

--story page 11

Published in the Interests of the Working People
Vol. 34—No. 8 Friday, March 6, 1970 Price 15c

-- see p. 8-9 --

--story page 6

10 FEBRUARY 1910

FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION
IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY
VANGUARD 6

VENCEREMOS O

Carlos Martín del Campo.

SALVADOR ZALGOF.

Eli de Gortari

SDS disbands; students join YSA

Hope to form new local in Tallahassee

Tallahassee, Fla. Well, it's happened again. The SDS here at Florida State University has disbanded and some students are joining YSA. We hope to form a new local here. This will really be a historic event in Tallahassee, one of the most reactionary areas in the country. The John Birchers run their own bookstore downtown which sells all sorts of rightist trash, from *Masters of Deceit* to *America—Love it or Leave it* and "God bless Spiro Agnew" bumper stickers! The Leon County sheriff is reputed to be a member of this infamous organization. Nevertheless we intend to build an effective organization that will wake up a lot of people to the truth.

Brenda Shellman

"The Freudian Left" review

Philadelphia, Pa.

Lenin never made any judgement about psychoanalysis because he didn't know anything about it. Trotsky studied it a little and limited himself to a few modest comments.

But your reviewer of "The Freudian Left" does not feel held back by ignorance. He seems to feel that a smattering of dialectical politics gives him the right to comment on any science, even if he knows no more about it than a bright schoolboy. Stalin used to feel the same way.

The laws of psychology cannot be deduced from politics. Sexual repression is older and probably more enduring than class society. The evidence for incest taboos, birth fantasies, castration fears, and dream symbolism is more ancient than the state, private property, or the family.

Some psychological evils may fade away after a revolution. Many others

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.

are here to stay as long as we are human.

Freud, like Darwin and Einstein, in his scientific work did not contradict the laws discovered by Marx—although neither Freud nor Darwin nor Einstein were Marxists. Isn't it stupid to use one's knowledge of Marx to make judgements about unconscious sexuality or natural selection or the motion of the planets?

H. F.

Black students want to sell The Militant

Quincy, Ill.

The Black Students Association of Quincy College feels that your paper contains the necessary dynamics to set a spark to an apathetic populace. We would like to attempt to sell your paper in an effort to reach the silent majority on campus and relate to them the true meaning of the Black struggle.

All power to the people.

Isaac B. Nicholson Jr.
Chairman, BSA

In defense of nonviolence

New Canaan, Conn.

More and more of your readers are saying they are turning away from nonviolent methods of protest. I know these methods are not speedy but they are the only way. If the movement wants to help man it must consider everyone including the fascists, the Nixons, etc. Destroying them will not destroy their ideas. They must be shown the error of their ways. I know that sounds impossible, but violence is their tactic. It should not be ours.

P. M.

Suggests reevaluation of draft stand

Somerville, Mass.

Your article (Feb. 20 *Militant*) on the class bias of the draft provides an excellent analysis of the exploitation of the working class for imperialist needs. But I'm uncertain socialists and the working class should accept the conclusion that conscription should be abol-

ished. Capitalists, from Nixon to the liberals, are increasingly in support of a volunteer army. It is imperative that we attempt an examination of their motives and question our own priorities.

Imperialism has required working-class armies. However, this may not be true in the near future for the U.S. which, because of technology, can rely on a highly mobile, mechanized army. Such an army would be an increasingly smaller percentage of the population, assuming many Vietnams do not erupt and destroy the capitalists' plans. Volunteers would likely be recruited from the least likely candidates for a revolution, instead of being conscripted from those who cannot avoid the draft. Volunteers would provide an excellent force for suppressing revolts, foreign or domestic, and would doubtfully ever start their own revolt.

A drafted army, on the other hand, particularly when drawn from the working class, possesses organizing potential and may not allow itself to be used as a suppression tool (especially if domestic revolt spreads to the communities from which the draftees come).

With the recent trend upward in GI organizing, the potential for revolt is becoming a reality. Capitalists are not ignorant of this trend; many already realize a mechanized, mobile and voluntary army is within this country's capacity, logistically and economically. While recognizing that there are certain obvious gains for the working class, particularly the individual, from moving to a volunteer army, we must not lose sight of the important negative aspects mentioned above. It may be in their interest, as well as socialists', to oppose initiatives by capitalists to create an obedient volunteer army and instead spend our energy continuing the development of class consciousness and antiwar feelings among GIs.

Walt Snyder

Seeks alternative

APO San Francisco, Calif.

Send me your paper. I'm tired of reading this Army shit.

R. Z.

Urges expanded coverage of African struggles

New York, N. Y.

I recently finished reading the past issue of the *Black Dwarf*, Tariq Ali's British biweekly. There were several good articles in it on the liberation struggle in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. I have noticed that there hasn't been much in *The Militant* covering those areas recently. With the paucity of correct information in the bourgeois press, Afro-Americans and others must look elsewhere for coverage on these struggles. I'm confident *The Militant* will come through in these areas.

B. D. S.

[*The Black Dwarf* is making a special offer to American readers. See ad this issue. — Editor]

Takes issue with letter on Goddard

Plainfield, Vt.

I read with interest the letter on Goddard College in the Nov. 28, 1969, *Militant*.

The coverage of the steps Goddard took in support of the October and November Moratoriums was accurate, but I must correct some wrong impressions which Dave [who wrote the letter] gave your readers. I must disagree with his conclusion that Goddard has been "... a haven for hippies and others who consider themselves apolitical." I also want to correct the statement that the Moratorium support actions were the "... first stirrings of political consciousness at Goddard.

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$13.50, all other countries, \$20.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$20.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 34



Number 8

Friday, March 6, 1970

Closing news date—Feb. 27

Long before that action, Goddard had functioning SDS and Female Liberation groups. Black groups are also active on campus.

A Weatherman collective stayed at the college on their way to Chicago and several Goddard people went with them. When a member of the collective was busted to keep him away from Chicago, Goddard students put up much of the bail money.

Goddard students have been and are active in SDS, the Peace and Freedom Party, SWP, the Venceremos Brigade, etc. Many of us were involved in high school movements long before coming to Goddard. We will be active in political movements long after we leave.

P. R. J.

Seeking ways to educate on women's liberation

Toronto, Canada

I would like to extend my appreciation of recent articles published in *The Militant* on Women's Liberation. This, of course, is an important and key issue of the day and must be publicized as widely as possible.

As a member of the League for Socialist Action and a Women's Liberation group, I am working in conjunction with other women in finding as many ways as possible to educate, stimulate, and initiate action around the issue of the oppressive roles women are made to play in society.

Some of us feel it is an excellent idea to use the theater as a vehicle for this purpose, in conjunction with other media.

Terisa Lee-Horbatuk

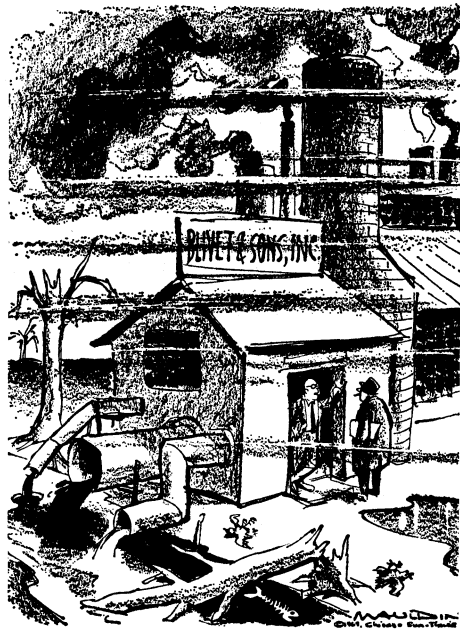
Japanese professor renews subscription

Atlanta, Ga.

Since I came to the United States in June of 1968, I have been enjoying *The Militant* very much. It is now one of my favorite newspapers in America.

Now I have to return. I am a professor of American history in Japan. I shall be very happy if you send me your newspaper for two years at my home address.

K. S.



'It's a Living.'

JOIN THE YSA

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

clip and mail

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

☐ I would like more information

☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

THE DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM and the TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

By Leon Trotsky

48pp

50 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

SMC kicks off April 15 drive

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Following the Feb. 14-15 national student antiwar conference in Cleveland, the Student Mobilization Committee, at every level, is pushing ahead to implement the plans made at the conference. The SMC's national office reports an enthusiastic response from around the country to the conference decisions.

The Chicago Peace Council, for example, has already endorsed the mass-

action proposal adopted by the SMC conference. In the next couple of weeks, there will be a number of regional and local conferences to discuss implementation of the Cleveland plans.

The SMC's spring offensive will climax on the week of April 13-18. The conference called for strikes and other actions on every high school and college campus in the country April 15. These actions will mobilize the campuses for participation in the mass rallies and marches in cities around the country that afternoon or evening, which will be built in cooperation with the New Mobilization Committee and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

The Cleveland conference made clear the determination to continue the fight against the war with mass actions in every town and city to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Some other aspects of the SMC spring offensive are:

- Support to the National Black Referendum on immediate withdrawal from Vietnam;
- A campaign for a High School Bill of Rights;
- Encouragement to local antiwar and women's liberation groups to collaborate in setting aside one day of the week of April 13-18 for antiwar actions organized and led by women;

Added data on SMC parley

WASHINGTON — Statistics drawn from registration blanks filled out by participants in the SMC's national conference, indicate the organization's scope. With nearly 4,000 present, 3,308 filled out registration forms. Of these, 2,044 were college students and 391 were high schoolers. Among those who registered there were 2,166 men and 1,142 women. There were participants from 40 states and the District of Columbia.

Huntley-Brinkley unveil spooks

Behind Saigon 'press corps' agents scandal

By ROBERT LANGSTON

The last week in January, a scandal came to light in Saigon. There are so many scandals in Saigon that this one didn't stand out particularly, but it did considerably irritate American newsmen in Vietnam and occasion a good bit of speculation.

It seems that two Americans and two South Vietnamese, working for U.S. Military Intelligence, somehow came to be equipped with correspondents' credentials certifying them full-fledged members of the Saigon press corps. They pretended to be reporters for a legitimate U.S. news service, which promptly denied any knowledge of them. Just why Army Intelligence should want to worm its way into the press corps was unclear, though agency spokesmen somewhat feebly declared the whole thing a "regrettable error" and promised it would not happen again.

Part of the explanation of the affair came out on the Feb. 19 Huntley-Brinkley newscast. A man who constitutes an "active subversive threat"—in the words of the Intelligence source who leaked the story to Huntley-Brinkley—was ex-

pected to arrive in Saigon early in January. The two Americans, at least, who were infiltrated into the press corps were to be his shadows. Press credentials, it was thought, would make it simpler for the spooks to hover, unsuspected, around the "active subversive." As it turned out, this brilliant stratagem not only stirred up the little scandal, but it was futile. For the South Vietnamese guardians of state security turned the "threat" away at the Saigon airport.

The object of all this cloak-and-dagger attention was Allen Myers, editor of the GI Press Service, which is published by the Student Mobilization Committee. He completed a round-the-world tour for the SMC just in time to return for the Feb. 14-15 Cleveland antiwar conference. And almost everywhere he went, Myers reports, he seemed to cast multiple shadows, as if the sun were always shining, and from several directions at once.

In some cases, though, his shadows didn't have quite the tenacity proper to a natural phenomenon. In Beirut, Myers noted, they "were hotfooting it



AT SMC PRESS CONFERENCE. Among participants in SMC press conference on eve of national gathering in Cleveland were (left to right): Allen Myers, editor of SMC's GI Press Service; Don Gurewitz of SMC staff and Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, recently returned from North Vietnam.

• Support to a national GI petition drive for immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam.

At the Cleveland conference, the SMC also reaffirmed its demand for the abolition of the draft and resolved to participate in the antidraft activities called by the New Mobe during the week of March 16-22.

To meet the demands imposed by the action program, the SMC is expanding

its office space and its national staff. Literature and buttons for the spring offensive are now in preparation. A new issue of the *Student Mobilizer* is now on the press. It will contain pictures of the Cleveland conference, texts of workshop proposals and motions passed by the plenary sessions, and a number of articles with ideas and suggestions or carrying out the spring offensive.

behind me, but I accidentally went into a dead-end street and they went running by without noticing. They never did find me again until the next morning. Memo to the State Department: if you're going to waste *my* money hiring detectives, don't hire amateurs."

The spy-boys and their employers had reason to be concerned about Myers' activities abroad. Because he was up to something more dangerous to imperialism than photographing military installations, assassinating heads of state, or blowing up nuclear reactors. He was talking to people. He was discussing with American GIs wherever he could. He was addressing mass meetings, explaining the U.S. antiwar movement and bringing messages of solidarity from it to the movements around the world. He was exchanging ideas and discussing problems with the leaders of the anti-imperialist movements everywhere.

During his tour, Myers visited Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Philippines, Okinawa, Ceylon, India, Israel, Lebanon, France and Denmark.

Myers had trouble singling out the highlights of his tour. "It's hard to say," he commented. "There were a lot of high points. The demonstration in Sydney, the big mass meeting in Bombay where I spoke with Krishna Menon, were two of them certainly.

"Mainly, though, it was just the general reaction I met with of people everywhere: their encouragement and their pleasure at the growth of the antiwar movement in the United States, and their determination to build the same kind of movements in their countries."

At the Bombay meeting, Myers reported, former Indian Defense Minister Krishna Menon called on the audience to build a movement comparable to the American antiwar movement to force the Indian government to give support to the Vietnamese liberation forces.

I asked Myers if the antiwar activists in countries that do not have troops fighting in Vietnam and where the movements generally adopt as a main slogan, "Support the NLF," understood the reasons for the U.S. movement's adoption of "Bring the troops home now" as the central slogan. "I found that

to be the case," he replied. "In some countries they do have the immediate withdrawal slogan, like in Australia and New Zealand, where they have troops involved. They have had the same kind of discussions we've had in the United States.

"In Japan, India and elsewhere, I didn't run into anybody who was upset about our slogans. They thought we were doing our jobs properly, and in many cases they thought we were ahead of them in many respects."

Representatives of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam also indicated to Myers their support of the American movement's activity. In Paris, Myers reported, "I met with the DRV people first, for about a half an hour, and talked with them about the antiwar movement, public opinion in the U.S., etc., and received their best wishes for the success of the Cleveland antiwar conference.

"In the afternoon, I met for an hour with Mme. Dung of the PRG. She explained to me that it is important to build united actions for immediate withdrawal. She didn't have any trouble convincing me."



Los Angeles anti-Agnew pickets

Photo by John Gray

Now in Paperback

Fifty years of
WORLD REVOLUTION
1917-1967

A Symposium

Edited with an introduction and article by ERNEST MANDEL

366 pp. paper \$2.45 cloth \$7.95

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.
(formerly Merit Publishers)
873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

A lifelong revolutionary fighter

By CHARLES SCHEER

(A veteran unionist and leader of the Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party, Charles Scheer was a long-time collaborator with V.R. Dunne.)

MINNEAPOLIS—Ray Dunne died Feb. 17 after more than 60 years of continuous activity in the revolutionary movement. He was 80 years old. His activity, and the leadership and training he gave with it, left a great imprint among workers, socialists and students, as well as writers and professors.

An article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* reporting his death recounted some of Ray's life. It referred to him as a "Socialist labor leader, ex-convict, street fighter and self-taught Greek scholar." The "street fighter" bit seems a little incongruous to those who knew him as a quiet, small-statured man of dignity and meticulous appearance. The article went on to state that Ray, along with his brothers Miles and Grant, and Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, led the 1934 general drivers strikes that made Minneapolis a union town; that this victory of Local 574 was achieved by a successful battle against the police, strikebreakers and the bosses' Citizens Alliance; that they won out in spite of the national guard and martial law.

A 1966 article in the *Twin Citian* magazine by Gretchen Tselos saw Ray Dunne as "a man who at 77 remains committed to man's struggle for social progress." And further, "V.R. Dunne is a materialist with a dream and a committed activist for life."

Put theories to test

The late Prof. F.O. Matthiessen, distinguished Harvard social and literary critic, in an analysis of labor and left political leaders internationally, observed: "The most thoughtful man among the labor leaders with whom I have been acquainted is Vincent Ray Dunne of Minneapolis' Teamsters Union. I saw him in the summer of 1936, at the time when he and his brothers had been so effectively organizing the previously wide open town of Minneapolis."

"Here was a Trotskyite I could understand, for he was essentially an Irish revolutionary who had been part of the IWW in its stormiest days and had put his theories to the test of militant practice at every stage."

Then later on he observes: "Dunne spoke quietly, but firmly. For a while after the meeting he talked about books



CHARACTERISTIC. V. R. Dunne discusses with Cheryl Hill at 1968 YSA convention. Always concerned with the political education of young people, he made a major contribution to recruiting the cadre of youth which revitalized the Trotskyist movement as the McCarthy era drew to a close.

that had meant a great deal to him, among them Hugo's *Les Miserables* and Zola's *The Downfall*. He was devoted to the values of culture and determined that the working man should share in them. This lean, spare man, charged with a condensed energy, and without one wasted gesture, might well be the nearest America had come to producing a Marxist leader in the selfless tradition of Lenin."

Charles Rumford Walker, in his book *American City*, put down some impressions he got from workers in Minneapolis 30-odd years ago. "The workers knew Ray Dunne as a good organizer, a man who smoked union-made cigarettes, was fond of the movement, lived in his mother's house in south Minneapolis, didn't get drunk, and was honest. They followed his leadership and many of them, if the occasion had offered, would be quite willing to die for him."

"One reason was his physical courage. Life had made bodily fearlessness a matter of routine. In the past two years alone Dunne has been beaten up several times by the police on picket lines, attacked on the street by armed thugs, thrown into jail, confined in a stockade under military guard by the governor. More important than physical fearlessness is his moral nerve."

Historic Strike struggle

Ray is most widely known as the outstanding leader of the best-organized strikes in the history of this country: the semi-insurrection in 1934 that completely broke the bosses' open-shop stranglehold on the workers of Minneapolis and laid the basis for the massive development of the Teamsters Union.

Walker observed that "his whole life and character prepared him for the crisis of 1934."

V. R. Dunne was born in Kansas City in 1889. His family moved to Little Falls, Minn., soon afterwards. He had very little formal schooling. By age 14 he had started to work as a lumberjack. In less than three years, he was riding a freight train on his way to work at that occupation in Montana.

Ray got a job with the Blackfoot Lumber Co. This operation was organized by the Western Federation of Miners, then in the Industrial Workers of the World. The objective of the IWW men was not only better wages and working conditions but a better society. They maintained a clean, firm and free camp and promoted reading and discussion on the problems of the working

class and the struggle for a future free from the exploitation of man by man.

The 1907 panic was a painful object lesson on the evils of capitalism. The lumberjacks were abruptly laid off. Ray went on to Seattle and down into California, observing the pariah conditions of the workers forced out of jobs by the panic. He began his long career of public speaking, and was arrested in California for giving an IWW street corner speech.

After swinging around through the Southwest, working at what odd jobs he could get, Ray came to Minneapolis. In Minneapolis, among other jobs he had, was one driving one of the first trucks of the American Express Co.

From 1921-1933, Ray worked in the coalyards and became a weighmaster. From this point of vantage he became well acquainted with the men who did the work as well as the operation of the industry.

Russian Revolution

The 1917 Russian Revolution was a source of inspiration to workers everywhere. The IWW and the left wing of the Socialist Party had stood up against the hysteria of the First World War. In 1919, they formed the American Communist Party.

In Minnesota, the debt-ridden farmers and underpaid workers revolted against the Republicans and Democrats to form the Farmer-Labor Party. In the 1920s, Ray became recording secretary of the Communist Party in Minneapolis and secretary of the largest ward club in the Farmer-Labor Party, as well as a delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

After Lenin's death, a struggle unfolded in the Communist International between the orthodox Marxists led by Trotsky and the growing forces of bureaucratic degeneration represented by Stalin. In the United States, this came to a head in 1928. Ray supported the struggle led by James P. Cannon for a revolutionary international. He was expelled from the CP along with the rest of the small Trotskyist vanguard.

An all-out campaign against the Trotskyists was launched by the Stalinist leadership of the American CP. Under fire from both the CP and the right wing of the labor movement, Ray was ostracized by his former comrades and expelled from his union and from the Farmer-Labor Party.

In the period of depression that followed, it took a superhuman effort for the then tiny Trotskyist movement to

get out *The Militant*. Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund and the other Trotskyists in Minneapolis played an essential role by their financial sacrifice and moral support.

In 1933, the Ford Company took over the coalyard where Ray worked. He was organizing a union and also giving public speeches explaining how the rise of Hitler represented a danger to the workers of the world. This was too much, so he was fired.

In February 1934, the coalyards were well enough organized for a victorious strike — the first such victory in Minneapolis in years. From that point of vantage, a successful organizing campaign was conducted among the drivers in other industries, including the dockhands and other workers associated with the drivers. In two long, bloody strike battles that summer, the bosses were soundly defeated.

Leadership team

The ability of the strikers to physically defeat all the forces pitted against them, to defy the governor and his national guard and come out victorious, required an exceptional leadership. It required a constantly broadening leadership team. It required an understanding of the workers, of the unemployed, of the farmers, of the union movement, as well as of the opposition (this included the federal government mediators as well as the cops).

The drivers had a leadership team with this kind of understanding and courage at every stage. They outfought and outsmarted the bosses, the mediators and the repressive forces. At the head of this leadership team was V.R. Dunne.

This great victory served as an inspiration and example for workers in other industries and in other cities. It also contributed to a fusion between the Trotskyists and the American Workers Party of A.J. Muste, who at about the same time had led a great, successful struggle against Auto-Lite in Toledo.

A couple of years later, patience, dignity and understanding made him a good diplomat in achieving a unity with the left wing of the temporarily revitalized Socialist Party.

In 1941, Roosevelt was preparing to enter World War II. He had to crack down on the most serious opponents of the war. He joined forces with Daniel Tobin, president of the Teamsters International, to accomplish this. Tobin had bucked every victorious action of the Minneapolis leaders, opposed the over-the-road drivers' organization, sent his thugs to Minneapolis.

In 1941, Roosevelt got indictments against the leaders of the Minneapolis drivers and of the SWP under the Smith Act for "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence."

Humphrey's role

Minneapolis Mayor Hubert Humphrey's cops either looked the other way or escorted the army of thugs that Tobin sent into beat the drivers into signing pledge cards for the AFL after they had voted massively to go CIO.

Ray Dunne, along with 17 of his union co-workers and comrades, were the first victims of the infamous Smith Act. In spite of a massive three-year defense campaign, these victims of the class war were to prison. Ray served 16 months in the Sandstone, Minn., federal penitentiary.

He got out at the beginning of one of the biggest labor upsurges in the history of this country, and he immediately put his talents to good use. He worked with other revolutionary socialists in the great strike struggles of the CIO unions in 1945-1946.

Michigan's auto workers were the heart of it, and Ray was in Detroit.

In the cold war and witchhunt of the early 1950s, Ray worked as SWP

(Continued on page 5)

Large-Format Pamphlets From Pathfinder Press

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

Maoism in the U.S.

A critical history of the Progressive Labor Party
By Mary-Alice Waters 50 cents

Israel and the Arabs

Militant readers debate the Mideast conflict
40 cents

A Transitional Program for Black Liberation

By the Socialist Workers Party 25 cents

Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today

By writers in The Militant and Young Socialist
50 cents

The Chinese Revolution: Problems and Perspectives

By Leon Trotsky 50 cents

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.
(formerly Merit Publishers)
873 Broadway, New York City 10003

THE MARXIST VIEWPOINT

Why terrorism is false tactic

By PATRICIA IIYAMA

Over the last week there has been a national outbreak of confrontation-provoking tactics in demonstrations protesting the contempt-of-court sentences and guilty verdicts of the Chicago 7 and their attorneys. These "The Day After" actions are characterized by "guerrilla" bands smashing windows and throwing rocks in the business district or at the courthouse, with some arrests and injuries for both police and demonstrators.

A few years ago, most of the radical movement in this country functioned on the assumption that reasonable change was possible legally within the system. In 1964, almost the entire left chose Johnson as the "lesser of two evils" who would halt the war and the drift to the right. When the YSA-SWP warned against Johnson, we were considered "ultraleft sectarians." A decade ago, when the movement first faced the problem of vicious southern racism, they did so as advocates of pacifism, appealing to the morality of men of good will to change society. When Malcolm X advocated the right of self-defense for Afro-Americans against the attacks of vicious racists, he was considered a fanatic.

We have learned and changed a great deal. The continuing reality of Vietnam, racism, police brutality, poverty and repression has laid bare these utopian illusions. Radicals in the movement have realized that, given the intransigence of the rulers of this society, basic change will come only when people have enough power to change the society themselves.

The debate has shifted. We are no longer debating pacifism and self-defense. We all accept not only the right but the need for self-defense. But new currents favoring sabotage and sporadic terrorism as a revolutionary strategy are now appearing in the radical movement. The question we are now debating is what forms of struggle are appropriate at what moment as tools in the process of transforming society.

We are well aware that the ultimate question of power and rule will not be

finally decided by a process of rational debate, discussion and election. It is simple realism to assume that the ruling capitalist minority will resort to violence to block social change. We predict this on the basis of historical experience. The French Revolution, the American Civil War, and the Russian Revolution all tell us that revolution is the midwife of every new society in birth—that the masses have had to thwart ruling-class violence to achieve their revolutionary aims.

We must discuss the question of violence, not in the abstract, in a historical



ESPOUSED MASS ACTION. Lenin was irreconcilable opponent of individual terror and isolated confrontations. On hearing of an attempt on a czarist official, he reportedly responded that for the cost of the bullet a hundred leaflets could have been distributed.

vacuum, but in relation to the concrete needs of the movement. In the words of Lenin, "To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."

The relationship of forces in the present context of American society must be examined in order to understand the role of violence. Violence in this society is perpetrated by the people who control the institutions. Capitalist society is built and defended with violence.

The vast majority of American people, however, do not realize this. They still believe that police are called in to stop violence. They still believe that necessary change can be effected within the existing institutions.

The task of revolutionaries is not, at this time, to organize guerrilla warfare and prepare for the seizure of state power. Our task is rather to break the power that bourgeois ideology has over the majority of Americans. Our task is to isolate the ruling class politically by developing the understanding among all working people that change in this society is necessary and that they must act together to bring about this change. Since we are still in a minority, our power lies in building our numbers and our social base so that we become a genuine mass movement.

During the last week in the California Bay Area there have been two terroristic bombings of police stations in Berkeley and in San Francisco. In Berkeley, at midnight, Feb. 12, three policemen were injured and 16 automobiles were damaged by two time bombs. On Feb. 16, a powerful time bomb exploded at a San Francisco police station, injuring eight police officers, one of whom died two days later.

Whether these actions were carried out by police agents, provocateurs, or ultraleft adventurers, they are devoid of political content and independent of the mass struggles, and they play a thor-



Photo by Karl Bermann

Patricia Iiyama is the California Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state.

oughly reactionary role. Individual terrorism provides the ruling class with a "legitimate" cover to repress our movement. In addition, it lends credence to the ruling-class myth that it is those who want to change society who are responsible for violence. It is no accident that the most common tactic of police agents infiltrating the radical movement is to urge radicals on to terroristic acts. They are well aware of the non-revolutionary consequences these acts produce.

The basic question to be posed is: how does revolutionary change come about? Marxists argue that change comes about not through the intervention of gods, great men or dedicated grouplets, but through the intervention into the historical process of the great masses of the people. Only through the political understanding and revolutionary action of the oppressed can society be transformed. Tactics must be subordinated to and in harmony with our overall strategy.

This position distinguishes us clearly from those who argue that the McCarthys, the Kennedys or a revolutionary elite can change society. The proponents of the "revolutionary deed" feel that the bombing of a building or the breaking of a window by individuals have *inherent* in them a revolutionary significance even when these actions are devoid of political content. The participation of the mass of people is seen as an unimportant detail.

There is a historical pattern in the emergence and popularity of these views. When students have radicalized ahead of the rest of society, they find their initial attempts to transform society thwarted by the powerful forces confronting them. Frustrated by this initial impotence, some people give up the difficult but necessary task of working to build a movement that can change society, and satisfy their individual egos. They attempt to substitute their individual acts of nihilistic violence for mass actions.

Marxists categorically reject such conceptions. We do not conceive of ourselves as an elite who can substitute for mass actions by the "shortcut" of sabotage. We consider ourselves rather as a vanguard whose goal is to help develop the consciousness in the people of their own self-interest (which is to change society). Our perspective is one of sustained and often tedious effort to win the majority of the American people to the revolution. Our tactics are based upon this long-range goal. It is only through the revolutionary action of masses of people—and not through sporadic, futile acts of desperation and violence by a few—that we can change the course of history.

...a lifelong revolutionary fighter

(Continued from page 4)

organizer in Minneapolis. With reaction riding high, he helped maintain the continuity of the revolutionary movement, teaching and preparing the cadre of the movement for a new upsurge of militancy. As in his union work, he was meticulous in preparation for any new opportunity.

Very few new people came to radical meetings in this period. But Ray was a revolutionary optimist through and through. He schooled the comrades to be prepared to take advantage of any break that might develop.

Radical regroupment

The Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union initiated a period of "regroupment" that opened the previously closed communications within the radical movement. Suddenly there was the opportunity for a symposium of speakers of the various socialist political groupings, and Ray, as spokesman for the SWP, was able to speak at a meeting ten times larger than any radical organization had been able to hold in years.

The Cuban Revolution marked the beginning of a new youth radicalization. Ray listened attentively to what these young people had on their minds. He explained what had been learned in similar situations in the past. He'd hand them a pamphlet and encourage them to dig into some of the Marxist classics.

He followed world developments closely and would mark some magazine articles for a given comrade. Around the headquarters he set an example—

sweeping the floor if it needed it, dumping ash trays, washing up dirty coffee cups.

Many a self-conscious worker or housewife, finding himself or herself among new and profound ideas, was made to feel at home by Ray's quiet courtesy.

Ray made major contributions to the development of the Fourth International. Leon Trotsky was one of the great military leaders of all time, a practical revolutionary, a great writer, an outstanding orator. But he considered his greatest accomplishment to be his work toward building the Fourth



International. The *Transitional Program*, the major programmatic document and contribution to Marxism of the Fourth International, was formulated by Trotsky in 1938 in Mexico. To a major extent, he worked this out in discussions with V.R. Dunne and James P. Cannon of the SWP.

Active until end

Ray Dunne remained active in the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party almost up to his death. He attended all public and internal meetings and participated in discussions, helping to broaden and sharpen the political abilities of the members.

He was tremendously enthusiastic about the youth radicalization and the growth and development of the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA's recent convention in Minneapolis was a great event for him. Although he had undergone an extensive operation for cancer, he managed to gather enough strength to take in part of their convention and appear on the platform at a massive public meeting.

He enjoyed a few hours with his comrades celebrating New Year's Eve.

In the days leading up to his death, his interest in world developments and what his comrades were doing remained keen. While cancer ate away his body, Ray's great heart beat strongly, and his mind remained sharp until the very end.

His passing is grieved by a multitude of comrades and friends and his surviving son and daughter, V. Raymond Dunne and Mrs. Jeanette Sundeen.

N.Y. High School Bill of Rights fight

By DICK ROBERTS

NEW YORK—A coalition representing the massive 275,000-strong high school student body of New York has presented the board of education with a "High School Bill of Rights" demanding greater freedom in the high schools and a bigger role for students in determining all aspects of the educational process.

The "High School Student Rights Coalition" includes the City General Organization Council (the official citywide student government), the High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, High School Moratorium, Afro-American Students Assoc., American Civil Liberties Union, New Coalition (opposition caucus of the United Federation of Teachers), Third World Committee, Project Justice, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and High School Women's Rights Coalition.

The importance attached to formation of this coalition can be judged by the news media coverage of the press conference Feb. 24 announcing presentation of the rights bill to the board of education. This was attended by all the major newspaper, radio and TV stations.

And at the same time, the board of education and high school principals have launched a concerted effort to discredit the coalition, to impugn its members and to prevent them from distributing informational leaflets.

These "educators," according to the Feb. 25 *New York Times*, described the high school rights bill as "the work of a small group of extremists and outsiders seeking to gain control of the high school system."

It is far from the truth. The formation of the High School Student Rights Co-



AT HIGH SCHOOL COALITION PRESS CONFERENCE. (Left to right): Mike Weisman, High School SMC; Don Reeves, high school General Organization City Council president; Ken Hagood, attorney for high school students.

alition (HSSRC) represents an eruption of the profound discontent of tens of thousands of students oppressed and virtually imprisoned in New York's police-occupied schools. It follows months of previously unorganized attempts to improve the schools in dozens of areas which desperately need improvement; and it culminates intensive discussion between leading student government representatives and activists in the antiwar and Third World movements.

A glance at some of the Bill of Rights demands reveals the extent of oppression in the schools:

- "Students shall have the right to distribute political leaflets, newspapers, and other literature without prior authorization, without censorship, and

without fear that the ideas expressed will be recorded for future use against them. . . .

- "Students shall have the right to wear buttons, armbands or other badges of symbolic expression. . . . to choose their own dress, conduct and personal appearance . . .
- "Students may form political and social organizations, including those that champion unpopular causes. . . . shall be free from discrimination on the basis of ethnic background, sex, group membership, economic class, place of residence or any other personal factor. . . .
- "Students and their parents shall have the right to file complaints against school officials. . . . shall have the right to security of their persons, papers, and effects against arbitrary searches and seizures.
- "Students shall be free from the illegal use of police by school officials. . . .
- "All students shall have the right to receive information on abortion and contraception. . . . the right to receive information on drugs. . . . the right to draft counseling at their school . . ."

The launching of HSSRC was in a sense invited by the board of education itself. It stems from the General Organization Council, official student government body that the board set up, supposedly to allow students to organize and express their grievances.

GO Council really did become a sounding board for the scores of grievances of high school students—but it had no power and was firmly under the control of the board of education and its GO Council faculty "advisors."

Seventeen-year-old Don Reeves, GO Council president, captain of the Music and Art High School track team and its citywide representative, explained the frustrated efforts of GO Council, using the example of drugs.

"It is little known," he said, "that students have been fighting against the sale of heroin in schools for two years."

Pointing out that the city has suddenly stepped up its supposed "fight against drugs," Reeves contended that "people in the city don't have half the story yet" and "heroin is still as widely sold in the high schools as ever."

"The board of education meets problems with repression," he continued. "All they have done is send in narcs disguised as students." Reeves said the student government had proved to be totally powerless and had not obtained a single demand.

The culmination of its difficulties occurred at a meeting Feb. 18 attended by over 200 representatives of all the 91 New York high schools and which the board of education sought to control. The meeting had been called to discuss the student Bill of Rights, which itself is a product of board intransigence.

The board had put together a statement declaring the "Rights and Responsibilities of Senior High School Students," which actually does nothing but set limitations on student rights. Typical is the clause, "In no way does [this resolution] diminish the legal authority of the school and of the board of education to deal with disruptive students."

The GO Council steering committee rejected the board resolution at a Feb. 11 meeting and decided to draft its own rights bill. At the same time, these student government leaders had been working more and more closely with New York High School Student Mobilization Committee and the Third World Committee which have also been active in the campaign to win high school student rights as part of their fight against the Vietnam war.

It was natural for the GO Council to invite SMCers to the Feb. 18 meeting—but that is where the board's axe fell. At the meeting, every attempt was made to silence all but "official" student delegates. Faculty advisers busily supplied their few student cronies with advice on procedural tricks to waylay the meeting.

This produced the opposite. The Feb. 18 meeting overwhelmingly endorsed the GO Council Bill of Rights. It also persuaded the GO Council leaders of the necessity of asserting their independence from the board of education and forming a coalition with all groups seriously interested in fighting for high school rights. HSSRC was the result.

At the Feb. 24 press conference, Mike Weisman, a Stuyvesant High School spokesman for High School SMC, announced that organization's full support for HSSRC. The struggle to legalize antiwar mobilizations in every high school would be a major demand, Weisman explained. HSSRC is presently using the New York SMC office as its main headquarters.

The first major citywide intervention of the coalition was scheduled for Feb. 26. The board of education had set that date for "hearings" on its proposed resolution of regulations. HSSRC plans to turn this into a real hearing on what high schools need and a public presentation of the Bill of Rights. A follow-up mass meeting of HSSRC was set for Feb. 28.

Black students in Chicago demand high school rights

By GEOFF MIRELOWITZ and MARCO GARCIA

CHICAGO—During the last month and a half a struggle has been building at Kenwood High School here around the right of students to control their education. The fight is being led by the Black Student Union (the school is 65 percent Black) and has been joined by many other students, both Black and white.

The issue was first raised in early January when, after a large student meeting in the school lunchroom, a manifesto of 15 demands was presented to the school administration. Included in these demands are a Black studies program, an end to intimidation by police (there are six in the school), an end to locker inspection, and student-faculty and community control of curriculum. The administration said it

would consider them, but no commitment as to any implementation was made.

After a month characterized by many meetings and much discussion, the demands had still not been met or seriously discussed. On Feb. 19, the BSU organized a sit-in at the administration office which resulted in the police being called in and the arrest of 25 students. This attack was marked by a considerable amount of brutality, including the beating of one BSU leader by six cops. Many students complained of unnecessary force used in the arrests.

The following day a mass meeting was held in the school gym. It started with most of the school's 1,300 students in attendance, and, while the size fluctuated during the day, at least 500 students were there at any given time. At the same time, a meeting of over 100 parents was taking place in another room in the school. This is indicative of the large amount of community interest and support for the students' demands.

On Feb. 23, 85 students met and decided to continue the struggle. The BSU representatives indicated that it is willing to discuss the manifesto demands with the administration but that if the negotiations are not fruitful, further action will be taken. Also, it was emphasized that central to the demands is the right of the Black students, in cooperation with the community, to determine the character of the courses and programs that grow out of the negotiations.

The current struggle at Kenwood High, raising the universal principle of the right of Blacks to self-determination, is not an isolated phenomenon. It should be seen in the context of similar struggles by high school students across the country.

Works by Ernest Mandel

Marxist Economic Theory (2 volumes, cloth)	\$15.00
50 Years of World Revolution: An International Symposium, edited with Introduction and article by Ernest Mandel (cloth)	\$7.95
Key Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism (with George Novack) (paper)	75c
On the Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class (with George Novack) (paper)	65c
The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice (paper)	65c

merit
873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

publishers
Telephone 673-4900

SPECIAL BLACK DWARF OFFER FOR AMERICAN READERS

The Black Dwarf is the largest revolutionary paper in Britain, comes out once every fortnight and is becoming well-known throughout the world. To enable militants in North America to sample it we are providing a special service: Take a dollar bill, put it in an envelope and mail it to us immediately. You will receive the next three copies of *The Black Dwarf* by air mail.

The Black Dwarf
182 Pentonville Road,
London N. 1, England

Name
Street
City State Zip
Occupation

New York takes the lead

Militant sales drive off to fast start

By FLAX HERMES

We're off and running with 673 subscriptions to *The Militant* sold in the first week of the two-month drive for 7,500 new readers by April 15. The enthusiastic response salesmen have gotten during the past week and at the Feb. 14-15 SMC conference in Cleveland makes us confident that our drive will be a success.

New York has taken the lead nationally with 271 subscriptions sold during the first week. Howard S., top sub seller in New York, is NY's *Militant* sales director. He felt he had a responsibility to set the example for the spring drive, and so far he's sold over 50 subs. Howard says he's found it very easy to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* because "everybody wants to read about our ideas. You have to be aggressive, though. And be sure to ask them if their friends want a sub, too!"

But others in New York are determined not to let Howard get too far in the lead and have started organizing sales on campuses, selling on the subway to work . . . wherever possible.

We've also been getting a good response to the subscription drive from around the country. *Militant* supporters in Logan, Utah, El Paso, Texas and Clinton and Hamilton, New York, have written in and asked that they be included on the subscription scoreboard. A supporter in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, has already sold eight subs in the first week and thinks that he can sell at least another five or 10. Word of the drive has even spread across the border. We just received three subs from Guelph, Canada, with a note to expect more shortly.

However, we were taken aback for a moment when we received a call

from Cleveland saying they wanted to "bump" their quota. Was that good or bad? Evidently, it was good. They've decided to accept a quota of 350 subs — 25 higher than what we'd proposed. Bloomington, Indiana, has also increased its quota from 30 to 50 subs.

One letter we received did have a rather indignant note in it. We weren't aware that a YSA local has just been formed in Tacoma, Washington, and had left them off the scoreboard. The letter read, "We, the members of the Young Socialist Alliance of Tacoma Community College, Tacoma, Washington, demand the prompt placement of our local on the scoreboard of the *Militant* spring subscription drive. You may place the goal at 25 new subscriptions." Right on!

And if other *Militant* readers feel the same way, just let us know. It's never too late to join in and help us go over the top.

Subscription scoreboard		
City	quota	new subs
New York, N.Y.	1100	271
Hoboken, N.J.	30	7
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	10
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	63
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	16	3
Antioch College, Ohio	40	7
Providence, R.I.	80	13
Houston, Texas	100	16
Madison, Wis.	200	21
Kent, Ohio	75	9
San Francisco, Calif.	475	46
Atlanta, Ga.	225	20
Detroit, Mich.	350	29
Albany, N.Y.	25	2
Bloomington, Ind.	50	4
Newark, N.J.	75	6
Kansas City, Mo.	60	4
Cleveland, Ohio	350	21
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	4
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	23
Boston, Mass.	350	16
Twin Cities, Minn.	325	14
Champaign, Ill.	25	1
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	1
DeKalb, Ill.	100	3
St. Louis, Mo.	30	1
Berkeley, Calif.	375	10
Binghamton, N.Y.	120	3
Twin Ports, Minn.	40	1
Washington, D.C.	125	3
Austin, Texas	150	2
Seattle, Wash.	200	1
Chicago, Ill.	450	2
Columbus, Ohio	60	2
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	0
San Diego, Calif.	100	0
Hayward, Calif.	75	0
Gainesville, Fla.	50	0
Lexington, Ky.	40	0
Mansfield, Pa.	40	0
Milwaukee, Wis.	40	0
Lawrence, Kansas	30	0
Paterson, N.J.	30	0
Portland, Ore.	30	0
Athens, Ohio	25	0
Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	0
Eastern Washington State	25	0
Logan, Utah	25	0
Oxford, Ohio	25	0
San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	0
Tacoma, Wash.	25	0
El Paso, Texas	20	0
General	235	34
TOTAL	7561	673

Social issues key factor

The Newark teachers' strike

By NAT LONDON

NEWARK, N.J., March 24—Nearly 200 teachers, aides, clerks and substitutes have been arrested, many having been dragged off the picket lines in handcuffs, as the teachers' strike here went into its fourth week. The first sentence against a union official has just been handed down—six months in jail and a \$500 fine.

On Feb. 13, some 1,400 strike supporters marched in downtown Newark to protest the first large-scale arrests, which occurred Feb. 11. The police arbitrarily surrounded one corner where participants were just beginning to disperse and arrested everyone for violating a court injunction by demonstrating in support of the strike.

Despite the court order that makes it illegal for a teacher to express support for the strike in any way—even to the point of outlawing peaceful and otherwise legal demonstrations—the union ranks have remained determined to continue the strike.

The city of Newark as a whole is suffering from the terminal stages of a bad case of "urban leprosy": the entire metropolitan area is just falling to pieces. As the first major city with a majority Black population (now about 60 percent Black and 10 percent Puerto Rican), Newark has been abandoned by the state legislature as well as by its own city government. This is particularly true of the public school system, which has a student population that is 82-percent Third World.

The roots of what has become a virtual rebellion among the city's teachers, teachers' aides, clerks and substitutes—all of whom are represented by the Newark Teachers Union—lies in the abominable working conditions

and the total absence of education going on in the school system as a whole. The starting salary for regular teachers is \$6,700 a year. But the board of education has stopped hiring regular teachers and has been replacing them with permanent substitutes—at \$5,800 a year. Already nearly 15 percent of the city's teachers fall in this category. The union has demanded removal of the permanent substitute category with no loss of jobs.

Full-time teachers' aides, who work the same hours as regular teachers, receive the generous sum of \$2,400 a year—considerably below the federal poverty standard. While the pay demands of regular teachers were pretty nearly met when the board came up with \$8,000 a year the day before the strike, to date the aides have only been offered an extra 25 cents an hour (still below the poverty line).

Conditions in the schools are even worse than the wage levels. All the schools are overcrowded. Students are transferred from one school to another for no apparent reason. The Miller Street Elementary School, for instance,

had 1,300 of its 1,700 students transferred last year. Some students in Miller have been transferred to five different schools, although they have never moved. The turnover of teachers is equally remarkable, with some classes going through 12 regular teachers in one year. There are classes in which 25 percent of the students speak no English and the teacher speaks no Spanish. Miller got its first Spanish-speaking teacher this year. Clearly, the board's only concern is to "keep the kids off the streets," and the teachers are little more than low-paid prison wardens.

The teachers' revolt first manifested itself in the elections for bargaining agent last November. The previous bargaining agent was the Newark Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association, a large "professional" organization. But last November, teachers in overwhelming numbers voted for the Newark Teachers Union (NTU), an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Simultaneous elections among the clerks and the teachers' aides showed similar results.

The vote of the teachers' aides was of particular significance, as they are almost all residents of the Black and Puerto Rican communities and therefore closely reflect the sentiment of the Third World population.

The NTU executive committee was not opposed to community control of the schools—in modest doses, to be sure. Far from being subservient to the racist Albert Shanker bureaucracy of the New York City United Federation of Teachers, the majority of the executive committee, including NTU President Carol Graves, are members of the New Caucus, the national opposition party within the AFT. The New Caucus, and its New York affiliate, the New Coalition, opposed Shanker's racist shutdowns last year and helped to keep the schools open. Everything seemed ripe for a joint teacher-community struggle against the board of education and city hall around the question of community control of the schools.

Such a struggle had the potential of winning a measure of real community control. By its example as a counter to the racist teachers' walkout in New York last year, it could have immeasurably weakened the entire Shanker bureaucracy on a national scale. Its impact could have reached into the trade-union movement at large, bringing encouragement and new direction

to thousands of rank-and-file militants and Black caucuses throughout the labor movement. Within the Black community, it could have demonstrated conclusively that sections of the labor movement can serve as an ally of the Black struggle.

The fact that this potential has not been realized is mainly due to serious weaknesses in the orientation of the New Caucus leaders, the absence before the strike of a Black caucus, and the absence of a rank-and-file New Caucus.

Although the New Caucus people apparently had the upper hand on the executive committee, there was a strong minority on the committee which was associated with Shanker. The result was a compromise, with a strike strategy based wholly on trade-union support rather than on community as well as union support, and an attempt to slip a few community-control demands in under the table without openly proclaiming them. The end result was nearly total defeat for the demands of the New Caucus, which gradually lost more and more ground to the Shanker forces as the strike unfolded.

No efforts were made to contact Black community leaders in developing the contract demands. Nor were Black leaders involved in the negotiations.

While it may be that there is little that can now be done to alter the course of the present strike, the union militants are already drawing the lessons for the future. These lessons include the need for a Black caucus and a rank-and-file New Caucus, for a public and open position by the NTU in favor of community control of the schools, and for a strategy based on an alliance with the Black community, from the stage of formulating demands to the actual process of negotiating these demands with the board of education.



Now a Pamphlet!

Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries

By Ernest Mandel 35¢

THE SPEECH NIXON AND MITCHELL TRIED TO BAN

Pathfinder Press (formerly Merit Publishers) 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

KEY ISSUE. Control of schools is vital issue for Newark's Black community which union has not effectively related to.

A revolutionary holiday

60 years of struggle

By ELIZABETH BARNES

For sixty years, militant women around the world have observed March 8 as International Women's day, a day of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for liberation.

March 8 was first designated as an international women's holiday in 1910 by a Congress of Socialist Women meeting in Copenhagen. It was socialist women from the U. S. who initiated the proposal for such a day, and Clara Zetkin, the militant socialist leader from Germany, who urged that it be adopted.

It was not just by chance that American women took the lead in demanding recognition of the struggles of women. The first decade of this century was a time of ferment in the U. S., a time when the first trade unions composed mainly of women were formed and when the struggle for the right to vote was being intensified. Two years before the Copenhagen Congress, the American Socialist Party had resolved to fix a certain Sunday of each year to be devoted to propaganda for women's suffrage and general socialist education among women. In 1909, when women's day was celebrated by Socialist Party organizations, a mass meeting of 3,000 workers in New York passed a resolution demanding the right of women to the vote.

Responding to the call by the Copenhagen Congress, the first International Women's Day was celebrated in Germany in 1911 with mass demonstrations and meetings. Clara Zetkin was again in the forefront of the activity, declaring that the fight for women's rights was part of the struggle against capitalist oppression.

In 1914, International Women's Day in Germany again saw demonstrations, this time directed against World War I and in protest against the arrest of the great revolutionary socialist leader, Rosa Luxemburg.

In 1917, International Women's Day in Russia (Feb. 23 by the tsarist calendar) was observed in the most fitting and dramatic way possible. Women textile workers rose up spontaneously on that day and sparked a strike wave which ended with the February revolution and the overthrow of the czar.

After the Russian revolution, the USSR initiated the spread of the celebration of International Women's Day to countries around the world.

On International Women's Day in 1921, Lenin wrote in *Pravda* that countless meetings of working women in all countries of the world would send greetings to the revolutionaries in the Soviet Union, solidarizing themselves with the first giant steps taken by the revolution toward the emancipation of women.



With the rise of Stalinism in the late 1920s, much of the original progress made toward the emancipation of women in the Soviet Union was undermined. The observance of International Women's Day, however, has been maintained. Today, in the Soviet Union and other workers' states International Women's Day is one of the central official holidays, although it is celebrated rather ritualistically as a day for honoring women rather than as a day of rededication to the struggle against the oppression of women.

The Cuban revolution has helped to revive the tradition of International Women's Day in the true spirit of the early socialist fighters. On March 8, meetings are held in Cuba to express solidarity with the international struggles of women, most importantly, the struggles of the Vietnamese women.

The fact that women in the United States are beginning, once again, to take recognition of International Women's Day is a reflection of the depth of the resurgence of revolutionary forces on a world scale and the growing role of women in these struggles. Women are in the front ranks of the revolutionary fighters, not only in Vietnam, but in Palestine, Cuba, France, Angola and elsewhere.

The concept of international solidarity of women is now more meaningful than ever. With the rise of the women's liberation movement in this country, which is unprecedented in its forthright struggle against all aspects of the oppression of women, the international fight of women to liberate themselves is beginning to be seen in all its importance as a central part of the fight for socialism.

Double jeopardy: to be Black and female

By FRANCES M. BEAL

(In celebrating International Women's Day it is fitting to observe that just as all other aspects of today's revolutionary struggles are being internationalized, so is the rising movement for women's liberation. Part of that internationalization is reflected in the development of the women's movement in U.S. Black and Third World communities.)

The analysis of the Black woman's role and stake in that struggle presented here is reprinted from the Fall 1969 issue of New Generation. Frances Beal is national coordinator of the Black Women's Liberation Committee of SNCC.)

Much has been written recently about the white women's liberation movement in the United States and the question arises whether there are any parallels between this struggle and the movement on the part of Black women for total emancipation. While certain comparisons can be made, simply because we both live under the same exploitative system, there are certain differences, some of which are quite basic.

The white women's movement is far from being monolithic. Any white group that does not have an anti-imperialist and antiracist ideology has absolutely nothing in common with the Black women's struggle. In fact, some groups come to the incorrect conclusion that their oppression is due simply to male chauvinism, and therefore there is an extremely antimale tone to their dissertations. Black people are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and the main

emphasis of Black women must be to combat the exploitation of all Black people. While it is true that male chauvinism has become institutionalized in American society, one must always look for the main enemy, the fundamental cause of the female condition.

Another major differentiation is that the white women's liberation movement is basically middle class. Very few of these women suffer the extreme economic exploitation that most Black women are subjected to day by day. This is the factor that is most crucial for us. It is not intellectual persecution alone, and it is not an emotional release for us; it is quite real. We as Black women must deal with the problems that the Black masses deal with, for our problems are the same.

But in attempting to analyze the situation of the Black woman in America one crashes abruptly into a solid wall of grave misconceptions, outright distortions of fact and defensive attitudes on the part of many. The system of capitalism (and its afterbirth, racism) under which we all live has attempted by many devious ways and means to destroy the humanity of Black people.

To accomplish this, a situation was created in which the Black man was unable to find meaningful or productive employment, if indeed he was able to find work of any kind. And the Black woman was also manipulated, economically exploited and physically assaulted by the system. Although she was allowed to work in the white man's kitchen, the fact that she was sometimes the sole breadwinner in her family led to many psychological problems affecting both men and women and has contributed to the turmoil that we now find in the Black family structure.

For a long time neither the Black man nor the Black woman understood the true nature of the forces working upon them. Many Black women, for example, accepted the prevailing evaluation of manhood and womanhood that characterized Black men as shiftless and lazy if they didn't get a job and support their families as they "ought" to. Personal relationships between Black men and women were thus torn asunder, and one result has been the separation of husband from wife, parent from child, man from woman.

America has defined manhood in terms of a good job, a good salary and plenty of expensive material possessions. Anyone who doesn't meet these "standards" is considered less than a man. The advertising media continuously inform the American male of his need for indispensable signs of his virility—the brand of cigarettes that cow-

N.Y. women organizing mass march

of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The demonstration is also being sponsored by Women's Abortion Project, the 350 plaintiffs in a suit to have the New York State abortion law declared unconstitutional. One of the purposes of the demonstration is to show through mass action the extent of the support for this suit.

There are signs that the action is catching on outside New York City. Not only are a growing number of women's groups becoming sponsors; Terry Hillman, coordinator of the New York State young socialist campaign committees, reports that on a recent campaign tour through Upstate New York several of the women's groups she talked with agreed to make building for the action the central focus of their activity this spring.

The New York women's liberation movement has undertaken a series of activities to publicize and insure the success of the demonstration. One of the most important will be a March 2 planning meeting to be held at 8 p.m. at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 346 W. 20th St.

A great deal remains to be done. Anyone able to do leafletting and other work on the demonstration should contact People to Abolish Abortion Laws, 135 West 4th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10012 Tel: 212-254-4488.

DOES YOUR LOCAL LIBRARY SUBSCRIBE? If your library doesn't have a file of *The Militant*, it might welcome your suggestion to obtain a subscription.

Merit Pamphlets

WOMEN & THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

Speeches by Fidel Castro

Articles by Linda Jenness

35¢

PIONEERS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

By Joyce Cowley

25¢

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed

95¢

REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS

OF

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by George Novack

25¢

Pathfinder Press

(formerly Merit Publishers)

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Women's Day

boys prefer, the whiskey that has a masculine tang, the jockstrap that athletes wear. America has also defined womanhood. The ideal for a woman is to be surrounded by hypocritical homage, to be estranged from all real work, to spend idle hours primping and preening, to be obsessed with conspicuous consumption and to limit her functions to a sex role.

The Black Women's Liberation Committee unconditionally rejects these respective models. A woman who stays at home caring for her children and house has an extremely limited life. She exists only as a satellite to her mate. He goes out into society and brings back a little piece of the world to her, and his interests and his understanding of the world become her own. She is unable to develop as an individual because she has been reduced to fulfilling only a biological function.

Furthermore, it is idle dreaming to think of Black women simply caring for their homes and children like the middle-class white model. Most Black women *have* to work to help feed, house and clothe their families. Black women make up a substantial percentage of the Black working force, and this is true for the poorest Black family as well as the so-called middle-class family.

Black women have never been able to afford phony middle-class luxuries. Though we have been browbeaten with the white middle-class image of womanhood, the reality of the degrading and dehumanizing jobs we were forced to take quickly dissipated any dreams of achieving this mirage.

Unfortunately, there seems to be some confusion in the movement today as to who has been oppressing whom. Since the advent of Black power, the Black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this country. He sees the system for what it really is for the most part and rejects many of its values and mores, but when it comes to women, he seems to take his guidelines from the pages of *Ladies' Home Journal*. Certain Black men maintain that *they* have been castrated by a white society but that Black women somehow not only escaped persecution but even contributed to their emasculation.

The Black woman in America can justly be described as a "slave of a slave." When the Black man in America

was subjected to such abject oppression, the Black woman was left with no protector and was used — and is still being used, in some cases — as the scapegoat for the evils that this horrendous system has perpetrated on Black men.

It is true that our husbands, fathers, brothers and sons have been emasculated, lynched and brutalized. They have suffered from the cruelest assault on mankind that the world has ever known. However, it is a gross distortion of fact to state that Black women have oppressed Black men. The system found it expedient to enslave and oppress them and did so without consulting or signing any agreements with Black women.

At the same time, Black women were not only reduced to a state of enslavement, but they often served as a scapegoat for the evils of this system in much the same way that the poor white crackler in the South, who is equally victimized, looks down upon Blacks and contributes to their oppression. Through giving men a false feeling of masculine superiority, the oppression of women is used as an escape valve for capitalism. Men may be cruelly exploited and subjected to all sorts of dehumanizing tactics but they still have someone who is below them — women.

Women also present a surplus labor supply, the control of which is absolutely necessary to the profitable functioning of capitalism. They are systematically exploited by being paid less for doing the same work that men do or by being relegated to low-paying jobs where there is no possibility of advancement.

Industries employing mainly Black women are the most exploitative in the country. Domestic and hospital workers are prime objects of this oppression, as are the garment workers in New York City. The leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whose predominately female membership is overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican, is nearly all white and male, and it has completely sold its soul to the corporate structure. To add insult to injury, not only does this bought-off leadership contribute to our continued exploitation in this country by not truly representing the best interests of its membership, but it has invested heavily in business enterprises in racist, apartheid South Africa — with union funds.

The entire labor movement in the United States has suffered as a result of the superexploitation of Black workers and women. The unions have historically been racist and chauvinistic. They have upheld racism in this country, have not fought the white-skin privileges of white workers, and have not even made an issue of the inequities in the hiring and pay of women workers.

I have briefly discussed the economic and psychological manipulation of Black women, but perhaps the most outlandish act of oppression in modern times is the current campaign to promote sterilization of nonwhite women in an attempt to maintain the population and power imbalance between the white haves and the nonwhite have-nots.

It has recently come to our attention that a massive campaign for so-called birth control is presently being promoted not only in the underdeveloped nonwhite areas of the world, but also in Black communities here in the United States. However, what the authorities in charge of these programs refer to as birth control is in fact nothing but a method of outright genocide.

The United States has been supporting sterilization clinics sponsored by the governments of various nonwhite countries, especially in India, where already some three million young men and



boys in and around New Delhi have received vasectomies, an operation that takes only six or seven minutes and is relatively simple. The sterilization of a woman involves a major operation, a salpingectomy, and must be performed in a hospital under general anesthesia. This method of "birth control" is commonly practiced in Puerto Rico, which has long been used by the United States as an experimental laboratory for medical research before allowing certain practices to be used here.

When the birth-control pill was first being perfected, it was tried on Puerto Rican women and selected poor Black women to evaluate its effect and efficiency. The salpingectomy has now become the most common operation in Puerto Rico, and is so widely performed that it is referred to simply as "la operacion." On the island, 20 percent of the women between the ages of 15 and 45 have already been sterilized.

And now this method is being used in the United States. Sterilization clinics are cropping up more and more around the country in Black and Puerto Rican communities in the guise of "maternity clinics." A number of organizations have been formed to popularize the idea of sterilization, including the Association for Voluntary Sterilization and the Human Betterment Association for Voluntary Sterilization, Inc., which has its headquarters in New York City. Front Royal, Virginia, has such a maternity clinic in Warren Memorial Hospital and the tactics used to pressure poor, helpless Black mothers and young girls into undergoing sterilization are certainly not confined to that clinic alone.

Some Black women on welfare have been forced to accept sterilization in exchange for a continuation of welfare benefits. A major hospital in New York City performs these operations whenever it can convince female ward patients that it's in their "best interest." Mississippi and some other southern states are so notorious for their use of these sterilization techniques that Black women are often afraid to permit even necessary surgery because they know from bitter experience that they are more likely than not to come out of the hospital without their insides. (Both salpingectomies and hysterectomies are performed.)

The rigid laws concerning abortions in this country are another vicious means of subjugation and, indirectly, of outright murder. Rich white women somehow manage to obtain these operations with little or no difficulty; it is the poor Black and Puerto Rican women who are at the mercy of local butchers. Statistics show us that the nonwhite death rate at the hands of unqualified abortionists is substantially higher than for white women. Nearly half of the child-bearing deaths in New York City are attributed to abortion alone, and out of these 79 percent are among non-white and Puerto Rican women.

We are not saying that Black women should not practice birth control. Black women have the right and responsibility to determine when it is in their best personal interest and in the interest of the struggle to have children or not to

have them, and this right must not be relinquished by anyone.

The new world we are attempting to create must destroy every kind of oppression. The value of this new system will be determined by the status of the person who was low man on the totem pole. If the Black woman has to retreat to the position she occupied before the struggle, the whole movement and the whole struggle will have retreated in terms of truly freeing the colonized population.

Black liberation means changing the traditional routines that we have established as a result of living in a totally corrupting society. It means changing how we relate to our wives, husbands, parents, children and coworkers. If we are going to liberate ourselves as a people, we must recognize that Black women have very specific problems that have to be spoken to. Black women must be liberated along with the rest of the population. We cannot wait to start working on these problems until that great day in the future when the revolution somehow, miraculously, is accomplished.

Black women are not resentful of the Black man's rise to power. We welcome it. We see in it the eventual liberation of all Black people. Nevertheless, we do not believe that in order for the Black man to be strong the Black woman has to be weak. Those who are asserting their "manhood" by telling Black women to step back into a domestic, submissive role are assuming a counter-revolutionary position. Black women have also been abused by the system, and we must *all* be concerned about eliminating all kinds of oppression. If we want to build a strong nation and remove the bonds of oppression, then we must have the total involvement of every man, woman and child.

We live in a highly industrialized society and every member of the Black nation must be as academically and technologically developed as possible. To wage a revolution, we need competent teachers, doctors, nurses, electronics experts, chemists, biologists, physicists, political scientists. Black women who limit themselves to sitting at home reading bedtime stories to their children are just not going to make it. We need our whole army out there dealing with the enemy, not half an army.

All the resources that the Black community can muster up must be channeled into the struggle. Black women must take an active part in bringing about the kind of society where our children, our loved ones and each citizen can grow up and live as decent human beings, free from the pressures of racism and exploitation.

Women's teach-in slated in Boston

BOSTON — An International Women's Day Teach-in will be held the weekend of March 6-7. The conference, which is sponsored by Women's History Group, Women's Liberation, will be held at MIT, Rm. 1-390, and will begin at 8:00 p.m., March 6, with a talk on "How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It" by Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist and writer on women's liberation.

A panel discussion for women only will take place at 10:45 a.m. with participants from Mothers for Adequate Welfare, Boston Women United, Female Liberation, SWP, NOW, Bread and Roses, and YSA. Workshops and seminars will follow.

For information on the teach-in, call 254-6498.

**Bound volume 1969
THE MILITANT
\$10**

Send check or money order to
The Militant, 873 Broadway,
New York, N.Y. 10003

Conspiracy verdict evokes wide protest



Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman and Rennie Davis

Photo by David Fenton/LNS

By JOHN STUDER
CHICAGO, Feb. 25 — Over 7,000 demonstrated in defense of the Conspiracy victims at the federal building here today. Following the rally, the demonstrators moved to the Cook County jail where the defendants are being held, to express their solidarity.

The demonstration, built on only five days' notice by the Conspiracy, the Chicago Peace Council and the Student Mobilization Committee, was larger than expected and spilled over into Jackson Blvd., stopping traffic and giving an indication of the tremendous support for the defendants and the outrage at the trial that exist here.

Cleveland forum hears lecture by Betty Friedan

By MARCIA SWEETENHAM
CLEVELAND—Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* and founder and president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), addressed 120 people at the opening meeting of the Debs Hall Forum in Cleveland. The forum was the first public meeting in the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 2921 Prospect Ave.

Mrs. Friedan stressed the need for women to engage in political action around the economic and social oppression of women as opposed to meeting in living-room soul sessions.

The meeting drew participants from Cleveland women's liberation groups, including Women's Liberation, Women Speak Out, and women from the Kent State University women's liberation movement.

It was one of the largest Cleveland gatherings so far to discuss the women's liberation movement. Mrs. Friedan was also interviewed on the Allen Douglas television show. An interview with a *Plain Dealer* reporter resulted in a full-page article on women's liberation. A tape of her forum talk will be played in full on WCLV-FM (95.5 MC), a local radio station.

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

The demonstration was lively and militant, punctuating the speeches with frequent chants and shouts of approval. The action was addressed by Nancy Rubin, wife of the defendant Jerry Rubin, Phil Ochs, Jesse Jackson of Operation Breadbasket and SCLC, and Bobby Rush of the Illinois Black Panther Party. It ended with the reading of a message sent by the seven Conspiracy defendants from the Cook County jail.

NEW YORK — Five thousand people marched from Bryant Park to Madison Square Park here Feb. 23 to protest the conviction and sentencing of the Chicago 7 and their lawyers. At the rally in Madison Square Park, some 3,000 demonstrators heard William Kunstler, the defense lawyer whom Judge Julius Hoffman sentenced to four years in prison for "contempt," and Anita Hoffman and Betty Dellinger, the wives of Abbie Hoffman and Dave Dellinger.

The demonstration was organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee on very short notice, and the turnout was much larger than anticipated. The massive protest action was completely orderly and peaceful, thanks to the seriousness and understanding of the vast majority of the participants and to the skillful and conscientious work of the well-organized Parade Committee marshals' corps. After the demonstration had dispersed, a few windows were broken some blocks away from the park, and the cops arrested three people.

SEATTLE — A demonstration of more than 2,000 people in protest of the Chicago "conspiracy" trial was held at the federal courthouse here Feb. 17. The size of the protest was an indication of the broad support of the Chicago defendants in Seattle and the widespread understanding of the frame-up nature of the trial.

Ultraleft tactics of some rock-throwing demonstrators, however, provided the police with an excuse to move in and break up the demonstration, arresting and beating demonstrators and bystanders. Eighty people were arrested on charges ranging from failing to disperse to assault.

A reported thousand students at MIT picketed Feb. 24 to protest the presence of Hubert Humphrey and to protest the railroading of the Chicago conspiracy victims. Several hundred members of the audience rose when Humphrey spoke and, pointing their fingers, declared him "guilty."

Ariz. socialist professor target of continuing attack

Majority defend his academic freedoms

Poll shows support for Starsky

By CLARA AUGUST

If the professional fate of Prof. Morris Starsky hinged on the opinions of University students and faculty members interviewed yesterday at random, he would continue teaching at the University.

The majority of those interviewed maintained that Starsky, controversial philosophy professor, was justified in his dismissing class last Jan. 14 to attend a UofA protest. The rally was in protest of eight students arrested at a UofA-BYU basketball game.

Miss Broadfoot maintained that "an individual is supposed to be actively a part of the whole community as well as the school. She said, 'I wonder what people are afraid of... it is just because he's different and has differing political views?'"

A junior fine arts major, Rob Vacek, said, "I'm opposed to the conservative way the school is run. Starsky has a lot of good points. Perhaps even more liberal views than his are presented by other professors. Starsky is on the side of the students, and he's doing a good job standing up for what he believes in."

Junior

From Arizona State U State Press

By JAMES T. ROWLAND
PHOENIX, Ariz. — The fight to defend the rights of Morris Starsky, the socialist and antiwar professor at Arizona State University who has been under attack by conservative legislators, is continuing here.

An original victory was won in the case when the Arizona State University board of regents refused to fire Starsky and designated an ad hoc faculty committee to investigate the charges against him. The decision of this committee was that there was insufficient evidence to even warrant a dismissal hearing.

On Feb. 21, however, after hearing the verdict of the committee, the regents did an about-face and decided to demand a dismissal hearing regardless. Commenting on this latest turn in the case, Professor Starsky pointed out, "The situation is rather like that of someone who is cleared by a grand jury investigation but ordered to stand trial anyway."

Starsky believes that the motivation for the full dismissal hearing lies in the desire of the regents to create a witch-hunt atmosphere at Arizona State. "I am convinced that the regents intend to use the formal hearings in the same way they used the ad hoc committee," he said. "They will ignore it. Hearings are merely warnings to other professors of the consequences they face if they engage in radical political action or any action that the regents do not approve."

Last month a temporary committee was established to defend Professor Starsky. The response to requests for sponsors and letters of protest to the regents was enthusiastic. A recent campus poll by the student newspaper shows that Starsky has the support of a majority of students.

Conference, march to mark Women's Day in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS — The International Women's Day Committee, a coalition of Twin Cities women's liberation groups, is planning a full day of actions on Sat., March 7, including a morning conference, afternoon mass march and evening celebration of International Women's Day.

At the conference, speakers from a number of groups will present their views on women's liberation. Then the conferees and others will assemble and march through downtown Minneapolis, stopping briefly at the state employment office and the welfare office. While the demands raised will represent the whole spectrum of women's liberation, the emphasis will be on the economic oppression of women in this society.

The evening celebration of International Women's Day will include films, skits, a bazaar, literature booths, food and music.

The morning conference and the march are for women, but everyone is welcome to the evening celebration. For more information, call the Minneapolis women's liberation office at 378-1183.

With the latest move by the regents, a permanent Faculty-Community Committee to Defend Academic Freedom at ASU has been formed. Honorary cochairmen of the committee are Professor Roger Murray and Mrs. Sherri Finkbine. An executive committee has been elected consisting of Professor Thomas F. Hoult, chairman; Professor Marcus Whiffen, treasurer; Mrs. Lorraine Whaler, secretary; Professor Roger Murray; Steve Strnad; and David Murphy. A parallel student defense committee has been established.

Everyone who is committed to the fundamental principles of democracy is urged to help bear the financial costs of the defense campaign. Contributions and letters of support should be sent to Professor Marcus Whiffen, College of Architecture, ASU, Tempe, Arizona 85251. Letters of protest should be sent to President Harry K. Newburn, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85251.

Abortion repeal forces organize Mich. meeting

DETROIT—A press conference was held at the city morgue Feb. 9 to announce the support of Dr. John Burton, Wayne County medical examiner, for the repeal of abortion laws in Michigan. The Michigan Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (MORAL) also announced plans to hold a statewide conference on March 7 to discuss the abolition of the abortion laws.

Jacqueline Rice, SWP candidate in the first congressional district and a member of MORAL, said at the conference, "The right of women to control their own bodies is beyond question. We call on all women to support and join in this struggle and demand that our legislators immediately wipe these unconstitutional laws off the books."

Dr. Burton explained how many bodies of dead women come into the morgue every year mutilated by self-induced or butchered abortions. "These bodies are an abomination. These poor women, who neither desire nor want children, are forced to kill themselves in an attempt to rid themselves of unwanted children. As an individual, I support MORAL, but as Wayne County medical advisor, I can clearly see the necessity for changing the abortion laws."

MORAL will attempt to change the abortion laws through the legislative process, instead of the courts. Lillian Lehrman, chairman said: "We feel this is the most expedient manner in which our goals can be accomplished."

The statewide conference is expected to attract hundreds of women. It will take place at Wayne State University, after which a delegation of women will bus up to Lansing and demand that the legislators take the laws off the books.

For information or contributions write: Women's Liberation (attn: MORAL), 5705 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

Massachusetts election campaign

Camejo to challenge Kennedy

By DAVE WULP

BOSTON, Feb. 25 — The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party announced today that SWP leader Peter Camejo will be running against Edward Kennedy in the coming election for U.S. senator. Joining Camejo on the SWP campaign ticket will be Mike Kelly for governor and Toba Leah Singer for attorney general.

Camejo, a nationally-known antiwar, Third World and student leader, will be challenging the whole political approach of liberalism as typified by Kennedy. He plans to take on Kennedy on every important issue, challenging him to debates, exposing his basic opposition to the mass antiwar, Black,



Edward Kennedy

Third World and women's liberation movements.

The Camejo campaign will provide a rallying point and a political alternative for thousands of young people who are beginning to reject the politics of liberal capitalism. Since he became a socialist over ten years ago, Peter Camejo has consistently struggled for just those things which Kennedy and other politicians of his ilk most oppose.

A Venezuelan-American, Camejo has been in the forefront of the defense of Latin-American revolutionary struggles. Since his first trip to Cuba in 1960, he has concentrated much of his time writing and speaking in support of the Cuban revolution. When Edward Kennedy's older brother was bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, Camejo was touring the country speaking on behalf of the Cuban revolution.

A founding member of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1960, Camejo has given leadership to developing free speech, civil rights, Third World, antiwar and student movements for the past ten years. He recently won acquittal of charges of conspiracy for his participation in a struggle at Berkeley to allow Eldridge Cleaver to teach for credit on campus.

This fall he played a key role in building the Boston area Student Mobilization Committee and the Boston

October Moratorium of 100,000. A gifted, dynamic popularizer of socialist ideas, Camejo is invariably one of the best received speakers at mass meetings and rallies.

All of the SWP candidates in this election campaign are young. All of them are builders of mass movements for social change and their campaigns will focus on winning new support for these movements — for the struggle against the war, for the Third World and women's liberation struggles.

The SWP candidates believe that electoral action should be a continuation of mass struggles and not a choice of the "lesser evil" of capitalist candidates. They see election campaigns as an important vehicle for showing how the various movements of struggle are related as part of the general struggle against a rotten social system.

Toba Leah Singer has been an activist in the antiwar and women's liberation movements in the Boston area and has written articles on women's liberation for the *B. U.* (Boston University) *News* and *The Militant*. An important focus of her campaign will be the fight against the medieval Massachusetts "Crimes Against Chastity" laws which make it illegal to circulate birth control information and devices.

Mike Kelly has been active as an organizer of Student Mobilization Com-



Peter Camejo

mittees on campuses in the Boston area. After first becoming radicalized by Third World and antiwar struggles several years ago, Kelly joined the SDS at Northeastern University and began editing the campus underground newspaper. The lack of a coherent program in SDS lead him to join the Young Socialist Alliance, and later the Socialist Workers Party.

All of those interested in helping to build the Camejo, Singer and Kelly campaigns should contact the Boston Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 (tel. 536-6981). Throughout the campaign the headquarters will be open from 11 to 6.

Chicagoans press fight against right-wing thugs

CHICAGO — A joint delegation of representatives of the Independent Voters of Illinois (Illinois Americans for Democratic Action) and the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks

(DATA) on Feb. 24 presented the state's attorney with a demand for felony charges to be placed against Thomas Kevin Stewart.

Stewart, who has been identified as a participant in the Nov. 1, 1969, Legion of Justice raid on the Chicago YSA-SWP headquarters, was originally mis-charged with a misdemeanor (possession of stolen materials) in place of the more heavily penalized felony charge of forceful robbery which he deserved.

The state's attorney's office subsequently claimed that the switching of charges was a mistake, but was steadfast in its refusal to file the correct charge. However, faced with growing public pressure as indicated by the delegation, Gene Willin, state's attorney representative, finally agreed Feb. 24 to file the felony charge when Stewart comes to trial Mar. 19.

At a news conference Feb. 23 called by the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks to announce the following day's action, statements were given by Laura Miller, secretary of the DATA committee; Robbie Lee, representing the Guild Bookstore which was recently attacked by the Legion of Justice; and John Studer, organizer of the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance, which has been the target of numerous Legion of Justice attacks.

A statement by Sidney Lens, cochairman of New Mobe and an initiating sponsor of the defense committee, was read to the press. He charged that "the double standard of justice in this city is giving Chicago the reputation of being a police state commensurate with the reputation it once had as a Mecca for gangsters."

The news conference was covered by major television, radio and newspapers in Chicago. Meanwhile, support for the defense efforts of the DATA committee against the vicious activities of the Legion of Justice continues to grow. New sponsors of the committee include William Kunstler, attorney for the Conspiracy 7; C. Clark Kissinger, former national chairman of SDS; and Jay Shaffner, Chicago chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League.

Students at SIU mount protest on Vietnam center

By SALM KOLIS

CARBONDALE, Ill. — More than 3,000 people — some from as far away as Washington, D.C., and New York — marched here Feb. 21 to protest the Vietnamese Studies Center at Southern Illinois University. The Center is headed by Wesley Fischel, the notorious imperial "scholar" who ran a similar institute at Michigan State University, where many of South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem's administrators and torturers were trained.

The struggle against the Center began Jan. 29, when the Southern Illinois Peace Committee staged a mock trial of Fischel. Cops arrested six participants in this demonstration on frame-up charges of disorderly conduct and battery. The next day, there was a protest action to demand the release of the Center's task-force minutes — which, though required by law, the university had not done. This demonstration was attacked by the police, and nine more people were arrested.

The day before the Feb. 21 mass march, some 250 people marched to an SIU board-of-trustees meeting to demand immediate removal of the Center and amnesty for the 19 people arrested during the course of the struggle. That afternoon, five hundred heard various local antiwar spokesmen voice their opposition to the Center.

Funds are needed for the defense of the students arrested during the actions against the Center. Contributions can be sent to the Southern Illinois Peace Committee, c/o Student Government, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois 62901.

2,500 pickets greet Agnew in Twin Cities

By NANCY STREBE

SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator

ST. PAUL — Spiro T. Agnew drew in \$850,000 for the Republican Party here Feb. 20, but he also drew out 2,500 angry people in five degree weather in the most militant, spirited antiwar demonstration yet held in Minnesota.

The picket line began at about 7 p.m. at the St. Paul Auditorium where Agnew was scheduled to speak to a \$100-a-plate Republican fund-raising event. As the number of picketers grew, the line briefly encircled the block-long building several deep, then amassed at the front entrance. Since there were too many people for the sidewalks, the street was soon filled and chants of "End the War in Vietnam — Bring the Troops Home Now!", "One, Two, Three, Four — Stop This Damn War!", "Peace Now!" and others less political could be heard for blocks.

By the time Agnew's seven-car cavalcade of secret service agents leaning out car doors and his own bullet-proof limousine arrived, the street around the rear entrance was full of people. He could be seen by those in the front lines, and he did not look happy.

Although the picketers were predominantly college-age, there was a large number of high school students and a good-sized contingent from Labor Against the War.

There was a shortage of marshals, which did create a few problems since some demonstrators had to be reminded that the majority had decided on a legal, nonconfrontation demonstration. About eight people were arrested and later released.

Agnew's lies, taunts and threats moved the Minnesota College Republicans to state later that the money he drew in wasn't worth the support the Republicans lost among the youth. (The Minnesota College Republicans are in the antiwar coalition and support immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.)

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION TODAY. Second of two-part series on women's liberation. Speaker: Linda Jenness, socialist candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., March 6, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree (at 14th St.). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

BOSTON

HOW WOMEN LOST CONTROL OF THEIR DESTINY AND HOW THEY CAN REGAIN IT. Speaker: Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist and author of *Myth of Women's Inferiority*. Fri., March 6, 8 p.m. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rm. 1-390. Ausp: Women's History Group, Women's Liberation.

LOS ANGELES

JAMES P. CANNON 80TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. Banquet and speakers, featuring Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press* and former secretary to Leon Trotsky. Sat., March 21. Refreshments at 6, banquet at 7, program at 8:30 p.m. Contrib: \$5, students \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

MINNEAPOLIS

ROSA LUXEMBURG 100TH YEAR ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE HUMANITY. Speaker: Nancy Strebe. Sat., March 7, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE. 332-7781. Contrib: 75c, students 50c. Ausp: Twin Cities Social Forum.

NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY — 1910-1970, 60 YEARS OF SOCIAL STRUGGLE. Speaker: Berta Langston, Socialist Workers Party, active in People to Abolish Abortion Laws. 8:30 p.m. Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Special buffet dinner 6:30 p.m. (\$1.25.) 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

CAMPAIGN '70 BANQUET TO LAUNCH SWP 1970 CAMPAIGN. Keynote speaker: Fred Halstead, 1968 SWP presidential candidate, speaking on **SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES FOR THE SEVENTIES**. Sun. March 8, 5 p.m. For reservations, contact Socialist Workers Campaign '70 686 N. Broad St. CE 6-6998.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WOMEN'S OPPRESSION: HOW IT BEGAN AND HOW TO END IT. Speaker: Judy White, SWP activist in women's liberation. Sun., March 8, 3 p.m. George Washington Univ. Gov't Bldg., Rm 101. Don: 50c. Tel: 462-4753. Ausp: Young Socialist Forum.

Immediate withdrawal opposed by McCarthy

By DICK ROBERTS

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Feb. 19, Senator Eugene McCarthy emphasized the fact that he opposes immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and favors some kind of "negotiated" settlement of the war.

McCarthy declared that Nixon's avowed policies of "Vietnamization" are neither desirable nor workable. But McCarthy disputed the contention that an immediate withdrawal was the only alternative to Vietnamization," the Feb. 20 *New York Times* reported.

"A third real possibility is a negotiated political settlement, followed or accompanied by withdrawal of American military power," McCarthy said. "Serious negotiations cannot proceed unless we are willing to support a coalition government to control the process of transition. The task of the interim government would be to arrange a cease-fire and to assure the orderly withdrawal of foreign forces."

Thus McCarthy squarely places himself in the camp of those who assert Washington's right to participate in the formation of a government for South Vietnam. He recognizes that the dictatorial clique in Saigon does not rep-



Eugene McCarthy

'A civil war between the rich and the poor'

"Being in Vietnam has been a tragic mistake. This is because it is a civil war and it is a civil war among various groups, religious and cultural. Above all it is a war between the rich and the poverty-stricken. We are on the side of the rich."

The "effete snob" who is speaking in this case is Capt. Larry P. Turner, a veteran of a year's service in Vietnam, who made his views on the war known to Senator Stephen Young (D-Ohio) in a letter Young entered in the *Congressional Record*, Jan. 27. p. S 631.

"It is the poor who join the Vietcong," Capt. Turner continued. The Saigon Vietnam government is as corrupt, ruthless and weak as it was before we went there...It is the wealthy, small elite with accounts in Swiss banks who benefit from the American presence in Vietnam. It is also only this small group that would suffer if the U.S. withdraws altogether from Vietnam."

Turner concluded that if Nixon's alleged policies of "Vietnamizing" the war are pursued this could keep the U.S. in Vietnam indefinitely, and he ended: "If people want to go communist, that's their business. We are fighting the Vietnamese where the French left off. The Vietnamese people have waited for many years to get rid of an enemy. Evidently they are prepared to wait a long time to get rid of us."

resent the wishes of the Vietnamese people; but he refuses to draw the one logical and just conclusion—that the U.S. should get out and let the Vietnamese decide their own destiny.

The difference between McCarthy's and Nixon's positions is that McCarthy apparently is willing to consider sacrificing the Thieu-Ky regime as a further step toward duping the American people into believing that Washington intends to withdraw U.S. forces—some day (a "settlement accompanied or followed by withdrawal . . .")—at the same time, further thwarting the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination.

McCarthy probably favors adding government figures in Saigon who would be more palatable to the Vietnamese. But he insists on assurances that the present capitalist system be maintained and that at least some members of the present hated regime be assured of places in a new government.

If this wasn't McCarthy's position, there would be no reason for him to favor keeping U.S. troops in Vietnam and there would be nothing to negotiate in Paris.

McCarthy wants us to believe that Washington will some day participate in forming a representative government in South Vietnam, when he knows perfectly well that the U.S. invaded that country precisely to prevent that from happening.

The truth of the matter is that the "doves" are in a quandary, caused largely by the fact that they agree with Nixon's strategic aims: indefinite U.S. occupation of South Vietnam.

Washington journalist Clayton Fritchey explained the current "dove dilemma" in his nationally syndicated column, Feb. 12: ". . . the doves find themselves temporarily immobilized by shrewd White House tactics which have convinced most Americans, for the time being at least, that Nixon is as dovish as they are."

It's all a matter of "convincing," i.e., fooling Americans. Fritchey spells out what is well-known in Washington:

"Chiang Kai-shek had an army of over two million men, equipped with billions of dollars of modern American arms. Yet a Communist force, only a fraction of the size of the Nationalists, and poorly armed, conquered the entire Chinese mainland without a single major battle . . ."

"It was the same story in South Korea, where the U.S. trained and equipped the tyrannical Syngman Rhee's forces . . . Had it not been for the armed intervention of the U.S., the North Koreans would have quickly won."

"Why should the South Vietnamese fight? They have neither a government nor a mission they believe in. Most are forcibly conscripted and wretchedly paid. Their officers provide no real leadership. Corruption among the generals has been endemic. It is hard to believe that President Thieu's troops will be the first noncommunist army in Asia to defeat a fanatically motivated Red force."

And no one in Washington believes it, least of all a man like McCarthy, whose first appointment in "public" service was as an advisor to the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department (1944), and who served, until his resignation in 1968, on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—during the whole period of escalation of the Vietnam war.

McCarthy's stand in opposition to withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam serves to illuminate the true difference between "hawk" and "dove" capitalist politicians. Both favor the "right" of American imperialism to determine the destiny of the Vietnamese people. But the "doves" prefer doing it under a "reasonable," "negotiated" formula that may be more palatable to U.S. and world public opinion.



Photo by Hugo Hill/LNS

ESCALATED AGGRESSION. Aerial view of Plaines des Jarres. Splotches are craters from U.S. bombs. Despite massive U.S. bombings, Washington's puppet army has again been driven from the plain.

U.S. escalates Laos war: B-52s bomb central plain

FEB. 24—B-52 bombers have been used for the first time in central Laos, according to a *New York Times* dispatch from Vientiane, Feb. 21. The giant bombers were employed in an unsuccessful effort to drive back revolutionary forces on the Plaines des Jarres.

"In a ten-day campaign," the dispatch reported, "North Vietnamese troops have seized more than 20 government positions in north-east Laos, despite the apparent use of U.S. B-52 bombers in Laos for the first time—apart from the bombing of the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail."

Washington's preparations for a stand against the revolutionary forces on the Plaine des Jarres have been underway since early February. These began with the forced removal of tens of thousands of the area's civilian inhabitants. The population "is down to one tenth of the 150,000 who once lived there," *New York Times* Laos correspondent Henry Kamm reported Feb. 8.

"Hardly a house is left standing and the refugee camps where the last of the plainsmen live are about to be evacuated."

Washington picked out this area to test its CIA-controlled mercenary army: "The defense of the plain is largely in the hands of the clandestine army of Meo mountain tribesmen, commanded by Maj. Gen. Vang Pao, the most effective—some say the only effective—fighting force on the government side," Kamm wrote Feb. 1.

A Feb. 21 AP dispatch described the rout of Vang Pao's army: "The Laotian government garrison retreated in confusion today with a third of its force dead or missing...Sources in Saigon said U.S. fighter-bombers from bases in Thailand and Laos's tiny air force flew more than 200 sorties trying to stay the North Vietnamese advance."

As to the assertion that only North Vietnamese have been fighting in the Plaine des Jarres—the information must have been obtained from Vang Pao himself. Last Dec. 18, the *Wall Street Journal* described an interview with this CIA favorite:

"Resplendent in a fancy field uniform and bedecked by so many medals that he almost appears armor-plated, he sits for an interview. Are U.S. jets bombing in Laos? he is asked.

"No, he says, though his voice is periodically drowned out by U.S. jets flying overhead. Are his troops armed

with U.S.-made M-16 rifles? he is asked. No, he says, though the very men guarding him are carrying M-16s.

"Are U.S. helicopters supporting his war effort? he is asked. No, he says, though he boards a U.S. chopper after concluding the interview."

'Doves' back Laos bombing

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee does not oppose genocidal U.S. bombing of Laos—in fact, it favors it. What the "dove" senators oppose is using American ground combat forces on a large scale in Laos. They believe this would be too costly in political terms.

This important fact was clarified in a previously secret Senate debate on Laos policy, a censored transcript of which was made public in the *Congressional Record*, Jan. 21.

In that debate, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democratic Party majority leader, declared: "If we were to take this air support away from the Royal Laotian Army . . . it is quite possible that the 50,000 or 55,000 North Vietnamese who are in Laos . . . would then find it easy to sweep into the Mekong to take over the capitals of Luang Prabang and Vientiane."

Senator Stephen Young (D-Ohio) added: "(Senator Mansfield) made my point much better than I could myself with reference to the step-up in the bombing of Laos and especially of north Laos . . . It was to our interest to bomb those troops in Laos. It is also much more preferable to bomb them, than to send our men in there." (*Congressional Record*, Jan. 21, pp. E 151-E 166.)

Ga. SWP enters suit on election filing fees

ATLANTA, Ga. — Linda Jenness, Frank Grinnon and Joe Cole, Socialist Workers candidates for governor and U. S. Congress, filed suit in federal court Feb. 17 against Georgia's discriminatory election laws.

According to Georgia election law, candidates running independent of the Democratic and Republican parties must obtain large numbers of registered voters' signatures on independent nominating petitions in order to appear on the ballot. For the office of governor 88,175 signatures are required. For U. S. Congress in the fourth and fifth districts about 11,000 are required from each district.

In addition to these exorbitant petitioning requirements, candidates must also pay high qualifying fees in order to appear on the ballot. The fees are not fixed by law, but in 1966 the secretary of state set them at \$2,500 for gubernatorial candidates and \$1,500 for congressional candidates.

Responding to questions from the press after the suit was filed, Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson stated that the fees are necessary to offset the costs of the elections. Peter Rindskopf, attorney for the candidates, contends that the secretary of state has a very weak case. "If you are a nominee for the Democratic or Republican parties, the state doesn't charge you anything," Rindskopf said. "In actual practice, the parties set fees approximately as high as those set (for independents) by the secretary of state—but they keep that money for themselves."

The fact that Democrats and Republicans keep the fee revenues for their own organizations "makes it very difficult to argue" that money handed over by independents is necessary to run an election, Rindskopf said.

Gubernatorial candidate Linda Jenness, in a statement carried widely by the news media, attacked the ballot restrictions, calling them "clearly aimed to curb participation in Georgia politics of men and women from the Black communities, those who are workers, and those who launch campaigns in-

dependent of the Democratic and Republican parties."

When asked by a television newsman whether loosening ballot restrictions might not flood the ballot with "kooks, nuts and publicity seekers," Mrs. Jenness pointed to last year's Atlanta city elections as evidence to the contrary. During those elections, the suit Mrs. Jenness brought against Atlanta's elections laws resulted in Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ordering the city to waive its qualifying fee for those candidates who would take a poverty oath. The result, Mrs. Jenness stated, was that "37 candidates, the majority of them Black, were able to qualify who might not otherwise have been able to, and four of these candidates were elected. If we are successful in our present suit against the state's restriction, it will not only help the Socialist Workers candidates obtain ballot status, but can be of great assistance for independent Black candidates, which this state is going to be seeing more of in the future."

—CLIFF CONNOR

Tribute is paid to Malcolm X at Atlanta forum

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—"A Tribute to Malcolm X" was the title of a meeting attended by over 50 people here Feb. 20, five years after the assassination of the Black revolutionary. And indeed it was a fitting tribute to a revolutionary leader. It was the initial meeting of the first weekly socialist forum series to be held in the Southeast.

Speakers included Sam Manuel, a leader of the Georgia State University Black Student Union and activist in the Georgia State Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Frank Grinnon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Georgia's fifth congressional district.

Also featured at the forum was a recording of Malcolm's "Message to the Grass Roots" delivered in Detroit in 1963.

Frank Grinnon compared Malcolm X to Fidel Castro, citing in both their uncompromising stands for human rights—for the rights of their people—which led them to revolutionary positions when confronted with the awesome power of an uncompromising capitalist system. Malcolm X, Grinnon concluded, "was the living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here."

Sam Manuel traced Malcolm's development from a follower of Elijah Muhammad to a genuine revolutionary leader. He quoted from George Breitman's *The Last Year of Malcolm X* to demonstrate the evolution of Malcolm's thinking into that of a revolutionary.



Photo by Meg Rose

Linda Jenness and Frank Grinnon at Georgia capitol

Ga. campus editors hear Jenness debate opponents

By CLIFF CONNER

ATHENS, Ga. — A conference of 150 college newspaper editors and staff members meeting on the University of Georgia campus here Feb. 21 heard three gubernatorial candidates and a U.S. congressman debate the crucial social issues facing America today.

Remarks by Linda Jenness, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, were interrupted by applause more often than those of any other speakers. Contrasting capitalist and socialist politicians, she said, "Isn't the stereotype of a politician that of a person who says one thing and does another, who promises you two chickens in every pot when a depression is around the corner, and swears on a stack of Bibles that he'll keep the country out of war only to call up the first battalion?" Opposing her were former governor Carl Sanders, Jimmy Carter, and U.S. Congressman Bill Stuckey. Gov. Lester Maddox was scheduled to speak but failed to appear.

Sanders, a liberal Democrat, generally considered to be the front-running contender for the governor's office, used his speaking time to try to refute Mrs. Jenness' blast at the Democratic and Republican parties. "I, too, am a peace candidate," he said, "but I believe the American system is the most noble experiment in self-government ever devised by man..."

During the question period the college press representatives probed the differences between the Socialist Workers candidate and the liberal Democrat. One student directed a question about the Chicago "Conspiracy" trial and the Black Panther Party to both Sanders and Linda Jenness. Sanders said he wasn't familiar with the details of the Chicago trial but that he supports the American judiciary system. As for the Panthers, he felt that their civil rights weren't violated since, he asserted, they were all free on bail.

Linda Jenness corrected Sanders by pointing out that most Panther leaders are either dead, in jail or in exile. The farcical Chicago trial, she said, where they bound and gagged Bobby Seale and denied him the lawyer of his choice, had nothing to do with justice, and all the defendants should be freed at once.

The Collegiate Press Service meeting was the second time Linda Jenness had hit the statewide campaign trail. Earlier in the week she addressed 250 freshmen at Mercer University in Macon, Ga. She had been invited to speak as part of a series entitled "Man as Rebel." On Sunday, Feb. 22, she also appeared for about 45 minutes on a program sponsored by the Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership Congress on WAOK, a Black radio station in Atlanta.

Agnew greeted by 800 pickets in Atlanta

By ANDY ROSE

ATLANTA, Ga. — Eight hundred antiwar demonstrators, mostly high school and college students, "welcomed" Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to Atlanta Feb. 21 by picketing the hotel where he was to address a \$100-a-plate dinner. They chanted "U.S. Out of Vietnam, Agnew Out of Atlanta," "End the War in Vietnam—Bring the Troops Home Now," and other slogans stemming from "Agnew" rhyming with "you."

After picketing for about two hours, the demonstrators marched to a nearby rally site to hear speeches by Jim Goodman, an active-duty GI from Ft. Benning; Corey Logan, a member of the High School Mobilization Committee, and Frank Grinnon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress.

The demonstration was called by the Atlanta Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam around the central slogan "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now!" It included three special contingents: High school students, women and GIs. An estimated 25-30 GIs from Ft. Benning and McClellan were present.

For the first time in Atlanta, special steps were taken to involve more women in an antiwar action. Initiated by the women's caucus of Atlanta Mobe, the women's contingent issued a leaflet explaining how the war particularly oppresses women. Child-care facilities (staffed by men) were available during the demonstration.



Atlanta antiwar demonstrators greet Agnew

Photo by Bob Wilson

He saw internationalism as the key

Malcolm, the ghetto and Vietnam

[The following are excerpts from a Malcolm X memorial speech given by John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state in Michigan, on Feb. 20, 1970. The meeting was sponsored by the Detroit Militant Labor Forum.]

Today marks the fifth year since the death of Malcolm X. Those five years have witnessed the largest and most sustained revolt on the part of the Black community. Watts, Newark and Detroit were mere examples of the explosive potential of the Black community and the desire of that community for change. . . .

These revolts were more in the character of general strikes. The masses of Black workers remained home from work (those few who had jobs) and defended their community against the racist state forces. The masses of the Black community carried out a haphazard form of expropriation, liberating goods from stores that had squeezed exorbitant prices out of the community. And like the Italian workers who just recently burned their inadequate, ramshackle housing to the ground, the Black community burned out part of the source of the community's blight—the most usurious and gouging of the small merchants.

These revolts are simply a prelude of what is to come and give a hint both of the final solution that will be effected and of what is needed to effect that solution. The mass character of the uprisings is important to remember for all who wish to see revolutionary change in the Black community and America and the world in general. . . .

The uprisings were by and large leaderless, although there were those who stood out among the crowd as spokesmen and agitators. Given the spontaneous nature of the uprising it is staggering to imagine what they would have been like had they been organized. The organization needed to carry out such revolts beyond the stage of spontaneity does not exist today. It is unlikely that such organizational measures will be taken until the community as a whole recognizes the need for them, until the Black community achieves a higher level of political understanding. For in every city that witnessed the summer explosions, Black people turned around to shake hands with white capitalist candidates for office and cast their votes for them at election time.

When we take these two facts together it is easy to recognize the great discrepancy between the Black community's willingness to fight for freedom on the one hand and its knowledge of how to



Malcolm X

go about getting it on the other. Malcolm spent all his conscious political life educating and organizing the community for the fight for liberation. Since his death different groupings in the Black community have absorbed bits and pieces of his teachings and ideas, but none has incorporated within itself the totality of his political and organizational concepts.

The crisis that was made so evident during the rebellions is a daily crisis in the Black community. The lack of consistent leadership compounds the difficulty of solving the other day-to-day problems of the community. . . .

The whole idea of Black unity was popularized by the Nation of Islam before and during the civil rights movement. The sort of unity that was needed then did not exist. Malcolm was not only a strong preacher of unity but a resolute practitioner of it. The question of uniting with other organizations in action was one of the main reasons he left the Nation of Islam. The whole period of the civil rights movement was a testing period for the Nation of Islam. Thousands of Black people were struggling daily for their rights in both the South and the North. Although the struggles were directed in a nonviolent manner and led by groups tied to the ruling class, they were the first motion of any section of the American population since the end of the McCarthy era.

During the period before the upsurge of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the Nation of Islam had been preaching Black unity. But what Elijah Muhammad had meant was unity under his leadership. Most Blacks were not going to become Muslims. It is extremely difficult for an organization to maintain itself when it says one thing and does another. The pressure of the mass movement created a schism in the Nation of Islam. Malcolm expressed the disaffection with the sidelines policy of the Nation more than any other member.

In his book, *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*, George Breitman cites several instances of the abstentionist policy of the Muslim hierarchy. The Nation of Islam in 1963 came out for independent Black political action. But when an independent Black party turned up on the scene, the Freedom Now Party, the Nation, on orders from Elijah Muhammad, refused to participate. Throughout this period numerous actions were taking place in which Muslims were forbidden to participate. What the average Muslim would counterpose to the struggle for gains in the present would be a sort of a pie-in-the-sky talk about a separate nation.

Although the Muslims had preached Black unity, they were remiss as a group in coming to the defense of other Blacks who were victimized by the police. And in one instance they were forbidden to unite with other groups in their own defense.

The conflict can be summed up in Malcolm's own words: "The Messenger [Muhammad] has seen God. He was with Allah and was given divine patience with the devil. He is willing to wait for Allah to deal with the devil. Well, sir, the rest of us Black Muslims have not seen God, we don't have this gift of divine patience with the devil. The younger Black Muslims want to see some action."

Because Muhammad was not about to act, Malcolm split.

After his split from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm spent his remaining year broadening the scope of the freedom movement both politically and organizationally. The organizational changes he made were always consistent with the needs of the mass freedom movement. Malcolm was trying at the time of his death to form a program for his Organization of Afro-American Unity. The ideas expressed in the program he was about to present when he was assassinated form the basis of most of the ideas that the present groups in the Black struggle put forward. The Basic Unity Program of the OAAU combines the perspectives of action around needs of the community and electoral action. Malcolm saw the need of using the ballot as a weapon in the struggle for freedom and the program of the OAAU reflects that need. . . .

Malcolm realized that all those who might be willing to fight for freedom were not necessarily willing to become Muslims. He made the distinction that the Nation of Islam refused to make or was incapable of making, between his own religious organization and the movement as a whole. . . .

Malcolm was thoroughly an internationalist. His many trips to Africa and the Mideast produced his internationalism. By internationalism I don't mean that Malcolm was simply sympathetic to the struggles of brothers in Africa and the other parts of the world. Malcolm desired more than sympathy on the part of the African leaders he spoke to, and he would certainly have demanded the same from himself and his organization. The type of aid Malcolm expected or desired is outlined in many of his speeches. As an observer at the 1964 conference of the Organization of African Unity, Malcolm stressed

the fact that "African problems are our problems and our problems are African problems."

In January, 1965 he said, "What happens in South Vietnam can affect him [the American Black man], if he's living on St. Nicholas Avenue [Harlem]. The person who realizes the effect that things all over the world have on his block, on his salary, on his reception or lack of reception into society immediately becomes interested in things international."

Earlier than almost any tendency in the radical movement, Malcolm spoke out against the war in Vietnam. Had he been alive at the time of the first antiwar march on Washington in 1965 it is certain that he would have participated. Malcolm's support of the Vietnamese sprang from two sources. Not only was he a defender of the revolutionary masses of Vietnam but he also knew the effect that international events have on local and national affairs. He knew the effect that victories in the colonial world would have on Black people in this country, that such a defeat for U.S. imperialism would suggest logically the possibility of its defeat here in the U.S. to increasing numbers of people. . . .

We have the opportunity today to begin putting some of Malcolm's essential ideas into practice. At the Student Mobilization Committee national conference in Cleveland, over 100 Black and Third World activists gathered and decided to build the National Black Referendum on Vietnam. The referendum will be conducted throughout the Black community. The SMC plans to take it onto the campuses. This referendum gives us a chance to bring home the relationship between the aggressive and violent nature of this system abroad and the total neglect of the Black community at home. . . .

It will be a step in the direction of the spring mass antiwar actions that will see more Blacks involved than any other antiwar demonstration to date.

Morrison heard at meetings in New England

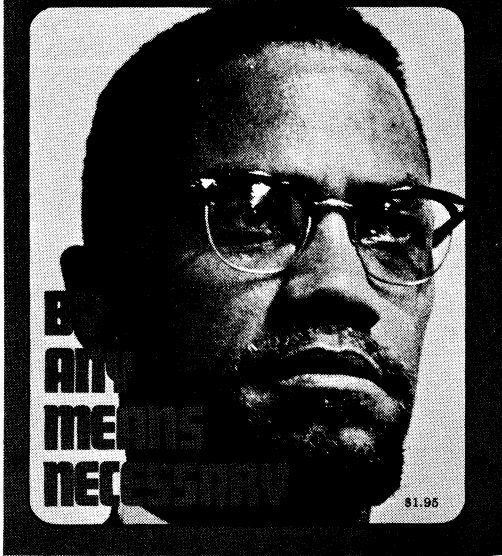
On Friday, Feb. 20, Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant* and a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke to over 150 people in a memorial meeting for Malcolm X at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The meeting, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, was one of several addressed by Morrison in the New England area.

He spoke to over 75 students Feb. 18 at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. A recording of one of Malcolm's speeches was played at the meeting. The next day, Morrison talked with the Afro student groups at Brown, and at the University of Massachusetts. About 40 students attended a meeting on Sunday at Clark University in Worcester, Mass., where Morrison spoke together with one of the leaders of Clark Afro. He and two leaders of the Afro group spoke at Tufts on Monday and he attended a Black student protest rally at Brandeis the next day.

The theme throughout the speech and discussions was the internationalism of Malcolm X and its very direct relationship to mobilizing sentiment against the war in Vietnam. In this context, students were encouraged to relate to the Black referendum on the war in March and the nationwide protests scheduled for April 15.

Now available (Publication date, May 19)

Malcolm X



By Any Means Necessary

Malcolm's speeches were first presented to the public in *Malcolm X Speaks*, collected and edited by George Breitman from material then (1965) available. *By Any Means Necessary*, also collected and edited by Breitman, is a companion volume and presents new material, not previously available or even known to exist. These speeches constitute important source material for the study of the black liberation movement and provide documentation of the development of Malcolm's ideas and program of struggle.

192 pp., cloth \$5.95
paper \$1.95

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 BROADWAY NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

The Great Society

For the sharp-eyed shopper—Commodity-conscious *Esquire* offers this subscription pitch: "When you come right down to it, choosing a magazine for yourself is like selecting a wife, buying a suit or picking next year's vacation spot. You shop around until you find the one that fits you best."

Pretty soon they'd think they were human—A spokesman for the Catholic hierarchy said that if priests were permitted to marry, next thing they'd want is the right to get divorced.

Freedom fighters forge ahead—Cuban exiles are doing well in the center of the Free World. New York police estimate that thugs who made their pile under Batista now control 20 percent of New York's numbers game and a significant piece of the narcotics racket.

Self-determination for Fuzzy!—The National Police Patrolmen's Ass'n is installing Fuzzy, a pig, as its official mascot, reports the *Old Mole*. "We believe pigs are beautiful," a cop explained. "We'd rather associate with Fuzzy the pig than with some of the degenerates who refer to policemen as pigs." No one asked Fuzzy how he felt about having to associate with fuzz.

The march of civilization—Those who like to get their exercise, but not too much, by golfing will be pleased to learn a patent has been issued for a device which pops the ball out of the hole after its sunk. We hear they're also working on a power-driven club.

Unpolluted outlook—Norman Block of the Joy Manufacturing Co., takes

a "cold-blooded view" of pollution according to the *Marketing Magazine*. A principal manufacturer of industrial pollution abatement equipment (\$25-million last year), Joy's Mr. Block "leaves emotionalism to the enraged citizenry. He keeps an unwavering eye on profit..." "As a citizen, I'm against pollution," says Mr. Block. "As a businessman, I'm out to make a profit."

Materialist view—British researchers have established that accident fatalities cost an average of \$10,500 per each person in lost output, police and court time, medical and funeral costs and damage to vehicles and property. Not to speak of the several dollars which it is estimated the chemicals in the human body are worth.

Capitalist semantics—The 12 most persuasive words in the English language, we're now advised, are: "You, money, save, new, results, health, easy, safety, love, discovery, proven, guarantee." That's according to a team of Yale University psychology researchers. Who, we guess, did their research watching TV commercials.

True blue American—A filmmaker who's joined in on the billion dollar pornography industry comments: "Some people say we're part of the Communist conspiracy, but we're really classic American capitalists."

Thought for the week—"I predict, Mr. Speaker, that Judge Hoffman will go down in the history of this country and of the great State of Illinois as one of the great jurists of our times. He certainly has proven himself to be an able, learned and fair man."—Rep. Thomas Abernathy (D-Miss.). —HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

- ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o David Murphy, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.
- 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.
- San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
- San Diego: Alan Standliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.
- Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.
- COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.
- FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
- GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.
- ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.
- Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.
- Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.
- DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.
- INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
- KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.
- KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Sta., Lexington, Ky. 40506.
- MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.
- Worcester: YSA, Box 406, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.
- MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.
- Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.
- Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

- MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.
- MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.
- St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.
- NEW JERSEY:** Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.
- NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.
- Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.
- New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051
- NORTH CAROLINA:** Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Brian Buxton, Rt. 2, Box 125, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.
- OHIO:** Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.
- Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2931 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: 861-3862.
- Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.
- Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.
- Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.
- OREGON:** Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.
- PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.
- RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.
- TEXAS:** Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.
- Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.
- UTAH:** Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.
- WASHINGTON, D.C.:** YSA, 1319 F. St., Rm 1010 Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-0253.
- WASHINGTON:** Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.
- Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.
- WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.
- Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Heald, 929 N. Water St., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202. Tel: 679-1428 or 342-3215.

Bay Area printers meet strike breaking attack



Private guards attack pickets

The two-month-old printers strike in San Rafael, a small town near San Francisco, has become a test of union strength as the local newspaper, *Independent-Journal*, continues to operate with scab labor.

This strike began, as many others have recently in the newspaper industry, with a provocative refusal on the part of the publishers to abide by union work standards or grant wage increases.

During long months of stalled "negotiations", lasting more than a year in this case, the employers had assembled and trained a crew of strikebreakers. When they were prepared to publish without the regular work force, they fired a union officer and four other printers, thus provoking International Typographical Union Local 21 to strike, Jan. 7.

This strike, on the side of the union, was conducted along the standard pattern of ITU strikes, a small picket line, boycott of the scab paper, cash benefits paid by the union to the strikers.

The owners of *I-J* had a different idea about the development of the strike. Like many other publishers they were out to break the strike and break the union. Hired guards were brought in to harass the pickets, and then to physically assault them.

When the strike was a month old, the ITU local finally sent out a call for help.

Meanwhile assaults upon the pickets accelerated.

By mid-February, attempts by the Marin County Labor Council to bring the dispute to arbitration had been rejected by the publisher. The unions charged that the publisher is trying to establish the same take-it-or-leave-it "Boulware" pattern approach to negotiations that GE tried unsuccessfully to ram down the throats of its workers.

The demand for joint union action continued to build and a mass rally "against imported strikebreakers and hired armed company thugs" was called at the *I-J* offices for early on the morning of Feb. 14.

This demonstration was called by a joint labor committee of top Bay Area union officials.

In addition, students from Marin College rallied to support the union-called demonstration. A leaflet issued by students on campus called for broad sup-

port, explaining that "striking printers are facing scabs, armed thugs, dogs, San Rafael police and the Newspaper Publishers Association which is always only too happy to get rid of another union shop."

"Join the picket line Saturday!"

The demonstration started early in the morning. Union men and women came from all sections of the Bay Area. But the newspaper publishers had arranged for police from throughout the Bay Area to be present also.

The police and special guards and hired thugs in San Rafael waded into the rally of a thousand union demonstrators. Before the action ended the huge plate glass front of the *I-J* publishing plant had been shattered; the publisher had been hit in the head by an iron bolt; smoke bombs crashed through the upper-story windows of the plant; a fire started in one of the newspaper circulation trucks.

One hundred local police, in full riot gear of gas masks, helmets, face masks, and long batons were deployed originally. Reinforcements from other communities were called in.

The police demanded that the demonstration disperse.

Union and student forces regrouped at the nearby court house square, and there Gordon Duncan, ITU spokesman, reported that the *I-J* would not publish and advised all demonstrators to leave.

Duncan promised a general strike if the paper tried to reopen. "If this doesn't work as a permanent solution, we'll be back as a general strike," he said.

The *I-J* was out the next day with a full front page story about how police dispersed "the mob."

The publisher is solidly supported by the employing class, all its government agencies and its political tools.

But the union movement, if the confrontation continues, is capable of mass demonstrations far exceeding the thousand who gathered in San Rafael. Demonstrations throughout the Bay Area can halt the police complicity, in each of the communities, with the strikebreakers. They can expose the network of antilabor agencies operating throughout the U.S. and Canada to destroy the ITU. They can stop their contributions and support of the politicians and political parties connected with these strikebreakers.

Spring Subscription Offer

THE MILITANT

3 months for \$1.00

\$4 for 1 yr. regular subscription/For GIs: \$1 for 6 mo.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Black GIs at Ft. Bragg establish organization

By DAVID THORSTAD

A new all-Black organization called the Black Brigade has recently been formed at Ft. Bragg, N.C. The new group was, the GIs say, "born out of need for action in solving the problems that plague the Black man in the military and in Amerika."

The Black Brigade holds meetings twice a week and is publishing its own antiwar and Black liberation newspaper, *Do It Loud!* The Bragg brass began its harassment right away by preventing the Brigade from meeting on post.

Announcing the formation of the group, Frederik E. Penn II, a Brigade spokesman, explained its view of the relationship between its organizing in the Army and the broader struggle for Black liberation: "Though we are in the military, we refuse to abandon our revolutionary efforts. As we see no near dismissal of the military, we have decided that the rights of Black men, serving their tour of involuntary servitude, must be protected."

"In managing this we are sure to have our knowledge broadened for our return to deal with the problems at home. A significant Black movement within the military will turn out better, more informed and politically aware activists working toward revolutionizing the whole of society's structure."

Penn indicates that the Brigade plans to fight to force the Army to recognize the constitutionally guaranteed rights of GIs as citizens to organize for social change:

The first issue of *Do It Loud!*, dedicated to the murdered Black Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, resembles many other GI newspapers in that it carries reports of GI meetings, analyses of the relationship between the social system and the problems GIs face, cartoons, poetry, etc.

A Brigade spokesman appeared on a Durham, N.C., radio talk show Jan. 11 together with a representative of

GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. *Do It Loud!* reports that the overwhelming majority of listeners who phoned in were "very receptive to the GIs."

One significant, and perhaps symptomatic, feature in this issue is a list of 20 demands which the Black Brigade considers "something to work from and add to" and which grew out of a Brigade seminar last December. This list demands, among other things, that Black officers be in charge of commands consisting of more than one-third Blacks; that Black participation in units sent to put down civil disorders be voluntary; that the percentage of Black officers be the same as that of GIs; and that informal political gatherings be permitted in service clubs on base.

A subscription to *Do It Loud!* costs \$5 (\$3 for students and \$1 for GIs) and may be ordered from the Black Brigade, 510 Chapel Hill Road, Spring Lake, N.C. 28390.



ROTC vote demanded at Syracuse Univ.

By BRIAN WILLIAMS

SYRACUSE, N.Y.—On Feb. 19, 50 Syracuse University students occupied the school's administration building and held it for three hours. They demanded a campus referendum on ROTC, a reconstituted university senate composed exclusively of students and faculty, and student control of non-academic services like food service, health service, security police, and dormitory administration.

David Ifshin, Syracuse student government president, said the building seizure by student government representatives was undertaken to dramatize the students' demands and thereby force the administration and trustees to open negotiations.

A mass campus "town meeting" is slated for Feb. 26 to consider the

issues of who should govern the university and what the role of the university senate should be. An emergency meeting of the Syracuse board of trustees is expected to be held immediately afterwards to decide how to deal with this threatened "infringement" on constituted authority.

The building seizure is the first step in the struggle to make clear to students how capitalist structures control their education and lives. These student demands can be connected with national and international issues. The Syracuse trustees, for example, represent the General Electric Company—the second largest military producer in the United States—and the Chase Manhattan Bank—the chief financial instrument of the Rockefeller family's empire that stretches from Indonesia to South Africa to Brazil.

The Syracuse students have raised the demand of community control, but so far they are talking only about the university community. The question of the function of the university in society has not been fully raised. Of particular relevance is the YSA concept of a transitional program going in the direction of a red university, with the aim of making the campus a center of mobilization against the status quo. The students will have to relate to the working people and Third World communities of Syracuse by opposing the war in Vietnam, supporting the Third World liberation forces and raising demands that relate the university to the needs of the masses of people.

Portland Panther acquitted in police frame-up

By HERMAN PORTER and JOHN CHAIRET

PORTLAND, Ore., Feb. 25—An important victory was won here Feb. 13 when Kent Ford, captain of the Neighborhood Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) and leader of the Black Panther Party, was found not guilty of charges of riot. The charges stemmed from the first of a series of incidents last June in which the police attacked the ghetto, especially young people, and arrested some 200.

Ford described the one-week trial in an interview: The jury consisted of seven women and five men, one of them an American Indian and the rest white. About a dozen cops testified against Ford, but they gave inconsistent statements.

Ford's witnesses consisted mainly of some 20 young Black people who were present at the scene of the alleged "riot." Ford was very proud of how they came through. "They told it like it was," he said.

A few days after the trial, on Feb. 18, a 19-year-old Panther, Albert Williams, was shot twice and critically wounded

by one of the most notorious cops in the Portland ghetto. The shooting occurred in the headquarters of the NCCF.

Ford suggested the attack was motivated by the cops' anger at losing the trial. Williams was a witness for Ford. According to Ford, witnesses said that Williams had his hands up when Stanley Harmon shot him at point-blank range. Harmon yelled, "I got him, I got him, I finally got him," witnesses said. Harmon's brother was one of the witnesses against Ford.

Williams has been harassed by racist cops for a long time. Last June he was jailed on charges of shooting from a moving car. The charges were dropped after he had been in prison for five months.

Just before the shooting, police stopped Williams and said there was a warrant for his arrest, but they refused to produce it. Williams then went into the headquarters, and the cops proceeded to break the door in. Williams picked up a rifle, which discharged into the ceiling. Then he dropped it, raised his hands, and was gunned down.

The cops refused to wait for an ambulance but made Williams walk to their car. They took two hours to get him to a distant hospital, though there was one a few minutes away and others quite close.

The NCCF and the Black Panther Party, with the support of the Young Socialist Alliance, SDS, and the Socialist Workers Party, called a rally the following day, which was attended by some 300 people. The rally demanded an investigation by the Black community of Williams' shooting, the suspension of Harmon and of Ralph Larson, another cop involved in the attack, their jailing pending the outcome of the Black citizens' investigation, and the removal of police from the Black community.

Mich. socialist rallies support for cop victims

DETROIT—Ronald Reosti, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general, invited by student antiwar leaders to share a platform with Dr. Benjamin Spock, addressed an audience of 750 at the University of Detroit Feb. 13. Originally scheduled as part of a university speakers program, the meeting turned into a rally for 17 University of Detroit students recently arrested for protesting military recruiters on campus. Reosti, one of the attorneys for the 17, helped form a massive defense committee for the 17 which brought the university officials to ask that charges be dropped.

Stressing the need for the antiwar movement to defend its rights to demonstrate against the Vietnam war and university complicity, Reosti urged everyone to build the upcoming spring antiwar action as the most effective way of protecting our civil liberties and ending the war.

Newark teachers end walkout

Striking Newark teachers returned to their classrooms Feb. 26 after winning a wage increase and a reduction in class sizes. Starting pay for teachers was increased from \$6,700 a year to \$8,000. Class sizes were reduced to a maximum of 30. For earlier story on the strike, see page 7.

The front-page message

The message reproduced on the front page is from a group of political prisoners in Mexico City, most of whom were jailed after government troops massacred student strikers at the University of Mexico in September 1968. Last month the prisoners completed a 40-day hunger strike protesting the government's holding them without trial.



TARGET OF RIGHT WING. On Feb. 24 gunmen again fired into home of Fred Brode, chairman of Houston, Texas, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and wife Laura. Here they examine string which shows murderous line of fire in gun attack last month. Houston police say they can't do much about it.