend it to activists in the antiwar movement. For all these reasons we urge SMCers to give their individual, active support to the SWP ticket in their area.

Socialist Workers ticket opens Minnesota campaign

MINNEAPOLIS — The Minnesota Socialist Workers Party announced its 1970 state election campaign at a news conference here Jan. 23 and held a kickoff campaign rally the following evening. At the news conference, the candidates each discussed sections of the party's platform, and a YSA representative read a statement in support of the campaign.

Derrel Myers, candidate for Congress from the fifth district (Minneapolis), is Twin Cities SWP organizer and a well-known local leader of antiwar and campus struggles. He explained that the campaign is a clear-cut radical alternative to the racist, warmaking and anti-labor Democrats and Republicans, and that the SWP campaign is the only one in Minnesota that will be helping to build rather than trying to disarm the mass movements against the war in Vietnam, for women's liberation, and for Black, Native-American and Mexi-

can-American control of their communities.

Nancy Strebe, cochairwoman of the Minnesota New Mobilization Committee and active in women's liberation, is the candidate for U.S. Senate. She explained the need for women and oppressed minorities to control their own lives and the institutions which affect them. She pointed out the capitalist system's inability to fulfill these needs because of its dependence on a reserve supply of labor composed of women and oppressed minorities.

Mimi Harary, candidate for governor, is a former Minnesota regional coordinator of the SMC. She concentrated her remarks on the war in Vietnam and the rash of "peace" candidates who are appearing now that widespread public sentiment against the war has become visible. She said she is running to protest the discrimination against youth, who are not allowed to vote but who are expected to pay taxes and fight wars.

The 1970 campaign in Minnesota will provide many opportunities to expose the phony "peace" candidates who are expected to run. Hubert H. Humphrey plans to run for U.S. senator; incumbent Don Fraser, a "liberal dove," will be running for Congress from the fifth district; and for governor, several capitalist "peace" candidates are expected to be vying for the nomination.

For minority candidates like the SWP, the requirements for getting on the ballot are discriminatory and exclusionary. To get the three candidates on the ballot, 6,000 signatures must be collected (in two weeks) and \$450 paid in filing fees. The candidates will be speaking and agitating against these restrictions.

The candidates are already into a heavy speaking schedule all over the state. Speaking engagements will increase as the YSA builds regional support for the campaign.

Photo by Wm. A. Anderson

Backs a slate that fights now



Photo by Howard Petrick

The following is the speech endorsing the New York State SWP campaign given by Anselma dell'Olio. Miss Olio is an actress and the director of the New Feminist Repertory.

First I'd like to thank you all for being such a receptive audience. It was really a pleasure performing for you.

I'd like to announce that it is with great pleasure that I endorse fully the slate of candidates the Socialist Workers Party is presenting for election.

First of all, it's a healthy change to see that truly 50 percent of the candidates are women. It's also the first radical group in my experience where the women's liberation issue isn't subsumed and relegated to "that great day after the revolution." But it seems to be viewed in its real light as one of the most fundamental issues and on an equal level of importance with the Black civil rights issue, the Latin American countries' struggle for liberation, and the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

Women are not going to be radicalized until their own gut issue is at stake. And I think that's the reason women haven't been as active in politics as they might have been until now.

But when 51 percent of the population feels that their interests are truly being supported, we're going to see a radical movement, an uprising in this country, the likes of which we've never seen before.

New York kickoff banquet most

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK—One of the most enthusiastic kickoffs ever for an election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party occurred here Feb. 7. Some 250 supporters jammed the campaign headquarters for a banquet and rally launching the 1970 New York State SWP campaign.

Artists who support the campaign designed special decorations for the occasion. A one-act play by the New Feminist Theater was a resounding hit.

Even more striking than the air of professionalism and determination that pervaded the event was the spontaneous audience participation that frequently erupted into applause, laughter and shouts of "Right on!"

This participation was concretely expressed by an audience contribution of more than \$1,800 to put the campaign on a firm footing.

The after-dinner program opened with a performance by the New Feminist Theater of a play by Myrna Lamb entitled "What Have You Done For Me Lately?" The play, which portrays a man in whom women have just inserted an impregnated uterus, and who meets with cold hostility to his insistence that it be removed, was repeatedly interrupted with applause.

Testimonial to the role played by the SWP in the women's liberation movement was registered when both Myrna Lamb and the director of the New Feminist Repertory, Anselma dell'Olio, took the rostrum to endorse the campaign at the rally (see texts this page).

Michael Weisman, an SMC activist and student at Stuyvesant High School, told the rally he was endorsing the SWP campaign because it has pledged to fight for the implementation of the SMC's High School Bill of Rights and because, "The SWP is the only party that has shown consistently that it is going to fight and not just talk about



AT NEW YORK CAMPAIGN BANQUET. At speakers table (from left to right): Michael Weisman of high school SMC; playwright Myrna Lamb; George Novack of campaign finance committee; Randy Furst, Guardian

staff member Ruthann Berry, on rostrum, c

the issues that concern us."

The SWP's candidate for governor of New York, Clifton DeBerry, stressed that he would be campaigning for the formation of an independent, mass Black political party.

He called on Black revolutionaries to

organize a serious fight against the capitalist parties in the electoral arena: "The time has come when Black revolutionaries—and there are quite a few who call themselves that today—must organize the challenge against the Democratic and Republican parties."

Speech by Myrna Lamb

Playwright to support SWP ticket

Myrna Lamb is the author of the play "What Have You Done For Me Lately?" which was performed at the rally launching the 1970 election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. The following is her speech endorsing the campaign. The article by Ruthann Miller she refers to appeared in the Feb. 13 *Militant*. It is a reply to chauvinist statements on the subject of women's liberation made by Dr. Benjamin Spock.

What's the definition of the Socialist Workers Party? It seems to me tonight that it must be "truth, soul and generosity." I'm very impressed, I really am.

Of course I support all the candidates, and if you don't mind, a special nod to Ruthann Miller because we're work-

ing in the same battalion, as you all know.

I saw Ruthann's article about Dr. Spock. I'm glad somebody said it: *Back to Dr. Spock*. I think that's his final say, as far as I'm concerned. How about it, I mean let's hear it from Napoleon's mother! Why not Hitler's mother while you're at it?

The article, of course, expressed Dr. Spock's disapproval of the fact that women were being educated out of their true role. If women are to be educated, who's to stay home and take care of the children?

We've heard that argument before. You know, don't educate the slaves, don't educate the working class, because then they won't stay where they belong. Well, good-bye Dr. Spock!

I have something that I'd like to say to you that has been on my mind ever since I read about that lovely young Black woman who was so lucky to come to New York and get an education and learn how to conform, and conformed herself to death. I think you all know who I mean. A young woman who sniffed heroin and cocaine as part of her program in New York City. For me anyway, she expresses the tragedy of what's done to women in this country.

She graduated second in a class of 500, she was good-looking, she was intelligent, she had leadership qualities. And the principal of the school she came from in Chicago said, "If she'd been a boy, you would have had to say that she'd have been at the top in 10 years." And that says it for me.

And then, of course, her friends said, "Well, when she first came here she was a tomboy. She was only interested in calculus, in Russian and things like that."

But she learned how to conform, you see. They all got her involved, and she became *sexy*. And she became interested in mod clothes. And then, of course, she had to go to these parties. And then she was introduced into this—maybe I'm wrong, but I'm going to go out on a limb as usual—I think the establishment absolutely supports the dissemination of drugs in this culture; I think it really plays into their hands.

What I would like to see happen in our society is for plays like "What Have You Done For Me Lately?"—I never heard a better response, it was a great experience for me—to become absolutely obsolete. Curiosities, museum-pieces. I would like to see a country where people are human beings first.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Myrna Lamb

Works by and about Malcolm X

By Malcolm X

- The Autobiography of Malcolm X
- Malcolm X Speaks
- Malcolm X On Afro-American History
- Malcolm X Talks to Young People
- Two Speeches by Malcolm X

By George Breitman

- The Assassination of Malcolm X
- The Last Year of Malcolm X
- Malcolm X, The Man and His Ideas

By Albert Cleage and George Breitman

Myths About Malcolm X: Two Views (Ed.) John Henrik Clarke

- Malcolm X, The Man and His Times

(Ed.) Dudley Randall and Margaret G. Burroughs

- For Malcolm: Poems On The Life and The Death of Malcolm X

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spirited yet



Dawson, candidate for U. S. senator; candidate for comptroller; Clifton De for governor; Anselma dell'Olio. At manager Mike Arnall.

Other speakers included Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for comptroller and a leader in the New York women's liberation movement; Kipp Dawson, candidate for U. S. senator; and Randy Furst, staff writer for the *Guardian* (see text this page).

Speech by Randy Furst

Guardian staffer joins YSA

The following is the text of the speech by *Guardian* staff writer Randy Furst endorsing the New York SWP campaign.

* * *

I should begin by remarking that what I say here tonight does not necessarily represent the views of the *Guardian*.

It was slightly more than a year ago — toward the end of 1968 — that New Left leaders were boasting that the nationwide membership of Students for a Democratic Society had exceeded 100,000. The movement was growing and so was SDS. SDS chapters had sprung up on hundreds of campuses. The potentials, as SDS leaders saw them, were immense. A year later, SDS had virtually ceased to exist.

As a reporter for the *Guardian*, I covered SDS during its heyday and watched its demise. The New Left was a significant political phenomenon, if only a transitory one. It appealed to the idealism of students. It attracted thousands of activists who had fundamental objections to a government that preached democracy while simultaneously obstructing it throughout the world. The Vietnam war was a war of imperialism, SDSers would say. And of course, they were right.

But SDS had several fatal flaws. It had no program. It had no socialist theory. One can search — in vain — through SDS literature for a coherent analysis of American society. SDS was elitist — as most SDSers found out. By the spring of 1969, SDS had become an arena for a number of warring factions more intent on crushing one another than on encouraging and building a mass movement.

As the *Guardian* has very correctly

Michigan SWP nominates slate of militant activists

By MICHAEL SMITH

DETROIT — The launching of the Michigan State SWP election campaign here last week followed the obtaining of a federal district court order which struck down as unconstitutional a provision of the Michigan electoral law which had required a certain geographical distribution of signatures on nominating petitions in order to get ballot status.

The voiding of this provision, which violated the principle of equal protection, is an important victory for the SWP. It assures the party of a ballot position and an opportunity to project itself and its class-struggle program in a serious way into the electoral arena.

Introducing the slate of candidates at a news conference last week, Paul Lodico, who is running for U. S. senator, said the SWP campaign would help build spring antiwar actions: "There will be no other party advocating immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. That's a demand the majority of people in this state would support, and that makes us a factor to contend with."

All the SWP candidates are activists. Ronald Reosti, a well-known lawyer in the Detroit area and candidate for attorney general, plays a key role in the Detroit antiwar coalition. In his law practice he has represented groups like DRUM and the SMC in its fight for high school rights.

Evelyn Kirsch, candidate for Lt. governor, was the chief coordinator of the Oct. 15 Moratorium. She is also active in the growing Detroit women's liberation movement, and is helping plan a statewide conference on Mar. 7 for abortion law repeal.

Walter Kos, a veteran and former editor of *GI Organizer*, a GI antiwar newspaper, is running for Congress

against House Minority Leader Gerald Ford.

John Hawkins, an activist in the Black student movement while attending Antioch College and an SMC militant, is running for secretary of state.

George Bouse, a high school teacher in Detroit's inner-city, is the SWP candidate for governor. He will be using his campaign to especially focus on the need for community control of the schools as the only realistic alternative to institutionalized racism.

Jacqueline Rice is running for Congress from Michigan's first district. Her opponent is liberal John Conyers (see her speech this page).



Jacqueline Rice

'Why I'm going to Cuba'

Jacqueline Rice, SWP candidate for Congress from Michigan's first district in Detroit, is presently in Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade, a group of several hundred Americans who are helping Cuba achieve its goal of harvesting 10 million tons of sugar by next July. Shortly before she left for Cuba she gave the following speech at a rally launching the 1970 Michigan State election campaign.

* * *

Most Americans today don't know what's going on in Cuba. Most Americans don't understand the developments and situations that exist in Cuba, but they would like to find out. Since the United States makes it difficult to get into that country, it is hard to get accurate information about Cuba and its government.

There are many questions asked by those who support Cuba and by those who don't. As a candidate, I have the opportunity to go to Cuba to see for myself this small country and talk to the people who live there. I will go as part of the Venceremos Brigade to work with the Cubans and help with the sugar cane harvest.

There are two reasons for my trip: First, to show my solidarity with Cuba, and secondly, to find out all I can.

As a Black person, one of the most important aspects of Cuba that I'm concerned with is the life of the Afro-Cuban. The struggle for political, social, and economic power of Afro-Americans in this country bears resemblances to the same struggle of the Afro-Cubans under the Batista dictatorship.

I intend to ask questions about every aspect of Afro-Cuban life. I will talk to many Blacks about their conditions before the revolution and after. I'm interested in learning about Afro-Cuban culture as it is being developed today.

In a country of racism and exploitation, the suppressed culture of Afro-Americans is canned and commercialized. I want to see if there are healthier avenues for producing cultural expression in Cuba. In short, to see if the change of the political, social, and economic conditions in Cuba has definitely become a dominant and integral part of the life of the Afro-Cuban.

In a country like Cuba, one would wonder about the status of women. What achievements have been made in regard to the role of women? My visit to Cuba will help me get a better understanding of the accomplishments of the revolution in this area. I want to see for myself both the achievements and the problems of that country.

When I come back, I hope to talk about my trip, give my impression and opinions about Cuba, and just generally share my experiences with you. Actually, it would be nice if John Conyers, my opponent in the first congressional district, and myself could go on the trip together to come back and talk about Cuba — myself as a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party which calls for Black control of the Black community, and John Conyers from the Democratic Party which calls for Democrats' control of the Black community.

How Can the Jews Survive?

A Socialist Answer to Zionism

By George Novack 25¢

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pointed out, the New Left is dead. There is another fundamental point to be made. The collapse of the New Left was inevitable.

An organization, if it is to be a revolutionary socialist organization, requires more than numbers. It must be based on socialist principles. SDS in a real sense had no socialist theory or principles.

Some socialists had tried to tell us that for years. But those of us who were SDSers had to learn it the hard way.



Randy Furst

The question becomes one of where do we go from here?

Some five weeks ago I covered the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Minneapolis for the *Guardian*. I've covered YSA in the past but I had a chance this time to look at it close up. It was a revolutionary organization with a program to match. It was actively involved in building the campus movement. It was and is the most significant radical force in the antiwar movement. It actively supported the struggle for Black self-determination. It was serious and not elitist. I thought it over and found that I was in fundamental agreement with YSA's positions. I joined YSA, and I urge others to do the same.

For radicals in this country, it represents the revolutionary alternative. SDS tried to be the alternative, and it collapsed in the process.

Today YSA has replaced SDS as the leading radical force on the campus. SDS has virtually disappeared, the radicalization of the '60s will continue into the '70s. The YSA will continue to grow.

So will the mass antiwar movement, the movement for Black liberation and the women's liberation movement. We are seeing only the beginning stages of mass radical struggles.

In the coming months Trotskyists will wage a socialist election campaign in New York State. YSAers including myself will be supporting that campaign.

That a socialist revolution cannot be made overnight is true. We understand that. We understand that it will be made up of many diverse forces. But we also understand the necessity of a Marxist-Leninist party. That's the real alternative.

Young Workers Liberation League

Communist Party youth found new organization

By NAOMI ALLEN and
HOWARD GERBER

CHICAGO, Feb. 9 — The founding convention of the Communist Party's new "Marxist-Leninist" youth organization today announced formation of the Young Workers Liberation League.

According to Jarvis Tyner, a spokesman for the new organization, the greatest enthusiasm at the convention was generated around two projected campaigns. The first was a drive to organize unemployed youth councils, and to pressure Congress for fuller unemployment compensation. The second was an anti-genocide campaign which would have as its central focus pressuring the Senate to ratify a United Nations anti-genocide pact.

Total registration of delegates and observers for the three-day convention was close to 400, although most of the sessions were considerably smaller. About 190 delegates were present for the largest vote, but two-thirds of the delegates had left before the Sunday evening and Monday sessions. The Saturday session was also small, with approximately 100 people. Around 100 observers attended by invitation only.

As the closed and tightly restricted convention itself indicated, the new "Marxist-Leninists" were in no way interested in discussing their views with anyone who might disagree. In order to prevent even peripheral debate, the tried-and-true methods of Stalinism were brought into play. Three YSAers who were distributing an Open Letter to the convention, presenting their political views, were assaulted by a goon squad. They were pushed and shoved out of the corridor where they were standing, although that hallway was not part of the area rented for the convention and was being used by general

traffic. They continued to leaflet in another location.

The convention was called over six months ago—and postponed several times—by a temporary organizing committee composed of officials of the W. E. B. DuBois Club and the Communist Party. And in response to a newsman's question, Jarvis Tyner acknowledged that representation at the convention was limited to the CP and the DuBois Clubs.

According to the *Daily World*, voice of the CPUSA, the new youth organization was designed to replace the existing DuBois Clubs—even though no public explanation was ever offered for why that organization—created by CP youth in 1964—needed to be replaced. Perhaps they simply thought the less said the better about an organization which in reality died several years ago.

The convention opened with a discussion of "internationalism," during which the Vietnam war was cited only in passing, and a number of crucial questions which one might expect a Marxist-Leninist youth organization to discuss were never even raised. Included in that category were the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Sino-Soviet conflict, the international significance of the Cuban revolution, and the 1968 French events.

Jarvis Tyner's report to the convention, as well as the resolution, singled out the role of the Soviet Union as the allegedly decisive source of aid to anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles.

The document draws no analysis of the U.S. antiwar movement, the effect it has had in stimulating the international antiwar movement and the pace of the radicalization in the U.S., or its impact on the intensifying crisis of U.S. imperialism.

Some delegates pointed to the growth of the YSA in the last few years and attributed it to the fact that the YSA had stepped into the vacuum of leadership in the antiwar movement. One delegate urged the YWLL to "renew" its ties to the Student Mobilization Committee, which the CP and DuBois Clubs walked out of nearly two years ago. But this weekend's national SMC conference was not discussed at the convention, and there was no indication that the CP or their new youth organization intended to appreciably intervene in the antiwar movement.

Black liberation

The discussion on Black liberation lacked focus, and revolved mostly around the idea of fighting racist ideology among white workers and opposing genocide against Black and Third World minorities.

The CP's record on this struggle—with all its twists and turns, including such things as its reactionary attacks on Malcolm X as a racist and Black fascist—was, of course, not examined. There was no discussion of the need for an independent Black political party to unite the Black liberation struggle and push it forward.

The whole perspective of the formation of all-Black organizations, especially Black caucuses in the shops, was frowned upon. Organizations based on "Black-white unity," in which white workers would accept Black leadership were counterposed as the alternative.

Working class

A major perspective of the new group will be to seek ties with working-class youth. Attempts will be made to establish community headquarters congenial to working class youth and to establish shop groups. Throughout the convention, the campus struggles were



Scene of CP youth convention

derided as petty-bourgeois and of secondary importance, and it was clear that the new organization has little perspective of trying to build an effective campus base.

Their major orientation within the labor movement is toward support for the allegedly "socially conscious" wing of the trade union bureaucracy—people like Walter Reuther and the Alliance for Labor Action—in effect, the liberal Democratic wing of the union apparatus.

This basic orientation helps to explain why the YWLL is not very enthusiastic about the formation of militant nationalist caucuses within the unions. Those which have been formed, like the League of Revolutionary Workers in Detroit have not been very appreciative of the progressive "social consciousness" of Walter Reuther's team. In addition, of course, the CP has always been basically hostile to the growth of Black nationalist sentiment because of its deep revolutionary implications.

Young people, with the lowest seniority and least skills, have the worst situations in the shops and are offered the least protection and benefit by the bureaucratized unions, those with "socially conscious" leadership not excepted. Attempts by the CP youth to become the organizers and supporters of any wing of the union bureaucracy will not win them great respect among the most militant young workers.

And failing a meaningful program of political action independent of the Democratic party, the attempt to build a neighborhood base will tend to degenerate into one more "community organizing" variety of social work.

A little more than a third of those at the convention were Black or Third World, and about 40 percent were women. Delegates reportedly represented 21 states and the central committee elected by the convention had representatives from 12 states. Of the 30 elected to a 31-member central committee, 14 were women. One place was left open for a Chicano to be designated.

Mike Zagarell, a well-known party youth leader, wound up the convention by urging a drive for 1,100 members during the YWLL's first year. "That would make us the largest socialist youth organization in this country," he commented, in obvious reference to the size of the YSA at its last convention. But they would have to go well over that to exceed the size of the YSA in another year, given the current rate of growth.

More importantly, the YWLL, in order to grow, will now have to stick its head above ground and enter into political competition with the other tendencies in the radical youth movement. It will have to defend its reformist program of backhanded support to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, opposition to revolutionary nationalism, endorsement of every betrayal of the Moscow leaders, etc. To do so before the growing numbers of radicalizing youth who have rejected the CP's perspective on these questions will not be easy.

The YSA, for one, welcomes an open debate of all the basic political issues before American youth today; if the goon squad which met the YSA leafleters at the convention is any indication, the YWLL does not.

N.Y. Parade Comm. sets Panther rally

NEW YORK — The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has called a protest meeting for Feb. 18 to focus on the nationwide policy of repression and extermination launched against the Black Panther Party.

The program will include a special filmed interview with Panther leader Bobby Seale, and speakers from the Panthers, Young Lords, Conspiracy 8, and others.

The rally will be held at 7:30 p.m. in the Hunter College Assembly Hall. Proceeds will go to the defense of the Panther 21.

Merit Pamphlets

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REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF

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by George Novack 25¢

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Austin socialists get threat from "Legion of Justice"

By DAVE PRINCE

AUSTIN, Texas — On Tuesday morning, Feb. 3, a card with the emblem of the fascist-like Legion of Justice was found under the door of the campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here at 1701 East Avenue.

The card was clearly intended as a threat to supporters of the Texas Socialist Workers Party's campaign for governor, lieutenant governor, and U.S. senator, and meant to intimidate those active in the antiwar movement and struggles for Black and Chicano liberation.

In response to this threat, a news conference was called on Thursday, Feb. 5. It was held at the state capitol building and attended by all the major media in Austin, which gave objective coverage, explaining what the Legion is and how the SWP viewed this threat. The conference included statements by Marianne Hernandez, candidate for U.S. senator; David Prince, campaign manager; and Chuck Cairns, a concerned citizen.

Dan Styron, candidate for governor from Houston, told the press about a shooting attack on the home of Fred Brode, chairman of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and stressed the importance of strong public response to such violence and threats of violence. The press conference was followed by a concerted effort to inform leaders of student organizations at the University of Texas, professors, and the ACLU of the threat against the SWP, and give them information on the activities of the Legion of Justice in Chicago.

On Feb. 9, a public meeting was held at the University of Texas to explain the threat, describe the Legion, and protest against this type of intimidation. The presentation was followed by a discussion on how the movement should respond to such threats or attacks.

The Socialist Workers Party has not received any further threats but plans to keep the public informed of developments in Chicago and any further developments in Austin.

Cops still look other way

New Chicago attacks by right-wing thugs

By LARRY SEIGLE
and RICK FEINBERG

CHICAGO—Legion of Justice terrorists have struck four times here in the past week while Chicago's police have continued to refuse to act. In response to the most recent wave of attacks, however, the resistance against the ultraright Legion and its principal spokesman, Attorney S. Thomas Sutton, has intensified, and growing numbers of people, including the Independent Voters of Illinois, have decided to do something to stop this fascist-like band in its tracks.

On Tuesday, Feb. 3, shortly after 9 p.m., four masked men, armed with clubs and cannisters of mace, or a mace-like chemical, stormed into The Guild bookstore here. The Guild is a movement bookshop which also serves as the temporary headquarters for *Second City*, a local underground paper.

The four men began turning over bookshelves, and lunged towards the attendant, who was alone in the store, aiming the chemical spray at his face, and screaming "Get him, get him!" The attendant ran to a small back room, picked up a saw that was being used for carpentry work and stood in the narrow doorway, facing the attackers and swinging the saw. At this sign of resistance, the four men turned on their heels and ran out, leaving behind them an Army M-2 fragmentation grenade wired to a battery.

The grenade failed to explode; police later claimed it had no powder.

Second City had carried stories on the Nov. 1 raid by the Legion of Justice on the Chicago headquarters of the

Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, and on the Dec. 6 raid on the apartment of three members of the YSA in DeKalb, Ill. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 19, 1969). Individuals known to be associated with the Legion have been in the Guild looking for copies of the paper with the story from DeKalb, and people close to the Guild believe that one of the reasons for the attack was Legion anger about the coverage.

Police, called to the bookstore, refused to take any action, in spite of the obvious involvement of the Legion in the attack. One sergeant commented, "As long as you sell this kind of literature, you have to expect this sort of thing."

Operating under the assumption that they are completely immune from police action, three men identified with the Legion of Justice engaged in what victims described as a spree of violence and intimidation the evening of Friday Feb. 6.

Their first attack came at about 8:00 p.m. Ted Pantelis was hawking papers, including *Second City*, in front of a movie theater only a few blocks from the Guild. Three men—without masks—walked up to him, threatened to take him "for a ride" and began grabbing the papers. They also tore a pin from his coat.

Pantelis refused to be intimidated, and when the three men finally left, he hailed a passing police car and forced the cops to pursue the men. The cops, taken by surprise, caught up to the men and in the process of questioning them took their names, which they gave to

Gunmen fire into the home of Houston antiwar leader

HOUSTON — Ultraright terrorists fired six shots into the bedroom of the home of Fred Brode, chairman of the Houston Committee to End the War, on Feb. 2. The shooting was the second in four months at the Brode home. Laura Brode, who was sleeping in the living room at the time, was narrowly missed by the .45 caliber bullets which penetrated several interior walls of the house. The attack was the latest in a long series of physical attacks against Houston movement activists—which Houston's cops have repeatedly ignored.

After the attack on the Brode residence, Lt. M. L. Singleton, head of the police "intelligence squad," had this assurance to offer a reporter for the *Houston Chronicle*: "I have talked to the leaders of the Minutemen, the KKK and other extreme right groups accused by the extreme left, and they have told me that their groups, as a whole, would not condone such actions."

"We know hundreds of incidents of tire-slashing, instances of gunfire, cross-burning and arson, but we have not been able to gather evidence against anyone that would stand up in court."

Rumors of ties between the Klan and the Houston police are widely accepted in Houston. Although always denied by the police, the fact that not a single arrest has resulted from any of the dozens of attacks on the left lends credence to the charge.

A press conference demanding action by the police to halt the ultraright violence was held on the University of Houston campus Feb. 9. Ed Stewart, organizer of the Houston local of the Young Socialist Alliance, chaired the conference. Lee Willoby of the Houston Committee to End the War announced that the committee was offering a \$500 reward for information leading to the

arrest and conviction of the responsible parties.

In a statement read to the news media, Fred Brode stated, "I am not the only person who has been singled out because of antiwar activities. Terrorists have attacked and harassed many Houston antiwar activists over the past three years. Just last month Professor Ed Crane's house was almost burned. Gasoline was used to set his lawn on fire." Dr. Crane, a professor at the U of Houston, has been active in the local antiwar movement.

"The antiwar movement will not be intimidated," Brode stated. "We will continue to organize antiwar actions until all the GIs are brought home from Vietnam and the Vietnamese are allowed to determine their own destiny."

"We demand that the police use their resources to put a stop to these illegal violent attacks."

Ron Waters of the U of H Young Democrats said that his organization "joins with the Young Socialist Alliance and others in condemning the actions of certain vigilante groups . . . We further condemn the actions of the Houston Police Department in allowing these crimes to continue." He said that the Young Democrats would demand a federal grand jury investigation if no action was taken by the police.

Also at the conference was Judy Fitzgerald, a representative of *space city!* (formerly *Space City News*), a well-known underground paper published in Houston. The staff of the paper has been subjected to repeated attacks including a bombing, robberies, slashed tires, and fire-bombing of an automobile. Nonetheless, they have continue publishing and today indicated that they will join with the antiwar movement, the YSA, and all other forces in a united campaign against these Texas vigilantes.

CALL TO ACTION
UNIVERSITY OF ~~ILLINOIS~~-CIRCLE
HEAR S. THOMAS SUTTON
CAMPUS

PROMINENT ATTORNEY

AND DIRECTOR - LEGION OF JUSTICE

AND ESCORTED BY THE CICCERO
BRIGADE OF THE LEGION
WILL SPEAK ON

HOW ELITE WHITE STUDENTS
CAN ORGANIZE AND TRAIN TO DEFEAT
S.D.S. "SLUM" AND BLACK RACISTS AT
THEIR OWN REVOLUTION-WITH THEIR TACTICS.
WE ARE TIRED OF SPINELESS, DEGENERATE
BASTARDS TURNING OUR CAMPUS OVER TO
INTELLECTUAL VOMIT.

IF YOU ARE TIRED OF ASSOCIATING WITH
EMASCULATED APPEASERS AND WANT TO JOIN A
COMPANY OF MEN - THE TRUE VANGUARD OF THE
FUTURE - THIS MEETING IS FOR YOU !!!

DATE MONDAY - MAY 5TH AT 2:00PM
ROOM F-4

ENTER AT YOUR OWN RISK.

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM *
LEGION OF JUSTICE

* (This YAF chapter has been expelled from the national YAF -- F.H.)

A Legion of Justice leaflet

Pantelis. One of the men, Thomas Stewart, has been involved in a number of Legion "activities" and is currently facing trial for one such incident. The other two were Stephen Sedlach and George Hervatin.

The cops refused to make any arrests.

A few minutes later, three men, apparently the same three, entered Head Imports, a hippie head shop in the same neighborhood. One of the men made a small purchase, and after a few moments they left the store. Shortly thereafter, a clerk found hidden under a table a cannister of a chemical irritant with a nail in it in such a way that the chemical would leak out slowly. Folded and wrapped around the cannister was a leaflet bearing the symbol of the Legion of Justice. Once again, although the police were called, they refused to act.

At about 8:30, two of these same men entered the Guild and began to threaten the two people in the store, dropping cigarette ashes on them, and referring to the Tuesday night raid in such a manner as to make clear that the two had participated in it. One of these men, it was reported, was recognized as Thomas Stewart. As Ed Pantelis their first victim returned, the two were forced to leave the Guild before doing any serious damage.

In spite of three separate reports of assaults and threats, in spite of the fact that the police had names and addresses of all three men involved, and in spite of the perfectly obvious pattern that has been established, Chicago's cops continued to look the other way. They refused to make any arrests. Pantelis was successful, on Feb. 9, in getting warrants from a judge for the men's arrest. Sedlach will face a charge of assault, and the other two a charge of "threatening bodily harm." The trial has been scheduled for March 2.

Mounting support

The apparent decision by Daley's police force to allow the Legion of Justice to operate with immunity from the law has encouraged this fascist-like group to continue its terror campaign. This blatant police complicity has also, however, led to an increased consciousness in wide circles in this area of the need for a united mobilization of forces demanding action by the po-

lice and the courts.

Support is growing for the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks (DATA Committee) which has been established to organize the legal and political campaign in defense of the victims of the Legion of Justice in the Illinois area. Leading figures in the Chicago antiwar movement such as Sylvia Kushner and Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Council have become sponsors of the committee. Noam Chomsky, Staughton Lynd, and Carl and Anne Braden have also recently added their names to the list of those who have endorsed the work of the committee.

One of the first activities of the DATA Committee was the presentation of testimony to the Law Enforcement and Civil Liberties Commission of the Independent Voters of Illinois. The IVI is the Illinois affiliate of the Americans for Democratic Action. The Commission, chaired by Val Klink, heard testimony on Feb. 5 from witnesses to, and victims of, Legion of Justice attacks. At the hearing, witnesses established undeniable links between a series of events in the Chicago area over the past several months, and known supporters of the Legion of Justice. The testimony also pointed out the total inaction of the police in the face of vicious criminal attacks.

On Feb. 9, the Commission heard testimony from S. Thomas Sutton and Sam Oleinick, on behalf of the Legion. At the conclusion of the hearing, the Commission adopted a resolution demanding that State's Attorney Hanharran convene a full grand jury investigation of the Legion, that felony charges be brought against Stewart for armed robbery for his participation in the Nov. 1 attack on the YSA-SWP hall, and that the Bar Association look into Sutton's activities for the purpose of possible disbarment proceedings.

The DATA Committee is pressing ahead with its attempts to get grand jury investigations in both Chicago and DeKalb. Several court dates stemming from Legion of Justice activities are coming up in the next few weeks, and funds are urgently needed for legal expenses. Contributions can be sent to: Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

1917 and today

'Youth fills the breach'

By LEON TROTSKY

(This article by Leon Trotsky—previously unpublished in English—was written during the Russian civil war, when the new revolutionary Red Army was fighting under Trotsky's leadership against the massed forces of Russian and East European reaction and of world imperialism, much as the Vietnamese National Liberation Front is fighting today. It was originally published in the March 5, 1920, issue of *Derevenskaya Kommuna*. The translation is by Tom Scott.)

In history, counterrevolution often comes in the wake of revolution. One reason for this is that the revolutionary class exhausted itself in the heat of the struggle—the best, self-sacrificing elements perished in battle, and a still greater number wore out their physical and moral strength in the cruel, tense struggle. From this stemmed the inevitable decline of the movement. The party of counterrevolution took advantage of this eminently suitable moment. It took the offensive, inflicted a decisive blow on the ranks of the revolutionaries, and for a long time thereafter controlled the battlefield.

Our revolution consumes an incredible amount of working-class strength. On all fronts, in all battles, hundreds and thousands of the best die. Tens of thousands of proletarians, who were tempered in the underground struggle with Czarism and who now constitute the ranks of the vanguard party, are dispersed in the soviets and the trade unions, working under intense pressure. They do not spare their energy or their blood. This layer of advanced workers is the basic capital of the revolution. It is being dispersed quickly, and without it, the revolution is weakened and impoverished.

What is the way out? To make both the ideas of communism and struggle by working-class youth into customs. As some wear themselves out and die, others must mature ideologically— young and fresh ones—and temper themselves in the atmosphere of revolutionary struggle.

This organization of youth is our reserve. Without plentiful reserves, the very best armies are doomed to perish. But, even a weak army which has reserves to regenerate it will inevitably be victorious.

In other European countries, the proletarian struggle for power is just beginning to flare up. But everywhere, especially in Germany, this struggle has already consumed innumerable victims. How many more are there to be? As it enters the last decisive battle, the proletariat of Europe and of the whole world must assure itself a constant influx of reinforcements and fresh strength. Such a role falls to the youth, organized internationally.

Communism is the struggle for the future, for the happiness of future generations. Our immediate future is embodied in the younger generation. Drawing it into the struggle means that tomorrow is provided for. The more widely and more powerfully the youth movement develops, the firmer is our confidence that counterrevolution will not overcome us.

We have great reserves. The organization of youth throughout the world and, above all, here in Russia, fosters many tens of thousands of fighters, each of whom, when the time comes, will take his place in the common ranks, replacing the comrades who have fallen in battle. The movement which has the working-class youth behind it is indestructible.

All hail to youth which fills the breach!

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

From Marat/Sade to Trotsky

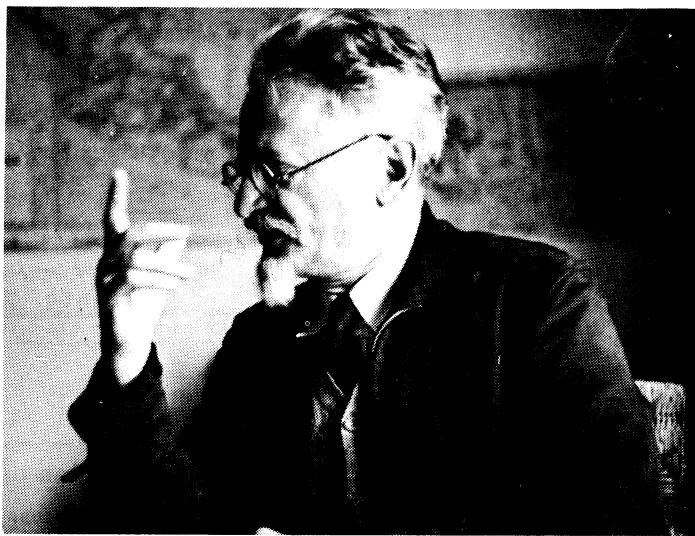
Peter Weiss' 'Trotsky in Exile'

By Gisela Mandel

An audience of 1,500 at the Düsseldorf theater saw the premiere of *Trotzki im Exil* [Trotsky in Exile],* the latest production by Peter Weiss, Germany's greatest playwright, who became world famous with *Marat/Sade*.

Trotzki im Exil follows the ups and downs of the Russian revolutionary movement over a forty-year period, beginning with Trotsky's first exile in Siberia and ending with his final exile in Mexico. The victory of the October revolution, the events around Kronstadt, Lenin's last fight against the growing bureaucracy, Stalin's oath at Lenin's funeral, Trotsky's deportation to Alma Ata and exile from Russia, the Moscow trials, and the murder of Trotsky in Mexico—these provide the continuity.

On the stage, discussions between the main exponents of Bolshevism and Menshevism alternate with scenes from the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Representative figures of the various political and artistic currents



that became linked with the fate of the Russian revolution speak like incarnations before the audience: Plekhanov, Lenin, Martov, Axelrod, Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Alexandra Kollontai, Diego Rivera, André Breton. . .

We are offered a dramatic presentation of the debate around the organizational question at the Second Party Congress of the Social Democracy, with Martov and the leaders of the Bund coming out for a loose mass party, Lenin insisting on the need for centralization, and Plekhanov projecting a proletarian dictatorship in Russia.

The Second All-Russian Soviet Congress comes alive before our eyes as Trotsky and Lenin argue for the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!" and the conciliators protest in vain.

Towards the end, we hear Trotsky in Coyoacán oppose with all his vigor the pessimistic and despairing conclusions drawn by André Breton and Diego Rivera from the historical experience of Stalinism and the Moscow trials, as if they were proof that socialism and the revolutionary movement had failed.

Trotzki im Exil is a play of ideas. But it is also full of action. With his collaborators, Peter Weiss has succeeded to an astonishing degree in dramatizing the ideological debates and high points in Trotsky's revolutionary career.

One might anticipate that such a play would sink with the weight of propaganda. But this is not so; *Trotzki im Exil* is no more propagandistic than *Marat/Sade*. Yet the play can only be hailed by the "Trotskyists"—those who know the truth about Trotsky and what he gave his life for, and who have committed their own lives to the same cause. Peter Weiss shows the truth, cutting completely through all the decades of Stalinist falsification of history.

He thus strikes a most powerful blow against Stalin's crimes. Peter Weiss completely rehabilitates Trotsky and all of Lenin's comrades, who made the socialist revolution in Russia. The impact of the play in this respect must be felt to be appreciated. How pale, by comparison, was Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress which lifted the veil only partially.

Peter Weiss puts the Moscow trials right on the stage. You face all the well-known defendants, each illuminated separately against a black curtain. The prosecutor stands behind the audience at the back of the auditorium. You are seated between the accused and the accuser. Up until the final moment, even though you know better, it is difficult to avoid being caught up emotionally on the side of the prosecution under the terrible impression created

by the confessions of those in the dock. You want, like Trotsky, sitting at his table in the center of the stage, to stand up and shout, "There must be some mistake; these cannot be the same comrades; we can prove it is false. . . ."

And while you, like Trotsky, think of this, one of the defendants speaks: "At this moment, we are sure, Trotsky and his friends will try to prove that what we say is false. He will try to fabricate 'evidence' against our statements. But we know . . . and we state herewith that our statements are the truth."

Now you start doubting your own absolute conviction of the falsity of the statements of the accused, until finally the nightmarish spell is broken: "You promised to spare our lives and the lives of our families, if we confessed!"

The soldiers, who have entered to take the victims out to be executed, break into laughter at this plea.

The writing and staging of *Trotzki im Exil* took great political and even personal courage on the part of the author. For years, Peter Weiss, as Europe's foremost radical playwright, has been a welcome guest of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. . . All the theaters in the countries where the official ideology is Stalinist have featured his plays.

Just as he fought for the historical truth about Auschwitz, about Vietnam, about imperialism, Peter Weiss now fights for the truth about Trotsky and his restoration to humanity as he really was.

Besides being a great work of art, *Trotzki im Exil* has political significance as a sign of the times. Some artists appear to sense the advance of new tides in history. A play such as this has the aspect of an indicator of what is to come. The tide today is running in favor of world revolution, and in the bureaucratized workers states this spells the end of Stalinist rule.

As the play reaches its climax with the impending assassination, Peter Weiss has Trotsky speak:

"I cannot give up my faith in reason and in human



solidarity. Since my youth, this faith has in fact grown deeper. I never felt any personal tragedy; my life is indissolubly linked with the turns in the revolution. The setbacks and disappointments cannot prevent me from seeing, beyond the present decline, the uprising of all the oppressed. This is not a utopian prophecy; it is the serene perspective of dialectical materialism. I have never lost my confidence in the revolutionary power of the masses. But we must prepare ourselves for a long war, for years, if not decades of insurrections, civil wars, new insurrections, and new wars. . .

"Just as the working class bears the bulk of the deprivations and sacrifices, in the same way it will support the transformations, the reconstruction of all that has been destroyed. Victory over world capitalism becomes possible when a revolutionary party once again appears at the head of the proletariat. If I were to happen to die today, I could say that I have worked uninterruptedly in the struggle for the emancipation of the exploited and the oppressed. For the need to develop culture and science on the broadest scale. For an art that expresses without shackles the human urge for innovation. For the expansion of technology, which will one day ease our existence by learning how to tap the immense energy of the atom. The idea of international revolution dominates everything. Only that is capable of definitively abolishing exploitation, war, and violence."

This message of rational confidence in mankind's future and of indestructible faith in the proletariat, delivered by a man of Trotsky's years and experience as he was about to die, will strike home to the thousands upon thousands who will see Peter Weiss's play. And they will rise and applaud as they did at the premiere in Düsseldorf when the curtain came down.

* The play has been published in German: *Trotzki im Exil*. Stuck in zwei Akten. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, West Germany. 1970. 147 pp. No price indicated on jacket.

Israeli escalation aims to overturn Arab gov'ts

By ROBERT LANGSTON

While Israel escalates the war against the United Arab Republic, the conflict between the Palestinian guerrillas and the reactionary Arab states is sharpening once more. The two developments are not unrelated.

Before the Zionist propaganda machine has an opportunity to rewrite history, it is important to fix clearly the fact that what is involved here is an Israeli escalation. Before he left for the Rabat summit meeting of Arab heads of government last December, Nasser quite ostentatiously scaled down Egyptian activity across the Suez Canal. At the summit itself, he refused to repudiate the Nov. 22, 1967, Security Council resolution calling for Israeli evacuation of the occupied territories and Arab recognition of the state of Israel within guaranteed boundaries. He refused to denounce the U.S. proposals on a mideast "peace." He made a point of insisting, publicly, that Egypt would not be able to conduct a full-scale war for the recovery of the occupied lands for at least five years. He was, in short, giving every possible diplomatic signal that he was seeking an opening for some kind of negotiations.

In view of all this, Eric Rouleau reported in the Jan. 31 *Le Monde*, "western diplomats stationed in Cairo are asking themselves what led General Dayan to launch a military escalation at a moment when Egypt appeared to be inclined to accept a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict." If western diplomats were really asking themselves that question, they would not have had to search long to find the answer. The Israeli rulers, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, do not

want a "peaceful settlement" until every last element that might resist Israeli expansion throughout the Arab East has been crushed.

Within two weeks after the Rabat conference, Israel was flying bombing raids over the suburbs of Cairo. On Jan. 22, Israeli commandos occupied Shadwan island in the Gulf of Suez and dismantled and carted away its radar station, a key element in Egypt's air-defense system. The battle has steadily escalated since, with ever more intensive Israeli raids and rather pathetic gestures of counterattack by Egypt and Syria.

The immediate goal of the Israeli rulers is fairly clear. They want to provoke a general counteroffensive by Egypt and the other Arab countries bordering on the Zionist state. This war would end with another catastrophic Arab defeat. Israel would at least amputate a chunk of southern Lebanon. The Nasser government would fall and be replaced by one more pliant. In the face of the demoralization of the Arab masses, reactionary forces throughout the Arab East would be strengthened. In particular, the rulers of what remained of Jordan and Lebanon would move against the Palestinian revolutionaries.

This last point is of particular interest at the moment. On Feb. 10, the Jordanian government issued orders which, if carried out, would disarm the Palestinian guerrillas.

And on Feb. 8, the Lebanese government issued a statement to the effect that henceforth the Lebanese police would exercise authority within the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

In both cases, the fedayeen organiza-



Palestinian guerrillas

LNS

tions reacted quickly. El Fateh declared it would not respect the Jordanian order, and called on Jordanian soldiers not to try and enforce it. Otherwise, Fateh declared, "there will be a massacre." On Feb. 11, there was a clash on the outskirts of Amman, but inside the city, the fedayeen were carrying their weapons as usual. In Lebanon, too, the Palestinians rejected the government's demands. In a communique issued Feb. 9, the guerrilla groups stated, "The [Lebanese] police will exercise its responsibilities through the intermediary of the Palestine Armed Struggle Command. Their actions will be limited to matters . . . having no connection with the revolution."

It is impossible to tell what momen-

tary relationship of forces prevails between the fedayeen on the one hand and the feudal-imperialist Hussein regime and the comprador-imperialist Lebanese government on the other. It seems likely, though, that both believe the moment propitious to proceed against the Palestinian revolutionaries. They hope thereby—despite Hussein's militant verbiage at the Cairo Arab leaders' meeting on Feb. 11—to persuade the Israelis to let them keep their petty domains. And they hope their own people will find the Israeli threat so intimidating that they will be able to move against the fedayeen and destroy this truly revolutionary force in the Arab East.

Nasser is apparently convinced that the Soviet Union will save him. As 1967 should have convinced him, though, that is likely to be a fool's hope. Nasser may fall, despite the extraordinary skill at maneuver and demagoguery he has demonstrated so often in the past. But the revolution of national liberation in the Arab East is another matter. The fedayeen are growing in numbers and in political maturity; in particular, those elements that recognize that to succeed the national liberation struggle must become a socialist revolution, are rapidly increasing their influence. The Palestinian guerrillas may lose important battles; they will not be easily crushed.

Settlement is won by Flint GM strikers

The longest strike in General Motors history was settled Jan. 22 in what appears to be a victory for the striking 2,700 UAW members at the GM Fisher Body plant in Flint, Mich.

The strike began Sept. 24 when the corporation tried to force a 25 percent increase in the number of production units per hour and eliminate the jobs of 900 workers.

The agreement which ended the strike provides for 43.5 bodies per hour instead of the 55 units the company originally demanded. The job-elimination issue is still under negotiation, but 200 of the disputed workers are being transferred to other jobs.

The settlement came immediately after the UAW head office called for a regional conference to consider ways of giving further support to the strike since the issues have national implications for the upcoming negotiations with the entire auto industry.

In the beginning, I said this agreement "appears to be a victory." If you recall Tom Cagle's fine series on life in an auto plant, you will remember he described how the auto bosses wipe out this kind of "victory" simply by cranking up the line and eliminating workers until line-speed rhythm hits the company beat that was called out before the grievance was "settled."

The National Picketline

The strike at Flint attracted national attention and required top-level negotiations involving the presidents of GM and the UAW. Consequently, this settlement will be more closely watched than others. We can only wait and see just how much the Flint workers at GM Fisher Body actually have won. For sure, they taught GM management that arbitrary speedup brings counter-measures.

* * *

In Detroit, the strike of 300 office workers at the Fruehauf (truck) plant which began Nov. 19 still goes on. The 300 office workers, members of the UAW, had demanded recognition and an NLRB election but the company refused. The strike has been marked by police violence against supporting pickets from other auto plants, the arrest of 12, and, finally a meeting between the police heads and the UAW wherein it was agreed to "set up a system of communications and understanding."

* * *

Meanwhile, as the opening date for negotiations with the entire auto industry approaches, the Detroit papers are carrying headlines like these:

"64,600 face GM Layoff";

"Car Firms to Lay Off 41,500";

"Ford Plans to Close Assembly Plant in Dallas";

"GM Orders Cutbacks";

And from the *Wall Street Journal*: "Ford, Two Japanese Firms Slate \$10.5 Million Plant."

* * *

Striking municipal workers (non-uniform) in Cincinnati have won an average seven percent wage increase in a one-year contract—six times more than the city had originally offered.

Although an Ohio state law forbids a contract with retroactive wage raises, the workers, members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, are expected to make up their month-long wage losses during the strike by overtime.

The Cincinnati dept. of public works not only collects the garbage but also maintains the streets and highways. It is reported that the city is inundated with uncollected garbage and that cracks in the streets are creating hazards in many parts of the city.

One condition of the settlement provides that all strikers keep their jobs. Two weeks ago the city manager wrote all of them letters informing them they had been fired.

It is interesting to watch new strike tactics develop. The Cincinnati garbage collectors used a new one—a "lunch-in" at one of the swank restaurants. They filled the restaurant, hauled out their paper-bag lunches, ordered coffee, and sat there, sipping and eating throughout the entire lunch period.

* * *

The teachers' strikes in New Jersey spread this week to include the state's two largest cities—Newark and Jersey City.

The major issue in all of these strikes—there could be as many as 40 before it is over—is money. Although most union contracts do not expire until late next summer, all municipalities and townships must submit their budgets to the state by early February. The teachers are determined that the new budgets include substantial wage increases for the 1970-71 school year.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X. Speakers: Samuel Manuel, Georgia State Black Student Union; James Brown, Emory BSU; Frank Grinnon, Young Socialist Alliance; **Malcolm X recording:** Message to the Grass Roots. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree (at 14th St.) Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

BOSTON

MEMORIAL FOR MALCOLM X—HIS LEGACY TO THE BLACK STRUGGLE. Guest speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer of *The Militant*, leader of Third World Solidarity Committee with Vietnam, member of national executive committee of Young Socialist Alliance, visited Cuba in 1969 and has reported on Cuban race relations. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. Donation: 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Speaker: Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* and president of the National Organization for Women, Opening of the new SWP hall in Cleveland. 2912 Prospect Ave. Fri., Feb. 20, 8 p.m. Adults \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Debs Hall Forum.

NEW YORK

MALCOLM X, THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speakers: Chuck Moore, chairman, Organization of Afro-American Unity; Richard Hoya, Third World Coalition Government, Manhattan Community College; Clifton DeBerry, 1970 gubernatorial candidate, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 20, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Cont: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.



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Only limited gain for Blacks

The Chicago building trades plan

By DEBBIE NOTKIN
and FRED LOVGREN

CHICAGO—In early December, the Coalition for United Community Action settled with the Chicago Building Trades Council culminating a struggle begun last July for more Black construction jobs. However, the "Chicago Plan," as the settlement is called, represents only a limited gain in the fight to eliminate racist hiring practices in the construction industry.

The Coalition launched the struggle for jobs in the construction industry by closing down 24 construction sites in the Black community in late July and August. It was only after this that the unions and the employers agreed to negotiate with the Coalition on their demands for 10,000 construction jobs for Blacks. Continued mobilizations of large numbers of Blacks made this the focal issue in Chicago. These demonstrations reached a peak with two actions at the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle Campus. It was here that the Coalition leadership was arrested and the university refused to halt construction.

The focus of the struggle then shifted

to the University of Illinois. On the initiative of the Young Socialist Alliance at U of I, a broad Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Coalition was formed which mobilized the students in action around the demand of an immediate halt to the construction until the demands of the Coalition had been met by the unions and the employers.

However, the mobilizations of students at U of I, along with those of the Black community, were called off when the Coalition leadership, in consultation with Mayor Daley, called a "moratorium" on demonstrations. This was indicative of the Coalition leadership's difficulties in carrying through a struggle to win the demands. The leadership consisted of Black ministers who had close ties to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The character of the leadership is best embodied in Jesse Jackson, who is the director of SCLC's "Operation Breadbasket." The Coalition fell into the classic trap of the "impartial" mediator, who was to be Mayor Daley.

Nearly five months after the struggle opened, a settlement was reached. The agreement called for the hiring of 4,000 Blacks, a cutback from the original demand of the Coalition of 10,000 jobs for Blacks. The settlement provided that 1,000 Black skilled journeymen be hired immediately, that 2,000 be trained in construction skills with the perspective of becoming journeymen within a short period of time, and that 1,000 Blacks be recruited and given jobs as unskilled laborers within 30 to 60 days with the perspective of receiving on-the-job training to qualify them as journeymen.

But the key to the entire "Chicago Plan" is the question of control over the implementation and running of this program. An administrative committee was formed to raise funds for the program and to have control over the administration and implementation of the hiring and training programs. It was agreed that this committee would consist of two representatives from the Coalition, two from the unions, two from the construction companies, and the "impartial" mediator Mayor Daley.

Thus, the people responsible for the systematic exclusion of Blacks from the construction industry have a majority of five to two on the committee designated to alleviate the problem!

This paradox is the inevitable result of placing trust in negotiations with "unbiased" mediators of the Daley variety.



AT CLEVELAND FORUM. Betty Friedan, author of the best-selling work "The Feminine Mystique" and the president of NOW, National Organization for Women, will be the featured speaker at the opening of the new Debs Hall Forum in Cleveland on Friday, Feb. 20 at 8:00 p.m., 2912 Prospect Ave. She will be speaking on the women's liberation movement.

The settlement also established an appeals committee which would investigate any violations of the agreement. The appeals committee will be comprised of one representative from the Coalition, one from the unions, and one person as a consultant with "expertise" in labor relations. All grievances will be handled



Mayor Daley

by this committee. The announcement of the formation of this appeals committee in the settlement is probably the last that will be heard from it.

The "Chicago Plan" represents at best a dubious victory for the Black liberation struggle. With control over implementation, the training program and the grievance system in the hands of the union bureaucracy, the construction companies and the Daley machine, the "Chicago Plan" is largely words on paper. No significant breakthroughs in the fight for the elimination of racist hiring practices will be made until there is a perspective of continuing mass action independent of any influence of the capitalist parties.

Women hold conference in Atlanta

By CAROLINE FOWLKES and
GINNY OSTEN

ATLANTA, Ga.—The women's liberation movement is continuing to gain ground here. The most recently established women's group was organized at Georgia State University after Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party spoke there on the role of women in society.

Activists from the Georgia State group joined with others for a conference held here by National Organization for Women (NOW) Jan. 30-31.

The conference opened with a speech by Elizabeth Kuck, the only woman member of the federal Equal Economic Opportunity Commission. Mrs. Kuck vividly described the extent to which women are discriminated against in employment. Basing herself on government data, she said that in 1969 one-sixth of the women holding college degrees were working in nonprofessional fields. In 1968, unemployment among women was 4.8 percent. Among men it was 2.9 percent.

Title 7 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act bars discrimination in employment because of sex. Victims of such discrimination can file a complaint with the Equal Economic Opportunity Commission. But, Mrs. Kuck explained, the commission has no real power since it can only issue guidelines and not file suit against offending employers. It has a year-and-a-half backlog of individual complaints.

The second day of the conference consisted of workshops which discussed the oppression of women, including the problems of abortions, equal employment, changing life styles and public image.

Several action proposals from the workshops were approved by the body, including endorsement and support to a March 8 action projected by the Emory University women's liberation group.

Critical support was voted for a bill pending in the Georgia legislature as a progressive step toward the goal of free, legal abortions. The bill provides for abortion on demand during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy on payment of present outrageously high fees.

Seventeen different organizations participated in this conference dedicated to discussing the role of women and making concrete plans for action.

New York meeting hears panel on abortion issue

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum began the first of a series of monthly forums on the subject of women's liberation Feb. 6. Speakers representing various aspects of this struggle discussed the topic, "Women's Right to Abortion."

Cindy Cisler of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal emphasized that despite the fact that "it is our Black and Puerto Rican sisters who are dying at a greater rate" from illegal abortions, all women, including those who are not poor, are oppressed as women in this regard, due primarily to restrictions and lack of information.

She added that the women's liberation groups are for total repeal of abortion laws and oppose mere reform of those laws because reform leads to further indignities and humiliation and serves to "buy off women with money who can afford abortions into forgetting their sisters who cannot."

Nancy Stearns, an attorney for more than 300 plaintiffs in one of four lawsuits currently attempting to have the New York State abortion law declared unconstitutional, pointed out that al-

ready the suit has succeeded in accomplishing one objective by sparking a broad discussion of this issue. She also said that there was a "good chance" that the law will be declared "unconstitutionally vague" as a result of the suit.

Describing the special humiliation suffered by Third World women at the hands of the authorities, Florence M. Rice, a staff worker for the Harlem Consumer Education Council, discussed the problem of one New York hospital known to give abortions to white women which will not give them to Black women. She demanded an end to the current state of affairs whereby Black women "have to get down on our knees and beg."

Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for comptroller, claimed for women the same right of self-determination as for Afro-Americans and the Vietnamese. She called for massive support to a slated March 28 demonstration in support of the lawsuit against the abortion law and "to show the strength of the growing women's liberation movement."

From a Mexican Prison

The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society

by Jose Revueltas

35¢

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

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

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The Great Society

Fido's favorite filter—We can appreciate the coffin nail industry's irritated response that it was irrelevant, immaterial and immoral for those researchers to report that most of the dogs they taught to smoke died of lung cancer. But after they get over their pique, the industry can get down to cases and take hold of the finding that the death rate was somewhat lower among the dogs that used filters. What a campaign —on the Lassie program, maybe—if they can get a testimonial from one of the survivors.

Oops, wrong animal—We were wrong in reporting that discarded tumorous sections of chickens were used in "all meat" hot dogs. The Dept. of Agriculture insists they are used only in pet food. The department has decided to continue its ban on tumorous chickens on esthetic grounds. The industry, however, is pointing out that a tumor can be confused with a pimple and regulations may be eased to take this into account.

Even rats can't take rat race—Pittsburgh researchers have been putting rats through a "stress" chamber where they're subjected to some of the noise, lights and physical buffeting of city life. The rats developed high blood pressure and after a week of simulated city life became irritable and dangerous to handle.

Slogan of the week—Announcing an advertising campaign to persuade New Yorkers not to ambush cops (seven in the past 14 months), Edward Keirnan, president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, said: "I think it important that the citizens of the City of New York realize that when they injure a patrolman they are actually injuring themselves because the policeman they need

might be just the one that was hurt."

Union cop—The Saigon regime is to be commended for decorating the cop who refused a \$10 bribe from the family of an alleged draft dodger. Such piddling payoffs could result in cops going to work.

Old enough to fight . . .—A Northern Ireland parliamentary commission considering a bill to lower the voting age to 18 delved into how 21 had been established as the legal age. The *Ulster Commentary* reported they found "that 21 was the age at which a young knight was deemed capable of wearing a full suit of armor and wielding a sword or lance at the same time."

The seat of government—Well-to-do well-wishers provided California's Gov. Reagan with gifts and loans of home furnishings to the tune of \$125,000. Queried by some paranoid newsman as to whether the donors expected political favors in return, the governor replied: "Oh for heavens' sake, none of them ever thought about any such things. They wanted good government and that's all they asked."

Improperly furnished—On returning from Vietnam where she sang with a USO troupe, Gov. Reagan's daughter, Maureen, said she didn't think a U.S. military victory was possible there. Said her former movie actor father: "I love my daughter very much, but I don't think foreign policy should be decided by USO entertainers."

Thought for the week—"The closer one sticks to the historical record, the more pessimistic the prospects seem for ending inflation." *Business Week*, Jan. 31.

— HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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

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

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

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TEXAS: Austin: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

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

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in passing . . .



Photo by John Peden/Ramparts

The occupation of Alcatraz island marks a new stage in the American Indian's struggle for self-determination. The victim of a U.S. government policy of physical genocide in the nineteenth century, the Indian people have been subjected to a policy of cultural genocide in this century.

The official policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs works out to an attempt to terminate the Indians as a cultural entity and integrate them into the urban slum proletariat.

In line with this, the reservations are kept as intolerable and poverty stricken as possible.

In an excellent article on the Indian liberation struggle and its roots in the February *Ramparts*, Peter Collier writes:

"The Bureau's power over its 'wards,' whom it defines and treats as children, seems limitless. The BIA takes care of the Indian's money, doling it out to him when it considers his requests worthy; it determines the use of the Indian's land; it is in charge of the development of his natural resources; it relocates him from the reservation to the big city ghetto; it educates his children. It relinquishes its hold over him only reluctantly, even deciding whether or not his will is valid after he dies.

"This bureaucratic paternalism hems the Indian in with an incomprehensible maze of procedures and regulations, never allowing him to know quite where he stands or what he can demand and how. Over 5000 laws, statutes and court decisions apply to the Indians alone. As one Indian student says, 'Our people have to go to law school just to live a daily life.'"

* * *

Prediction: if the '60s can be characterized as the decade of the revolutionary college student, then the '70s will be the decade of the revolutionary high school student. As for the '80s I have no predictions.

The high school revolution is already

well under way. The antiwar, Third World and women's struggles are already a part of the high school scene.

The February *Esquire* contains an article by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., one of my favorite novelists, on the high school revolution:

"High school is closer to the core of the American experience than anything else I can think of," writes Vonnegut, "which is why what follows is so full of shocks of recognition for Americans in almost any walk of life. We have all been there. While there, we saw nearly every form of justice and injustice, kindness and meanness, intelligence and stupidity, which we were likely to encounter in later life.

"Richard Nixon is a familiar type from high school. So is Melvin Laird. So is J. Edgar Hoover. So is General Lewis Hershey. So is everybody."

The main thing about high school that separates it from the rest of American life is that it is even more authoritarian.

Vonnegut's article is an introduction to a series of short pieces from the high school underground press. In many ways the selections are very representative of the strengths and weaknesses of the present high school radical movement. All the pieces are surprisingly well written, which may tend to show that actually saying something improves style a lot faster than the infinity of meaningless compositions that high school students are expected to produce.

* * *

The article in *Esquire* following the high school material is a reactionary — if clever — satire on the women's liberation movement. For some reason this reminds me that there is a book out with the title *The Wit and Wisdom of Richard Nixon*. Someday I expect some enterprising publisher to come out with a volume entitled *The Wit and Wisdom of Adolph Hitler*. Surely he made jokes too.

MALACHI CONSTANT

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

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Black students back California socialist ticket



By CAROLE SEIDMAN
LOS ANGELES — The Black Student Union at the University of Southern California became the second California BSU to endorse the Socialist Workers Party 1970 election campaign, after meeting with the SWP candidate for governor, Herman Fagg. Fagg spoke on "Socialist Strategy for Black Liberation" to an audience of more than 100 USC students at a BSU-sponsored outdoor rally.

Fagg's talk was part of a Los Angeles tour during which he also addressed audiences at Fairfax High School, UCLA, Chapman College and Occidental College where Ruland Wells, chairman of the BSU, endorsed the campaign.

On Feb. 9, Fagg confronted gubernatorial incumbent Ronald Reagan, who spoke at a surprise convocation at Cal State College at Fullerton. During the question period, Fagg directly challenged Reagan on the need for free education to be paid for by taxes on the huge corporations which control California. He denounced the tuition hike supported by Reagan and was well received by the students, many of whom expressed a desire to work on the SWP campaign.

Report from Panther 21 courtroom

Defense denied access to key facts

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, Feb. 12 — The second week of the preliminary hearings in the trial of the Panther 21 here was mainly devoted to an unsuccessful defense attempt to secure the defendants' elementary right to a fair trial. Judge John M. Murtagh made clear by his rulings that he has no intention of permitting this to happen.

On Monday, defense lawyer William Crain moved that the minutes of the grand jury that indicted the Panthers be made available to the defense. He argued that since the April 2, 1969, raids on the Panthers' homes were authorized by a bench warrant handed down by the grand jury, the only way the defense can possibly prove that items seized in the raids are inadmissible as evidence in the trial is to have a copy of the transcript. If the DA had gotten a search warrant to authorize the raids, Crain pointed out, the defense could ascertain from it the basis for the search. The point is important, because if evidence used to justify the search was gathered illegally, then none of the items seized in the search are admissible as evidence, and the prosecution case collapses.

The minutes would enable the defense to understand just what evidence was presented to the grand jury, and whether it was gathered by such illegal methods as wiretapping or bugging. Without the minutes, on the other hand, the defense is at the mercy of the prosecution.

Crain cited several cases and Supreme Court decisions where the prosecution had been ordered to turn over grand jury minutes to the defense in preliminary hearings. Nevertheless, Judge Murtagh ruled against the defense motions. But District Attorney Joseph Phillips did condescend to state that the defense would be able to move to drop the prosecution if, in the course of the trial, it could prove that the evidence was illegally obtained.

Defense counsel pointed out that Murtagh's decision violated the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees defendants the right to a fair trial.

When the judge continued to act negatively on the motions of the defense to obtain the minutes, the 13 Panther defendants began a series of verbal outbursts, attacking the judge and his decision. The court audience responded favorably to the Panther denunciations. A sister from *Newsweek* magazine, Sheila Younge, clapped her hands when the Panthers said the judge should ex-



Photo by Howie Epstein/LNS

Outside courtroom

change his black robe for a white robe and a KKK hat. At this point, the judge pointed at her and demanded that she step up to the bench, whereupon she was charged with contempt of court.

When she appeared the next day with her lawyer and apologized, Murtagh dropped the charge. But he then tried to threaten the defense lawyers with contempt if any more outbursts occurred.

On Wednesday, Murtagh shifted his tactics by declaring that any response of the audience to defendants' remarks would result in arbitrary and random selection of people in the audience on charges of contempt. With the exception of one instance, the audience was subdued all day. Of course, to implement this instruction, the judge stationed about 40 unarmed policemen ("court attendants") in the room.

Meanwhile, the defense continued to question the cops who participated in the raid on the apartment of Michael Tabor, one of the defendants. The de-

fense lawyers are attempting to draw out the hatred that the cops have for the Panthers, but most of the cops behave as if they never heard of the Black Panther Party until the April 2 raid.

At present, three of the Panther 21 are out on bail. Eddie Josephs, a 17-year-old high school student, was released recently on \$25,000 bail. His case, along with that of Lonnie Epps, another 17-year-old defendant, has been remanded to the youth division. Epps is out on bail, but he was charged with felonious assault when court attendants attacked the audience during the first week of the hearings. A sister, Afeni Shakur, one of the 13 now on trial and wife of another of the defendants, Lumumba Shakur, was released on \$100,000 bail three days before the hearings. Along with Panther funds, her bail was met by contributions from the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches.

According to attorney Robert Bloom, these preliminary hearings may last a month.



IN HOFFMAN'S COURT. Early scene at the Chicago Conspiracy trial. From Left: Lee Weiner, Bobby Seale, David Dellinger, Prosecutor Thomas A. Foran (above Dellinger), Rennie Davis, Richard Schultz, assistant prosecutor; John Froines, defense attorney William

Kunstler, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman (foreground), defense attorney Leonard Weinglass, and Tom Hayden. Drawing by Franklin McMahon of the Chicago Tribune.