

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

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Friday, March 13, 1970

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SPECIAL:

**New York Panthers tell
story of their frame-up**

— page 11 —

N.Y. demand mounts for high school rights

— story page 16



Union officials and pollution in the plant

Conditions at GM's Fremont plant

Fremont, Calif.

It was with somewhat mixed feelings that I viewed the Feb. 6 *Militant's* front-page picture showing an assorted group of UAW and Steel union officials marching up the steps to an antipollution meeting, wearing surgical masks to dramatize their "fight" for stronger pollution control.

The contradictions and hypocrisy revealed by this picture stood out in bold relief as I recalled the many class battles in the plants against the dangerous, unhealthy, polluted environment; and a union bureaucracy that ties our hands and prevents us from waging an effective fight. This condition is general and affects all plants in varying degrees.

Here at GM Fremont, workers in the pit on the main lines almost suffer asphyxiation from car exhaust fumes and spillage of raw gasoline.

Many veterans of the battles to correct these conditions have suspensions of up to four weeks on their work records for defying both the company and the union.

The body build-up spot welders must contend with a thick, heavy yellow smoke that hangs in the air and eventually wrecks your lungs. Headaches, dizziness, and nausea are common complaints here.

At the Ford Milpitas plant, body build-up welders had all they could take a few months ago. They closed the plant down in a one-day "wildcat." The issue was plant ventilation. Union-management grievance procedure had stalled all grievances of this type for more than a year.

What do you think the small-time union officials at Milpitas were doing? These job-holding toadies negotiated a "compromise" settlement of two weeks suspended layoff for the body-builders who walked out! The men were told by the UAW officials: "Management wanted to discharge the instigators, but your union won this victory for you."

Which makes me wonder about the union officials now getting concerned about pollution. Could it be they've

We goofed

In a roundup of protests against the conviction of the Chicago "Conspiracy" defendants, we erroneously reported a demonstration in support of the defendants and in protest against a visit by Hubert Humphrey at MIT. The demonstration took place at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. Our report was based on secondhand (mis)information and we regret the error.

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.

decided to get "socially conscious" and associate themselves with the antipollution movement because some of the liberal Democratic politicians they're tied in with are trying to use the issue as a vote-catcher?

Anyway, it's well and good — for whatever reason—these Cleveland bureaucrats did give some measure of public support to the antipollution movement. Now let's see if we can't move them to do a little something about the plant conditions of their own choking rank and file.

Yours for clean air.

Tom Cagle

Socialist competition

Tacoma, Wash.

A few months ago, I made available *The Militant* to my fellow students here at Tacoma Community College. At that time, my *Guardian* sales started to fall sharply. I have since discontinued my *Guardian* bundle, and at this time I would like to up my *Militant* bundle from the present 25 to 50 copies a week. The students here recognize *The Militant* for what it is, the best socialist newspaper.

John Naubert

N. Carolina students protest Conspiracy convictions

Chapel Hill, N. C.

More than 400 students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill participated in a demonstration Feb. 19 to show support for the "Chicago Conspiracy" and to protest the local and national atmosphere of political repression.

Jack McLean, one of the leaders of the Black Student Movement here, set the tone for the afternoon rally when he said that "truth is a beaten dog at the hands of this fascist government." McLean went on to say that reformism as a strategy has proved a failure, and that the only alternative is a common struggle of black, yellow, red, and white people against a repressive government.

Another speaker described the harass-

ment of GI's United organizers in South Carolina and compared it to the infamous murder of black collegestudents at Orangeburg. Grove Burnett, a law student at UNC, called the conspiracy and antiriot laws "dangerous instruments of repression in the hands of the Justice Department."

Following the rally, most of the demonstrators marched across campus to the Chapel Hill town hall. Numerous North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front banners were in evidence, and among the slogans chanted were "Free the Conspiracy, Jail the Judge," "Power to the People," "Free our sisters, free ourselves," and "We want class war."

An attempt by a few right-wing hooligans to disrupt the march was quickly broken up.

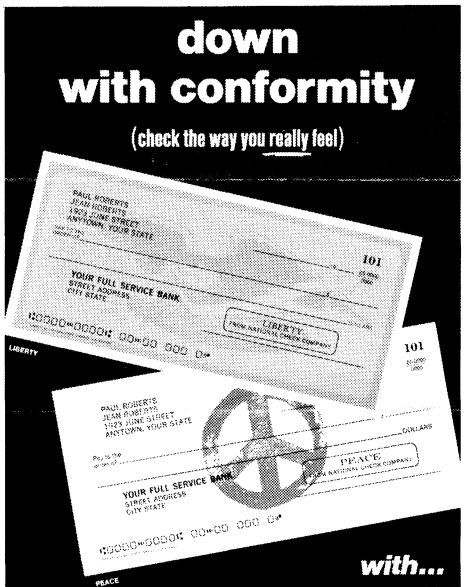
Larry Sluder

Attention nonconformists

San Francisco, Calif.

The enclosed leaflet has a check design carried by "many nonconformist banks"—the peace symbol. Perhaps Attorney General Mitchell would like to investigate this!

D. G.



From a GE worker

Cecil, Ohio

I like the paper. I'm a GE worker and work at the Fort Wayne, Indiana, plant. We just got back to work at GE from a 15-week strike. I'm an IUE member.

I like the National Picket Line. Thank you for backing the GE strikers.

MLJ

The Mideast conflict: a question of priorities

New York, N. Y.

It seems to me tragic that you support the so-called "Arab-bloc."

The air atrocity recently perpetrated is the latest example of irresponsibility.

I suggest the Arabs are: 1) Religious fanatics; 2) Nationalists; 3) Socialists. (in that order!)

The Israelis are: 1) Humanistic; 2) Socialistic (Democratic!); 3) Religious fanatics. (in that order)

Study the "Kibbutz system" before you extoll Pan-Arabism vs. Zionism. Priorities do count!

Concerned

'When I defend my home I am a terrorist'

Detroit, Mich.

Below are some excerpts from a letter published in the *Detroit Free Press* this week which expresses the Palestinian point of view in eloquent and graphic terms. I thought you would like to publish it in your Readers' column.

"My name is Ahab the Arab!

THE MILITANT

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

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Friday, March 13, 1970

Closing news date — March 6

"I am the million Arabs who were beaten by the innocent Jews! I am the one who is ignorant and can't develop anything and so doesn't deserve Palestine.

"When I defend my home I am a terrorist, and I don't believe in peace when the Israelis fly their U. S.-made planes, bombing my villages and burning my children with napalm; they are only pressing me for peace.

"Israel starts wars, neglects the UN, kills and demolishes homes. Ninety percent of them came from different parts of the world, driving the true Palestinians out of their land. And yet I am stubborn, I don't want peace.

"I am also a U. S. citizen and was visiting my parents during the '67 war on June 11. As we gathered the dead bodies for burial at the cemetery three miles north of Jerusalem, two jeeps of Israeli soldiers drove up to us and ordered us to put our hands up.

"They took our watches, rings and money and the women's earrings and jewelry. I protested that I was a U. S. citizen along with an old man who was holding his American passport. An Israeli then took our American passports and looked at them; he then wiped his behind with one and stomped the other one in the dirt with his boots.

"I have lived in America 20 years. But since 1967 I can't sleep, for all this time I have thought America was the land of the proud and the free. Oh, my God, how I've been wrong.

Asad Abulfarid"
Jim Campbell

Ring routed

New York, N. Y.

In regard to Harry Ring's continuing assault on Bart Starr, Ring has now decided that Starr withdrew from a major political race because "he probably realized most people never heard of him."

That obstacle doesn't seem to inhibit Fred Halstead, Paul Boutelle, Clifton DeBerry, et al.

Alan Kellock
[Honest and truly, I was only kidding. — Harry Ring]

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Che Guevara's Bolivian Diary

in Spanish

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clip and mail

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☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

Militant subscription drive

Time for a Great Leap Forward

By FLAX HERMES
Business Manager

The pace of the sub drive fell off sharply this week—partially because many leading activists were in New York most of the week attending a meeting of the SWP national committee. We received 348 new subscriptions since the last scoreboard, substantially lower than the good start we made last week, or the average of over 930 subs we must receive each week to make our goal of 7,500 new subscribers to *The Militant* by April 15.

Next week we'll have to make an extra push to catch up. But the accompanying cartoon — specially prepared by the New York YSA sub drive director — expresses the attitude we should have from now on.

Meanwhile, several areas did keep up the pace last week. Detroit turned in 49 subs, the highest scorer for the week. Gordon Fox, sales director for Detroit, included a note with the subs pointing to one area of sales which Detroit feels will be very important.

He wrote that "several of us comrades intervened in a state senate hearing on abortion law repeal held in Detroit. In addition to testifying on the law, and distributing a statement by one of the SWP's women candidates, about a dozen subs were sold, showing that our estimates on the possibilities of sales in the area of women's liberation were far too low. Also, the YSA Third World fraction has pledged to sell 100 subs, the same as the Wayne State YSAers."

Albany, N.Y., almost hit 100 percent this week by sending in 21 new subs. We were quick to write them a congratulatory letter and suggest that they be the second area to raise their quota.

Also, two supporters in New Haven, Conn., sent in two subs and requested that they be listed on the scoreboard with a quota of 10.

Twin Cities has notified us that they feel it is necessary to lower their quota from 325 to 250. Evidently, they expect a late spring and find it difficult to sell before then. They assure us they'll try to reach 325. In the meantime, we've increased the "general" quota with the expectation that several other areas will want to take quotas and make up the difference.

For those supporters who will be going out to sell *Militant* subscriptions for the first or second time this week and may need a little encouragement, here's some

advice from our 1951 subscription campaign which helped to make it a success: "The thing that most often defeats someone trying to sell *The Militant* for the first time is lack of confidence. If you imagine you are inadequate, just study *The Militant* and compare it with the capitalist press. This will soon dispel that uneasy feeling. The analysis of labor and world problems is the most logical and honest offered. . . . As the head of IBM would say—you've got the best product on the market, now go out and sell!"



OUR GOAL: A Militant salesman on every corner, a subscription from every passerby. (Remember, you can't always tell a Militant subscriber by her cover.)

Subscription scoreboard

City	quota	new subs
Albany, N.Y.	25	23
Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	16	5
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	15
New York, N.Y.	1100	302
Hoboken, N.J.	30	8
Paterson, N.J.	30	8
Houston, Texas	100	24
Detroit, Mich.	350	78
Gainesville, Fla.	50	11
Providence, R.I.	80	17
New Haven, Conn.	10	2
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	65
Tacoma, Wash.	25	5
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	50
Atlanta, Ga.	225	44
Antioch College, Ohio	40	7
Kent, Ohio	75	11
San Francisco, Calif.	475	68
Milwaukee, Wis.	40	5
Bloomington, Ind.	50	6
Newark, N.J.	75	9
Madison, Wis.	200	23
Boston, Mass.	350	38
Cleveland, Ohio	350	34
Chicago, Ill.	450	36
Phoenix, Ariz.	75	6
Lexington, Ky.	40	3
Kansas City, Mo.	60	4
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	7
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	23
Champaign, Ill.	25	1
Logan, Utah	25	1
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	1
Seattle, Wash.	200	7
Binghamton, N.Y.	120	4
Lawrence, Kansas	30	1
DeKalb, Ill.	100	3
Berkeley, Calif.	375	10
Twin Ports, Minn.	40	1
Washington, D.C.	125	3
St. Louis, Mo.	30	1
San Diego, Calif.	100	2
Austin, Texas	150	2
Hayward, Calif.	75	1
Columbus, Ohio	60	2
Mansfield, Pa.	40	0
Portland, Ore.	30	0
Athens, Ohio	25	0
Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	0
Eastern Washington State	25	0
Oxford, Ohio	25	0
San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	0
El Paso, Texas	20	0
General	300	44
TOTAL	7561	1021

The national picket line

Gov't seeks new curbs on transport unions

Nixon's new plan to tame unions. Dissatisfied with present modest limitations on the union-crippling effects of the Railway Labor Act (adopted in 1926) and the Taft-Hartley law (1947), the administration proposed, Feb. 27, sweeping new legal machinery to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry.

The compulsory arbitration scheme, advanced by Labor Secretary George Shultz, is not "new," but it's one seldom used in this country. It is called the "final offer selection" plan, providing for a select panel to choose the last, best offer of either management or the union and require both sides to abide by that decision.

Congress will be considering this and other antilabor legislation.

Administrations come and go, administrators and secretaries of labor change, the phrases they use are different, but the idea remains the same. The federal government seeks ways to deprive labor of its most powerful weapon, the right to strike.

For the record. On Lincoln's Birthday, down in Bal Harbor, Fla., where AFL-CIO top bureaucrats go for their winter meeting in the sun, a resolution from the conference of transportation trades was released, partly in anticipation of Nixon's latest anti-union proposal.

"Serious consideration is being given to extending the 80-day cooling off pe-

riod that has been invoked frequently against transportation unions under the guise that strikes in the transportation industry constitute national emergencies. Another proposal now before the President would give the President power to impose a contract agreement upon labor and management without their consent.

"Both propositions are wrong," said the AFL-CIO resolution.

This resolution was adopted in behalf of the Sheet Metal Workers union, and three other railroad shopcrafts, now locked in negotiations with the railroad companies.

A good thing for the railroad companies. Talk of changing the Railway Labor Act brought immediate disagreement from company spokesmen. J. P. Hiltz, chief bargainer for the railroad industry and chairman of the National Railway Labor Conference, lashed out against what he charged were attempts at "emasculatation of the Railway Labor Act without any assurance that the substituted provisions would prove nearly as effective."

No one can deny that this law since its enactment has proved an effective weapon against the railroad unions. But Hiltz thinks he can come up with something better. He says he will soon announce a plan for compulsory arbitration and the elimination of union rank-and-file ratification of contracts.

Membership rights. Some railroad switchmen and enginemen, members of the United Transportation Union, are attempting to win the right to vote on the union contract. This seems like a very modest goal. But the fact is that many railroad workers, especially those in the operating departments, are not allowed to vote on the contracts their union officials negotiated for them.

In the Chicago yards of the Milwaukee Road, UTU members of Local 119 recently elected a Right To Vote Committee (RTVC) and sent out appeals to all other locals of the union to do likewise. Reports from Chicago are that UTU locals in all parts of the country have responded favorably.

The "statement of aims" of the RTVC says, "Actual wage cuts have been negotiated since the cost-of-living and Railroad Retirement and other taxes have increased at a far higher rate than the wage gains negotiated." It goes on to say, "The carriers' attacks on our living standards and working conditions can be halted if UTU negotiators are provided with greater bargaining power and if the negotiators and UTU leadership are responsible to the rank and file."

Labor Secretary Shultz, the railroad industry, and some top union officials are now saying the right to vote on contracts should be taken from all workers. They think it will make for what they call "peaceful labor relations."

Union busting newspapers. A long

list of newspapers in different sections of this country and Canada have replaced union printers with scab operators. One of the latest to try this is the *Independent Journal* in San Rafael, Calif., a small town in the San Francisco Bay area.

Union labor there has rallied to the support of the *Independent Journal* printers, members of ITU Local 21. What is now referred to as "The Big Rally" on Jan. 17, 1970, held up one issue of the *Independent Journal*, put a couple of news delivery trucks out of commission, served to widely publicize the strike, brought some subscription cancellations, solidarized union support, froze a shipment of newsprint on the San Francisco docks, and opened the possibility of a competing paper with union labor publishing in San Rafael. The union strike bulletin hints hopefully at this last possibility. It says of the scab publisher, "Who knows—he may end up not 'losing' a union but 'gaining' a competitor. . . ."

Power of government tries to bury gravediggers strike. In New York City the gravediggers had been 50 days on strike March 1. On that day both Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay stated that "this strike is intolerable" and issued orders to end it.

The 1700 members of gravediggers Local 365 had been working for \$126.50 a week before taxes. Their question is who will bury them if they continue to work at those wages.

Dobbs addresses Minneapolis meeting

A memorial tribute to V. R. Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS—A memorial meeting for Vincent Raymond Dunne was held at Skoglund Hall March 3. Among the comrades and friends who gathered to show their appreciation for this outstanding revolutionary leader were many young revolutionaries as well as veterans of working class struggles who collaborated with Ray as long as 50 years ago.

A number of those who battled under Ray's leadership in the famed 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strike were present, including such veteran fighters as Ray Rainbolt, Marvel Scholl, Harry DeBoer, Jake Cooper, Orrie Norton, and Lou Miller.

Minneapolis Socialist Workers Party Organizer Derrel Myers chaired the meeting and read a sampling of the scores of messages which were sent to the memorial from all over the U.S. as well as many countries around the world.

A memorial address was given by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, who fought side by side with Ray Dunne in the strike battles of the '30s and who has been a lifelong collaborator with him in building the revolutionary movement. We are reprinting here major excerpts from Farrell Dobbs' remarks.

* * *

By FARRELL DOBBS

To understand what gave Ray Dunne his greatness, it helps to recall the forces and events that shaped him. And to trace briefly how he came to embrace the high objectives toward which he was to devote his talents for a whole life time.

In his middle teens, Ray hit the road traveling west from this part of the country as an itinerant worker, first in the logging camps and then traveling about the West and Southwest in one or another job such as itinerant workers were able to get in that period. He soon joined the Industrial Workers of the World, popularly known as the IWW, a dynamic, fighting, working-class movement of the early years of this century. And as was typical of him, he got into it with both feet. This led to rich experiences for him in job actions, strikes, free speech fights, and other facets of the raw class struggle.

Many messages salute Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS—A flood of messages from here and abroad were received on the death of V. R. Dunne.

There were messages from virtually all the branches of the Socialist Workers Party and locals of the Young Socialist Alliance. There were many additional messages from friends and comrades.

Expressions of sympathy were received from the international executive committee of the Fourth International and various sections, including the British, French, Italian, Japanese and Ceylonese.

There were messages from such figures as Eiichi Yamanishi, Founder of Japanese Trotskyism and Bala Tampoe, a major union official and leader of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

Several organizations acknowledged bequests received in V. R. Dunne's memory, including the United Farm Workers and the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union.

And out of it all, Ray grasped a deep understanding of the inherent revolutionary power of the working class. The impact on him of the atmosphere generated by the militant politically class-conscious socialist movement of the days of Eugene V. Debs further heightened the political side of his own class consciousness. He began to realize, as he himself was often to express later, that to make a revolution requires theory, requires organization, and requires leadership. It takes people with an understanding of how to fight.

These truths learned as a youth put him in the revolutionary vanguard of the working class for the rest of his long, rich life.

By 1917, Ray was fully prepared to respond to the Bolshevik revolution in Russia led by Lenin and Trotsky. In the split of the American Socialist Party that followed on the heels of that revolution, he took the Communist Party road, aligning himself with the Third International founded under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

From the teachings of the Bolsheviks, he began to absorb the Leninist concept of a revolutionary combat party and he pitched in to help build such a party in the United States. By the early 1920s Ray had become part of the Communist Party leadership here in Minnesota. As was again typical of him, he sought ways to put the party into contact with the masses and to put revolutionary theory to militant practice. This led him into an energetic role in the trade union movement as an activist, and also into participation in the formative stages of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, seeking to influence its development in a revolutionary socialist direction.

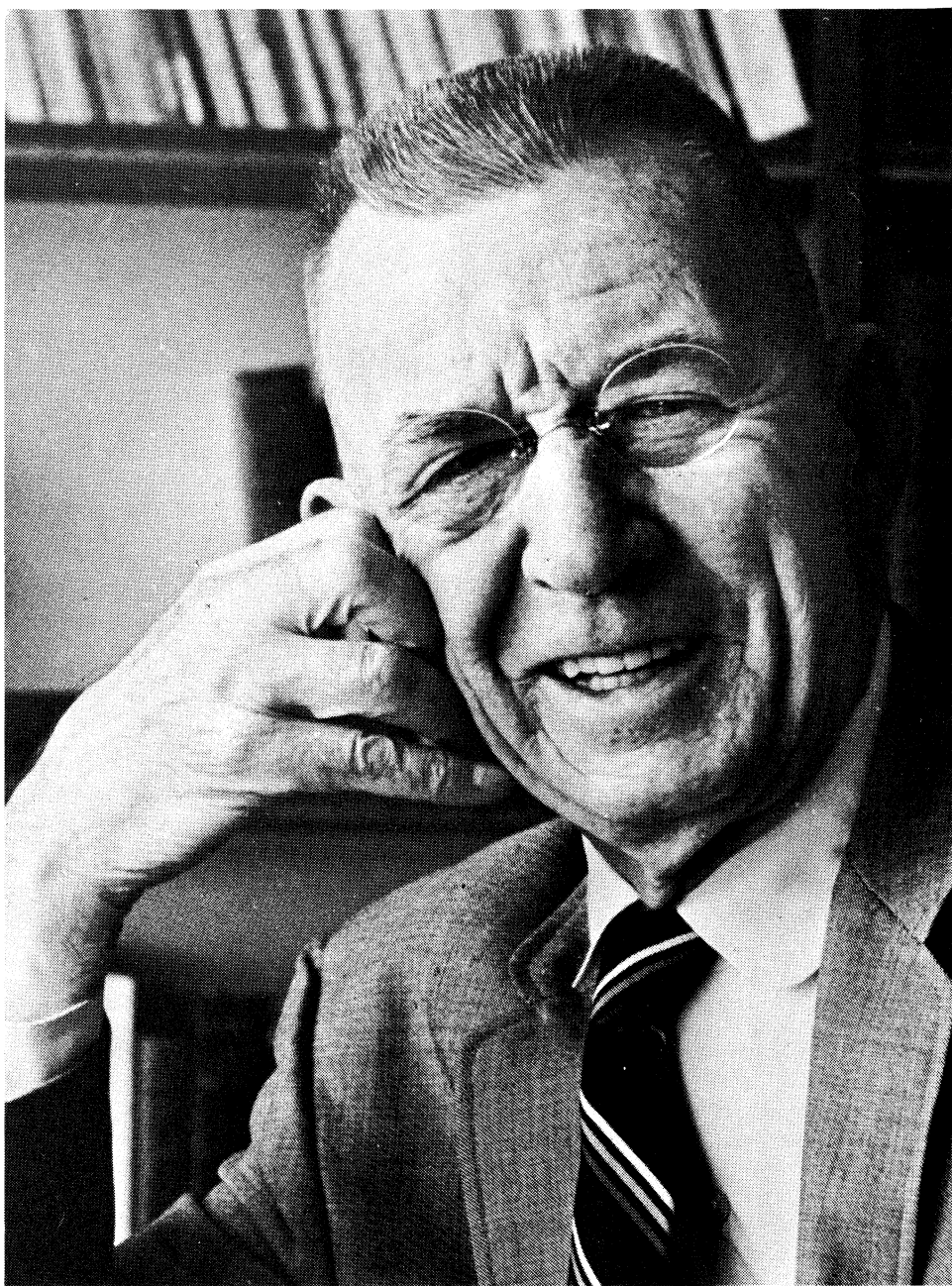
Meantime, Stalinist degeneration was developing within the Soviet Union after the death of Lenin and within the Communist International and affecting the Communist Party in this country. Ray sided with Trotsky in the fight against Stalin, seeing in Trotsky the continuator of Lenin's teachings and practices. And for this he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. . . .

This led the Trotskyists to turn to the building of a new world revolutionary movement. And the new course led in this country to the founding of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 and in the same year to the launching of the Trotskyist Fourth International. . . .

This in turn led to Ray Dunne's most widely known role as a foremost leader in the 1934 Teamsters' strike in Minneapolis. That was when I first met Ray Dunne. As a youth, just entering the trade-union and revolutionary movement, I looked to him as my leader and teacher, as a captain in combat, a political mentor and an educator in the task of building a revolutionary combat party.

I quickly found Ray to be the kind of educator who reinforced his teaching by the example that he set. He was one of the most selfless persons I ever knew. He tried to avoid subjective reaction to people and events, striving instead to see things objectively, wholly apart from his own personal feelings in the matter.

True, he had human weaknesses just as we all have. He was conscious of this and tried to compensate for it through self-discipline, a thing that is easier said than done. And that capacity he derived from his clear sense of purpose and a strong will power. That was the kind of a man that I



V. R. DUNNE

came to know, living and working with him on a day-by-day basis. It was one of his most fundamental qualities as a leader and one to be emulated by the youth.

As a political mentor Ray played a key role in the trade-union struggles. This derived from both his internationalist outlook and his ability to relate national factors to the local scene. He had an intimate grasp of the trade-union movement. He knew it up one side and down the other. And he knew the score about union bureaucrats and social democratic and Stalinist misleaders. Add to this a basic grasp of the antilabor role of the capitalist government, and it comprises a vital body of political knowledge.

This know-how he possessed flowed from his education and experience as a party man. He emphasized this to young militants as he gave them freely of his knowledge. "Get into the revolutionary movement," he urged young workers of that day. "Seek a Marxist education and learn how to apply it in the class struggle."

As a combat leader, Ray was outstanding in many respects. He had the vital quality of keeping a cool head in a critical situation. And we went through some rough ones, not only in 1934. He never shirked hazardous duty as a leader. Nor did he disdain minor tasks. From his teaching and example in this sphere we learned important lessons. "Never dabble in anything you do," he used to say to us over and over again. "If it's worth doing, it's worth doing right. . . ."

I learned a lot from Ray about the team concept in leadership. He taught and demonstrated in action what a team means, how vital it is, how a combination of men and women working as a team can act unitedly in such a way so that they emphasize their collective strengths as a totality and through the collaboration compensate for one another's weaknesses. . . .

His example showed how to go about teaching comrades through experience. How to give the leeway for initiative. Let them make a little mistake here and there, because making a mistake is a component aspect of the process of learning, but at the same time, help the comrades with a little tact and diplomacy from making serious blunders.

He taught how to use constructive

criticism to help comrades develop leadership ability. In fact, one of Ray's greatest strengths, I always felt, was his capacity to deal with people as human beings. You needed to show only good will and would find him endlessly patient with you. He never wrote anybody off lightly. He used to say that an organizer that writes people off is not much of an organizer. . . .

But, if somebody became disloyal to the movement and endangered the party in any way whatever, he would fight like a tiger to defend it against such people, because he meant everything he taught about the vital importance of the revolutionary combat party.

His qualities as a party builder merit special notice from yet another standpoint. While fully aware of the inherent revolutionary power of the working class, Ray knew that only time and events would bring the class to revolutionary action. And that along the way it is the task of the revolutionary party to help the workers through the developmental processes of acquiring political class consciousness.

His knowledge in this respect stems from rich class-struggle experience. And,

Tribute from farm union

The following letter was sent to Ray Dunne's son, Mr. V. Raymond Dunne, from Cesar Chavez and Pete Valasco, leaders of the United Farm Workers in Delano, California:

We have received a donation of \$15 from Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Cross of Huntington Park, California. They wished to send this in respect for the memory of Vincent Raymond Dunne, who cared for us and our struggle for Justice and Dignity in the fields of this country.

We are sorry we have lost a friend, but we are grateful for the good he has done. This is what our life is all about, to do something decent and worthwhile while we can.

WEATHER

P. 6. Weather Service Forecast:
Wednesday: Partly cloudy,
40-50. Thursday: Partly cloudy,
40-50. Friday: Partly cloudy,
40-50. Saturday: Partly cloudy,
40-50. Sunday: Partly cloudy,
40-50.

The Minneapolis Tribune

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1966

Eighteen Pages The Cases in Minneapolis

STRIKE HEADQUARTERS SEIZED

Guardsmen Also Raid Labor Temple

BROWN AND TWO DUNNES HELD

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN TAKE STRIKE LEADERS IN CUSTODY

Score Jailed After Drives
Are Banned and Trucks
Seized

Guardsmen raid labor temple
after strike leaders are taken
into custody. The strike leaders
were taken to the police station
and the labor temple was
seized. The strike leaders were
taken to the police station and
the labor temple was seized.

TROOPS ARREST PICKETS

Meet With No Resistance
in Taking Over Two
Union Headquarters

Score Jailed After Drives
Are Banned and Trucks
Seized

Guardsmen raid labor temple
after strike leaders are taken
into custody. The strike leaders
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Olson's Statement

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Walsh's Statement

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General's Order

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after strike leaders are taken
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DEATH OF WOUNDS

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SECOND STRIKER

Guardsmen raid labor temple
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the labor temple was seized.

this knowledge, this know-how, gained in part from what he learned as a party man and in part from his experiences in the class struggle, equipped him admirably to participate in discussions with Leon Trotsky, as he did in the late 1930s, through which were shaped the concept of the transitional program of the Trotskyist world movement.

This program, of which Ray was in a real sense a co-author, is designed to help revolutionary militants promote mass development of anticapitalist political consciousness. It takes as its point of departure a reaching out to the masses at their present level of political understanding. . . .

This program spelled out specifically a policy that had long been an instinctive part of Ray as a revolutionist. He had sought always to translate theory into action, to be with, part of, struggling alongside his fellow workers in the mass movement.

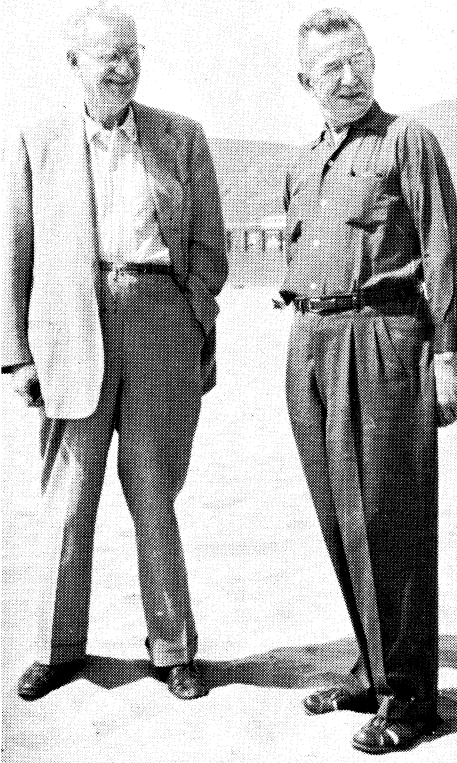
But even so, three times in his career he faced isolation from the mass movement. First, when the Stalinized Communist Party expelled and anathematized him in 1928. One again, when along with 17 other Trotskyists he was jailed during World War II under the Smith Act for opposing United States imperialism in the war. And a third

time, during the long period of reaction in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Each time, however, Ray leaped back into action at the first opportunity. In the latest case, the chance came with the rise of a new process of radicalization in this country in the 1960s. He was quick to respond to rebel youth coming toward the Socialist Workers Party and its fraternal associate, the Young Socialist Alliance. As always, he made them feel at home, worked with them, helped them learn revolutionary politics.

There's an interesting aspect of his relationship with student youth. Ray had little formal education. He didn't get through grammar school. But he had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. His main school was life, the class struggle, and his party. He read widely in the Marxist classics and in general literature. He tried to keep abreast of new social developments in all fields. As a consequence, students found in him a cultured, knowledgeable man who far outshone any professor they ever met on any college campus.

Although Ray was a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party in political stature and in the overall role that he played, he worked mainly here in Minnesota. In this area, in the course of the work stemming from the local activities but related to national and international perspectives always, he trained many young comrades who were later assigned to important roles else-



James P. Cannon (left), SWP national chairman, estimated V. R. Dunne's contribution to founding and building of Trotskyist movement as indispensable.

Message from
SWP committee

The following message was sent to the memorial meeting from the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

For 42 years, Comrade Vincent stood among the small team of cadres who bore on their shoulders the task of maintaining the continuity of revolutionary socialism in the United States and internationally. As one of the pioneers of American Trotskyism, he never flinched, not even in the darkest days of isolation and persecution. He served as a model of revolutionary integrity, of firmness in maintaining the principles of Marxism. This was his crowning achievement in a long life of service to the cause of the working man and woman in so many areas.

When anyone asks why we have such confidence in the capacity of the American working class to stand up against the foremost imperialist enemy of mankind and to go forward to socialism, our answer is expressed in three words: Vincent Raymond Dunne.

where in the party. One of them is Comrade Jack Barnes who is now organizational secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Barnes has provided me with a letter in which he has sought to express his feelings about Ray Dunne. Here is what he wrote:

"It would be impossible to measure the profound influence which Ray Dunne had on those revolutionary youth who came to know him over the past decade, who worked and collaborated with him and learned from him. His whole life and personality stood as a challenge to us to be part of the most genuinely human and fulfilling endeavor possible—the struggle for socialism.

"One of Ray's characteristics that immediately struck us was the breadth of his interests and his capacity to learn and embrace new and revolutionary phenomena even as he entered his ninth decade—an extremely rare ability. It was a very common thing for young comrades just getting to know Ray to expect him to talk to them mainly about reminiscences of union struggles he had been in and tactical problems relating to them. While Ray certainly could talk about these things, what almost always happened was that comrades would discover the scope of the conversation had widened and changed from what they anticipated. They would find themselves talking about broad political developments, international changes and the revolutionary implications of new scientific discoveries and intellectual currents.

"The last lengthy discussion I had with Ray, he chided me for not yet having found time to read a new book about Darwin—a recommendation he had made to me the previous summer when he was in the hospital.

"Ray's ability to continue to learn and turn toward new revolutionary phenomena, even if they took unanticipated forms, usually put him a step ahead of young comrades who thought this was *their* strong point. The revolutionary development of Black nationalism, the beginning of new struggles by women, the current antiwar movement—the uniquely revolutionary character of which elicited the last remarks by Ray made at any party convention—these were all struggles for which earlier exact models were missing. But, far from failing to grasp their implications, Ray was way ahead of many younger than himself in understanding their exact meaning for the fight against the American rulers and for the new stage of our party.

"It was Ray, more than anyone else I knew, who insisted over and over again to us on the importance of Robert Vernon's pioneer article on Black nationalism entitled 'Why White Radicals Can't Understand Black Nationalism.' His copy of this was completely marked up with pen and pencil. . . .

"It is a very common conception that as revolutionaries get older, they mellow. But this is a myth about great revolutionists. Ray was just as firm and unmellowed about his principles on his 80th birthday as he was at any

Fourth Int'l
salutes Dunne

A message was sent to the memorial meeting from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the worldwide revolutionary socialist party with which the Socialist Workers Party is in political solidarity. The message reads in part:

Comrade Dunne died at a moment when events throughout the world, his country and his town were showing clearly what a rich crop the pioneers of his generation were reaping now. The Minneapolis convention of the YSA must have made him happy, because it was a clear indication that cadres educated by him and in his tradition, in the tradition of the founders of the American Trotskyist movement, were rapidly extending that movement to the point where it could exploit the tremendous possibilities now opening up to us.

time during his life. His opposition to all the evils of class society had not diminished one degree. Yet his firmness was always combined with understanding of those human frailties and errors that could be corrected.

"I know of young students from social backgrounds and experiences as different from Ray's as could be imagined who because of the force of his character decided to join the revolutionary movement long before they totally understood the political meaning of their actions. Ray's impeccable revolutionary character was the powerful initial argument persuading many of us to throw our lots in with the struggle of the working masses to advance mankind."

This appreciation of Ray Dunne expressed by Jack Barnes calls to mind another thought. In a newspaper interview at the time of his 80th birthday, Ray said that he was optimistic about chances for a revolution and that he put his faith in the young people.

Just two months ago, he got an earnest on his expectation. He was among the honored guests of the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held here in Minneapolis. There he watched the deliberations of serious young revolutionists who were charting their course toward the socialist goal, just as he had done for more than 60 years. He stood with a thousand young militants and sang *The Internationale*. What more beautiful requiem could there be for a veteran revolutionary fighter.

From Chinese
revolutionaries

Peng Shu-Tse and Chen Pi-Lan, pioneer members of the Chinese Communist Party and founders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, sent the following message to the memorial meeting:

We regret to hear the news of the death of V. R. Dunne. We know that all his life, from being a founder of American Trotskyism until the time of his death, he made a significant contribution to the revolutionary socialist movement.

Just as Comrade Dunne took great interest in the youth of our movement, his work stands as a heritage toward which the young comrades can look.

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Michigan women press campaign

Demand repeal of abortion law

By HELEN SCHIFF

DETROIT — "An overwhelmingly male legislature does not have the right to decide the reasons for which a woman can have an abortion. They have only the duty to repeal all abortion laws that exist, to prevent the death of women who will suffer and die if these laws continue to be on the books."

This testimony, given by a leader in the Detroit women's liberation movement, expressed the sentiment of most of the 500 women who attended the Michigan Senate hearings on abortion. Though three out of the four laws up for discussion in the Senate were reform bills, most of the testimony by



Evelyn Kirsch

N.Y. women set mass march on abortion issue

By ELIZABETH BARNES

NEW YORK—Preparations for the first mass demonstration demanding abolition of the New York state abortion law are moving ahead.

On Feb. 19, women representing a broad spectrum of organizations were present at a press conference to announce plans for the demonstration which will take place March 28.

Ruthann Miller, staff member of People to Abolish Abortion Laws which is organizing the demonstration, opened the conference by explaining that the action would show the growing strength of the movement for the right to free abortion on demand. She indicated that thousands were expected to take part.

Speakers at the press conference were interrupted with applause, not only from the women's liberation supporters present, but from some of the reporters and TV cameramen as well. This was the case when Florence Rice of the Harlem Consumer Education Council described how thousands of women are deciding every day, at the risk of their lives, to have illegal abortions when the state could end this misery by making abortion legal.

Along with the many newspaper reports, three TV stations carried news of the press conference.

As plans for the demonstration become more publicized, new organizations and individuals continue to join the effort. Contingents are expected from cities up and down the East Coast.

On March 2, a group of 75 women representing some 20 different organizations, came out to a planning meeting in New York city to discuss how to build the action.

Anyone who would like to help is urged to contact People to Abolish Abortion Laws, 135 West 4th St., New York, N. Y. 10012. 254-4488.

women called for total repeal of all abortion laws.

As might have been expected, the male-dominated Senate Commission organized the testimony in such a way that religious leaders, lawyers and doctors—most of whom were men—got to testify ahead of those people most affected by the Senate decision, women. These "experts" debated when life begins, what is the "Will of God," and when a fetus is considered legally a human being. These kinds of nitpicking, ridiculous arguments, which ignored the rights of women to decide the course of their lives, were best expressed in a sign reading, "Sperm have civil rights too."

Evelyn Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. governor and an active member of MORAL (Michigan Organization for Repeal of Abortion Laws), received a round of applause from the audience when she prefaced her testimony with an attack on the

undemocratic way in which the hearings were organized.

"Right here at this hearing," she stated, "we see the whole struggle for equality taking place; that is what the issue of abortion repeal is all about."

Noting that in Michigan alone an estimated 10,000 illegal abortions took place in 1969, she said, "It's about time Michigan's 124-year-old relic of an abortion law be repealed, and that free, legal abortions be made available to all women."

"Women are demanding decision-making powers in those areas which directly affect their physical and mental well-being, and will come out by the hundreds of thousands to demonstrate in the streets if these powers continue to be kept from them."

In the last few months the fight for total repeal of the abortion law has begun to gain widespread support in Michigan. It is beginning to be realized that any reform short of repeal would

still discriminate against poor people and still force women to wait agonizing months for a hospital bureaucracy to decide their fate. In Detroit alone, such organizations as the YWCA, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Detroit Presbytery, the ADA, and the UAW have come out for repeal.

In a survey done by the Detroit *Free Press* only three wives of the 17 senators who last year voted against a reform bill agreed with their husband's vote.



Ronald Reosti

Detroit cops win acquittal in Algiers Motel shooting

By RONALD REOSTI

(A Detroit attorney, Ronald Reosti is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Michigan attorney general.)

DETROIT—On the same day another massacre of women and children in Vietnam was reported in the Detroit papers, the three Detroit policemen and a private guard accused of murdering three Black men at the Algiers Motel during the July 1967 uprising were acquitted in a trial held in Flint, Mich.

John Hersey, in his now famous book *The Algiers Motel Incident*, described in detail the sadistic death game the cops played with the men whom they had caught in the Algiers Motel with white women. The women, Hersey reported, were first forcibly undressed by the police, next the men were taken away, one by one, and killed.

The trial was the second failure to secure a conviction. The charges were federal and based on an 1871 law dealing with conspiracy to violate civil rights.

A Detroit Records Court judge had earlier dismissed state conspiracy charges against three, and another Re-

corders judge dismissed a murder charge against one, both on grounds of insufficient evidence.

Asked to comment on the outcome of the trial, special U. S. Assistant Attorney Kenneth McIntyre said he was very disappointed by it. The *Detroit News* reported the following Feb. 25: "I can't say that I'm surprised," McIntyre said, "but it's a shame that such grievous wrongs are going to be unre-dressed."

The *News* continued: "Mrs. Viola Temple and Mrs. Rebecca Pollard, the mothers of two of the Black youth slain at the motel, were in the courtroom and both were bitter over the verdict."

"This is the kind of justice that Blacks have come to expect from the white man's court," Mrs. Pollard said.

"Mrs. Temple shook her head sadly and asked: 'Why couldn't they have tried this case in Detroit where my boy was killed? Why did they have to move it to Flint and have all white folks on the jury?'"

Mrs. Temple charged that Norman Lippitt (the defense attorney) and Federal Judge Stephen A. Roth were "in cahoots" in selecting an all-white jury.

"That was the most unfair judge I ever saw," she said.



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

SUPPORT ABORTION DEMONSTRATION. Women representing broad movement spectrum at press conference announcing demonstration against abortion law. From left to right: Cindy Cisler of National Organization for Women and New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal; Nancy Stearns and Dianne Schulder, lawyers in one of the current New York anti-abortion law suits; Ruthann Miller and Berta Langston, staff members of People to Abolish Abortion Laws, Betty Friedan of National Organization for Women; Barbara Seaman, author of *The Doctors' Case Against the Pill*; Florence Rice of Harlem Consumer Educational Council and feminist playwright, Myrna Lamb.

Lawyers Guild holds biggest convention

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Over 500 lawyers and law students attended the largest convention of the National Lawyers Guild in recent memory here Feb. 21-22.

Steps toward consolidating a nationwide legal defense network were proposed by Prof. Arthur Kinoy and approved by the delegates.

For the first time in Guild history, law students were made "full citizens" and given voting rights at conventions. This move was generally seen as a recognition of the vital role young people have been playing in the Guild. It was passed when older members became convinced that the organization had to move away from the concept of a pure "bar association" made up of professionals, toward taking on more the nature of a "movement group."

Movement defense offices have been set up in New York, San Francisco, and Detroit, and a number of communal-type law firms have been established. Both are staffed mainly by recent law graduates, many of whom have forsaken more lucrative careers.

Howard Moore, one of the few Black attorneys in the South, opened up the convention with a brilliant speech dissecting the racist Supreme Court decisions of the last 100 years.

David Hilliard of the Black Panther Party and Chicago "Conspiracy" defense counsel William Kunstler also addressed the convention. Kunstler, fresh from the "Conspiracy" ordeal, was eloquent in his denunciation of class justice, though overly gloomy in predicting the imminence of a police state.

Panel discussions were held on various topics, including the GI movement and women's liberation.

This large gathering of those who view their role as "officers of the court" with both irony and as an opportunity to press forward in the struggle is yet another indication that the fabric of this society is shredding under our very eyes.

— RONALD REOSTI

SPECIAL FOUR-PAGE SYMPOSIUM

What political road for the Chicano movement?

of the Denver Crusade for Justice.

Since this discussion occurred, the second annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference has been scheduled to take place in Denver, March 25-29, and at that conference the formation of an independent, national Chicano party will be discussed. For more information, write: Crusade for Justice, 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colorado 80218.

* * *

Armando Valdez: We're going to get into a dialogue now on what Corky [Gonzales] proposed last night, that is, on the formation of a Chicano political party and on sending delegates to a national conference in early spring. For those of you who were not here last night, there was some question raised about the Democratic Party, and whether we would support Cesar Chavez if he ran for office in the Democratic Party or in any traditional party in the existing system.

The first brother said that if Chavez ran for governor of California in an independent political party, in opposition to the existing Republican and Democratic parties, that he would be in full support of Chavez.

When I spoke, I had an ideological difference with that. I said that if we did not have either the time or the expertise within a given time limit to develop an independent Chicano political party, that my support as a Chicano would go to Chavez, knowing that the racists in this state would never support him and knowing that he would be a formidable opposition to the type of platform that Alioto [mayor of San Francisco] and Unruh [main contender for Democratic Party gubernatorial nomination] have for us, and that if in fact there were no third party, and Chavez chose to run within the Democratic structure, that this would at least give political attention to the Chicanos.

This is my position at this time. I still feel that we need a separate, independent party that will be the voice of the Chicano people, without the supposed Chicanos like those who are [Gov.] Reagan's aides, or the type of guys that are just *tio-tacoing* all around and claiming to represent us. We need independence. And the same thing goes in the formation of a Chicano college. The same thing is inherent in self-determination for all nations and all people. But, my position is that Chavez running would be at least enough of an opposition to focus attention on the Chicano movement and give us a political platform from which to speak.

Antonio Camejo: In my opinion, the most important, in fact, the key task of revolutionaries in the United States today is to break the political monopoly that the ruling class has on politics in this country. For over 70 years the ruling class in this country has operated the Democratic and Republican parties uninterruptedly and without opposition. And during these 70 years, every time an election came up there would be people who would say, "Now is not the time to break away. I agree with you that we should have our own party, but now is not the time. We must continue to support one of the two main parties; if we don't the worst one of the two—the greater evil—will get elected."

If you look back over history, this has been the traditional argument. But the most important thing that can be done in this country, the most important thing that *La Raza* can do, is to organize itself independently politically from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Now, let me comment on what it would mean if Chavez ran as a Democrat. It would mean that he would be saying to Chicanos and *La Raza* com-

munity that we should look to the Democratic Party to solve our problems, that we can win changes through supporting the Democratic Party, that we can make changes this way and get our freedom.

What is the Democratic Party? It is a political instrument of the people who own and control this country, the people who are fighting the war in Vietnam, the people who make profits by oppressing us, by the super-exploitation of our people. That is what the Democratic Party is. To run in the Democratic Party means that you are going to tell people to register in the Democratic Party and to vote in the primaries, it means that you are going to orient people toward supporting that party.

Once you start telling people that it's OK to support the party because you're running in it, there's a logic to that. They're going to start saying, "Well, what about this other liberal who says the same things you say? What about Jesse Unruh, because he's not eating grapes this month, shall we support him? How about Alioto if he comes out with a few liberal statements in the campaign, shall we support him? How about Cranston [U.S. Senator from California] who is a big supporter of the grape strike, should we support him? He's a Democrat like you, Chavez."

You see, it's not just a matter of supporting *La Raza*, it's not just a matter of Chavez being part of *La Raza* and we should support him, but what direction is he pointing in for our people to follow? Is it a correct direction that is going to win results and advance the revolution? Or is he pointing us in a direction that is going to lead us into the same dead end that people have been struggling to get out of for the last 70 years?

Aaron Manganilla: It's very difficult for me to comment on Tony's analysis because I don't think that we are carrying on a debate. And I am in wholehearted support and agreement with everything he says. And I imagine you are wondering, "Then why are you talking at all?" The point is that I think now the only difference between us is a point of priorities, that is, that in fact there has not been enough of a voice for the Chicano people; and I guess that what I'm saying is that we need mass media, publicity. And that can be highly criticized, and I can sense it even as I speak of it. But we need some type of voice to be heard.

I'm not saying that it's not the right time to change, God sakes it's way past time! That's not my argument. Mine

was just a differentiation of political priorities and revolutionary priorities.

I already have a difference with Chavez but, you see, it is very difficult to go up to *La Raza* and say, "John Kennedy, Bob Kennedy and Ted Kennedy are all pigs,"—and that's what they were and still are. At the same time they're shaking hands with Chavez and saying "boycott grapes," these were the same guys that were getting McNamara into the Defense Department, and that were getting more and more grapes sent to Vietnam. I understand that they were pigs, that they were the ones that started that process that has continued through the Democratic and Republican parties.

My whole emphasis is that we need a political voice at this point. And Cesar Chavez seems to be in that position. It is a question of priorities; we need that voice even if it means supporting Chavez in the Democratic Party. We want the masses of people to begin to understand that we're supporting him as a voice of the Chicano and not giving credence or righteousness to any type of solidarity or unity with the Democrats.

Roger Alvarado: I think it is important for us to understand that when we are talking about a political party, what we are talking about is having real political power, having real authority to direct our lives in the way that we want to. I think that for us to talk about having the same kinds of things the Anglos have in this country is bullshit. I think for us to talk about being Democrats or Republicans or relating to the electoral system the way it is now, is nothing but a waste of our people's time.

I think that if we are going to talk about change, then we are going to have to talk about revolutionary change, a total change in our society, a total change in this economy, a total change in the political structure, a total change so that people have direct participation in those institutions that control their lives, and not just a few people of a privileged minority.

We are going to have to relate to the fact that we are going to have to develop our own organization, our own principles for that organization. And if we need mass contact, if we need publications, if we need contact through television, through radio, then it falls upon the people to develop that type of communication.

We can't go to NBC, we can't go to ABC, we can't go to CBS, we can't go to anyone of these lying dogs and



Introduction

On Nov. 13-14, 1969, a symposium on Chicano liberation was held at California State College, Hayward. Sponsored by the college's *La Raza* organization, the symposium was attended by 500 students, most of whom were Chicanos.

On the second evening of the symposium, a panel discussion on the formation of a Chicano political party took place. A transcript of that discussion follows, abridged and edited in the interests of readability (elimination of repetitions, etc.).

Participants in the discussion were:

Armando Valdez (Chairman)—Director of *La Causa*, an Oakland, Calif., Chicano distribution center.

Roger Alvarado—Activist and leader in the San Francisco State student strike led by the Third World Liberation Front in 1968-69. He is also active in the defense of Los Siete de la Raza, seven San Francisco Latinos fighting frame-up charges for their political ideas and work in the community.

Aaron Manganilla—Formerly a counselor in the College Readiness Program at the College of San Mateo, Calif., he is presently helping to organize *Venceremos* College in Redwood City, Calif. He has long been an organizer of opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Antonio Mondragon—Bay Area representative of Reis Tijerina's *Alianza* Movement in New Mexico. He is the director of *El Centro de la Raza* at California State College, Hayward.

Antonio Camejo—Formerly an instructor in the Chicano Studies program at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. He is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Superintendent of Public Instruction in California.

Froben Lozada—Chairman of the Latin American Studies Department at Merritt College. He is the SWP candidate for attorney general of California.

Isabel Hernandez—Member of the Chicano Student Union at Chabot College, Hayward, Calif.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales—Chairman





ask them to let us use their machinery so that we can tell our people that this system is no good. Those people make their money off this system. Those people have those kinds of machines because they live within the context of the capitalist system which exploits us. We cannot go to our exploiters and ask them to let us use their machines so that we can tell the rest of our brothers and sisters that the machines are exploiting us, because they are in the hands of the exploiters. It's ridiculous to talk in this kind of a context.

We have to realize that our needs as a people can only be resolved by us, because only we understand what the needs are, because we are the ones that have them. And if we are going to deal with those needs, then we must organize our own political structure, we must organize our own means for attaining power, and we must be prepared at all times to defend that organization with whatever is necessary. We can no longer wait, and talk in terms of things like the Republican and Democratic parties, we have to talk in terms of where we are now and what the reality of a political party for our people is at this point. If we can't relate to a political party as a people, then we need to relate to some other kind of organization.

We have to quit bullshitting each other and quit playing the Man's verbal games and realize that any time that we relate to each other as organizations or as individuals we are talking about brothers' and sisters' lives. They are taking our brothers to Vietnam and they are raping our sisters in the streets. They are murdering us wherever they want to. And we aren't doing anything about it. If it's a party that will stop them, then it's a party that we need. If it's some other kind of organization that's going to stop them, then that's what we need. Not some kind of verbal dialogue that doesn't have anything to do with anybody anywhere.

Isabel Hernandez: I agree with Mr. Alvarado. It's great to talk about being revolutionary, you know. It's great for college students who are aware of

what's going on, who know we've been exploited. But we have to think in terms of people in the *barrio* and tell them "you've been exploited" in terms they can understand, not in terms of big words, big theories, but in terms of they are paying three times as much as somebody else in the supermarket, in terms of their kids not getting a decent education, in terms of them getting decent jobs.

How do you do this? One of the problems is that a lot of Chicano people are not citizens. This presents the problem of whether it is worth it to become a citizen and work within the system, or to find an alternative. In terms of voting, traditionally the Chicano, the Latin people, have been very suspicious of politics because they have always been sold out.

The next point is that it's going to take a lot of work if you're going to make a political party. We're going to raise the people, inform the people, inform ourselves, so we can be effective. We're going to show the Anglos, we're going to show everybody, that we have to move on. We have to stop the exploitation, we have to have personal contact with the people in the *barrio*, not sitting up in the colleges and rapping and theorizing, talking about revolution, but we also have to go to the *barrio* and tell people where it's at.

Antonio Mondragon: I would like to present this in the form of a question, a rhetorical question if you want. We are looking at reality, we have been seeing where the injustice in this country, which has been hidden from the eyes of the people, really lies. But, there is another point. It seems to me, that if we started a political party according to the view of the socialist as spoken, we might alienate many of the people from the Crusade for Justice, the *Alianza*, the *Huelga* people, because, how many socialist Chicanos are there now in the Bay Area? Socialist with a capital S?

Antonio Camejo: My conception of an independent Chicano political party is not that it has to be socialist or have a socialist program. It probably will de-

'The Chicano party with the system and

velop a socialist program as the revolution approaches, but this will not be the case at the beginning. Socialists *will*, of course, be in the forefront of building the Chicano party, because this would represent a major break with the system and would be a giant step forward for the people. We would be active members of a Chicano party, and I, for example, would be proud to run as a candidate of such a party. But, there would also be large numbers of people in the party who have not yet been convinced of socialism, and who will only become convinced as a result of the struggle.

Do you want me to develop that? OK. Let me deal with some of these problems involved in building a party. First of all, an independent Chicano political party would not just run in elections. I think Roger Alvarado makes an extremely important point about elections. We cannot get into the bag of the Peace and Freedom Party which just brought a whole bunch of liberals and radicals together for the purpose of running in an election. The Peace and Freedom Party was an electoral coalition, nothing else. The day after the election, it fell apart. You never heard anything from them after that. And you're probably going to begin to hear from them again, because another election is coming up. They end up doing nothing except miseducating the people about what is really needed. I would be opposed to this type of formation.

An independent Chicano political party would not just take part in elections, but it would also have to engage itself in the day-to-day struggle of our people. It would have to be a party which would lead such things as campus struggles, that could participate in helping to form the Chicano studies departments around the entire Southwest and the entire country wherever *La Raza* happens to be. It would be a political party that would participate in mass demonstrations over different issues in the community, in the schools, for housing, against the war. It would be the type of organization, for example, that would do the kind of things that the Crusade for Justice has been doing. It would do this as well as participate in electoral activity.

The point I am making about the Democratic and Republican parties is the following: that in my opinion it is a principle, a revolutionary principle, and in the tradition of Emiliano Zapata, you know, who said, "I will die a slave to principles, never to men," that you do not support those people who are oppressing you. Principles are important, and if you have incorrect principles, you cannot make a revolution.

It's a principle that you do not support those people who are oppressing you. That's a principle in my opinion. I refuse to support in any way the people who are responsible for my oppression. Now, in terms of elections, however, it would be incorrect for us to take the attitude that since we know that the electoral system in this country is a farce, since we know that the Republican and Democratic parties play a con game, since we know that you cannot make a revolution through elections, since we know that we are not going to take power in this country through elections, that therefore we don't participate in them. That would be a mistake.

The history of the revolutions throughout the world have shown that it is a tactical question whether you participate in elections, and how you participate in them. Lenin, for instance, in the Bolshevik Party, which made the first socialist revolution in the world, participated in elections. Fidel Castro ran in elections. The point is this, that even though we understand the whole question about electoral politics, the community does not. The majority of *La Raza* does not know the role that the Democratic Party plays, therefore it is

our task to be able to reach them on this.

Elections are a tactic that can be used by revolutionaries to be able to reach the people, and to be able to organize the people. For instance, by running in elections you can get on television. It's incorrect to say that they won't let you on. An example of this is Paul Boutelle, who is a revolutionary Black nationalist and a socialist, who got on a half hour of national network time on the Joey Bishop show, where he got up there and rapped about how rotten this system is, how decadent it is, and why we have to have a socialist revolution.

How was he able to do this? Because there is a law which says you have to give candidates who are running for office equal time on radio and TV, and Paul Boutelle was running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Sure they try to take this time away from us. They try to maneuver in every way they can. But, we fought back against them, we were right up there with our lawyers, and said, "Nothing doing, you've got Nixon up there, you've got Humphrey up there, we're going to talk for a half hour too." And they had to give it to us. We fought for it legally and we won that.

Now, we're going to do the same thing in the state of California with the



Antonio Camejo

election campaign coming up. We're running as revolutionary socialists in this campaign to reach thousands of people with our ideas and educate them about the needs of the people in this state. We are also running our campaign as an example of the type of thing that can be done if Brown people organize their own party. And we will be campaigning in favor of building a Chicano party. And if an independent Chicano party were formed in this state, we would be supporting it and building it. There is a tremendous potential for building such a party. We can do it. We can go in and talk to our people. We can win them over.

Let me say something about what we can do. It's true we are a minority, but the Democratic Party in the state of California can only win if the Chicanos vote for it. Think of that. We have the potential to wipe it off the face of the map as a political institution. And on a national scale, in alliance with Black people, we have the power to make it impossible for the Democratic Party to win another election in this country. Just think of what this means. We have the power to turn the political structure in this country upside down and inside out.

Now, what does that mean? Does that mean that the Republican Party would always run the country, and that we then would be worse off? The Demo-

would represent a major break a giant step forward for the people'

cratic Party wins an election because it is supported by a coalition of the labor movement, Brown and Black people, and other Third World people, Native Americans, Asian Americans.

The labor movement, which includes white racist workers—and they are racist—support the Democratic Party for two reasons: 1) they think the Democratic Party can produce on their demands and 2) they think the Democratic Party can win. However, if it can be proved that the Democratic Party cannot win another election, they would have to rethink their whole strategy. This is especially significant in terms of the radicalization in this country, where the Democratic Party is being exposed as the party of the Vietnam war, and where more and more people are beginning to see more clearly that the Democratic Party is not fulfilling their needs.

And, you know, the American workers have been indoctrinated for 30 years that the Republican Party is their arch enemy. And it would be difficult for the ruling class in this country to turn around and say, "Now you've got to support the Republicans." The whole question of who the workers should support would be much more open to question and discussion. And those people within the labor movement who believe the workers should organize a labor party in their own interest, independent of the Republicans and Democrats, would get a much better hearing.

The point is that the formation of a Chicano party could help to change the whole political relationship of forces, and could help set an example for other people who want to fight oppression, for Black people, for people in the labor movement who are for organizing an independent political power.

At the same time we would be driving wedges into the majority population, breaking them up. You know how the ruling class maintains their position, how they divide and rule. Well, in a revolutionary struggle the smartest thing to do is to take your enemy and break him up, drive wedges into him, break off sections of the majority, and win alliances for yourself, and then your minority becomes larger and larger until it is no longer a minority but through alliances becomes a majority. That's the tactic that we can use in terms of building a political party.

If we don't take this step, if we don't use our political power, we will never get anything but crumbs. We will be guaranteed tokenism, and we will lose struggle after struggle. And let me end on Chavez. It's true that he would be able to talk to a lot of people, and tell the truth about the grape strike and tell about the oppression of *La Raza*. It's true that he would be able to do those things. But, that's not the key thing. He would be doing a disservice to the entire movement in this country because he would be miseducating people about the crying need to break with the Democratic Party. He would be miseducating people, and it's a lot harder to educate people after they've been miseducated about what is necessary.

It's like driving a stick shift for 30 years, and then trying to switch to an automatic. You end up having an accident because you keep pushing the clutch down, and there's no clutch there. That type of miseducation makes it harder to eventually form an independent Chicano party. It would make it harder for us to talk about a Chicano party if Chavez was at the same time campaigning and registering people in the Democratic Party. And the truth of the matter is that this has already been tried again and again and nothing has come from it.

Malcolm X made a very strong statement on this. He said, "Anyone who supports the Democratic Party after its

record of oppression, and what it has done to our people, is not only a fool, but a traitor to his race."

Froben Lozada: Concerning brother Roger's view of the Peace and Freedom Party, [Earlier in the evening Roger Alvarado had raised the issue of not wanting an organization similar to the Peace and Freedom Party because of its failure.] I will have to disagree with him on that, because to me, that's not a political party. I mean you don't have a serious political party when you have so much disagreement within that party that they could not even decide who their vice-presidential candidate would be, much less carry out any effective actions.

Another thing is that there are many activities and actions which help lead to the revolution, which help to organize people independent of the ruling class, but which are not revolutionary in themselves, and which involve many people who are not yet consciously revolutionary.

An example of this was the San Francisco State strike which Roger Alvarado helped to lead. To me, the strike was not the same thing as a revolution, but it was a step in the process of struggle, it was a tool through which people be-



Froben Lozada

came politically educated in the process of struggle. Through actions such as these you organize people to fight for the needs of the community, and you raise the level of consciousness of the people. The same thing goes for a political party. It can also be used as a tool.

Corky Gonzales: I reserved getting involved in some of the sensitive issues here. There are so many things that go through my mind, I know I can't make a short statement and really answer the questions raised, for example, the questions raised by the young ladies who took their positions up here. [At the beginning of the session a demand was made to have women be represented on the panel and two women, including Isabel Hernandez, were seated.] I've many thoughts on that line as I mentioned here last night, and I might mention a few of them here again today.

We understand and realize after having been involved in many kinds of movements, what the strength of a woman is, and what her strength is to the movement. We also recognize, watching many of our college students here, one of the things that the young lady said at the end of the table, that we can intellectualize and we can rap, but that we must also get down to the grass roots. Which comes to the use of

the tools which Froben mentioned here, which comes to the question of how do we start this political party?

Before I get into that though, I want to get back to the women's situation, not to get into an argument, because I don't want one unless we have an hour and a half or two hours. I want to say only this: That one of the problems that I see, as one of the grass roots people that came out of the *barrios*, as someone who worked in the fields, is that I recognize too much of an influence of white European thinking in the discussion. I hope that our Chicana sisters can understand that they can be front runners in the revolution, they can be in the leadership of any social movement, but I pray to God that they do not lose their *Chicanisma* or their womanhood and become a frigid *gringa*. So I'm for equality, but still want to see some sex in our women.

So I want to rap. I want to tell you about some of the things we feel. I think that Tony Camejo hit on some very important points that we should analyze. I mentioned last night that we have to stop falling in the same old traps, stop being affected by the same commercial stuff that the majority of this idiotic society is believing—like the fact that if you used enough Hai-Karate you would have so many women after you that you would have to walk over a mattress of women to get the one you want. You know this is the type of thing that brainwashes the whole community. So we have to understand that all these false ideas they have put before us are illusions. That these false ideas are the same ones they have always used to control. The symbol of Anglo superiority has got to be destroyed. And the burden of Chicano inferiority has got to be destroyed. So, in doing these things, we want to control and develop our own leadership, and to politicize people—not just make politicians—but to make people aware and teach them. This has got to come through actions, not words. We understand that.

I don't want to get involved in discussing personality. But, because I'm very nationalistic, I'm very glad to hear Tony Camejo say that if we had a Chicano party, he would be willing to run as a Chicano in the Chicano party. I'm very proud of that and very thankful that he said that, realizing that his expertise and his professionalism, his brains, can be utilized within the Chicano community to help create that liberation that's important. Not to be dominated by white society that has set up every type of political party that exists today.

You know we had communalism and socialism hundreds of years before the white man ever hit these shores. And so did many of the other countries that

were occupied but not "discovered" until the *gringo* got there with a cross and a gun.

Now we want to talk about how we are going to create action in the people. What are the common denominators that unite the people? The key common denominator is nationalism. When I talk about nationalism, some people run around in their intellectual bags, and they say this is reverse racism. The reverse of a racist is a humanitarian. I specifically mentioned what I felt nationalism was. Nationalism becomes *la familia*. Nationalism comes first out of the family, then into tribalism, and then into the alliances that are necessary to lift the burden of all suppressed humanity.

Now, if you try to climb up a stairway, you have to start with the first step. You can't jump from the bottom of this floor to the top of those bleachers. If you can, then you must be "super-macho." (I don't talk about super-man.) But, you can't, so you start using those tools that are necessary to get from the bottom to the top. One of these tools is nationalism. You realize that if Chavez, or any popular figure in the Mexican scene decides to run, and if he ran for any party, as popular as he is, then out of nationalism we would even vote for an idiot. If his name was Sanchez, if his name was Gonzalez, you would walk in and vote for him, whether you know him or not, because you are nationalistic. And we have elected too many idiots in the past out of nationalism, right?

Now, let's take that common denominator, that same organizing tool of nationalism, and utilize it to work against the system. Let's use it to work against the two parties that I say are like an animal with two heads eating out of the same trough, that sits on the same boards of directors of the banks and corporations, that shares in the same industries that make dollars and profits off wars. To fight this thing, you look for the tools.

Now, if Tony is a socialist, if my brother here is an independent, if my sister is a Republican—she might hit me later—if one of the others is a Democrat and one is a communist, and one from the Socialist Labor Party, what do we have in common politically? Nothing. We've been fighting over parties across the kitchen table, wives are Republicans and husbands are Democrats, sometimes, and we argue over a bunch of garbage. And the same Republicans and Democrats are having cocktails together at the same bar and playing golf together and kissing each other behind the scenes.

So you tell me then, what is the common denominator that will touch the *barrio*, the *campos* and the *ranchitos*? Are we going to go down there with



some tremendous words of intellectualism which they cannot relate to, when they relate on the level of, "We need food. We need health care for our children. I need someone to go down to juvenile court with my son. There is no job for my husband." And the revolution of 15 or 20 years from now is not going to feed a hungry child today.

So what is the common denominator we use? It is nationalism. If someone wants to turn around and say, "That's a cultural bag," I tell them to go to hell. Because I know one thing—in our group we have dropped all the parliamentary procedure bullshit, we dropped all the *gringo* type of government, and we have a *concilio de la familia*. And a seven-year-old boy can get up and make his ideas heard and can influence a change that everyone else agrees with.

A woman who influences her old man only under the covers or when they are talking over the table, and then he goes in—if it's a bad idea—and argues for that, because he's strong enough to carry it through, is doing a disservice to *La Causa*. Any woman can influence a man whether she is weak or strong. So it's better for her to bring it out in the *concilio* and then all of us can take it and evaluate it as to whether it's right or wrong, good or bad.

All right, how do we start this? We start it and call it an independent Chicano political organization. We can use it as Tony mentioned also, under the FCC code, we can use it as a forum to preach and teach. We can gain the same amount of radio and TV time as any phony candidate. We proved it in Colorado. I ran for mayor as an independent, and I campaigned two weeks. Two weeks, because we were busy directing a play and busy in civil rights actions. But, we had the same amount of time on TV as anybody else, and on radio. We were able to start to politicize people. We were able to start to tell about an idea. We were able, even, to sue the mayor and the top candidates for violating the city charter, for spending more money than the city provided for under its constitution. We had that mayor and the most powerful Republicans and Democrats sitting on their asses down in the courtroom. Our method was to take them to court, to take them to task, to show the public that they were corrupt. And we proved that they were liars, over and over again.

We must start off by creating the structure—the *concilio*—by calling a congress sometime this spring, bringing together all those people that believe that it can be done. We understand that when we organize in an area where we are a majority, we can control. Where we are a minority, we will be a pressure group. And we will be a threat.

We understand the need to take ac-

'We have to start to consider ourselves as a nation'



'Corky' Gonzales

tion in the educational system. We understand that we need actions such as the "blow-outs," because the youth are not afraid of anything. Because the youth are ready to move. The whole party will be based on the actions of the young, and the support of the old.

Secondly, in the communities where we are a majority, we can then control and start to reassess taxes, to start charging the exploiters for what they have made off our people in the past. You can also incorporate the community to drive out the exploiters, to make them pay the freight for coming into the community, and sign your own franchises. You can de-annex a community as easily as they annex a *barrio* and incorporate it. You can create your own security groups, and place a gun here to protect the people, not to harass them, but to protect them from the Man who is going to come in from the outside. You can also create your own economic base by starting to understand that we can share instead of cut each others' throats.

Now what are the tools? We said nationalism, which means that we have to be able to identify with our past, and understand our past, in order that we can dedicate ourselves to the future, dedicate ourselves to change. And we have to understand what humanism really is. We can tie the cultural thing into it, but we also have to tie in the political and the economic. We tie these things together, and we start to use the common denominator of nationalism.

Now for those Anglo supporters, don't get up-tight. For the Black brothers, they are practicing the same thing right now. And we understand it and respect it. And we are for meaningful coalitions with organized groups.

We have to start to consider ourselves as a nation. We can create a congress or a *concilio*. We can understand that we are a nation of *Aztlán*. We can understand and identify with Puerto Rican liberation. We understand and identify with Black liberation. We can understand and identify with white liberation from this oppressing system once we organize around ourselves.

Where they have incorporated themselves to keep us from moving into their neighborhoods, we can also incorporate ourselves to keep them from controlling our neighborhoods. We have to also understand economic revolution, of driving the exploiter out. We have to understand political change. And we have to understand principle. And the man who says we can do it within the system—who says, "Honest, you can, look at me, I have a \$20,000-a-year job"—he's the man who was last year's militant and this year's OEO employee [Office of Economic Opportunity]. And now he's keeping his mouth shut and he ain't marching any more. We have to understand that he is not a revolutionary, that he's a counter-revolutionary. He's not an ally, he be-

comes an enemy because he's contaminated.

You can't walk into a house full of disease with a bottle full of mercuriochrome and cure the disease without getting sick yourself. That's what we say about the lesser of the two evils. If four grains of arsenic kill you, and eight grains of arsenic kill you, which is the lesser of two evils? You're dead either way.

We have to understand that liberation comes from self-determination, and to start to use the tools of nationalism to win over our *barrio* brothers, to win over the brothers who are still believing that *machismo* means getting a gun and going to kill a communist in Vietnam because they've been jived about the fact that they will be accepted as long as they go get themselves killed for the *gringo* captain; who still think that welfare is giving them something and don't understand that the one who is administering the welfare is the one that's on welfare, because, about 90 percent of the welfare goes into administration; and who still do not understand that the war on poverty is against the poor, to keep them from reacting.

We have to win these brothers over, and we have to do it by action. Whether it be around police brutality, the educational system, whether it be against oppression of any kind—you create an action, you create a blow-out, and you see how fast those kids get politicized. Watch how fast they learn the need to start to take over our own communities. And watch how fast they learn to identify with ourselves, and to understand that we need to create a nation.

We can create a thought, an idea, and we can create our own economy. You don't hear of any "yellow power" running around anywhere. Because they base their power around their church, their house, their community.

They sell Coca Cola, but their profits go to their own people, you see, so that they have an economic base. We are strangers in our own church. We have got *gachupin* [traditional term of contempt for Spaniards who ruled Mexico for 400 years] priests from Spain in our communities, telling us *vamos a hechar unos quattros pesos en la canasta* [let's throw four pesos in the collection dish]. And then he tells you, "I'm your religious leader," and he tries to tell you how to eat, where to go, who to sleep with and how to do it right—while he's copping everything else out. You know, we're tired of this kind of leadership.

You have to understand that we can take over the institutions within our community. We have to create the community of the Mexicano here in order to have any type of power. As much as the young ladies have created power in their own community. But they have to share it with the rest of us. They have to be able to bring it together. And we are glad when they sit down instead of retreating. It means that we're all one people. It means that we're all one *Raza* and that we will work together and we will walk out of here in a positive fashion.

And then you have to think positive. Don't think it can't be done. If you think negative you won't get across the street. You think positive, because it only takes a minority to begin to win over and move a majority. It only took Pancho Villa and seven men to cross El Rio Bravo and end up with a hundred thousand men in Mexico City. It only took Castro 82 men, and they killed all but 15, and 15 men took a nation. It only takes an idea and a philosophy to carry it through, and if the philosophy is written with the blood of martyrs, it cannot be erased, and we can become a free people. Thank you.



A clear-cut political victimization

N.Y. Panthers tell their story

NEW YORK—Judge John M. Murtagh called an indefinite recess of the preliminary hearings to the trial of the New York Panther 21, Feb. 25. Upset by the responses of the 13 Panthers on trial to the testimony of the cops and his own court rulings, Murtagh stated that the court could be reconvened only if each of the defendants signed an affidavit agreeing to abide by the "American system of justice."

On March 2, defense counsel for the Panthers came back into court with a tape recording of a letter from the defendants to the judge. The judge refused to hear it, thereby prompting the lawyers to call a press conference that day at which the tape was played. The following is the first installment of excerpts from the recorded letter, a transcript of which was distributed to the press. The tape was recorded by Michael Tabor, one of the Panther defendants.

Mr. Murtagh: your record speaks for itself. You are known in the ghetto as a "Hanging Judge." (How many Black and white poor men did you convict without their even having counsel just in 1969 alone, in your clever, slick way?) [District Attorney] Frank Hogan and his aides are well known, very well known in the ghetto, known for what they are—racist and unethical. (We have knowledge of cases since our incarceration of assistant district attorneys, or DA's men, posing as legal aides to get convictions.) But in our case, you and Mr. Hogan have gotten together and have outdone yourselves in denying us *all* every one of our "alleged" state, federal and human rights. The record clearly shows this—when not clouded with the mist of racism.

A) Let us clear up one basic misconception. You constantly refer to this case as a "criminal" trial, while all of the time we *know*, you *know*, Frank Hogan knows, the people know, the other prisoners and even the guards know that this is *not* a criminal trial. Everyone knows that this is a political trial, for if we were not members of the Black Panther Party, a lot of things would never have been done to us in the first place.

Why are we not allowed to be with other prisoners? Why are we not allowed to even talk to the other prisoners? Why are we isolated? (Something we might say or do that can open their



Photo by Roz Payne/LNS/ Newsreel

GUN-TOTING OFFICER. Scene as shotgun-bearing cops arrested Curtis Powell, one of the New York Panthers facing trial on trumped-up "conspiracy-to-bomb" charges.

eyes, perhaps?) Alleged murderers and rapists are not treated in this manner, even "convicted" murderers and rapists are not treated in the manner in which we were treated. Why do you persist in the big lie? It is one of many clear contradictions.

B) On April 2, 1969, hordes of "police" broke down our doors, or otherwise forced entry into our homes, and ran amok. Rampaging and rummaging through our homes, they seized articles from us with wild abandon while having no search warrants. The "police" put us and our families in grave danger, nervously aiming shotguns, rifles and pistols at us and our families—even our children.

We were then kidnapped as were some of our families. We state "kidnap" because many of us were never shown any arrest warrant, even to this day. This is illegal. This is a blatant contradiction of your own Constitution. We said nothing.

C) Upon the arrest of *some* of the defendants and before the appearance of any of the defendants, New York City District Attorney Frank Hogan appeared on national radio and national television (channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11) in a press conference, during which time he gave out information from an "indictment" against us in an inflammatory and provocative manner, deliberately designed to incite the people against us and to deny us even the semblance of a fair trial. Mr. Hogan implied a lie—that we had been seized on the way to commit these alleged acts with bombs in our hands—rather than the truth—that we had no bombs and that most of us were taken out of our beds.

Subsequent to that press conference, "unidentified police sources" and "persons close to the investigation" stated falsely to the press that we, as mem-

bers of the Black Panther Party, were being aided and abetted by foreign governments considered hostile to your government (i.e., Cuba and China), that we, as Black Panther Party members, were stealing money from federal and/or state agencies, and many other false, wild charges, designed to heighten the public alarm against us and our party, rather than diminish it, so as to create an atmosphere conducive to the extermination of the Black Panther Party and justify anything that might be done to us.

This unethical behavior gave, aided, and abetted further prejudicial pretrial publicity, in direct contradiction to your law as outlined in the 14th Amendment of your Constitution of the United States. Due to this behavior alone, we are positive that we could not get a fair trial anywhere in this country. We still said nothing.

D) When our attorneys learned of our arrest, they attempted to see us as we were being held in your district attorney's office. They were refused permission to do so. At the "arraignment," a similar request by our counsel was again refused by Mr. Charles Marks who presided thereat. These refusals were in blatant violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. We continued to be silent.

E) At this "arraignment," this Mr. Charles Marks who was presiding, refused to read, explain or give us a copy of this "indictment" against us. This is another violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. Yet, we remained silent.

F) Bail (ransom) was set at \$100,000, which is ridiculous and tantamount to no bail at all. This is another violation of your law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. We

state that this bail is not only contradictory to your own law, but that it is also racist.

When white "radical" groups are arrested, their bails do not usually exceed \$10,000. When three Yemenites were charged with "conspiracy" to murder your President Nixon, and with the equipment to do such, their bail was \$25,000. When Minutemen in New York were arrested and charged with a conspiracy to commit murder, the murder of 155 persons, and were arrested with bombs and guns more than enough to do this, bail was set at \$25,000. We had no bombs. Our bail was \$100,000. We remained silent.

G) At this arraignment, this Mr. Charles Marks, the same "judge" who is alleged to have signed the "arrest warrants," stated in words or substance that he was accepting all of the allegations in the "indictment" against us to be true. On subsequent hearings during April and May 1969, concerning reduction of ransom (bail) at which this same Mr. Marks still presided, he stated that we were "un-American" and that the law "did not apply to us" (sounds of history?). This does not quite show impartiality. Yet, we said nothing.

H) Our counsel have been in front of at least 35 "judges" concerning our bail, and this attitude permeates the "great American system of justice." All motions on this were denied, either without comment or because of the "seriousness" of the "charges", but *never* dealing with the Constitutional issues involved, and it is *your* Constitution. All of this seems to underlie "Judge" Marks' remarks. Yet we said nothing.

I) We have been treated like animals—in fact, like less than animals. On Jan. 17, 1969, Miss Joan Bird was kidnapped, beaten, and tortured. She was punched and beaten, given the "thumb torture," hung upside down by the ankle out of a third-story window of a "police precinct". On April 2-3, 1969, some of us were beaten as we were being kidnapped. From April 2, 1969, all of us were placed under constant abuse and harassment, which included 24-hour lock-in, complete isolation, no library or recreation, lights kept on in our cells for 24 hours, physical assaults, deprivations of seeing our families, at times denied mattresses, medication, sheets, showers, pillowcases, towels, soap, toothpaste, and toilet paper.

Our families have suffered abuse in visiting us, and mental anguish. One of us suffered the loss of a child because of this. Some of our families had to go on welfare because of our outrageous incarceration and ransom. We were denied mail, even from our attorneys—denied access to consult all together with our attorneys. We have been subjected to the most onerous and barbaric of jail conditions. The objective of all this was our psychological and physical destruction during our pretrial detention.

As *Newsweek* magazine even states, "... the handling of the suspects between their arrest and their trial was something less than a model of American criminal justice," and "none of it was very becoming to the state. . ." (How well we know.) All this is a blatant violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your own Federal Constitution. Yet, we *still* remained silent.

(To be concluded.)

Leon Trotsky:

Stalinism and Bolshevism

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Bernadette Devlin gives Panthers her key to N.Y.

NEW YORK—An associate of Bernadette Devlin, the Irish revolutionary, turned over to a Black Panther representative a gold key to the city presented to Miss Devlin by Mayor Lindsay during her visit here last summer.

In presenting the key, Eamon McCann, chairman of the Derry Labor Party, declared: "We, as Irish socialists, feel particular affinity with the sufferings of the Black Panther Party since we too are subjected to a comprehensive system of repression . . ."

Along with the key, Miss Devlin sent a message declaring: "To those in the ghettos, those in the slums, those who are exploited in the fields and factories, those who are hated because they are black, those despised because they are poor, those gagged because they speak the truth . . . to all those common people to whom this city and country properly belong, I return what is rightfully theirs, this symbol of the freedom of New York."

In accepting the key, New York Panther Robert Bay wryly commented: "I wish it would open the jails."

U of Florida YSA fights denial of its campus rights

By JOHN SUGG

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — The administration of the University of Florida here has invented an apparently new way of banning radical student organizations. It refuses to allow them even to *apply* for campus recognition.

For several weeks, Young Socialist Alliance officers attempted to file papers requesting recognition. The papers were always refused. The administration apparently hopes to avoid allowing the YSA to go through its own "due process" channels and thereby somehow prevent it from bringing its case to the university community.

Administration spokesmen claim they are "checking with the board of regents to see if YSA falls within regents' policy regarding campus disruption." Reactionary rules adopted by the regents last year prohibit SDS and the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) — by name — and also "any like organization which cause the disruption of the normal university process."

The official claimed that YSA advocated "disruption just like the Weathermen." When asked to explain why he lumped two such obviously different organizations together, he explained, "Any groups which advocate serious change might be said to advocate 'disruption.'"

The Student Mobilization Committee here was likewise denied campus recognition last fall. The SMC was asked to sign an oath of allegiance—to the board of regents, the state government and their rules and laws! SMC refused to comply and took its case to the students. The university's vice president said he would do nothing "to stand in the way" of SMC's recognition. But it has been months since that statement, and there has still been no decision.

The YSA is planning legal action on the grounds that the administration is denying students their First Amendment rights.

The university's student paper, *The Alligator*, has endorsed the YSA's bid for recognition. Several campus groups, including the Young Democrats and the Young Americans for Freedom have indicated they will support the case.

The YSA is appealing to university teachers and students throughout the nation to back the bid for recognition by sending letters of support to the YSA, Box 13157, University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32601.

Mass. teach-in on the Mideast

AMHERST, Mass. — A teach-in on "Third World Liberation Movements: Palestinian Liberation" will be held in the student union of the University of Massachusetts here, Saturday and Sunday, April 11-12.

The teach-in will attempt to relate the struggle of oppressed people in Africa and Asia to the struggle of Afro-Americans and Latin Americans.

More than a dozen prominent, knowledgeable persons are scheduled to address the sessions. These include Ambassador Cherif Guellal of Algeria; Dr. Fayeze Sayegh; Ivanhoe Donaldson; Peter Buch; student leaders from the Mideast, Africa and Latin America; Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts; and Jon Rothschild, SWP candidate for Lt. governor in New York.

The program will include an art exhibit by Kamal Boullata, a Palestinian artist.

The teach-in is being sponsored by a number of organizations, including the African Student Organization, the Arab Student Organization, Afro-American Association and the Young Socialist Alliance.

For further information, contact the Committee on Teach-in, P. O. Box 633, Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Attacks on antiwar leader evoke Houston protest



Photo by Larry Seigle

NEAR MISS. Houston antiwar leader Fred Brode examines hole (circled) from one of bullets fired into his home. Police say they find it hard to do anything.

By DAVID BLISS

HOUSTON — Early in the morning of Feb. 24, bullets riddled the bedroom of Fred Brode, chairman of the Houston, Texas, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, for the second time this month. Six shots were fired, two of which entered the Brode house, narrowly missing both Mr. and Mrs. Brode.

The shots awakened not only them but a neighbor who said he could identify the sniper's car. The sheriff and six deputies were called to the scene immediately. After a preliminary inspection, the sheriff suggested Brode should station a friend outside the house at night.

Public reaction to these latest terrorist actions has been widespread. Ed Stuart, YSA organizer, initiated a news conference the following day at which various departments of the university and

student organizations were represented. Statements demanding a thorough investigation were issued and a broad committee was set up to demand protection against such terrorist attacks.

This is not just a case of harassment, but a direct attempt on the life of an antiwar activist, the defense committee agreed. The committee will raise funds to fortify Brode's house with sandbags, install cameras and lights focusing on the street, and demand that the police provide other means of protection.

The *Daily Cougar*, a campus paper, and the *Houston Post* covered the shootings and the defense committee's activities.

A delegation from the committee consisting of Young Democrats, members of the U of H Committee Against the War, and Young Socialists went to the sheriff's department to demand a thorough investigation of the shooting.

Columbus protests mount in murder of Black youth

By ROBERT HAYNES

COLUMBUS, Ohio — A large-scale movement protesting the recent police murder of a 15-year-old Black youth has developed here in the past few weeks. The scope of this movement goes even beyond the question of the killing itself, and it is leading to a growing confrontation between the Black community and city authorities.

The movement is a response to a Jan. 31 incident in which police shot and killed Fred Crews and wounded two other Black students. The police came into Franklin Junior High School as the youths were leaving, after allegedly breaking into a vending machine and

taking some small change. After shouting "halt," the cops opened fire on them.

Columbus Mayor M. E. Sensenbrenner said that he feels the police action was justified. He also opposes the idea of a civilian review board to investigate the incident. He attributed the incident to juvenile delinquency, which he said could be solved if more boys and girls would join the Scouts.

As a result of the Crews killing, a Columbus Black Caucus has been formed, composed of mainly students and professional people. This group has set for itself the goals of Black control of the Black community, Black police in the Black community, and a sunset to sunrise curfew on whites in the Black community.

The last few meetings of the city council, to which the Black Caucus has presented a list of demands, have been crowded with 600 protesting people sitting and standing in the council chambers, with that many more standing on the outside unable to get in.

The demands include the following:

- That the complete autopsy report on Crews be made public;
- That charges be brought against the officer who did the shooting;
- That shotguns be removed from all police squad cars;
- That one-third of all police cadet classes be Black;
- That all white police be removed from the Black community.

Letters protesting this brutal murder can be sent to City Council President William P. Hoernle or Mayor M. E. Sensenbrenner, Columbus City Hall, Columbus, Ohio.

YSA enters slate for campus gov't at U of Houston

By PAUL MCKNIGHT

HOUSTON — The Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Houston has entered a slate of revolutionary candidates in Student Association elections here. This is the first time that a socialist program has ever been presented in an SA election. This is also the first time a woman has run for the office of SA president.

The YSA candidate for president, Olga Rodriguez, is also a leading activist in the League of Mexican-American Students (LOMAS) and the Houston Student Mobilization Committee. Running for vice president on the YSA slate is Ed Stuart, Houston YSA organizer. Jeannie Bennett, YSA forum director and women's liberation activist, is running for a position in the Student Association senate.

There are two other sets of candidates for the top two SA offices. There is a "liberal" slate, which refuses to make any programmatic statements at all, and there is one backed by all the fraternities on campus.

The YSA is running on a clearly-stated seven-point program. There are two basic pieces of campaign literature, one a leaflet containing the program, and one entitled "Questions and Answers About the Socialist Campaign." These are augmented by campaign posters and buttons.

The YSA candidates have already been endorsed by LOMAS. Rodriguez and Stuart have challenged the other two slates to debate the issues of the campaign before the student body.

Response to the campaign is quite favorable. Students can be seen all over the campus reading the YSA's seven-point program which includes the following demands:

- Full utilization of university facilities to build the antiwar movement. End all university complicity with the war machine;
- Establish independent Black and Chicano studies departments controlled by students and faculty. Open admissions for all Third World students;
- An immediate end to all discrimination against women on campus. Free university birth control and prenatal care centers. Free day care centers for students' children. Courses on the role of women in society;
- Minimum wage of \$3 per hour for all university employees and full trade-union rights for all university workers;
- Abolish tuition and fees;
- Student-faculty control of all university policies, including the hiring and firing of all administrators;
- No restrictions on civil liberties. End the ban on the sale of underground and radical newspapers.

LNS wins stay in Senate probe

NEW YORK (LNS) — Lawyers for Liberation News Service and the former SDS regional office (now an independent collective) won an early court victory in their attempt to halt an investigation by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The subcommittee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, had subpoenaed the two groups' bank records. Federal Judge Walter R. Mansfield granted a motion filed by Fred Cohn of the Law Commune for a temporary restraining order. This means that the bank was restrained from bringing the records to Washington on Feb. 23 as demanded in the subpoena.

An injunction against the subcommittee, preventing it from taking further steps against LNS and SDS, will be sought in future legal action.

The legal steps are being based on the defense of First Amendment rights and include a broad attack on the activities of the Eastland subcommittee.

S.F. State ends Black studies

SAN FRANCISCO — President S. I. Hayakawa of San Francisco State College has terminated the contracts of all the full-time faculty of the Black studies department effective June 1970. The part-time faculty does not have to be notified and will not be rehired after the spring semester. This action comes shortly after Hayakawa fired all the Black teaching assistants. It constitutes the opening gun in a campaign to eliminate Black studies departments throughout the state educational system.

Ecology movement a diversion?

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Will the growing antipollution movement help develop revolutionary political consciousness or will it prove a barrier to it? An interesting article by Tom Haroldson, originally published in the Detroit *Metro* and reprinted in the Feb. 4 Liberation News Service, argues that the ecology movement will prove a hindrance to the development of revolutionary consciousness.

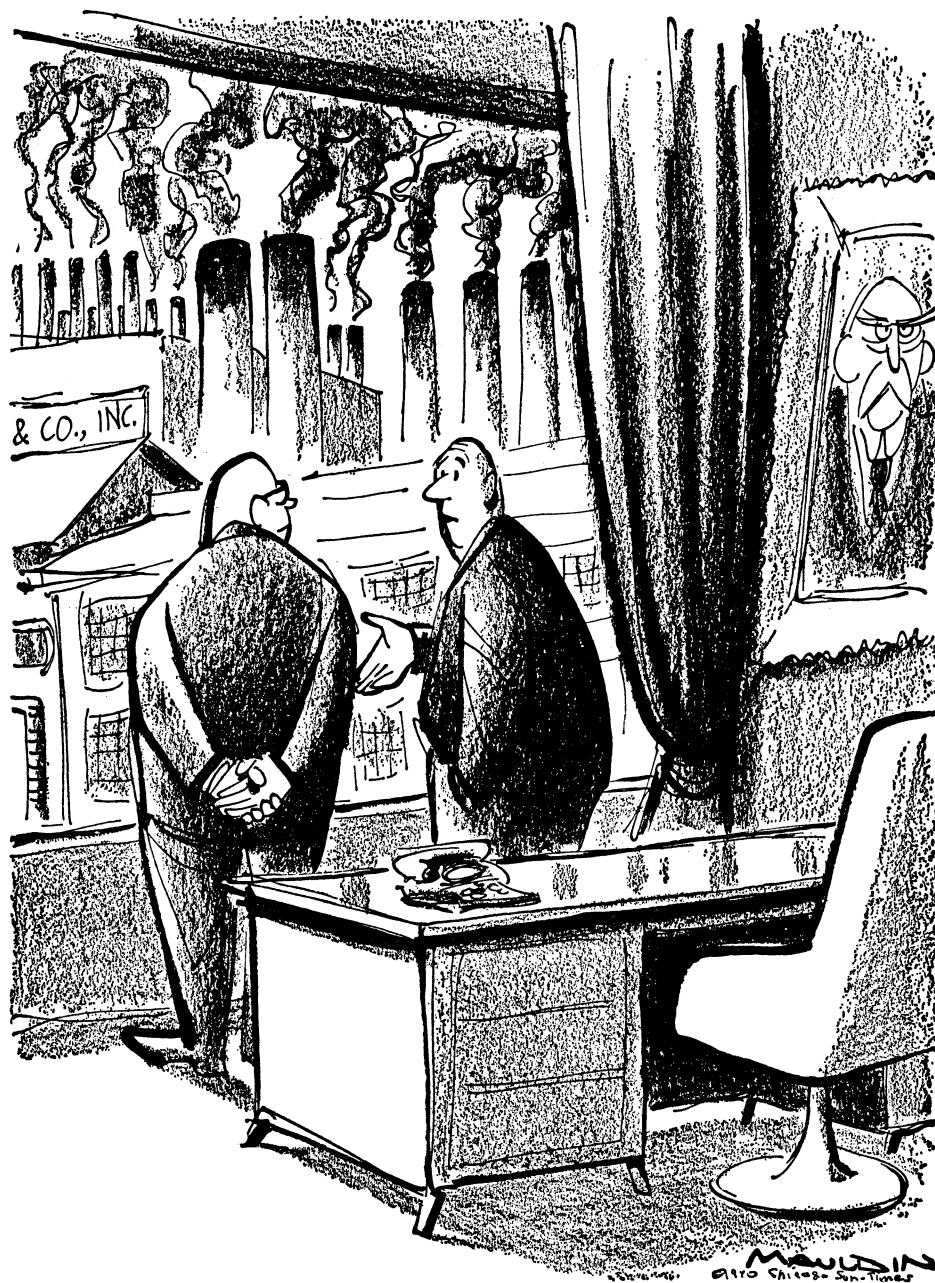
Haroldson sees the ecology movement as essentially a means whereby the ruling class hopes to assert its ideological control over the people by mobilizing the intense emotions called forth by pollution in directions harmless to the status quo. He likewise believes that the ecology movement necessarily absorbs energy that would otherwise be expended in genuine social movements like the antiwar movement.

Haroldson's argument rests on several assumptions. One is that the ecology movement is a finished thing, with a unitary ideological and political character already defined by its conservative leadership. The second is that social movements are inherently competitive with one another. Finally, underlying much of his argument, there is the assumption that environmental issues are somehow intrinsically unsuited—regardless of who is discussing them—to raising questions about the nature of the social system as a whole.

On this last point, however, he has an oddly contradictory attitude. "It is madness," he writes, "to believe that an unresponsive, undemocratic government and corrupt economic system will or can save the earth." Allowing for hyperbole and imprecision of expression, this statement is true enough. But he follows it with the clause, "just as it is madness to participate in a popular ecology movement that is endorsed by the very people who make the movement necessary."

These two statements are inconsistent. Precisely because this social system cannot "save the earth," and precisely because there is a "popular ecology movement" of people who demand that the earth be saved, revolutionaries have an opportunity to explain to large numbers of people why the society must be changed in its foundations if the goal of "saving the earth" is to be achieved. They have this opportunity—but only if they intervene in that popular movement.

Why are "the very people who make the movement necessary" endorsing it? Above all, of course, because they seek to control it, to impose their status-



"Without smoke, people will be exposed to the bare sun"

quo-serving ideology on it. In other words, like every social movement—including the antiwar movement—that arises more or less spontaneously to fight a particular evil of capitalist society, the ecology movement is an ideological battleground. If revolutionaries abstain from it, they will simply be handing the victory to the capitalist politicians. But if they intervene in it correctly, they will be able to convince many individuals of the need for consciously socialist action. They will be able, to some extent, to shape the direction of the antipollution movement itself.

In reality, capitalist ideology is on the

defensive in the ecology movement. It is relatively easy to expose the mendacity and shallowness of even the most "radical" antipollutioneers among capitalist politicians. Take, for example, a recent speech by Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), perhaps the most vociferous environmentalist in Congress, which was entered into the Feb. 4 *Congressional Record* (S 1160).

"The pollution of our environment," Muskie insisted, "is not the product of a small band of men, and it is not the product of our particular economic system. It is the special product of any society which places the consumption of goods and services high on its scale of values and which has the means to provide those goods and services in abundance. It is not who owns the means of production, but how the means of production are managed, that determines the impact of an industrial-technological society on the environment."

All the falseness of capitalist ideology, its total inversion of reality, lies quite close to the surface in this pronouncement, and it is relatively easy to point it out.

After all, the reason there is an ecology movement is that many people have come one way or another to recognize that the economy is actually, in important respects, *not* providing for the consumption of "goods and services"—things that satisfy human needs—but is rather compelling the consumption of "nongoods and disservices" like unbreathable air, undrinkable water and unlivable cities. In other words, many people are becoming aware that however "high on its scale of values" this society may place the consumption of goods and services, real social practice is not determined by those "values" but by something quite different.

That something, it is not too difficult to explain, is the striving of the private owners of industry, and their managers, for profit. And from this, it follows at once that—Muskie to the contrary notwithstanding—how the means of pro-

duction are managed depends very much on who owns them.

As long as they are *privately* owned they will precisely *not* be managed in accordance with any overall *social* plan—any social "scale of values"—which could incorporate as one of its elements knowledge of the potential effects of every act of production or consumption on the natural environment. As long as what is produced and how it is produced is determined by the striving for profit, there will be pollution, because pollution cannot be made unprofitable. In short, the only way to realize the "value" of providing "goods and services" is to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and subject their use to democratic, rational planning.

In short, environmental issues—and the way capitalist ideologues try to handle them—are eminently suited to raise to consciousness the fundamental character of this society and the steps necessary to transform it.

Nor is Haroldson correct in his assumption that social movements are inherently competitive with one another. Underlying it, is the presupposition that there is a given, unalterable number of activists who, for example, if they are not "doing" antipollution will be "doing" antiwar. But this, of course, is false. Different layers of the population are drawn into movements around different issues. But many people originally radicalized around one issue will become active supporters of other struggles—especially if revolutionaries intervene with the correct tactics and the correct slogans. And some individuals in each of these movements will come to recognize the need for struggle against capitalist society as such, will become conscious revolutionaries—again, if revolutionaries intervene correctly.

One of the most important features of the ecology movement is that it is affecting a layer of university students relatively uninvolved until now. The Feb. 7 *Business Week* points out that the leaders of the campus ecology organizations "tend to be older, graduate students, and typically are natural science majors who were only minimally involved in past protest movements."

Haroldson presumably sees in this fact a token of the ecology movement's intrinsic conservatism. That these campus leaders are more "moderate" than the present-day leaders of, say, the antiwar movement should not surprise or depress anyone who remembers the character of the antiwar movement in 1965, when the teach-ins were first sweeping the campuses. It is surely more rational to perceive in the predominance of natural-science graduate students rather the beginning of the entry of a whole new layer of students into the radicalizing social movements.

All in all, *Business Week's* estimate of the potential of the ecology movement seems more just than Haroldson's. With a little trepidation, the authors of the article write: "But pent up energy and anger are boiling not far below the surface. Barring real and visible progress in the national battle to save the environment, this could easily burst forth suddenly, turning for leadership to the old campus activists who are already attuned to political rhetoric and violent protest." But this will *not* happen if those who *Business Week* likes to think of as "old campus radicals," that is, above all, conscious revolutionaries, abstain from the ecology movement.

Right-winger is convicted in Chicago assault case

CHICAGO—The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks scored another victory March 2 in the fight against the fascist-like Legion of Justice. Steven Sedlachs, an alleged member of the Legion, was found guilty of assault stemming from a Feb. 16 attack on Ted Pantellis by three thugs associated with the Legion (see *The Militant*, Feb. 20). Pantellis was standing outside a theater at the time of the attack hawking newspapers including *Second City*, a Chicago underground paper which has carried news reports of Legion attacks on the YSA and SWP in recent months.

After Sedlachs was convicted, he was placed under the supervision of the court until Dec. 30, 1970. Supervision of the court is something less stringent than probation.

Charges against the two others accused of participating in the attack—Tom Stewart and Greg Hervatin—were dismissed, on the grounds that it had not been proven that they, like Sedlachs, had actually physically assaulted Pantellis. Witnesses testified that they saw

Sedlachs rip a pin from Pantellis' coat.

Right-wing attorney S. Thomas Sutton, lawyer for the Legion of Justice, represented the three defendants. Sutton's arguments in the courtroom portrayed Sedlachs as a young, overeager Vietnam veteran (his U.S. Army discharge papers were presented to the judge) who was righteously indignant at the "subversive" material Pantellis was selling and attempted to "defend his beloved country."

Sedlachs, however, exposed his own and his cohorts' real intentions in a melodramatic speech in which he denounced "communist scum" and put forth the now familiar Legion of Justice demand that "treason must be and will be punished."

In another development related to the reluctance of the Chicago police to take action against Sutton and the Legion of Justice, a Chicago congressional candidate, Augustus Savage, exposed the fact that "Nazi hate literature" is being sent to white policemen through the Chicago police department's internal mail system.

Leon Trotsky

On Engels and Kautsky

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SMC sets activities for Antidraft Week

By ELOISE CHASE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Plans are well under way for the spring antiwar offensive. The building at 1029 Vermont Ave. that houses the three major national antiwar groups in the country is buzzing again.

National Antidraft Week, March 16-22, is now off the ground, and actions are planned or in the process of being planned in hundreds of cities across the country. The Student Mobilization Committee, at its national conference in Cleveland, Feb. 14-15, voted to build this week of antidraft activities.

Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the SMC, stated March 3: "The draft is an issue that touches almost every American in one way or another. Forcing an end to it would make it impossible for the Nixon administration to continue its war in Viet-

nam. Because of the widespread opposition to the war it is possible to draw hundreds of thousands of people into struggle to abolish the draft in this country.

"Massive actions will take place this spring during the March 16-22 Antidraft Week. These mass actions should seek to unite the broadest layers of antiwar Americans into action against the draft. They should be massive and independent of the government's parties and institutions. As with the mass struggle for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, our demands should be clear and simple: Abolish the draft, Free all victims of military compulsion, All out for Antidraft Week."

Tying in with Vietnam Week, April 13-18, will be a national referendum on campuses across the country on the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam. The referendum was launched March 4 at a news conference here called by the student government of American University, the initiator and sponsor for the national referendum. The SMC is working closely with the AU student government and will publish campaign material in an effort to amass an overwhelming majority vote on the campuses in favor of immediate, total withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam.

In many major cities, plans are beginning to take shape for mass actions against the war on April 15. The SMC is working with the adult coalitions across the country in developing local scenarios for the actions.

Literature is now rolling off the presses of the SMC for the spring antiwar offensive. Six buttons, three posters, two stickers, bumper stickers, informational leaflets, and brochures may be ordered from the national SMC office.

The next issue of the *Student Mobilizer* is available at 15c per copy or \$7 per 100. This 28-page issue features the resolutions passed at the SMC antiwar conference in Cleveland; speeches to the conference by Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and Sid Peck, leader of the New Mobilization Committee; articles on organizing for Antidraft Week, the spring antiwar offensive, etc. For a literature order form, write to the SMC national office, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Suite 907, Washington, D. C. 20005. Tel: (202) 737-0072.

Boston-area groups agree on mass action for April 15

By ROY INGLEE

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A New England Antiwar Conference, called by the Boston-area SMC and New Mobilization Committee, was held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology here Feb. 28-March 1. It completed two days of sometimes heated discussions with an endorsement of the SMC's spring offensive April 13-18 and with a call for a mass demonstration April 15 around the slogan "Immediate Withdrawal from Vietnam — The U. S. Has Nothing to Negotiate."

To carry out this action program the conference created a coordinating body, the New England Regional Antiwar Coalition, which will embrace all sectors of the antiwar movement.

In some ways this conference marked an important victory for the New England antiwar movement. The attendance, over 1,200 for the opening session, was the largest of any decision-making meeting ever called by the New England movement.

Just about every tendency in the antiwar movement was represented. Al-



Western area conference sets spring antiwar plans

By GEORGE JOHNSON

SAN FRANCISCO — The Western States Antiwar Conference, hosted here Feb. 28-March 1 by the Bay Area Peace Action Council (BAPAC), has endorsed the spring antiwar offensive called by the Student Mobilization Committee's Cleveland conference.

The week of April 13-18 will start here with teach-ins on and off campus. A student strike and proposed downtown work stoppage are scheduled for April 15. The week will culminate in a mass demonstration April 18 in San Francisco.

The conference was the largest antiwar planning meeting ever held in the West, with close to 500 registered. People attended from Colorado, Washington, Oregon and other states, and from all over California. Many of the areas represented at the conference plan to have local organizing conferences to plan actions in their own areas.

The conference was attended by representatives from virtually the entire antiwar movement. Sid Lens, cochairman of New Mobe, addressed the conference, as did Dave McReynolds, well-known pacifist.

The conference, which was open to everyone for both voice and vote, start-

ed with a plenary discussion of concrete action proposals, followed by workshops, and then a resumption of the plenary to decide on the actions.

Some of the workshop proposals were: evening teach-ins near military bases with an organizational meeting of GIs and vets to be held March 14 in San Francisco; endorsement of this spring's antiwar referendum in Black communities; and a campaign around the High School Bill of Rights adopted at the Cleveland conference.

Press coverage of the conference was good, recognizing it as the authoritative western implementation of the Cleveland decisions.

A sectarian attempt by New Mobe-West to undercut the conference by calling a "solidarity conference" the previous weekend was a failure, drawing few more than 100 people.

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

RACISM AND THE ATLANTA SCHOOL CRISIS. Speakers: Mary Sanford, pres. of Perry Homes Tenants Assoc., Afro-American teacher, and leader in Atlanta Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO); Cliff Conner, Atlanta Socialist Workers Party and Atlanta Federation of Teachers. Fri., March 13, 8 p.m., 1176 1/2 West Peachtree (at 14th). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

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. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib: \$5, students \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

MINNEAPOLIS

STUDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. Educational Weekend. Class begins Fri., March 13, 7:30 p.m. Continues Sat., March 14, 11 a.m. 1 University Ave. NE.

MARXISM VS. MAOISM. Speaker: Derrel Myers, Twin Cities organizer SWP. Sat., March 14, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE. Tel: 332-7781. Contrib: 75c, students 50c. Ausp: Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE LEFT-WING TRADITION IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE FROM TROTSKY TO SOLZHENITSYN. Speaker: Thompson Bradley, assist. prof. of Russian literature, Swarthmore College. Fri., March 13, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.) Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Dinner 6:30 p.m. (\$1.25) Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

Speakers: PAT MAGINNIS, president Society for Humane Abortion, and RICHARD BOWERS, founder Zero Population Growth. Fri., March 13, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. 2338 Market. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

NYU teach-ins mark 60th Int'l Women's Day

NEW YORK — In observance of International Women's Day, New York University Women's Liberation held a series of forums March 2-5. The sessions were attended by several hundred women, as well as a number of men.

The series, held each evening at NYU, included two panels, one on women's oppression and the other on "Directions for the Women's Liberation Movement," as well as a series of workshops.

Organizations which were represented at the meetings included Black Women's Liberation Group, Media Women, Housewives Liberation Group, Red Stockings, WITCH, New Feminists, New York Women's Liberation, the SDS Women's Caucus, Leviathan, and Health PAC.

Also, Rachel Towne of People to Abolish Abortion Laws spoke about the upcoming demonstration for free abortion on demand, scheduled to be held March 28 in New York. Much interest was expressed in the demonstration.

Workshops covered such topics as "Marriage, the Family and Children — Problems and Alternatives," "Sexual Oppression of Women," "Women's Oppression in Schools and on the Job," "Abortion and the Pill," and "Men's Role in Women's Liberation." All the workshops were closed to men except the last one.

The Great Society

Shrink helps shrink conscience—Mini-buses cruise the Los Angeles Watts ghet-to daily, picking up Black women for day work as housemaids. The women get \$20 a day, from which the operators deduct \$8 for "transportation and agency commission." One mobile-maid operator, Larry Buzin, said that at first he felt guilty that he was exploiting the women, but he went to his psychiatrist who helped him. "He says I have a legitimate service—and if people don't like it they don't have to use it. That makes me feel a lot better."

Reality is a crutch—LBJ went down, former press aide George Reedy explains, because living in the White House "shields the president from reality and can warp his political instincts."



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.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

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) 536-6981 (HQ), 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.

In fact things got so bad, Lyndon couldn't even prevaricate like a pro anymore. "Somehow," Reedy observed, "he had lost his instinctive sense of what people would and would not believe."

The ultimate American mate—One of the features of the Cleveland Home and Flower show is a robot shaped and dressed like a female which reportedly cleans, cooks, mends, and "what not." Put her together with that mechanical copulating machine offered in New York a while back and all your emotional problems are solved.

For prosperous peaceniks—A Menlo Park, Calif., investment broker offers "professional money management to those who, because of their philosophical, theological or moral beliefs, prefer not to invest in companies that contribute to the military-industrial complex." Minimum portfolio, \$10,000. You could send the dough by way of one of those peace-imprinted checks (see letters page).

Junk mail—About 400 letters addressed to various U.S. senators turned up in a Los Angeles wastepaper yard, unopened. All had been addressed to the Senate Office Building in D.C. Maybe a mail clerk there decided to eliminate a step in the process.

Thought for the week—"It is dreadful for a woman to spend her life first as somebody's daughter, then as somebody's wife, and finally as somebody's mother."—Dr. Beverly Mead, chairman of the department of psychiatry, Creighton University, Calif.

—HARRY RING

IN PASSING

How the media viewed SMC nat'l conference

Reportage of the Feb. 14-15 national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee has ranged from excellent to red-baitingly terrible.

In the latter category were articles such as those in the *New York Times* and the Columbia University *Spectator*, which alleged an undemocratic "tight control" over the conference by the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA was the only organized radical group supporting the majority proposals during the weekend, although most radical political organizations were in attendance.

The Feb. 16 *Cleveland Press* on the other hand commented on the democracy of the conference:

"But despite the emotional fervor with which most of the students embraced their ideas, an almost overwhelming democracy prevailed. Nearly everyone who wished got a chance to speak."

The Feb. 16 *Washington Post* noted the strong participation of high school students. In particular, it pointed out, "A high school girl from San Francisco was one of three authors of a position paper on women's liberation and the fight against the war, which was enough of a conference issue to attract one of the largest crowds of the weekend to a workshop."

Ed Perlmutter, legislative director of the New York City Social Service Employees Union Local 371, contributed an excellent article on the conference to the Feb. 20 issue of the union paper, *The Unionist*. He clearly defined the crucial questions debated in Cleveland:

"What the *New York Times* termed as 'fierce factional disputes' at the conference was more a disagreement as to what to 'emphasize' than anything else. There was agreement by all groups to support the defense of the Black Panthers, women's liberation, the high school movement, etc. What was at issue was the continued focus of the antiwar movement on the issue of *immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam*. Focus on this has proved to be the basis for the greatest degree of unity and strength for the antiwar movement and changing the focus would only create problems at this time."

In the Feb. 28 *Guardian*, Rod Such wrote a report that, while biased toward the nominally "anti-imperialist" Independent Radical Caucus and Revolutionary Youth Movement, is generally accurate and strongly promotes the conference's decisions to build the April 15 mass actions. According to his interpretation of the basic issues, "What the radical caucus attempted was not so much to radically change the direction of the SMC as it was to graft onto SMC a multi-issue perspective that would begin to relate the antiwar movement to racism, workers and imperialism."

The Feb. 21 Liberation News Service packet contained a concise factual account.

The Feb. 23 issue of the Atlanta

CP takes dim view of SMC

The Communist Party, whose youth joined with pacifists in splitting from the SMC in 1968, has apparently found the SMC conference a problem. After the conference, the Daily World carried a photo of the gathering, but with identification curiously absent. Then three weeks later, on Feb. 28, it carried a "report" on the conference. Its central point is the slanderous assertion that YSAers in the SMC are not concerned with fighting racism. The article attempts to "prove" this slander by getting down to the CP's real concern: that the YSA does not give political support to such Black Democrats as Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind.

Great Speckled Bird carried two very good, short reports, one by Jim Gwin and one by Jeff Berchenko, who stressed the high-school organizing aspects of the conference. And in its March 2 issue, the *Bird* carried a longer piece by Gwin, which is one of the most perceptive reports on Cleveland to appear.

Gwin clearly recognized the character of the opposition to the present SMC leadership and basic orientation. "Free John Sinclair" and "bullshit" rang out many times during the conference," he wrote, "summing up the sentiment of a number of hip anarchists who despite their numbers were never able to generate a program other than organizing against the *organization* of the SMC."

And Gwin drew the conclusion from the conference:

"It is within the Student Mobilization Committee and the antiwar coalition that anti-imperialists should work—both to bring masses of people into the streets against the Vietnam war and to educate about the system that has caused that war, imperialism. Proposals for independent anti-imperialist actions coinciding with major antiwar demonstrations should not be forced on the whole student antiwar coalition, but rather should be adopted by an anti-imperialist organization within the antiwar coalition. Within the next 10 years, there may come a time when the slogan and program may change to "No Wars for American Empire," "No Service in Imperialist Armies," "U.S. Out of Laos Now," or "U.S. Out of Brazil Now." But now the concrete situation continues to demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam—U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW."

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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N.Y. high schoolers, parents jam hearings

Board of education denounced

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—The High School Student Rights Coalition is mapping plans for a massive high school shutdown here April 15 in its stepped-up drive to win a High School Bill of Rights.

Participants in the broad-based coalition which is demanding that the board of education accept its bill of rights include such forces as the General Organization City Council (the citywide high school student government), High School Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, High School Moratorium Committee, African-American Student Association, and ASPIRA, a Puerto Rican student group.

The board of education got a taste of the determination and militancy of

student rights supporters when the board held a Feb. 26 public hearing at New York City Community College on its proposed "Resolution Stating Rights and Responsibilities of Senior High School Students (Amended)."

More than 500 students and their parents came to the hearing and effectively turned it into a discussion on the High School Bill of Rights, which would give students genuine rights of self-government, not the token ones offered in the board of education plan.

The hearing was divided into two sessions, one in the afternoon from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., and another in the evening from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. However, the students were so enraged with the board's rigged speakers list for the evening, which was dominated by adults, that the board, instead of rearranging the agenda, summarily adjourned the session after about an hour.

During the discussion, every student speaker and many of the adults expressed support for the High School Bill of Rights. As Julian Gonzalez, a representative of the General Organization at John Jay High School, put it, the Bill of Rights "is a step toward guaranteeing high school students the same rights as accorded all U.S. citizens. . . . These rights will make student government what it is supposed to be, a student government."

Evan Cohen of the High School Student Mobilization Committee raised the question of why the board had not publicized the hearings in the schools, if they were really interested in eliciting the opinions of students.

Mike Weisman of Student Mobe described how the repressive nature of school administrations denies the right of students to organize against the war in Vietnam.

The high schools will be major organizing centers for building the spring antiwar offensive, declared SMCer Julie Simon.

Miguel Padilla, Socialist Workers Par-

ty candidate for attorney general, was warmly applauded as he lashed out at the board for its repression of Black and Puerto Rican students and outlined a program for Black and Puerto Rican education.

The session wound up with remarks by two representatives of the Brooklyn-based African-American Student Association and a spokesman for the Queens Black Student Union.

Andy Curry, a sister from ASA, described how the tracking system, a system which decides who will be the manual laborers as opposed to those slated for college, messes up thousands of Black and Puerto Rican students.

Hassan, the BSU representative who has been expelled from school, communicated about the problem of political repression.

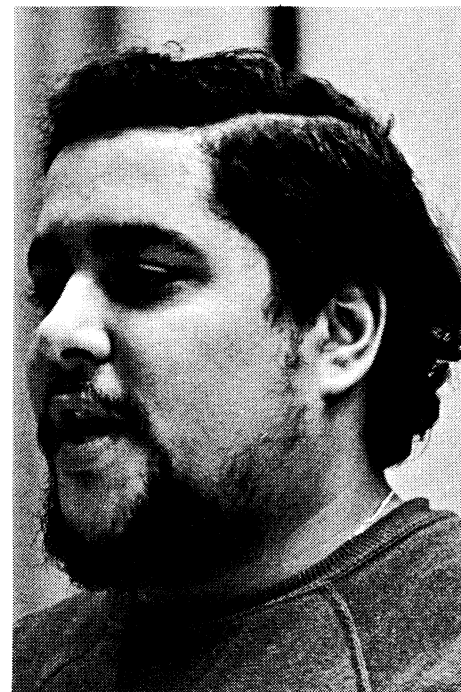
Sulaymon of ASA read the 15 demands around which the organization had launched some struggles last spring. These demands emphasized the need to withdraw the police from the schools. But after the adjournment the whole board of education disappeared behind a blue curtain of cops who were very visible throughout the proceedings.

Since the hearing, the United Bronx Parents, a powerful organization of Black and Puerto Rican parents, decided to support the HSSRC.

Just an indication of the explosive situation came down at George Washington High School in upper Manhattan. On March 2, parents, students, and a few teachers attempted to set up tables at the predominately Black and Puerto Rican school in order to get a sense of student grievances. After being refused by the administration, the group succeeded in shutting down the school. This is just a harbinger of what is to come.

The High School Student Rights coalition can be contacted at the SMC headquarters, 857 Broadway, Rm. 307, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: 675-6930.

Padilla speaks for minority rights



In a statement issued to the press, Miguel Padilla, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of New York State, charged, "the board of education's proposal is designed to perpetuate the intolerable and oppressive conditions which exist in our city's high schools. The proposal specifically denies Black, Puerto Rican, Asian and other Third World students the right to form their own organizations to fight the racism which runs rampant throughout the New York City public school system. It gives high school principals the right to suppress and repress students who speak out against the vicious racial oppression."

"Along with the other candidates of the SWP, I support the New York City High School Bill of Rights as passed by the New York City G.O. Council and the High School Student Rights Coalition. Further, we demand that all cops get out of the schools, that the demonstration school districts be restored under community control, and that Black and Puerto Rican people control Black and Puerto Rican education."

Students probe vandal attack at Springfield

By JOHN BARZMAN

BOSTON — Students at Springfield College in Springfield, Mass., are investigating a Feb. 12 attack by right-wing vandals on the apartment of three students who were participating in a sit-in to protest censorship of the student newspaper. Despite the fact that damage to the apartment of Bob Rowe, one of the sit-in leaders, has been estimated to be over \$1,000, the police have refused to even take fingerprints.

The sit-in had been organized to protest the suspension of Larry Libow by the college. He was charged with using improper and rude language in an article appearing in the campus newspaper which the administration found irritating because it exposed the role of the trustees of Springfield College as directors of the Mass. Mutual Life Insurance Co. Mass. Mutual is presently engaged in tearing down the center of Springfield to build a tax-free complex which will cost the city about \$3-million in nonpayment of taxes each year for 40 years.

A petition demanding that Libow be reinstated gained widespread support on campus. It was after the failure of the administration to respond to it that about 80 students voted to sit in at the administration building.

Libow's case has been taken up by the ACLU and he is still awaiting a decision from the Faculty Committee. Messages supporting him may be sent to President W. E. Locklin, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass. 01109.

Gov't averts rail shutdown

Congress acted on March 4 against railroad shopmen to freeze wages and working conditions on the 128-line rail system of this country for another 37 days. This action came six hours before the midnight strike deadline set by shopcraft unions after 16 months of fruitless negotiations with the carriers.

The "emergency measure" of the Congress is designed to tie the hands of the unions and pressure the workers to accept a company-inspired agreement—while leaving the carriers free to operate and under no constraint to concede a single point or even negotiate further. The Senate vote was 83-0; the House vote, 343-15.

Socialist stand on N.Y. housing crisis

By CLIFTON DEBERRY
SWP candidate for governor of
New York

NEW YORK—The Democrats, Republicans and Liberals who run New York City evidently have just discovered there is a housing crisis in New York. The Lindsay administration had to pay the Rand Corporation (a military research group) \$500,000 to find out, officially.

Any New Yorker could have told them. City housing officials recently admitted to the *New York Times* that "hundreds" of apartment buildings have been without heat or water for most of the winter. Unsafe conditions have already led to the death of unknown numbers of people including the mother and four children who died of carbon monoxide poisoning in their Brooklyn apartment in February. Even by official standards, which are none too strict, 20 percent of New York City's 2,700,000 housing units are "substandard."

The housing situation is worst in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, where substandard housing is concentrated. As spokesmen for the Citywide Anti-Poverty Committee on Housing told city officials Feb. 16, "It's gotten so bad that people in Harlem are afraid to complain about rats and fire hazards in their apartments because the city will close down the building and then they'll have no place to go."

But these aren't the things the Democrats and Republicans are worried about. The Rand Corporation report, and the attention of the city officials, have focused on the plight not of the millions of people who live in these conditions, but of the banks and the handful of people who own these buildings, who profit from them. The Rand report cries out in pity for the owners of the 722,000 apartments which, they say, have rents of \$30 a month less than needed for "adequate maintenance and a competitive profit." This is what they are concerned about. So they call



Clifton DeBerry

Private profit system milks tenants

for raising our rents to make sure the landlords get their "competitive profits."

This is what the Democratic and Republican parties are all about—ensuring profit for the tiny minority who make that profit through imposing rotten conditions on the majority.

The Socialist Workers Party takes the opposite approach. We say that no one has the right to make profit off of other people, especially from such basic human needs as housing. The system of private ownership of housing, of milking tenants dry to stuff the pockets of the banks and landlords, is what has led to the housing crisis we now face. We say that the decisions about where housing is built, what kind of housing is built, and how it is maintained should not be based on what is profitable, but on the needs of the people of New York.

There is plenty of money in this state, sitting in the pockets and bank accounts of those who are profiting from the war in Vietnam, of those who control the banks and corporations. Let's put it to use.

We call for using it for an emergency, public-controlled program of construction of decent housing for all who need it; for extension of rent control to all housing in New York State; for a rent ceiling of 10 percent of a tenant's income; for financing this program through a 100 percent tax on all war profits and a 100 percent tax on all income over \$25,000.