

**THE
MILITANT**

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Chicano youth in L.A. fight for school control

—story page 12



Chicano, Black and Oriental students and supporters on picket line at Roosevelt High School in Los Angeles. Miserable conditions at school, coupled with police brutality, sparked movement for Chicano control of Chicano schools.

How 'Life in an Auto Plant' was born

From gripe session to Militant series

Fremont, Calif.

I am writing to thank you for the good coverage of my series on "Life in an Auto Plant," and to tell you that we are happy it is coming out soon as a pamphlet.

We have been able to introduce *The Militant* to new readers here in the plant, and the pamphlet will spread the name of the paper further.

You will be interested to know how I happened to write about our life here in the plant. It is funny and shows how sometimes hardly related events can lead on to something useful.

We had a gripe session during our lunch break, about 12 of us from my motor line and from frame and axle. It was during our strike crisis, and I suggested that we corner the shop committee and tell them to get our story of speedup out to the press in order to expose and embarrass GM.

We got ahold of the chairman of the shop committee, explained our idea, and urged that this tactic be tried. He played the whole thing down by arguing that the big newspapers would not touch anything against mighty GM. (He was probably right.)

But enough workers were interested in the idea so that it couldn't just be put aside. So I suggested that we write the article ourselves, and that we get it published in any of the papers that would handle it, including the underground and radical press. Everyone agreed. They told me to write it up, and of course you know that the only paper in the country that would publish our story was *The Militant*.

None of us knew how much space it would take. And we didn't know it would be run in installments. But that turned out well because everyone looked forward from week to week for "our" story. Some copies were read by as many as 15 workers on the line here.

There are young workers in the plant who have had some political experience and are now taking another look at the Socialist Workers Party. I had an opportunity to meet one of them and was surprised to learn that he had been studying the writings of Trotsky.

I hope some young workers run as delegates to the UAW convention in Atlantic City. They are the kind who

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.

at least will bring back a report to the membership of what actually goes on at these conventions. Meantime, if the pamphlet is here before election day I hope to use it to campaign for such delegates.

Tom Cagle

GI wants true picture of what's happening

Ft. Rucker, Alabama

Brothers: I am currently serving two years of indentured servitude with Uncle Sugar. I just wanted to thank the staff of *The Militant* for giving me the true picture of what is happening throughout the country. As one could no doubt guess, *The Army Times* is not representative of the growing dissatisfaction of American youth, and the entire leftist movement. Solidarity.

Pfc. A. C.

Socialists upset Upstate right wingers

New York, N. Y.

If you had been listening to radio station WFLY-FM in Albany the week preceding March 10 you would have heard a commentator urge listeners to be sure and tune in on March 10 to learn the truth about the "communist threat in America." The show is called "The Truth Is" with the subtitle on March 10 being "Expose—Communists Infiltrate Tri-Cities Area!"

The "communist infiltrators" were Kipp Dawson, SWP candidate for U. S. senator, Bill O'Kain of the Albany YSA, and myself from the New York YSA. Kipp Dawson led the discussion by explaining the importance of building the antiwar movement and the meaning of her campaign. Bill O'Kain described the developing struggle at State University of New York for student rights—a movement in which he is playing a leading role. I explained the internal democracy of the YSA.

There were a surprising number of sympathetic callers, in view of the fact that WFLY is reportedly listened to by large numbers of right wingers. Of course, some of them called too. A woman, identifying herself as a John Bircher, said she was against democracy because, "democracy leads to anarchy."

The program ended with the *Star Spangled Banner*.

Dave Haldane

Calls The Militant reactionary

Corona, N. Y.

While gazing through your rag I noticed that while you call yourself *The Militant*, from your news you ought to be called *The Reactionary*.

In your report on the Seattle demonstration following the lynching of the Chicago 9 you say, "Ultraleft tactics of some rock-throwing demonstrators provided the police with an excuse to move in and to break up the demonstration, arresting and beating demonstrators and bystanders." This is bullshit because the pacifists at that one will have to see that you either have to fight or be beaten in our police state.

If you want the support of the New Left, give news of it objectively—present ways to destroy society, and also give space to the cause of the Black Panthers, Young Lords, RYM and Weatherman, not just socialist news.

MLS

Monogamy and capitalism

Brooklyn, N. Y.

In the past year, I've seen articles in *The Militant* regarding the family. True, monogamy developed with capitalism, with the rise of individual property rights and individual wealth. True, the masses suffer from the oppressors. That is what preserves monogamy.

But you can't get rid of that overnight. We have to get rid of wage exploitation, and the exploiters who oppress male and female alike.

What we need is a revolutionary movement to keep America and the world from going fascist. Capitalism must be destroyed.

Edward Bellows

Antiwar GI paper in Frankfurt

Frankfurt, Germany

Enclosed are some issues of *We Got the brASS and Venceremos*, a paper put out by GIs in Frankfurt. Please send all issues of *The Militant* which have articles on women's liberation or the GI struggle—as well as a subscription. We'll send papers from here as they come out.

S. M.

Assails Nixon's drug program

New York, N. Y.

One of the most damning indictments of decaying U. S. capitalist society is the increasing use of heroin by high school students. This is also one more area in which bourgeois politicians, by demonstrating their inability to cope with the problem, reveal the incompetence of their class to rule.

Nixon's latest proposal—for a \$12-million "crash program" of education about the danger of drugs—is a case in point. The projected program is patently stupid on two counts. First, the last people to whom high school students will pay any attention on this question are school authorities. The students have heard these people lie too often to put any stock in what they say about drugs.

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Closing news date—March 20

Second, and even more important, the problem is not primarily or in most cases that students do not know heroin and amphetamines to be harmful. In fact, they are aware that they are damaging themselves and part of the very motivation they have for using these drugs is the disapproval with which they know such self-destructiveness is viewed by authorities for whom they have no respect, representing a system whose values they reject.

The responsibility for waging effective combat against this poisonous misexpression of rebellion falls to revolutionaries who can, by creating an insurgent pole of attraction which inspires confidence and optimism, in large measure cut across the cynical despair at the root of this new wave of drug use.

Ultimately, of course, we will smash the conditions which give rise to this tragic waste of human potential. In the meantime, I think it is important that revolutionary socialists deal explicitly with this problem more frequently and in greater depth than we have in the past. I hope to see *The Militant* do something on this subject in the near future.

Lee Smith

Time for the real jury to speak out

McPherson, Kan.

Now that the Chicago Conspiracy trial is over and the verdicts and sentences have been handed out it is time for the real jury to speak out. There are too many people in the country who still have blind faith in America's blind justice. These brothers went to prison for us so let's get them out.

K. S.

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

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

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

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

Name

Address

City State Zip

April 15 roundup

Atlanta, other cities map mobilization plans

The Atlanta Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has mapped an ambitious program for the spring antiwar offensive. It has projected a full week of actions, culminating in an April 18 mass march, in which thousands are expected to participate around the slogan "End the Racist War in Vietnam—U. S. Out Now!"

April 14 has been designated "Women and the War" day, during which campus SMCs and women's liberation groups will hold teach-ins or panel discussions; and the Atlanta Mobe Women's Caucus will leaflet the city with special handbills.

On April 15, leaflets will be distributed at workplaces explaining the relation between the war, high taxes and the rising cost of living.

On April 16, "GI Day," a special effort will be made to reach GIs with leaflets and actions at the many surrounding military bases encouraging servicemen to take part in the April 18 march.

The SMC and the High School Mobilization Committee have called for a student strike April 17 with teach-ins on campuses and a citywide rally for high school and college students.

Five project directors have been elected to coordinate the building of these actions.

New York

With the board of education refusing to even negotiate with the New York High School Rights Coalition, the students held a meeting March 7 at which they decided to picket the board's headquarters at 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn, at 3 p.m., March 20.

This slated action was to be a prelude to a mass demonstration at the Living-

ston site April 14, leading into a general strike of high school students on April 15. This is the same day the national SMC has set for high school and college strikes across the country. High school students will rally at City Hall in favor of high school rights and then march to join in the citywide antiwar demonstration later in the day.

At a citywide SMC meeting March 14, lengthy political debate arose over perspectives for the spring antiwar offensive. The meeting was a sign of the expanding influence of the SMC in that it was attended by groups that have shown little interest in building the antiwar movement in the past. The Progressive Labor Party, for example, which opposed united antiwar action from the outset, came to this meeting in large numbers. Other groups in attendance included the Young Workers Liberation League, Labor Committee, the International Socialists and a few other sects.

No agreement was reached on the many proposals put forward, and another citywide decision-making meeting will be held March 29.

The New York SMC will be building the spring offensive and the activities of the High School Rights Coalition and the Third World Committee out of its new, spacious headquarters at 15 E. 17 St., New York, N. Y. 10003.

San Francisco

Students won a significant victory over the administration at San Francisco State College March 10 in a struggle against military recruiting on campus. For the first time in two years a Military Information Day was scheduled



for March 10. This was obviously a direct provocation on the part of the administration, coming as it did on the heels of the recent Black Studies Department firings.

When SMC learned that the recruiters were scheduled to be on campus, it called a mass meeting to discuss what to do. The meeting voted to have a rally on Mon., March 9, with a march to the administration building to demand that Hayakawa remove the recruiters. The meeting also decided on a mass picket line and rally on Tuesday.

The picketing began with over 200 students participating. The recruiters had originally been scheduled to set up their tables outdoors but the militant attitude of the students forced them to move inside to the rear of the gymnasium.

The administration provided "protection" by calling in 75 "Tac Squad" police and 16 mounted police, who were located in the administration building and surrounding the room housing the recruiters.

Later the largest rally this year was held, with over 1,500 attending. The speakers included spokesmen from YSA,

SDS and SMC. Following the rally, the crowd resumed the picket line at the doors of the gym. At this time the police emerged brandishing their riot sticks and forced the picketers back to the road running parallel to the gym and finally succeeded in dispersing them.

Despite the cops, the demonstration successfully prevented recruitment. It also served notice to Hayakawa that this campus will no longer be dormant in the face of his provocations. This was a good step toward building the spring offensive here, when SMC hopes to shut the campus down on April 15.

Cleveland

The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council hosted an Ohio regional antiwar conference here March 14-15. Most of the participants came from adult antiwar groups, though the SMC and other youth groups did have a few delegates.

Stanley Tolliver, attorney for Ahmed Evans, and Sam Pollack of the Amalgamated Meatcutters union addressed themselves to the need to involve Afro-Americans and labor in the fight against the war.

Other speakers included Sid Peck of New Mobe; Joan Campbell of Clergy and Laymen Concerned; and Max Kirsch, a Cleveland high school SMC leader.

There was near unanimity at the conference on the need for continued mass demonstrations against the war. Virtually every workshop oriented itself toward building April 15 and continuing such forms of action in the future.

Los Angeles

In spite of a scurrilous attempt by the Cal State school administration to prevent a March 7 regional meeting of the SMC from taking place on the grounds that violence might ensue, close to 100 antiwar activists registered for the conference.

Through a broad defense effort supported by the SMC national office, the ACLU, various antiwar and radical groups, a decisive victory was won for the SMC and all student groups at Cal State L. A.

The conference projected a mass march and rally in downtown Los Angeles April 15 and actions for high school students, women's liberation activists, and Blacks and Chicanos.

Washington, D.C.

An April action coalition has been formed here by representatives of a number of organizations, including Washington Mobe, SMC, Vietnam Moratorium Committee, Women's Liberation and at least a half dozen others.

Plans being projected for April 15 are for morning actions oriented to women's and Third World antiwar demands, a midday mass rally at the office of the Internal Revenue Service, and a late-afternoon mass march to the Capitol for a rally.

New attack by Chicago right wingers

CHICAGO—Wednesday, March 11, at 8:30 p.m., five members of the Legion of Justice, a right-wing gang of thugs headed by attorney S. Thomas Sutton, attempted to enter a Chicago Peace Council-sponsored war crimes tribunal at the Palacio Theater in Chicago. They were refused admittance because of previous Legion attacks on Peace Council members. Upon being escorted to the door, one Legion member, Steven Fedlacko, attempted to press a lighted cigarette into the hand of Norman Roth, a trade unionist belonging to the UAW. The Legion members left without further incident.

Two days later, on Friday, March 13, two Chicago policemen, along with six members of the Legion of Justice, burst into the Speakeasy coffee house in Oak Park where Norman Roth was speaking. The police immediately arrested Roth—in connection with the Palacio Theater incident! Roth's bond was set at \$3,000.

Also on March 13, at about 7:45 p.m., eight members of the Legion of Justice entered the Guild bookstore at 2136 N. Halsted Street, target of several previous Legion attacks.

Richard Wunsch, the proprietor, fearful for the safety of the three customers in the store, told the Legion members to leave. (The Legion carried out an armed physical attack on the Guild bookstore on Feb. 6.) Less than two minutes later, the Legion members came back into the store with no less than 12 Chicago police. The police surveyed the literature in the book store and arrested Wunsch on the complaint of Steven Fedlacko, for aggravated assault and possession of an unregistered weapon, all trumped-up charges. Wunsch's bond was set at \$1,000 and

Gil Terry, member of the bookstore cooperative and victim of previous attacks, went down to the police station to bail Wunsch out.

Police refused to even look at the fire-arms registration presented to them and immediately arrested Terry for assault in connection with the Palacio Theater incident. (Terry had opened the door for the departing Legion members at the war crimes tribunal.) Terry's bond was set at \$3,000.

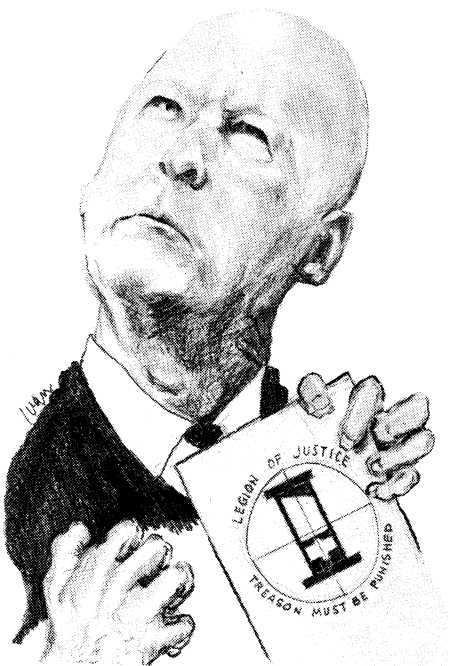
On March 18, a delegation of over 40 people met with state's attorney's assistant Robert Boyle at the criminal courthouse in Chicago to demand a grand jury investigation of the activities of the Legion of Justice. The delegation included representatives of a

broad range of organizations and victims of Legion attacks such as the Alliance to End Repression, Chicago Peace Council, Student Mobilization Committee, New Mobilization Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, the Guild bookstore, Young Workers Liberation League and the Lincoln Park Town Meeting.

Laura Miller, spokesman for the group and national secretary of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, said of the meeting with Boyle: "This delegation was part of a response by citizens of Chicago to a chain of vicious physical attacks and harassment upon various antiwar, socialist and student groups and the collusion of the Chicago police department with the Legion. The state's attorney has repeatedly refused to act on this matter, and this meeting was another disappointment for those who are attempting to defend the civil liberties of the victims of the Legion of Justice."

"Mr. Boyle indicated that the state's attorney had not even considered the issue, despite the fact that these attacks have been going on for months and we have frequently attempted to enlist the service of this office in stopping these crimes. No conclusive action will be taken by the state's attorney's office at this time in response to the illegal activities of the Legion of Justice."

Due to appear in court Thursday, March 19, are S. Thomas Sutton and Legion members Thomas K. Stewart and Eugene Cozzi on charges of possession of stolen material. The charges stem from a Nov. 12, 1969, press conference at which the three appeared with materials which had been stolen during a Nov. 1 Legion attack on the headquarters of the Chicago YSA-SWP.

**S. Thomas Sutton**

An historic chapter in U.S. labor history

Int'l Women's Day born in struggle

The following is the slightly abridged text of a speech by Dianne Feeley in commemoration of International Women's Day. The speech was given March 8 at a meeting sponsored by Women's Liberation #1 at Los Angeles City College. Dianne Feeley is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from California.

* * *

This week we celebrate not only International Women's Day, but Rosa Luxemburg's birthday (March 5), and we are paying tribute to Harriet Tubman and Susan B. Anthony. Luxemburg is remembered not only as a great theoretician, but as a revolutionary who was brutally murdered in the 1919 German uprising. Harriet Tubman, who has been described as the Moses of her people, and Susan B. Anthony, the suffragist, were Americans central to the struggle for women's rights, to the struggle for human rights. And in our celebration here today, we also want to recall the many individual women who have made contributions which must be written back into history.

International Women's Day arose out of an incident in American labor history, much like May Day. And the history of this day is really the history of American women, who helped to build up the technological society in which we now live.

Women have been employed in the large textile factories of the East since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. As a matter of fact, women represented an overwhelming section of the factory laborers in the textile industry—95 percent at one point.

You know that saying about "a woman's work is never done"? Employers were not in the habit of announcing quitting time, and they found that even after working 10 or 12 hours, women would continue to work. And so employers began extending the work day in those factories where women predominated.

Many workers slept in the factories all week long, going home only on their day off. Women would work anywhere from 13-16 hours a day, until they could no longer see the fabric, and then they'd get a few hours of sleep in a corner.

Even a woman's wages were not her own. Employers had a whole system of fines, to be deducted before payment. One could be fined for singing, for getting machine oil on the fabric, or for making mistakes. And on payday, a woman's father or brother or husband would come to the paymaster to collect her earnings. In fact, it is only within the last ten years that California repealed the law which main-



UNION FIGHTERS. This photo from the August 1926 issue of *Labor Defender* shows a few of the 91 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union jailed during a strike that year for defying an anti-strike injunction.

tained a woman's earnings were under her husband's control.

Women workers, according to newspaper estimates dating from 1833, were paid one-quarter of a man's wages. And, of course, there were the employers who simply told the woman, "I'm not going to pay you, and there's nothing you can do." In *Century of Struggle*, Eleanor Flexner records a meeting in which hundreds of women agreed, "Oh, if we could always get paid for our work, we could get along."

Statistics reveal that 36 out of every 100 workers in the Lawrence, Mass., textile mills died before their 25th birthday. The factory recruiters, who became known as "slavers," would tour the countryside each day, bringing back a cartload of young women. Posters portraying working men carrying suitcases filled with gold were put up all over Europe, persuading hundreds of thousands of immigrants to try their fortune in America.

But the wages were pitiful. In 1909, while \$900 a year might be considered the poverty level, a New England factory which employed many thousands of workers paid an average wage of \$437.54 a year. Working conditions were primitive—disease, malnutrition and accidents snuffed out lives as if they were nothing but penny candles.

In 1860, defective pillars in a Massachusetts mill claimed the lives of 670 workers. In the 1912 Triangle Fire on New York's Lower East Side, a fire broke out in a building with barred exits, killing 146. The employers kept them barred for fear the women might sneak out the back way. Many women plunged eight to 10 stories to their death, their bodies ablaze; others were trapped in the inferno. The courts acquitted the employers, and later fined one partner \$20.

The first known strike in which women participated occurred in 1824, though the men and women strikers met separately. By 1828, in Dover, N. H., women organized their own strike. A frequent method of organizing was the petition, through which women would pledge to stand together on a given issue. If the employer did not heed the warning, the women mobilized those who had signed as the core of the strike organizing committee. In addition, women led struggles to improve their conditions, particularly beginning with the period after the Civil War.

Employers had their methods of keeping women in line: cops, mayors, Pinker-

ton agents, the lockout, the fear that if you stood up and fought things would only be worse. In the Lawrence, Mass., strike of 1912, the factory owners kept the idle machines running to fool the workers into thinking that production was continuing. The owners spread rumors that the strike was dead, and the women organized a "No Back To Work Monday" demonstration to effectively squelch the rumor.

The Lawrence strike ended in a victory for the workers. During the strike 116 children were sent to New York City, to "foster parents" who would take care of them for the duration of the strike. Actually, most of the children were strikers themselves. After a thorough examination, all 116 were found to be in one stage or other of malnutrition. Such publicity was so devastating that when the second group of children was to board the train, they were savagely attacked. When the militia was called in the mayor proclaimed, "We will either break this strike or break the strikers' heads."

During the Lawrence strike the women sang their own song, "Bread and Roses," which was set to the "Hymn to Joy" from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

In 1908, the Socialist Party began serious agitational work among women workers. As an outgrowth, a mass meeting of more than 3,000 women was held in New York City the following year. Working women raised demands centering around the right to vote and an end to sweatshop conditions.

Later in the year, as women developed a certain confidence in their organizing efforts, around the militant International Ladies Garment Workers Union, women called the first general strike in the history of the United States. The strike spread from New York to Philadelphia, and although it was inconclusive, the Revolt of the 30,000—as it is known—proved the tremendous capacity of women workers to organize.

Clara Zetkin, a German socialist and friend of Rosa Luxemburg, followed these events closely, and urged the 1910 International Conference of Socialist Women meeting in Copenhagen to commemorate March 8 by making it an International Working Women's Day.

Perhaps the two most significant March 8 celebrations to date occurred within the next few years. In 1914, Clara Zetkin organized thousands of women to protest Germany's pell-mell course toward World War I as well as Rosa Luxemburg's arrest and conviction for speeches opposing the impending imperialist war.

In 1917, the Vyborg district women textile workers in Petrograd, opposing the government's ban, held an International Women's Day demonstration which sparked the Russian Revolution. As Trotsky wrote, it was the most oppressed section of the workers, the women, who began the revolution with a fight for bread.

The fact that we are here today, celebrating International Women's Day is proof of the growing women's liberation movement. We are coming together, raising demands, and declaring that we will no longer be slaves. We know, too, that women throughout the country, and throughout the world, are celebrating this day. The central demand which we are all raising is the fundamental right of women to control our own lives, in all of its aspects.

History until now has been His Story. But who could believe that one half of the population contributed virtually nothing? We're going to see that the story of women—Her Story, if you will—is told along with the history of the Black and Chicano and Asian-American and Native-American peoples. Our story is the story of all women, of organized women.

Until now women have been taught that "our problem" is just a personal one, our maladjustment. It is not a personal problem, but a social one. And we aren't going to end our secondary status in society by individual solutions. A social problem requires a social solution.

The only barrier between us and the deterioration of our lives is our capacity to build a strong, independent movement which will fight for our freedom. This is our strength. And this is how we are going to write women back into history—by making history ourselves.

WOMEN & THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

speeches by Fidel Castro

articles by Linda Jenness

35 cents

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Demonstrate Against N.Y. State Abortion Laws March 28

In support of four cases challenging the constitutionality of the law

Assemble at 12:00 Bellevue Hospital - 23rd and 1st Ave.

P.A.A.L. marathon against abortion laws on WBAI - March 26 & 27 from midnight on. Please come or call in!

sponsored by People to Abolish Abortion Laws 135 West 4th St. 212-254-4488

Momentum builds for abortion law repeals

By ELIZABETH BARNES

MARCH 17—As recently as a year ago, it looked to many people as if the fight against the oppressive abortion laws in this country was a losing battle. In New York State, for example, last year's legislature voted down even the most timid abortion reform bill. Although some states made limited reforms within the framework of existing reactionary legislation, there was no serious consideration in any state of full abortion law repeal.

Now, as a result of the growing pressure of the women's liberation movement and of those who are organizing around the issue of abortion, all this is beginning to change. State and local laws have been ruled unconstitutional by judges in Washington, D.C., California and Wisconsin. In New York State, the women's liberation movement has spearheaded the filing of four

legal suits which sharply pose the basic constitutional issue of the right of women to decide for themselves whether or not they want to have children.

The Hawaiian state legislature has passed a bill which allows for legal abortion with a number of restrictions, including a 90-day residency requirement. Over 13 state legislatures are considering bills similar to Hawaii's and such a bill has already passed the Washington state legislature and will be voted on in a referendum in November.

The Arizona House has approved a bill with no residency requirement which would make abortion legal with the limitation that it be performed by a doctor.

Even the traditionally backward New York state legislature has a bill before it which legalizes abortions performed by a doctor. The speed with which this bill has been rushed to the floor of the senate is the direct result of the activities of the New York abortion repeal movement. The largest abortion demonstration in the history of the movement is planned for New York on March 28. On April 15, a three-judge federal panel will hear the four abortion suits.

Some in the repeal movement are asking what should be our attitude toward these new bills. And what is the meaning of the fact that the ruling circles in this country have apparently decided to give substantial concessions on this issue?

The motives of many of the politicians who have pushed the new reform bills have certainly not always been the purest. In New York, many of them hope to appease the abortion movement and to dampen the impact of the March 28 demonstration while at the same time backing an issue which is gaining greater and greater support among voters. In addition, there is no doubt that some of them want to prevent abortion laws from being totally wiped off the books by a favorable court decision on the four suits.

But, the motives of the legislators is not what is important. The fact is that these new bills are the direct result of the pressure of the women's liberation movement and a gigantic step toward reaching our goal of free abortion on demand. They will make it possible for tens of thousands of women to obtain legal, safe abortions and they will

have the immediate effect of saving thousands of lives.

It is only because the women's liberation movement has begun to demand recognition of the basic right of women to decide when and whether to have children that the lawmakers are now also talking about this right. Up until recently, legislators interested in abortion reform always thought in terms of simply "liberalizing" the old reactionary laws in a way which would affect only a small number of women—by broadening the law to allow abortion in cases of rape or incest, or to prevent the birth of a deformed child, or to preserve the mental and physical health of the mother.

Now, the *legal* right of any woman to decide whether to have an abortion or not has been established in some states. That is a victory which will have ever widening implications.

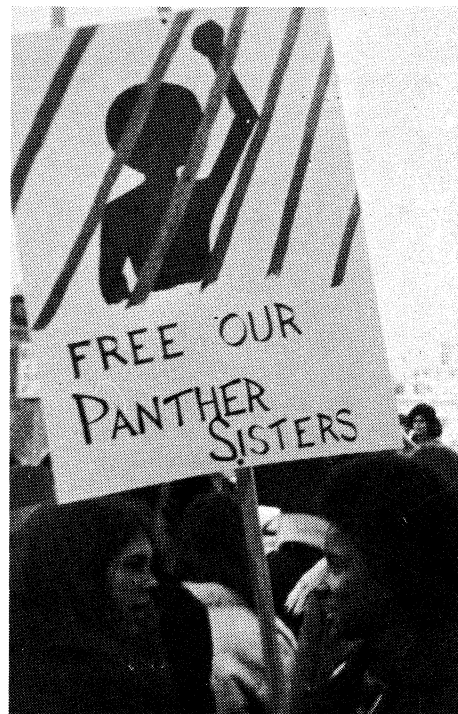
At the same time, the new bills do not, of course, bring about the full goal of the women's liberation movement—free abortion on demand. Abortions will still be prohibitively expensive for many women. The residency requirements will cause additional problems. The conservatism and anti-abortion prejudices of the medical profession will have to be overcome. The restrictions in the bill which make it necessary for a doctor to perform legal abortions will no doubt make it more difficult for those who want to set up free clinics to overcome the resistance of hospitals to giving abortions. (There are now modern, simple techniques for abortion which can be used safely in such clinics by trained nurses or other medical personnel under the supervision of a doctor.)

The initial successes of the abortion repeal movement simply place the fight on a new level. When a New York legislator called the office of People to Abolish Abortion Laws to ask if the March 28 demonstration would still be held if the abortion reform bill was passed, the answer he got was an emphatic YES. The demonstration will be as important as ever to rally support for full abortion repeal and abortions available to all who want them. The central demand of the demonstration will remain, as before, free abortion on demand.

There is tremendous potential now for involving new and broader layers of women in the continuing struggle. And by showing concretely the potential power of women if we unite in common action, this movement can help lay the groundwork for future struggles around other issues.

In this way there is a parallel between the present fight of women for the basic constitutional right of abortion and the struggles for constitutional rights carried out by the early civil rights movement. Struggles for such basic freedoms as the right to vote and the right to travel freely, many of which were won, helped to lay the basis for the more deepgoing struggles against social, economic and cultural oppression.

The struggle for the increased freedom which comes with the right of abortion will help to increase the consciousness of women of their overall oppression. The burden of unplanned, unwanted pregnancies has been a key factor in perpetuating the exploitation of women, in discouraging and preventing them from realizing their full potential as human beings. The freeing of women from this can only serve to highlight the contradiction which exists between the potential of women for full and creative participation in society, and the stultification of this potential under the present system.



Boston, March 8

International Women's Day

For the first time in nearly 50 years, International Women's Day was celebrated March 8 in cities around the U.S.

One of the most significant of these observances took place in Boston, where some 400 women attended a highly successful International Women's Day Teach-in at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The teach-in began March 6 with a talk on "How Women Lost Control of Their Destiny and How They Can Regain It" by Marxist anthropologist and women's liberation author Evelyn Reed.

The next morning a panel featured representatives from a broad spectrum of organizations in the Boston area including Bread and Roses, Female Liberation, National Organization for Women, the Young Socialist Alliance, and a new women's group which has submitted a position paper on abortion to the state legislature.

In the afternoon, Florence Luscomb, suffragist and socialist, led a seminar on the history of the women's rights movement. She was given a standing ovation.

A welfare mother spoke sharply against the welfare system and asked those at the teach-in to support the welfare mothers by coming to the statehouse March 10 to speak before the Social Welfare Committee in favor of a guaranteed adequate income.

A seminar on Black women in American society was led by four Black women. Another seminar discussed the problems of working and professional women. The conference ended with a lively workshop on the problems of women's liberation.

On March 8, the celebration of International Women's Day continued with a march of 500 women through the streets of Boston, each group with its own colorful banners and posters.

The women sang and chanted, and the march grew as it advanced.

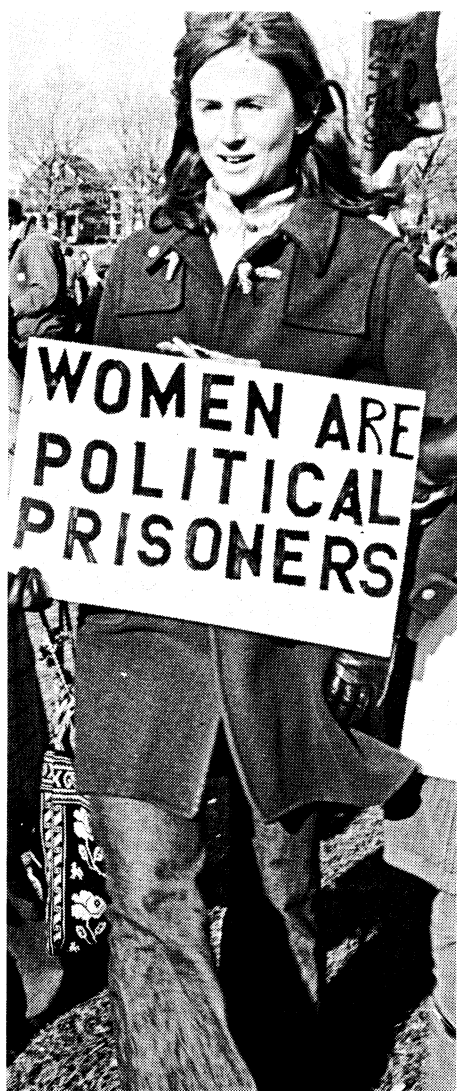
In addition to the Boston celebration, and others reported last week in *The Militant*, observances of International Women's Day included the following:

● **BAY AREA**—Some 400 women attended an International Women's Day weekend conference at Glide Memorial Church. Several marches and rallies were also held.

● **GAINESVILLE, Fla.**—A broad spectrum of groups from the campus and community sponsored an International Women's Day program which included speakers and a film on Vietnamese women.

● **LOS ANGELES**—An International Women's Day celebration at Los Angeles City College featured skits and speeches from nearly every women's liberation organization in greater Los Angeles.

● **DEKALB, Ill.**—Evelyn Reed was keynote speaker at a teach-in which featured workshops, speeches and films.



Strike interrupts sub drive

By FLAX HERMES
Business Manager

MARCH 18—Last night mail carriers for Manhattan and Bronx voted to go out on strike in what post office officials called "the first (strike) that they could recall against the Federal agency."

While *The Militant* wholeheartedly supports this action by postal employees, the strike does make it difficult to get an accurate idea of how the subscription drive is progressing this week.

We had received a good response from several areas before the strike began. Boston sent in 60 new subs, New York collected 88, and 32 reached us from San Francisco. But since we can't get a complete tally on where we stand, we're going to skip this week's scoreboard.

Different areas should have an idea how many subs they've sold so far even if we don't. We are now 53 percent through the sub drive. If your records show you're ahead, keep up the good work. If you've slipped behind, now's the time to start catching up by organizing dorm drives, sales at campus meetings, selling at community events.

The strike by New York postal employees is just one small part of the dissatisfaction breaking out all over this country. With all that's going on, our goal of obtaining 7,500 new readers by April 15 should be easy to reach. We only wish we could get *The Militant* into the hands of several times as many.

San Francisco union movement in militant show of solidarity

By ART SHARON

MARCH 16—The four-day strike of 14,000 city workers ended today after the seven unions involved voted to accept the terms of a negotiated settlement. The agreement raised all wages 5 percent, preserved the annual 5 percent increment which in five steps brings the workers involved from the entry pay level to the highest for his job, and further provided for joint discussion of pay and conditions between the union and the administration.

This last was considered by the unions a major breakthrough—perhaps the biggest since the 1934 general strike—as by city law actual "collective bargaining" is barred.

These seven unions represent the so-called miscellaneous employees of the city, including office clerks, nurses, maintenance workers, cafeteria workers in the school system, janitors and many other classes of workers who man the

machinery of the city, exclusive of teachers, firemen and police. They represent that large section of the working class whose decline in real wages has been the most painful and whose voice is rarely heard, ensnared as they are in all the specially designed red tape of civil service.

Mayor Alioto and the entire Board of Supervisors without exception had not only rejected the union demand for a 10 percent wage increase, but also their own civil service commission's recommendation for a 7.5 percent increase.

Instead they made a proposal which provided for the abolition of the increment steps that all city employees have enjoyed for the past 27 years.

It is too early to assess the real and actual gains made by the strike since all the public statements and claims made are suspect. This we will learn from the workers themselves who will make a very accurate assessment. Nev-

ertheless, the other aspects of the strike are significant, and deserve attention, and like the recent GE strike, its significance will spread.

The strike was like an explosion of anger. The combativity and elan shown surprised everyone. It quickly paralyzed all city facilities picketed. For the overwhelming majority of these workers it was their first strike experience. The last time there was a strike of city workers was in the 1934 general strike. Now, as then, Black, white and Chicano workers by the thousands experienced for the first time that particularly warm solidarity that cuts across all divisions of race, nationality, and job status. They were in a serious fight together.

The picket lines at schools were joined by teachers. Teacher and janitor, counselor and dishwasher marched together. There was an almost unanimous unity of all sections of the labor movement behind the strike. The AFL-CIO, the Independent Longshoremen's union and the Teamsters, formed an official council to back the strike. This became, in fact, the biggest weapon of the strike. On the fourth day of the strike it was due to spread to the waterfront and the airport, to eventually become a general strike. The negotiations of the strikers' demands and the strategy were in the hands of a top committee of the city's labor movement, made up of George Johns, head of the Central Labor Council, Daniel DelCarlo of the Building Trades Council, Thomas Rottel of the Metal Trades Council, Jack Goldberger of the Teamsters and William Chester of the Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

There have been a series of local strikes in the Bay Area that have dragged on for long periods with meager results. The steady squeeze of the inflation, the generally tougher boss response to resistance from the worker on the job, his increasing dissensions and dissatisfaction, are preparing the kind of explosions that were witnessed the past four days. The recent General Electric strike and the closing of labor ranks in its support was a preview of this one.

The threat of a general strike alarmed the business interests of the city who in turn gave the signal for a retreat. On the whole, the working class of the city must draw the conclusion that the power of the united labor movement is formidable. This in turn will lead to increased pressure within the unions to use that muscle. A new period for the labor movement in San Francisco is opening up.

SWP Support

SAN FRANCISCO — Socialist Workers candidate for California governor, Herman Fagg, demanded full support for striking city employees at the outset of their struggle. Contrasting this stand to the pro-boss views of his Democratic Party opponents, Fagg declared:

"When the chips are down, labor's so-called friends like Mayor Alioto have exposed themselves as antilabor, some by opposing the strike demands, others by failing to give clear public support to the strike."

"Mayor Alioto and the majority of the Board of Supervisors were elected only because they were endorsed by labor. Now they unanimously stand on the other side of the fence."

Demand release of N.Y. Panthers

By DAVE HALDANE

NEW YORK—On Mon., March 16 over 100 people demonstrated in front of City Hall to demand the release of Lee Berry, one of the Panther 21. Berry's wife, Marva, was going to present petitions to that effect, bearing several thousand signatures, to Mayor John V. Lindsay. But the heavy police guard barred her from the Mayor's office.

Lee Berry is a 70 percent disabled Vietnam veteran who has epilepsy. Although his name was not on the original indictment, he was arrested in a VA hospital last April as part of the Panther 21. He is now incarcerated in the Riker's Island Infirmary, recovering from the questionable operations performed on him at Bellevue, a city hospital. Bellevue had him transferred because of the negative publicity stemming from these operations.

In her Open Letter to Mayor Lindsay, which was to have accompanied the petitions, Marva Berry describes her grief and resentment: "It's been a year now and I'm here to say to you, Mayor Lindsay, that I have had enough. A year ago I was attempting to enjoy a rather peaceful existence of being a mother for the first time in my life and interested in nothing more than my new baby. But before that child was 10 days old, her father was snatched from a hospital bed, thrown in jail and accused of a conspiracy

that was nothing more than a political frame-up. Because of a filthy pack of lies, I and my child were left alone in this jungle that some people call a city.

"For three months my husband was denied medication and slept on a spring instead of a bed. Subsequently, he was beaten, thrown in solitary and generally brutalized for a period of eight months. Then he was taken to Bellevue where the attempt to murder him was only intensified. He underwent two questionable operations that brought him to the brink of death and left him with permanent damage to his legs and lungs.

"For 12 months we have paraded before 35 judges in a futile effort to reduce his \$100,000 bail on the ground that he is an epileptic, was arrested in a hospital, and was seriously ill. Yet even as he lay dying, the authorities of this city continued to ignore our pleas for justice. . .

"As for you, John Lindsay, you are nothing more than a lying, hypocritical demagogue. You point an accusing finger at Chicago, yet here in your own city where you possess the power to correct the evil, you have for one year given your silent consent to the atrocities being dealt to twenty-one Black people. It's time for you to clean your own house. . ."



Photo by George Greenfield

TEACHING ASSISTANTS? Cops are part of force of several hundred policemen occupying State University of New York at Buffalo. The student strike, which began with Black student demands Feb. 25,

concerns issues of ending university complicity with war in Vietnam, open admissions, and right of students and faculty to determine policy on campus.

Cops twist on Featherstone

By DERRICK MORRISON

MARCH 18—The government is making a concerted effort to convince the public, especially the Black public, that SNCC militants Ralph Featherstone and William "Che" Payne were not assassinated.

According to the FBI, Featherstone and Payne were blown to bits by a bomb that they were transporting on the night of March 9 from Bel Air, Md. This report, issued in telegram form by J. Edgar Hoover on March 14, was quickly assembled to substantiate the story of the Maryland police and state medical authorities.

In an article in the *New York Times*, March 15, Ben A. Franklin writes, "By releasing at a news conference here the text of a telegram from the F. B. I. director, J. Edgar Hoover, and photographs, diagrams and statements prepared by the state police and medical officials, the Governor [Marvin Mandel] apparently sought to counter speculation, particularly among Negroes, that Ralph E. Featherstone and William H. Payne, the victims, had met foul play."

Even before the second man in the car was identified as Payne, state officials were pressuring Black spokesmen to deny that it was the body of H. Rap Brown. These moves spring from their nightmares of a ghetto rebellion if an assassination plot were proven. By not even considering such a plot, the state thereby absolves organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, John Birch Society, or Minutemen of any guilt.

It is precisely such right-wing groups which have operated freely and openly in the state that are responsible for Brown's case in the first place. White racists precipitated the so-called riot in Cambridge by firing into a Black crowd on the night of July 24, 1967. Brown, who had just finished speaking, was wounded by these shots. In a "secret" report prepared for the Commission on Civil Disorders by Dr. Robert Shellow in 1968, Brown was exonerated, and the "riot" that the state says took place was shown to have never materialized. The blame for the disturbance that did take place was laid at the door of the state and local white racists.

But now the state is trying to prove the opposite. This action plus past practice places more than a question mark over the credibility of the state in respect to the deaths of Featherstone and Payne.

The fact that Brown has yet to be heard from makes the circumstances all the more ominous.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Randy Furst

By LARRY SEIGLE
YSA National Chairman

The *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly published in New York City, has recently taken another step in its continuing campaign to banish from its pages a simple fact which happens to be politically embarrassing to those who set the line at the *Guardian*. The fact is that Randy Furst, one of the five members elected to the Coordinating Committee, the *Guardian's* top body, a member of the *Guardian* staff for almost two years, and by far the most qualified news reporter on the staff, decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance shortly after he covered on assignment the Minneapolis convention of the YSA two and a half months ago.

The new step taken by the *Guardian* was the refusal to print a paid advertisement for the current issue of the *Young Socialist*—until the content of the ad was altered to suit the wishes of the *Guardian* publishers.

The ad, reproduced here, called attention to two articles in the *Young Socialist*, one by Randy Furst and the other by Nick Gruenberg, a staff writer for Liberation News Service, who also joined the YSA after attending the convention.

The story of the *Guardian's* attempts to hide from its readers the fact of Furst's membership in the YSA is an extremely damaging tale for a publication that claims to be a "movement" newspaper, with its pages open to all points of view.

Furst's decision to join the YSA was in itself a significant development in the radical movement. Furst is a widely known and respected radical journalist. He has gone through the ex-

perience of the past several years of the development and degeneration of SDS, and reported much of it in the *Guardian*. What makes Furst's decision even more significant is the fact that the developments which led him to join the YSA have led others like him to the same conclusion—as the article by Nick Gruenberg testifies.

The *Guardian*, however, which views the YSA as an opponent of its amorphous and oft-shifting political line, has responded with a wall of silence rather than open political debate. While it has been forced to report on some activities of the YSA (it's simply no longer possible to cover the radical movement and omit reference to the YSA) it has not even attempted to explain to its readers one of the most important facts of political life in the past year: the significant shift in the relationship of forces within the radical movement that has occurred with the breakup of SDS and the growth of the YSA.

Thus the *Guardian* faced a problem when Furst decided to join the YSA. To report it could only raise a question in the minds of *Guardian* readers: either their ace reporter had flipped out, or else something was happening in this country which the *Guardian* had neglected to mention.

Rather than confront the politics of the problem and state the reasons why it disagreed with Furst and the YSA, the *Guardian* chose to continue the policy of silence.

The problem, however, became more complicated. It was no longer sufficient merely to ignore the YSA. Now, every article by Furst had to be carefully "edited" to hide the fact that he was in the YSA, or to delete any indication that he was sympathetic to Trotskyist ideas. When Furst was told to keep "politics" out of his articles and stick to straight reporting, he asked for permission to write an "opinion" column (a department supposedly open to all) in order to explain his views to the people he had been writing for. This was denied. Finally, he tried to have a letter to the editor published, but this was also rejected. Thus, for more than two months, the pages of the *Guardian* were kept clean of any indication that Furst had changed his attitude about the YSA.

Israeli socialist in U.S. tour

NEW YORK — The Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East announced March 19 that it is sponsoring a speaking tour of the United States during April and May for Arie Bober, a young Israeli Jew who is a leading spokesman for the Israeli Socialist Organization.

The ISO, which publishes the magazine *Matzpen*, is a joint Jewish-Arab organization committed to the struggle for a socialist, united Middle East, freed of all imperialism and colonialism, in which all peoples enjoy full national rights. As a first step toward this goal, it demands the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, recognition of the right of all displaced Palestinians to return to their land or to receive compensation as they choose, and the abrogation of all laws conferring special privileges in Israel on Jews, especially the Law of Return.

The ISO has recently come under increasingly severe attack from the Israeli government. The Arabic edition of *Matzpen* has been completely banned,

and the Hebrew edition of the magazine has been heavily censored.

Arie Bober was born in Haifa and lived on the Kefar Rupin kibbutz in Beit Sha'an Valley during his early youth. He served three and a half years in the Israeli Navy, and has just been released from a three-month tour of duty in the Army. He is a graduate student of economics and political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a research assistant in the Vaervold School of Social Work there. He has published a number of articles on the Israeli economy and is a frequent contributor to *Matzpen*.

Among the sponsors of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East are: Eric Bentley, Noam Chomsky, Eric Fromm, Florence Howe, Louis Kampf, William Kunstler, Robert Jay Lifton, Dwight Macdonald, Ashley Montagu, Pete Seeger, I. F. Stone, Louis Untermeyer and Howard Zinn.

For further information, contact the committee's secretary, Berta Langston, at 145 E. 16th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N.Y. 10003. (212-254-6362).

Guardian tries to hide Randy Furst's politics

At the end of February, the *Young Socialist* prepared the ad which is reproduced on this page. Thinking that the article by Furst would be of interest to *Guardian* readers especially, his article was featured in the ad.

To our astonishment, the national office of the YSA was blandly informed by Irving Beinin of the *Guardian* that our ad would not be run. "The ad," he said, "exploits the *Guardian*." When we asked Beinin which parts of the ad were objectionable, he specified the headline and the quote from Furst's article. "The *Guardian* has never published anything anti-Trotskyist," he said. "If Randy says we did then he's a liar."

Well, censorship is censorship, we figured. We asked what we would have to change to make the ad acceptable to the *Guardian* censors. Beinin told us that if we deleted the words "Guardian Staff Writer" from the headline and selected a quote from Furst's article which didn't refer to the *Guardian*, the ad would be published. The next week we submitted the ad with the changes as dictated. The headline read, "Why did Randy Furst join the YSA?" and a "non-exploitative" quote from Furst's article was set in place of the original.

In spite of what Beinin had told us, once again the ad was rejected. We were now told that the use of the name Ran-

dy Furst in the headline was exploiting the *Guardian*. Susan LaMont, YSA national secretary, and I made another trip to the *Guardian* office and spoke with Carl Davidson, Jack Smith, and two other staff members. We got nowhere.

A few days later Beinin called us and told us we would have to delete "Randy Furst" from the headline altogether. By this time we had decided to stop wasting our time arguing the point. We made the additional change and the ad finally appeared in the March 21 issue with the headline, "Who's joining the YSA?"

So now, after two and a half months the *Guardian* readers will be able to learn—albeit through a paid ad with somewhat aesopian phrases in order to "slip by" the censors—that reporter Randy Furst has joined the YSA. And *Guardian* readers may also see that the political viewpoint the paper represents is not exactly broad enough to include the *entire* radical movement.

In the course of our discussion with Davidson and Smith, we asked them how they could explain their political censorship to the movement. "The *Guardian* doesn't have to explain anything to the movement," was the reply. But you're wrong, brothers and sisters, The *Guardian* does have some explaining to do.

Why did Guardian staff writer Randy Furst join the YSA?

For the answer read the latest issue of the *Young Socialist*. Randy Furst of the *Guardian* and Nick Gruenberg of Liberation News Service covered the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Minneapolis. After the convention both decided to join the YSA. They give their impressions of the convention and explain why they decided to join in the *Young Socialist*.

"As a staff reporter for the *Guardian*, I had written a number of articles in the past that were anti-Trotskyist, some explicitly, some implicitly. In large part, however, I did not cover the YSA at all, having been persuaded that it was an irrelevant, static, old left organization. The convention was living proof such was not the case, that in fact the YSA was neither irrelevant nor static, but rather the most significant revolutionary tendency on the radical left."

Randy Furst in the *Young Socialist*

Also: articles on the Chicano liberation struggle, an interview with an Irish Militant and a review of the women's liberation play, "How to Make a Woman."

—Enclosed is .25 for the latest *Young Socialist*.

—I would like more information about the YSA.

—I, too, want to join the YSA.

Name _____

Clip and mail to:

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young socialist

Box 471
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New York, N.Y. 10003

Special interview

A Chicano y politica



By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The following interview with Mario Compean, national chairman of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), was obtained for *The Militant* by Antonio Camejo, formerly an instructor in the Chicano studies program at Merritt College in Oakland, and now the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction in California. The interview took place on March 7, 1970, during the Texas Chicano Conference in Houston.

ANTONIO CAMEJO: When was MAYO founded and what is its purpose?

MARIO COMPEAN: MAYO came into existence in 1967, in early spring, and we have been in operation since then. Most of our work is concentrated in Texas and then you can say South Texas, but we now have chapters in three other states: Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan. We had our state convention two months ago and became national in scope at that time. When we first started the purpose of MAYO was to go about the Chicano community in Texas, specifically South Texas, and organize Raza groups. Once they were organized, had a direction, knew where they wanted to go and what they wanted to do, we would leave. In essence, we were to function as organizers, to set up groups that would later be able to organize around the concept of self-determination.

CAMEJO: I understand that MAYO has been involved in two recent actions, one involving the takeover of a church.

COMPEAN: Just three weeks ago there was a takeover, an occupation if you want, in Houston, Texas. The chapter of MAYO there had been negotiating with the local Presbyterian Church. For a year they had been negotiating for use of the building as a community center where they could have programs for the people of the area, Northside Houston, and finally

they were refused the use of the building. What the gringo congregation did was turn over the building to a Chicano congregation so that it would become a Chicano fight.

We had some hassles, we argued, we had meetings and so forth. Then the Chicano congregation turned it right back to the gringos, and the gringos had to act. We are now in the process of negotiating with them. An injunction has been brought against MAYO restricting them from going into the building until the thing is settled, and now we are discussing what to do. Yesterday and today we had demonstrations trying to put pressure on the congregation to make them more responsive to the needs of the Chicano people.

CAMEJO: What is the basic philosophy behind the takeover of the Church?

COMPEAN: The basic thing is that there are people in the community who need the building, who need the services, and no one was giving these services to the people. I'm talking about welfare recipients and the like, people



who can't make a reasonable living for themselves. Christian philosophy says that the church should render so many services to the community and when the church and the congregation failed to render these services, MAYO felt it was their responsibility to see that the people of the community got the use of the building.

It goes beyond that also, to the broader, more fundamental concept of community control of institutions. An institution or agency that is in the community has to be operated according to the wishes of the community.

The history of the church is that a congregation comes in from anywhere and ignores the community around it. It is just the clique of the small congregation that belongs to the church that receives the services and benefits of whatever facilities they have. The community may attend services or become members of the congregation if they want, but they have no authority or

voice in the use of the building. The issue is one of having a voice in what goes on in the community, to control activities, to talk about community control.

CAMEJO: Does MAYO project the concept of community control to deal with other institutions such as welfare offices, hospitals, schools etc.?

COMPEAN: Yes. We have been developing this concept in terms of activity, and we have now declared war on the Catholic Church. We are confronting them so that we can get, in essence, reparations for the Chicano people. Most of the Chicanos in Texas are *cato-livos*. The Catholic Church has grossly ignored the fact that we have certain needs that must be met, and they have misled us on a path of passivity and an attitude of not asking for, or demanding what is rightfully ours. The Church is very much at fault.

Politically we are moving toward independence from both political parties in the U.S., Democrats and Republicans, toward the concept of an independent political force, a viable political force which is the only one I can see for Chicanos. In Texas, the only viable political strategy is to form an independent Chicano party. It has to be a party that is responsive to Chicanos only. In essence, we are pushing an independent political party to lead us to community control of those political institutions in areas where we predominate. Educationally, we are pushing those school districts toward community control. Traditionally, school districts have been run by gringos, a small percentage of gringos controlling everything.

In the field of social work we have, for the last six months, been hitting those community centers known as settlement houses that render so many services in the Chicano community to Chicanos, but whose staff is appointed from the outside by congregations, by denominations, because they are church-affiliated religious institutions. We are pushing them to turn over complete control of the centers to the communities which they serve.

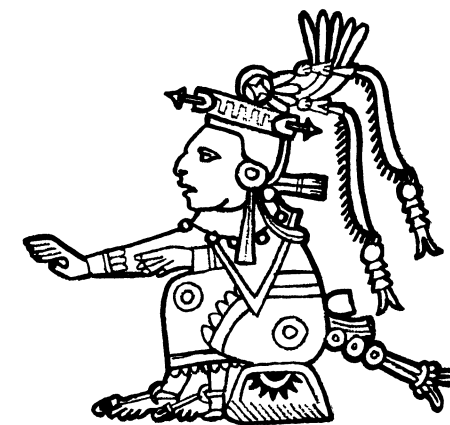
CAMEJO: I understand you ran for office as an independent in San Antonio.

COMPEAN: Last year I ran against the incumbent mayor, Walter McAllister III, in San Antonio. I ran on a platform which essentially said what I just enumerated: community control, this independent political strategy that we are talking about.

Up until then, politicians of all kinds had been unresponsive to the needs of the Chicano. Always, they have given us false promises, and always they have appointed whomever they thought should be the leader of the Chicanos. They would go around saying, "You will be the leader of the Chicanos, you will be the spokesman for the Chicano community." So that we had not had a chance to choose our own representative to any body. The city council of San Antonio has had three Chicanos on it for six years or so. But only one of those is even close to our philosophy of being Chicano.

So we chose to experiment with this political strategy of laying the groundwork for an independent Chicano political party, which we have come to call La Raza Unida Party (see *The Militant*, Feb. 27). La Raza Unida (The United Chicano People) is the concept behind the Chicano movement in the

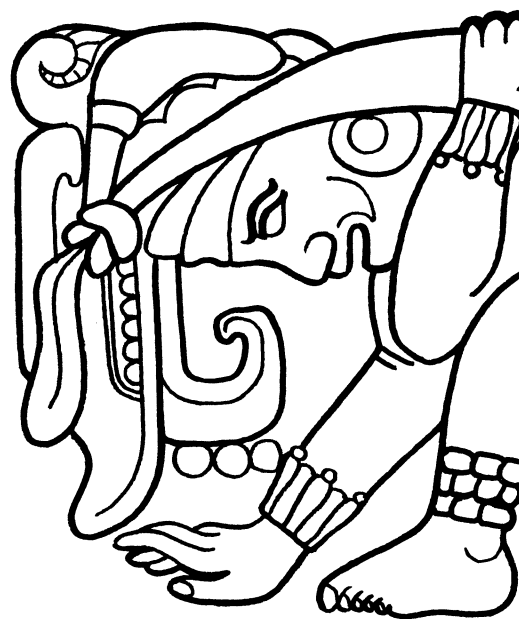
United States; that is why we chose that name. We ran for those reasons. We refused to be identified with the political system that teaches oppression and hypocrisy and the like. Now we are pushing a political party, or system, that is responsive to our needs, but is also controlled by those people who are asking it to be responsive.



On the west side of San Antonio we comprise 95 percent of the population, yet up till now the people have not chosen their own government representatives. The political structure does not lend itself to the kind of system where we could choose our own representatives and really have a voice.

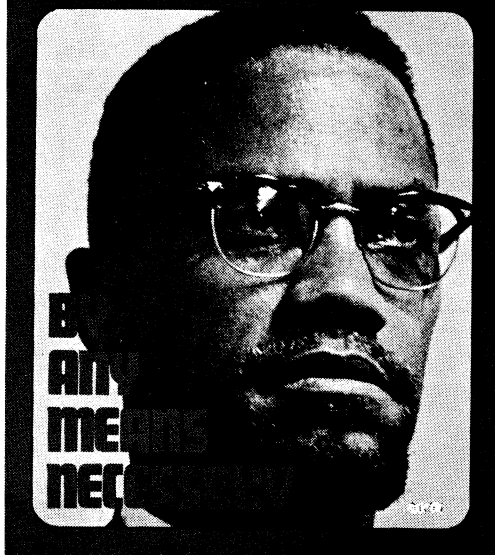
In that election last year our purpose was twofold. We wanted to destroy all the myths that are propagated about Chicanos — like the myth that they didn't come out to vote because they are lazy and unconcerned with civic affairs, that all they care about is to go and drink, that they are unconcerned with political affairs. Also we had to educate our people to the political system, how oppressive it is, how it functions, so that we could turn it around, change it, manipulate it, so that in the end Chicanos could have a viable political force.

It was a tremendous experience in that we accomplished all our goals. We tore down all the arguments and we ran on a strictly Chicano power platform. The people responded to it when all the experts said they would not respond. We were able to increase the Chicano voters by 30 percent. We were able to educate the people sufficiently so that they can now pose crucial questions to the political parties and the officials. Any candidate who is now running has to really put his name and himself on the line as to what he is going to do, and he will be held to it next time around. "Last time you promised this, this and that."



Now available (Publication date, May 19)

Malcolm X



By Any Means Necessary

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

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ith MAYO chairman

outh leader's outlook

You did not deliver. We will not support you this time around."

In terms of the three candidates we were running, we got a combined total vote of 56,000 out of 165,000. So we were getting 30-33 percent of the vote whereas the experts predicted a vote of only 3,000 for us. The most significant victory came in my campaign. I was running against the incumbent mayor who had been in office eight years. He was the richest man in town. He owned just about everything. Everybody said there was no way he could be beaten. There was no way you could even get close to him. So again, we sensed the political winds right, that he was vulnerable, in fact, the most vulnerable of all the nine men the opposition ticket was running.

People wouldn't believe it. But we proved it in that I was just 200 votes short of a runoff. A combination of him getting 100 votes less and me getting 100 votes more would have put us in a runoff with supposedly the most powerful man in San Antonio. So in that sense it was a tremendous victory for Chicanos and the movement.

CAMEJO: So you don't consider the fact that you were not able to gain an

immediate electoral victory a defeat for independent political action?

COMPEAN: No. We don't consider it a defeat because all the goals we set for ourselves for that particular campaign we won. We had never said we were out to win. If the victory came as part of it, we would have taken it. But we had never expected to win, because it was not our desire to win at that time. We wanted, most importantly, to educate the people and destroy the myths propagated against us.

Politically that was our experiment. What we had in mind was laying the



groundwork for the future in terms of this independent political strategy, forming our own party. So we've used that experience as a model. We're putting that now into a four county thing. We're testing it on the county level this time around, in the primary elections in May and the general elections in November.

We have organized La Raza Unida Party in four counties and it has taken some work to get it legally established, and it has taken a lot of work to get the people oriented toward this kind of philosophy. Very soon it is possible that we will have control of three city governments, two school boards, and four county governments. The county governments will come in November, but the others will be in a month. This is in the area of Crystal City and then in Rio Grande Valley and Hidalgo County.

CAMEJO: What do you think the response of the Democratic Party will be, considering that they control the state of Texas.

COMPEAN: Their reaction will be, naturally, in keeping with their paternalism, that Mexicans are being very ungrateful. Historically and traditionally the gringos, especially the Democrats, have looked upon us, in a paternalistic way: "Just remain quiet, we'll take care of everything for you."

We are not supposed to act on our own, so naturally they're very uptight about this thing. We are breaking away from them so they don't like it at all. The Democrats are the ones that will be hurt the most initially, but beyond that it is conceivable that not only the Democrats will be hurt, but also the Republicans will have to deal with the reality of an independent Chicano political force.

CAMEJO: How do you view Democratic liberals like Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez?



COMPEAN: He's a great believer in the idea that some people have to work on the outside and some people have to work on the inside. And he says, "I'm on the inside, so I can take and give a little bit here and there, but in the long run I'll be getting benefits for la Raza." But the one thing that is wrong with that is that history shows you are eventually absorbed and sell out. That is what happened. He interacted more and more with the party structures and eventually got absorbed.

CAMEJO: Do you foresee this Chicano political party developing on a national scale throughout the Southwest and in other cities where there is Raza?

COMPEAN: I haven't given that much thought, but there are efforts under way right now to try to form a national Chicano party. And, of course, I'm all for it myself, and I think it is a very viable thing. In the future I think it is very possible that we will be able to mold an independent political force on a nationwide basis.

Houston LOMAS is host

Texas Chicano students hold conference

By CANDIDA McCOLLAM

HOUSTON, Texas—The third annual Texas statewide Chicano student conference, held here March 7-8, drew more than 300 participants under the banner "1970: Year of the Chicano." Sponsored by the Houston LOMAS (League of Mexican-American Students), the conference had delegations from as far away as Oakland, Calif.

For two days students, barrio activists, professors and parents took part in a wide range of workshops. These included: Brown-Black Relationships; La Raza Unida Party; Cultural Contributions of the Mexican American; Barrio Politics; The Mexican-American Child in Anglo School Systems; Chicanoism—A New Philosophy; and Radical Students in Chicano Movements.

A workshop on La Raza Unida Party served to unite Chicanos around the concept of independent Chicano political action and prepare them for the

upcoming Denver Chicano conference to be hosted by the Crusade for Justice, March 25-29. Corky Gonzales of the Crusade, who had arranged to lead this workshop, was unable to attend the conference because of an incident involving the brutal beating of a Brown Beret by Denver police.

Formed two years ago in southern Texas, Raza Unida parties have now begun to make an impact in local, so-called "nonpartisan" elections. This year four southwest Texas counties—Zavala, Hidalgo, Cotulla and La Salle—are running Chicano candidates in local elections on La Raza Unida tickets (see *The Militant*, Feb. 27).

Froben Lozada, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in California, spoke in favor of an independent Chicano party: "We cannot wait until white workers create their own political party. The grape strike would have been ended a long time ago in Cesar Chavez had broken with the Democratic Party and run for governor against both parties. We must stop playing in the ball park of the capitalist ruling class and start making our own rules."

Lozada said that the call for independent political action is a serious threat to the ruling class of this country and that it is up to the Chicano to make that threat a reality. He emphasized the need for such an independent Chicano party to be based on political principles and program rather than on reliance on "good" individuals who claim to be for the Chicano. He quoted Zapata's famous saying, "I will die a slave to principles, never to men."

Speaking on the resolution to unite all the organizations present at the conference under the name MAYO (Mexican American Youth Organization), Mario Compean, national chairman of MAYO, stated that this act affirmed the existence of a unified Chicano movement with diverse participation.

Two very important contributions concerning antiwar action and women's liberation were introduced for the first time since the Chicano student conference was founded three years ago. Sentiment in favor of these two issues was encouraging and enthusiastic. Discussion from the floor of the general assembly enforced the unanimous vote in favor of these resolutions.

A Houston representative from LOMAS presented the Chicano antiwar resolution to the general assembly. Noting the relationship between the struggle against the Vietnam war and the fight for self-determination, the antiwar resolution went on to state: "We must actively participate in building the antiwar movements where they exist. Where they do not exist we must become the builders of such movements. We must further be the most active participants in actions against the war. The time has long passed for mere verbal support of the antiwar movement. To say that you are against the war is not enough. The time is now to become Chicano antiwar activists. Ya basta! Bring all the carnales [brothers] home now!"

The Merritt College delegation drafted an addition to the antiwar resolution calling for all organizations to participate in the 5 de Mayo Chicano Moratorium. It was decided that the Texas Chicano Moratorium would be held in Austin. Olga Rodriguez, a member of LOMAS and the Young Socialist Alliance, urged the substitution of action for the verbal support that Chicanos have previously given to the antiwar movement.

Although no workshop had been organized around the question of Chicana participation in the Chicano movement, a group of Chicano women met independently to draft a women's liberation resolution that was enthusiastically accepted by the conference. It stated in

part: "Recognizing that self-determination is the crux of the Chicano movement, we resolve that women's rights be included in the demands that La Raza is making. And that these demands be accepted as they are presented by the women (not drafted by the men), as your women present them, respecting the right of self-determination for women as well as for men . . . We don't want to be liberated by men. Just don't stand in the way!"

The conference concluded with the introduction of a formal resolution to support the formation of an independent Chicano political party. Pointing to the long record of the Democratic and Republican parties in "betraying the hopes and aspirations of our people and of perpetuating racist gringo rule and the oppression of our people," this resolution concluded: "Let it be declared that these two parties of our oppressors will not and cannot represent us or serve our people, and that therefore we should break all ties to these parties and promote the formation of a nationwide Independent Chicano Political Party to fight for our needs under our leadership for self-determination and the complete social, economic, cultural and political liberation of La Raza."

The conference issued a call for a full mobilization of Chicanos to attend the March 25-29 Denver conference where the formation of a national, independent political party of La Raza will be discussed.

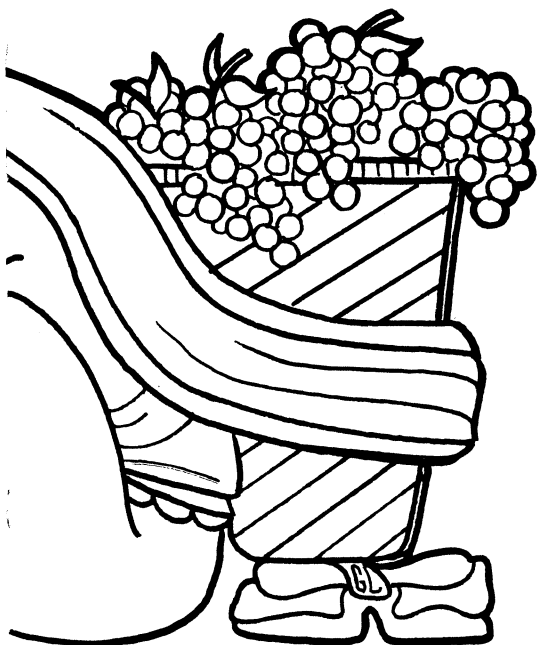
—A Merit Pamphlet—

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Answer to the Daily World: The antiwar movement and Third World struggles

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the Feb. 28 edition of the *Daily World*, voice of the American Communist Party, there appeared an article by Victoria Missick entitled, "Student Mobe hampered by racism of Trotskyist faction." The author attended the SMC national conference in Cleveland last month and participated in the Third World workshop as a representative of the Young Workers Liberation League.

Victoria Missick purports to explain that the reason the SMC conference didn't deal with the "struggle against white supremacy and racism" was due to the domination "from the steering committee by the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance."

Now in the first instance, to talk about "domination" is to substitute the question of organization for that of politics. Policy, reports, general line, whatever, were all discussed and approved in plenary sessions of the whole conference. The YSA's leadership role in SMC is explained by YSA's political line on building the antiwar movement. The majority of people at the conference supported the YSA's position because it coincides with theirs. To judge a political position not on its merits but on the basis of whether it's the YSA's position, is to red-bait—which is where the conference disagreed with Victoria Missick.

In respect to the alleged refusal of the conference to deal with racism and "the murders and jailings of Black liberation fighters and peace activists," Missick's statement is simply a lie. There was a report at the conference by Jeff Shero on the Conspiracy trial and a demonstration after the conference in solidarity with Ahmed Evans. Evans is a local Black militant being railroaded to the electric chair by the city of Cleveland and the state of Ohio.

The Third World workshop, attended by over 100 people—making it the largest Third World turnout for an antiwar conference to date and five times as large as what Missick's article indicated—decided to campaign on behalf of the Black Vietnam war referendum slated for March 22-29. Missick didn't mention the referendum, or the decision of the workshop adopted by the conference to "carry out defense campaigns for Third World GIs who are being victimized in the Army and for any Third World organization or individual who becomes the object of political repression, in particular the Black Panther Party." (From the position paper in the Feb. 8 *Student Mobilizer*

entitled "Third World People and The Fight Against the War.")

But the real intent of Victoria Missick's article was to lash out at the allegedly "racist and anti-working class bias of the YSA" for its "vicious attack on Black Mayors Richard Hatcher of Gary and Carl Stokes, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and other Black members of government." The "vicious attack" that she is referring to came out of a conversation she had with YSAers in which Stokes and Hatcher were called "handkerchief heads running to massas." Victoria Missick was terribly upset by this remark. She contends that this "is not political criticism, it is a racist insult."

Such a reaction throws into sharp relief how the CPUSA fights war and racism: by supporting the Democratic Party, the party of imperialist and racist rule. The CPUSA has been involved in "lesser-evil" capitalist politics from the time of FDR in 1936 on down to LBJ in 1964 and HHH in 1968. Because the CPUSA supports the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, it is compelled to lend support to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party as the best bargaining partner for the Soviet bureaucrats. Consequently, over the decades it has attempted to help keep the liberal Democrats in power and tried to break the back of any movement, whether it be on the part of labor, Black people, or whatever, that threatened to escape from this party, thereby weakening its ability to win elections.

Thus, back in 1963 the CPUSA chose to fight racism not by encouraging the growing independent and revolutionary-nationalist sentiments but by saying, "The Muslim organization in general, and Malcolm X, in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement . . . Malcolm X in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people, he is an agent of their enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress." This appeared in the July 7, 1963, edition of *The Worker*, forerunner to the *Daily World*.

And today, the CPUSA "fights racism" by trying to derail the Black movement for self-determination, to turn it back toward the Democratic Party. The quest for self-determination threatens to break Black people out of the Democratic Party, but Black pawns such as Stokes and Hatcher, whom the CP openly supports, facilitate the job of propping up the rule of that party in the Black community. Stokes defends the rule of private property just as well as, if not

better than, his white counterparts. Talk to Ahmed Evans about that.

In a debate with Syd Stapleton, the SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland last year, Stokes had this to say about Ahmed: "Ahmed Evans and some men with him took rifles and shot down policemen under situations in which we are not talking about any defense. We're not talking about any aggression from the police. . . There is no way in the world for me in good conscience to try to make a hero out of him. He had no justification for it under those circumstances . . . You cannot have that kind of occurrence happen in a society . . . without everyone resorting to the animal-like way of adjusting their grievances by violence and gunfire."

So, Stokes considers Black self-defense "animal-like."

We'll have to look to the next issue of the *Daily World* to see how the CPUSA wiggles out of that one. But by supporting men like Stokes it is clear that the CP is not so concerned with fighting for Black liberation as with preserving the Democratic Party and increasing Black faces among the representatives of the capitalist rulers.

In another vein, as part of Victoria Missick's attack on the YSA, she plays on the notion that somehow Black people don't participate in the struggle against the war because the antiwar movement refuses to deal with racism. The Feb. 7 *Guardian* expressed a similar point of view when it talked about how the "white" antiwar movement must lend "concrete support to the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Blacks" in order "to experience a potential growth of millions from Black America."

Although the *Guardian* didn't describe what this "concrete support" should consist of, both it and the CP err considerably in labeling the antiwar movement a "white" movement. By definition, tradition, and heritage any movement just about white people in America is racist. Movements are defined by their *program*. An antiwar movement is an antiwar movement. It reflects the interests of the majority of people in the country—the majority of those in the white oppressor nation and everybody amongst the oppressed Third World national minority groups. For the latter, participation in the antiwar movement is objectively an extension of the struggle for self-determination here at home. For the former, to move against the Vietnam war is to objectively diminish the power of the oppressor white nation, meaning that people are relating more to the fact



that they are workers and human beings rather than whites.

The mass mobilizations against the war in Vietnam by the people in the U.S., the international antiwar movement, and the Vietnamese themselves, have accelerated and heightened the struggles of the oppressed Third World national minority groups in the U.S. and the workers as a whole. But this is the result of being able to mobilize the maximum number of people against the war in this country.

Students initiated and entered the antiwar movement on the basis of just being opposed to the war. It was very easy for the student antiwar committees to crack through Young Americans for Freedom and bypass the National Student Association in convincing the mass of students to move against the war. But it will require much more time and effort before Black people and other oppressed national minorities break through the government-funded and financed leaderships to move massively on the issue of Vietnam.

Just as the trade-union movement is weighted down by the lead-bottomed bureaucrats with numerous ties to the government, you have the same thing operating in the Black community.

The Black community is not a monolith. There are the masses and then there is the "neo-colonial" upper crust that exercises tight control over the community. Types like those who direct the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, Urban League, and the Democratic Party constitute this consciously reformist stratum. They have numerous connections with the city, state, and federal governments. With the help of the government, big business, and the wealthy foundations, they run an assortment of antipoverty (pacification) programs in the community. These "community leaders" will issue press statements and proclamations against the war, just like some of their employers in the government, but they will not seek to mobilize the antiwar sentiment in the community. Because that means confronting the government, biting the hand that feeds you, so to speak.

On the other end of the spectrum, the revolutionary-nationalist stratum has been remiss in its responsibility to the Vietnamese. Back in the early part of 1968, SNCC attempted to form a Black united front on the issue of the war. The shape that this effort assumed was the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, NBAWADU. It was able to get a couple of actions off the ground but faded away when some of the leaders

(Continued on page 11)

Fight for Chicano control erupts in L.A. schools

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—The demand for Chicano control of Chicano schools led students and parents to set up a Chicano-controlled school at Euclid Center in East Los Angeles March 13 after a week of demonstrations, vicious beatings by police and the arrest of over 250 students and adults.

The demonstrations began at Roosevelt High School on March 6, the second anniversary of the Chicano high school blow-outs. The students were protesting miserable conditions which were forcing from 40-60 percent of the students to drop out of school. About 82 percent of the Roosevelt students are Chicano and the remainder are predominantly Oriental and Black.

An estimated 80 police were called to the school and attacked eight people in the process of arresting 31 students and six adults. A leaflet protesting the attack said one girl's arm was broken.

Jorge Rodriguez, chairman of the United Mexican American Students at Roosevelt, said that the demands of the students were for a special class period for Chicano history; more Chicano literature; the right to distribute leaflets on campus on Chicano social, political and educational issues; abolition of I.Q. tests based on English and the Anglo culture; and a special reading program. Preparation for college education rather than vocational training was also demanded.

Over 200 people, mostly young Chicanos, marched on two sides of Holbeck Police Station on March 7 to protest the brutal arrests. There was both anger at the brutality and a strong spirit of *carnalismo* [brotherhood].

Marlin Foxworth, an English instructor at Roosevelt, said at the demonstration, "What happened yesterday was just like the last 20 years there. The schools are racist and try to perpetuate the existing structure and keep the Chicano down. Some teachers on the staff still tell 'nigger' jokes."

On Mon., March 9, over 400 students out of a student body of around 3,000 at Roosevelt High demonstrated in protest of the March 6 arrests. They chanted "Chicano Power" and carried signs reading "Chicano Control of Roosevelt." A large contingent of police attempted to intimidate the demonstration. Students at Huntington Park High School demonstrated to protest the harassment and arrests at Roosevelt.

A fact sheet issued out of Euclid Center said that on March 10 "600 students, mothers and community [people] demonstrated. Police were called for the third straight time. They harassed students and chased, beat and arrested 12. Students demonstrated again at Huntington Park, 100 students held a rally at Lincoln High [also predominantly Chicano] and there was student unrest at Garfield High."

Nena Huffsteter, a member of MECHA, an organization of Chicano college students, reported that on March 11 she and other Chicano college students were marching with the Roosevelt students very peacefully.

"We had been marching since about 10 a.m. About 1 p.m., the police began to jeer the students and gun their motors to get us to make a move. About 1:55 we heard glass crash across the street and a bottle hit a police car. Then the police went toward the students, not toward the bottle-thrower.

We tried to keep the kids calm, but they ran and the police chased them, breaking heads.

"The people along the street opened their doors to the kids to protect them from the police. The students were followed onto the lawns and the porches. The people there know Fourth and Mott is part of an armed camp."

Reports at Euclid Center indicated that as many as 1,000 students boycotted classes on March 11. At least 58 people were arrested.

Community meetings with high school and college students supported by parents and community people were held throughout the week at Euclid Center. Typical of the meetings was one March 11 when 600-700 people jammed the meeting hall and were packed tight out to the sidewalk.

None of the basic demands coming out of the 1968 blow-outs, when as many as 3,000 Chicano students walked out of their schools, have been fulfilled two years later.

By Fri., March 13, school administrators admitted that nearly 1,000 Roosevelt High students had boycotted classes while about 150 people demonstrated in front of the school.

Sympathy boycotts and demonstrations continued at Huntington Park, Garfield and Lincoln High schools and spread to South Gate High School and Excelsior Junior High. A round of applause burst out when word was received late in the afternoon at Euclid Center that students at Beverly Hills High School, an Anglo upper-middle-class school, had gone out, with over 200 students boycotting classes for an hour.

By March 13 the indications were that the following week would bring continued demonstrations and school boycotts and the continuance of an independent Chicano school at Euclid Center, where the first session had as many as 100 students.

Roberto Elias, one of the organizers of the school, said that they would teach "Chicano history, from the Aztec revolution to the present revolution." He emphasized that what was needed was Chicano control of Chicano schools, whether it was a matter of using the city's facilities or falling back on the Chicano community's own facilities.

Froben Lozada pledges support

The following statement was released by Froben Lozada, California Socialist Workers Party candidate for state attorney general and head of the Latin American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif. He demanded the immediate release of those Chicanos arrested in the demonstrations at Roosevelt High School in Los Angeles, and the dropping of all charges. He also added:

"We are aware that in this so-called Golden State, at least 14.6 percent of

all Mexican-Americans have had no schooling whatsoever. We are aware of the misuse of the Stanford-Binet and other so-called I.Q. tests which, though not geared for native unilingual speakers (Spanish), are deliberately used by school administrators to funnel Chicanos into "mentally retarded" classes. . .

"We are aware that our Chicanos don't drop out of our schools but are indeed pushed out by racist counselors, discouraged by teachers from getting through school so that they will end up being used as cannon fodder in Vietnam. Finally, we are aware that Chicano students have seen through this sham called an educational system and are, therefore, legitimately exercising their democratic right to protest against these gross inequities and making just demands in an effort to correct these ills.

"Along with other candidates of the SWP, I support the list of demands made by the students which includes the demand for self-government and the right to form and organize their own UMAS chapter in their school. In addition to that, we call for the removal of all cops from the schools."



Photo by Howard Petrick

EAST HARLEMPROTEST. Puerto Ricans in New York demonstrated March 14 in support of Puerto Rican students persecuted for opposition to the draft. Protest was called by MPI (Pro-Independence Movement).

U of Arizona moves against Starsky

By LINDLEY GARNER

PHOENIX — The president of Arizona State University has set March 24 as the date of a dismissal hearing for philosophy professor Morris J. Starsky. The hearing was ordered by the Arizona Board of Regents, who overruled an ad hoc faculty committee recommendation that no faculty dismissal action be taken against Prof. Starsky (see *The Militant*, Feb. 13). The action of the regents was a direct result of political pressure by several right-wing legislators who want Starsky fired because of his socialist political views and his antiwar activities. Demands for Starsky's dismissal became a daily occurrence on the floor of the legislature last month after he cancelled a class to speak at an antiracism rally in Tucson.

For the past several years, Prof. Starsky has been subjected to administrative reprisals for his political views and activities. Although recently invited to appear on the program of the American Philosophical Association meetings in Berkeley, Prof. Starsky was denied travel funds to attend the meetings.

Prof. Starsky is highly regarded by his colleagues and students as a stimulating teacher and a competent philosopher. He is well known in the profession, and has the support of many leading academic philosophers across the country.

A broad-range legal and political defense has been initiated on Prof. Starsky's behalf. Alan Kyman, a prominent Phoenix attorney, plans a vigorous legal defense on both the procedural and the substantive issues involved. The political defense is being conducted both by the students and the faculty-community Committee to Defend Academic Freedom at Arizona State University.

The student group has already collected more than 2,000 signatures for a petition on Prof. Starsky's behalf. The faculty-community committee has received 250 signed support statements from a mailing to faculty members and teaching assistants.

Support for Prof. Starsky in Arizona is along broadly divergent political lines, because of the civil liberties character of the defense effort and Prof.

Starsky's reputation as an asset to the academic community. Prof. Starsky's political victimization for his commitment to socialist principles is being given widespread coverage in the local news media. He has made several appearances on local TV interview programs. As a result of the principled defense being waged on his behalf, the news media have retreated from their editorial endorsement of the demands for his dismissal. One local newspaper even demanded an open hearing on the matter.

In a related development, AFT locals have been established at both ASU and the University of Arizona. It is clear that Arizona professors are not going to be intimidated by the attacks on Prof. Starsky. They are responding in the best tradition of the working class: "A blow against one is a blow against all."

Defense funds for Prof. Starsky are urgently needed. Please send contributions to Prof. Marcus Whiffen, College of Architecture, ASU, Tempe, Arizona, 85251. Send letters of protest to President Harry K. Newburn, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

just out

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CITY OF mahagonny

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CITY OF MAHAGONNY. Text by Bertolt Brecht. Music by Kurt Weill. Produced and directed by Carmen Capalbo. With Barbara Harris as Jenny: Estelle Parsons as Leocadia Begbick: and Mort Shuman as Jimmy Mallory.

Exactly 40 years ago Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill's musical play *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny* first opened to a scandalized bourgeois audience in Leipzig. And now it can be seen in a fine new American production currently previewing at New York's Anderson Theatre. And although the audience is different (New York's bourgeoisie has graduated to plays like *Oh! Calcutta!* whose capacities for stimulation are not primarily mental), *Mahagonny's* portrayal of capitalist society still packs a wallop. (Who today could sit through the court scene without being reminded of "Judge" Julius Hoffman's handling of the Conspiracy trial or the trial of the Panther 21?)

Brecht depicts bourgeois society as a frontier town (bordering on a desert somewhere in Alabama—a 20th Century no man's land) in which everything (evil and in excessive quantities) is permitted. The only crime in this paradise is to not have any money. It is for this that the hero, Jimmy Mallory, a lumberjack from Alaska, is sentenced to death. (His name has been changed from Mahoney to make it work better in English. For the same reason, Herr Jakob Schmidt becomes John Hancock Schmidt.)

Mahagonny is ruled by the screw-or-got-screwed morality which has been both capitalism's hallmark and source of the bourgeois moral hypocrisy Brecht is so good at ridiculing:

*As you make your bed so you lie in it,
But who tucks you in when you do?
And if someone steps up, I'm that one,
And if someone gets stepped on, that
one's you.*

If the prostitute-heroine Jenny is right—and of course she is—in explaining that "When you act like the beasts in the jungle you come out alive," it is not without Brechtian pathos since she says it while turning over her lover Jimmy to the executioner. And Jimmy really does have to be eliminated because his generosity with other people's money and his inability to pay his debts make him an intolerably human—and in this play, anarchist—monkey-wrench in which is supposed to be a money-making proposition.

Brecht purists may not like it but this production, while following the au-

thor's intentions and text quite faithfully, does introduce a few minor innovations. Thus, for instance, a few songs were cut.

More daring, though, is the fact that a rock band takes over from the orchestra to render the theme song throughout the entire "Dare do it!" section of the opera when *Mahagonny*, miraculously spared from (well-merited) destruction by the hurricane, plunges into a bourgeois orgy of Eating, Loving, Fighting and Drinking.

The theatricality of these scenes is well-exploited. The Eating scene was an especially big hit with the audience. The men of *Mahagonny*, seated at a banquet table with a six-foot-long platter laden with a roasted calf, evoke a tableau of Rembrandt's Last Supper, with fat John Hancock Schmidt in the leading role. Schmidt dies while eating his third calf, and, falling, rolls onto the platter on which he is then carried away with appropriate pomp and a bright red apple in his mouth.

Skillful use, too, is made of camera techniques, particularly during the anti-inflation demonstration of the closing scene, in which parts of the ongoing stage action are flashed onto an overhead screen. In an earlier scene, the same technique is utilized to give the audience a stylized but dramatic view of a cardboard replica of a modern city going up in flames. It looked so much like New York that it was hard to suppress a cheer.

The New York production does have its weaknesses, though some may be overcome before the play officially opens. Occasionally, the actors seem to be trying overly hard (through voice inflection especially) to convince the audience of the credibility of their lines. And the already short play within a play about God in *Mahagonny* is cut so short that it hardly captures any of the sacrilege of the intended parody of the Eucharist and might have better been left out altogether.

Marxist formalists have criticized *Mahagonny* for its essentially anarchist view of social change and its negative view of human beings ("Lumberjacks are workers and workers should be portrayed optimistically"). It is for this reason, despite its virulent anticapitalism, that it has never been popular in the Stalinized workers states. (To my knowledge, it has not even been performed there.)

Yet anticapitalist it is. And brilliant theater it is too. For both, this new production will be hard to beat.

— DAVID THORSTAD

Find lung disease rate is soaring in New York



Young Socialist Forum/Canada

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Pulmonary emphysema, a lung disorder, is now the fastest growing cause of death in New York City. According to the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, the mortality rate from this disease has risen 500 percent during the past 10 years. In the same period, deaths from chronic bronchitis have risen 200 percent. Air pollution is a major factor in the toll of life both take, though it is not known exactly how.

The second greatest source of air pollution—second only to automobile—are the fuel-burning industries, and among these, the electric-power industry is the largest contributor. The electric utilities not only produce power (though not very efficiently or reliably); they also produce emphysema and bronchitis and death.

It is not written in the skies that people have to die for electricity to be produced. Basic research needs to be done to determine just what waste elements returned to the environment and just what places are injurious, harmless or helpful. New technologies need to be developed to make maximum use of this knowledge, and already existing, relatively nonpolluting, technologies need to be installed. All of this can be done. But little of it is being done.

The nation's 212 major electric utilities, according to Sen. Lee Metcalf (*Congressional Record*, Jan. 28, E 431), took in \$19.4-billion in 1968. Their after-tax rate of profit was 15.4 percent. Yet, in the same year they reported spending just a little over \$38-million on research and development, and only a small portion of these expenditures, of course, were related to pollution control.

In the same year, though, these monopolies reported spending close to \$274-million—almost eight times as much—on advertising and other sales and public relations programs. As Metcalf points out, these expenditures were really considerably larger; they are hidden in other balance-sheet items, including "research and development." (One "research and development" item the senator reports was a consultant fee to a professor of marketing who recommended that his electric-utility client spend more on—market research.)

There are promising new power-production technologies that are both more efficient and less polluting than existing ones. One, called the magnetohydrodynamic process (MHD), almost directly converts the energy released by burning fuel into electricity without the intermediaries of boilers, turbines, and generators. Because the waste from the process contains constituents essential to keep the process going, the waste has to be processed anyway, and all air pollutants can be removed from it at the same time. Thermal pollution of

lake and river waters would be significantly less than in any method now used. And the process is about 50 percent more efficient than the most efficient coal-burning generating methods now employed.

Yet, until very recently, the utilities have been totally uninterested in the MHD. Even now, according to Richard H. Gilluly's article, "How Much, How Soon for Antipollution?" in the Jan. 24 *New Republic*, the industry has only "indicated . . . that it will make some contribution to MHD, at least for research into 'peaking' or emergency plants."

From the social point of view, nothing more irrational could be conceived. The utility monopolies spend tens of millions of dollars each year to try to convince the public that they are performing the greatest scientific feats in the history of the world to improve service and eliminate pollution, while in fact they are killing people and doing almost nothing either to find out what needs to be known or to utilize what is already known.

But from the standpoint of these monopolies, nothing could be more rational. Their owners get richer. That is the real "scale of priorities" governing capitalist society.

Seek Mich. law to sue polluters

By MICHAEL SMITH

DETROIT—Legislation which would make it easier for individuals to sue corporations for polluting won strong approval at a public hearing here sponsored by the state house Conservation Committee.

The hearing, attended by over 300 persons, heard representatives from the Sierra Club and the UAW, among others, testify in favor of the bill.

Paul Lodico, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, cautioned the audience on accepting legislation as sufficient. Citing the need for mass actions, like those of the antiwar movement, he pointed out that the mere passage of legislation has done little to curb poverty or the oppression of Blacks.

The proposed law seeks to put the burden of proof on the polluter to show that he has not harmed the plaintiff, thus making it harder for a corporation to get a suit dismissed.

"The bill will make every citizen a Ralph Nader crusading against pollution," said Representative Thomas Anderson, a Republican and committee chairman who sponsored the bill.

Countering this, Lodico stated, "Placing the resources of a single individual up against those of a giant corporation within the confines of a courtroom has its obvious limitations."



Design by Caspar Neher for first production of Mahagonny

Marxism vs. individual terrorism

By HARRY RING

The belief that the movement for social change can be advanced by individual acts of violence — bombings, sabotage, arson, assassination — held fairly wide sway in pre-1917 Russia and other European countries but has been a relatively isolated phenomenon in this country. Now, however, the issue has been brought into public focus by recent events.

It became front-page news with the devastating explosion March 6 in the New York home belonging to the parents of Cathy Wilkerson, an SDS activist associated with the Weatherman faction. Of the three bodies found in the rubble so far, one has been identified as that of Ted Gold, a leading Weatherman, and another as Diana Oughton, also reportedly associated with the Weathermen. A third body remains unidentified as of this writing.

Cathy Wilkerson and another woman thought to be Kathy Boudin, both of whom are also associated with the Weathermen, reportedly escaped the building as the blast occurred. Again, as of this writing there is no knowledge of their whereabouts.

The bomb issue was further dramatized March 12 when explosions erupted in three Manhattan buildings headquarters Mobil, IBM and General Telephone and Electronics.

Following these events, there were press roundups on a reported rise in bombings across the country during the past year. These roundups lumped together a variety of acts including those fairly well established as committed by Cuban exiles and other right wingers. In some cases, however, as in several attacks on draft boards, it is not unwarranted to assume that opponents of the war and draft may have been involved.

In the bombing of the three New York buildings, United Press reported it received a message signed "Revolutionary Force 9" which took credit for the action.

While it remains to be established as to just what forces were involved in these actions (and keeping in mind the role of police agents) the fact remains that the revolutionary movement must address itself to this issue.

An old concept

The concept of individual terror as a force for social change is as old as the revolutionary movement itself and in considering the issue it is well worthwhile to go back to the classic Marxist writings on the issue, particularly those of Lenin and Trotsky.

In the process of building the Bolshevik Party that led the victorious Russian revolution, they had to wage a merciless ideological battle against the proponents of terror, first the Narodniks, then the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs).

A currently accessible source of Trotsky's views on the question is found in *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, the transcript of his testimony before the Dewey commission of inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky during the Moscow frame-up trials (Pathfinder Press, \$7.95).

Many of Lenin's slashing political attacks on the concept of individual terror are to be found in his collected works, principally in his polemics against the SRs.

He entitled one such polemic, written in 1920, "Why the Social Democrats Must Declare a Determined and Relent-



Columbia University Daily Spectator/LNS

WAS STRIKE LEADER. Photo of Ted Gold addressing a rally near the Columbia University campus during the 1968 struggle there.

less War Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries."

Such opposition was needed, Lenin declared, "Because the Socialist-Revolutionaries, by including terrorism in their program . . . are thereby doing the most serious harm to the movement . . . Among the masses of the Russian workers this advocacy simply sows harmful illusions, such as the idea that terrorism 'compels people to think politically, even against their will' . . . or that 'more effectively than months of verbal propaganda it is capable of changing the views of thousands of people . . .'"

Despite different times and circumstances, Lenin's analysis of the terrorist ideology retains its full validity today.

Marxist opposition to individual terror springs from revolutionary considerations and, of course, has nothing in common with that of the capitalist politicians who wring their hands in horror over the explosion of a dozen sticks of dynamite while abetting the dropping of millions of tons of TNT on an innocent Vietnamese people; who are "shocked" by the "violence" of opponents of the system but quite philosophical about the immeasurably greater violence of its upholders.

Nor does the Marxist opposition to individual terror have anything in common with that of such reformists as the Socialist and Communist parties who preach the treacherous notion of a "peaceful" or "parliamentary" road to socialism. Our opposition flows from entirely different considerations and principles.

Violence and capitalism

Violence is a central reality of capitalist society and revolutionaries cannot afford to shrink from that reality. A serious socialist perspective demands recognition that the ruling class daily uses violence against those who resist their oppression and that it is utterly utopian to expect that this ruling class, unlike any previous one, will peacefully yield its power on majority demand.

Workers, oppressed minorities, all victims of capitalist violence, have the full right — and duty — to defend themselves against capitalist violence. And, as they reach the stage of the abolition of capitalism, they have the right and obligation to anticipate and prepare for self-defense against the capitalist violence that will be unleashed in an attempt to thwart the majority will.

But there is a fundamental difference between such socially organized self-defense and individual acts of violence. For Marxists, the keystone of their revolutionary perspective is that this violence-ridden capitalist society will be eliminated *only* by a powerful, concert-

ed mass effort involving decisive sectors of the population. All socialist strategy and tactics must be geared to and in consonance with that mass perspective. All concepts that go counter to it must be ideologically opposed as vigorously as Lenin opposed the SRs.

The prerequisite for successful mass anticapitalist action is the building of a political vanguard, a revolutionary Marxist party capable of developing, coordinating and directing the struggles of the oppressed toward the socialist goal. The concept of individual terror must be opposed because it goes counter to both the process of assembling the revolutionary vanguard and that of winning the mass of the people to a socialist program.

The need for a mass movement and a mass-based revolutionary party is dictated by the very power of American capitalism. Nothing less than such a force can accomplish so mighty a task.

Yet, curiously, it is invariably those who are convinced that the job is so big that the party will never be built, or the masses ever won, who resort to a substitute for this process that in terms of long-range effect can only be characterized as futile.

Further, such activities are counterproductive in that they invariably invite needless added victimization for the movement, with the authorities using such actions as the justification for intensifying their attacks. (How quickly the Lindsay administration tried to use the New York bombings to compound their frame-up of the Panthers, with attacks on the Young Lords and anti-war movement thrown in for good measure.)

Acts of individual violence are even more costly in that they also needlessly offer the capitalist rulers and their propagandists the opportunity to promote the big lie that it is the opponents of the system who are responsible for violence, not the system.

The masses and violence

The importance of this point cannot be overemphasized. One of the great promises for the future is precisely the fact that the mass of the people want to live in peace. They try to avoid conflict and they abhor violence. They will be won to socialism when they become convinced that capitalism is responsible for the varieties of violence visited upon people today and that a socialist reorganization of society offers the great promise of cleansing society of violence.

The abhorrence of violence by the great bulk of the population is not to be viewed as some kind of philosophy of nonviolence. People will almost instinctively support and, in the right circumstances, join with those they are

convinced are the victims of violence.

A key reason for the deep opposition to the Vietnam war is that it has become clear to millions that the mighty U.S., not tiny Vietnam, is responsible for the terrible violence being visited upon that country.

The capitalists and their politicians have always understood this attitude of the masses toward violence. That is why they always try to shift responsibility onto the adversary. Every war every one of them has ever fought has always been a "defensive" one.

Revolutionaries must do likewise — with the important difference that they have no need for lying demagoguery. It is, in fact, the opponents of capitalism who are opposing violence and seeking to lead humanity to a world that is free of violence. How incredibly foolish for people fighting for such a goal to needlessly permit the perpetrators of violence to put the onus on them.

Elitism

Those who turn to the philosophy of individual terror in its various forms, thereby express a terrible sense of frustration and despair. They fall victim to the very elitism they set out to oppose. And it is elitist to believe that a well-placed charge of dynamite can substitute for the action of the masses.

It is particularly sad to see such a development within the radical movement at a moment when the prospects for the revolutionary forces are brighter than they have been in a long, long time.

After the World War II years of "national unity" and nearly two decades of cold war and McCarthyism, there is significant political motion in America. Consider the various forces — the anti-war movement, the Black and Brown liberation movements, the growing wave of high school and college rebellion, the entrance onto the arena of struggle of the women's liberation movement.

And, yes, there is also the beginning of motion among the white workers. The victorious GE strike, the beginnings of labor participation in the anti-war movement, are symptomatic expressions of the fact that the white workers are not immunized against the radicalization that continues to spread across the country.

It has been argued that regardless of the efficacy of their efforts, recognition must be given to the dedication of those who engage in acts of terror on behalf of the oppressed. But this is not the issue. Dedication is required of revolutionaries. The problem is how best to utilize it. In our view, Marxism has correctly generalized from a whole body of political history that the best contribution that revolutionaries can make to the struggle for human emancipation is to help build the kind of party that is capable of leading that struggle to victory.

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

YOUNG SOCIALIST CANDIDATES SPEAK: PROGRAM FOR THE RED UNIVERSITY. Speakers: Young Socialist candidates for the Georgia State Student Government Executive Offices: Ginny Osteen, Teresa Blount, Sam Manuel and Philip Lambert. Fri., March 27, 8 p.m. 1176-1/2 W. Peachtree (At 14th). Ausp: Militant Bookstore.

NEW YORK

THE HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS STRUGGLE. A symposium of activists from the High School Rights Coalition, George Washington High School and the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 27, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Cont: \$1; h.s. students 50c. Dinner: 6:30 p.m. \$1.25.

SAN FRANCISCO

100TH CENTENNARY — ROSA LUXEMBURG. Speaker: Sylvia Weinstein. Fri., March 27, 8 p.m. 2338 Market. Donation: \$1. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum.

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The Great Society

Gaping credibility dep't—"SAIGON, South Vietnam, March 14 (UPI)—The United States command indicated today that plane losses over Laos had been included in figures of accidental aircraft losses in Vietnam."

\$100 misunderstanding—A George Washington University student paid \$100 at a campus fund-raising auction for the privilege of lunch and an interview with Martha Mitchell, wife of the attorney general. Since then he has been interviewed by the Justice Department and faces a possible FBI quiz. Mrs. Mitchell didn't realize the student was considering selling the interview. She thought he paid the \$100 just to talk to her.

With the foamy head—The monthly magazine *Police Chief* does a brisk advertising business for a broad range of tools of the trade, ranging from riot guns to "throw away" nylon handcuffs. A current Smith & Wesson special, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, is the Mighty Midget, a kit including 12 tear-gas grenades and a grenade revolver. Slogan for the kit is, "Two six-packs to go!"

Image-builder—After finishing off his double six-pack, a solicitous cop can reach for his "TGA," a tear gas antidote in a spray can. TGA, a *Police Chief* ad promises, will flush tears and gas from victims' eyes. "TGA does more than relieve human suffering," the ad explains. "It provides your department with an important public relations plus."

Quick charge—Does a cop have to get excited when he's required to search

a woman? All he needs is \$99.50 for a no-touch Friskem Electronic Nitestick. "Just pass the end of it near suspected areas in a person," a *Police Chief* ad assures. "Any iron or steel object will cause a meter located near the handle to jump."

Pig-poor image?—The Wisconsin Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs Association objected to a Chrysler TV commercial which portrays a sheriff as not giving a girl a speeding ticket after she points out the features of her car and the fact that her uncle's a judge. The ad, the sensitive sheriffs protested, "portrays the sheriff as being more animal than human, and thus squares with the intended goals of the violent members of our society."

Security item—Roughly \$70-million a year, the *Wall Street Journal* estimates, is about what it costs to keep the president "staffed, housed, protected, transported, rested and in touch wherever he is. It includes everything: staff salaries, postage, heat, laundry, state dinners for 200, flower arrangements, the Secret Service, Air Force One and the shark net off of Mr. Nixon's bay-side house at Key Biscayne, Fla." For such a president, that sounds very reasonable. Our only question is whether that net is to keep them in or out.

Understatement of week—"Laos Deaths Hurt Nixon's Credibility"—Lead headline in Columbus, Ohio *Citizen-Journal*.

—HARRY RING

Meet Socialists in Your Area

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Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Seater, 1620 Park St., Apt. 4, Milwaukee, Wis.

IN PASSING...

Portnoy's Complaint has, of course, been widely praised and damned. No one thinks that Philip Roth's story of the anguish of a boy growing up with overbearing Jewish parents isn't enormously funny, but the larger than life satiric portrait of Alexander Portnoy's parents has been found to be anti-Semitic by some (including the always illuminating Marxist literary critic, Annette Rubinstein, in a review in *Jewish Currents*).

I strongly disagree with this evaluation of *Portnoy's Complaint*. Three things may be said in Roth's defense:

(1) The narrative is a first person confession by Alexander Portnoy on a psychiatrist's couch and is therefore neurotically one-sided.

(2) Alexander Portnoy is portrayed as a very sympathetic character and his cultural Jewishness is likewise sympathetically explored.

(3) Philip Roth's mother, when asked how she felt about her son's book, replied, "All mothers are Jewish mothers."

Taking this last remark with some seriousness, it may be pointed out that Roth's book illustrates an interesting analytical problem. Namely, that Alexander Portnoy feels himself to be oppressed by women (especially and originally his mother).

This phenomenon is general. Male supremacist society places men in the position of oppressing women, yet at the same time it gives men the strong belief that women are somehow oppressing them.

I think this is probably rooted somewhere in the structure of the family system, but that it is an important and real thing cannot be doubted. It is one reason why so many otherwise revolutionary-minded men pooh-pooh or fear the women's liberation movement—they think it is either irrelevant or will intensify men's problems with women.

This is, of course, mistaken, but it is a problem that deserves to be explored.

Portnoy's Complaint is one work which does explore this question and it deserves to be read on this level, also. (*Portnoy's Complaint*, Bantam Books, \$1.50 paperback.)

* * *

The Black Panther Party and the Case of the New York 21 outlines the case of the 21 and the history and politics of the BPP generally.

The pamphlet, prepared by Annette T. Rubinstein, Robert Rhodes, Lili Solomon and Janet Townsend, points out that the repression of the Panthers is set within the racist context of the "normal" every day repression of the people of the Black ghettos:

"Despite the increasing frequency with which, for the past few years, instances of police homicide—shots fired at fleeing ghetto youngsters, the shooting of Black men by drunken police in bars, deliberate murder in the course of a private traffic altercation between an off-duty policeman and a Black civilian



citizen—have been reported in every large northern city, the average white man or women still thinks of physical danger from the police as a remote exceptional phenomenon. But as reported in *Political Science Quarterly* for June 1968:

"Of the southcentral Los Angeles residents [a Black neighborhood] interviewed by the U. C. L. A. Institute of Government and Public Affairs, 47 percent had seen police brutality, 43 percent knew someone so mistreated, and 9 percent had themselves been victims. According to data gathered by the American Civil Liberties Union, the situation is just as bad, if not worse, in Boston, Chicago and New Orleans."

The pamphlet also gives at some length what is, in my opinion, a political misassessment of the work of the Panthers and the reasons that the government has instituted its repression against them.

More importantly, the pamphlet is intended to raise money for the defense of the New York 21.

(Write to Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience, P.O. Box 346, Cathedral Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10025. Individual copies cost \$1. The bundle order rate is 25c each—the cost of production.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

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Why the administration 'promises' not to send more GIs into Laos

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 19—In the past three days, Secretary of State William P. Rogers has asserted and then qualified his assertion that Washington will not use combat troops in Laos even "if it is overrun" by Communist forces.

The statement undoubtedly falls in the category of a number of lies that have emanated from the Nixon administration in respect to its war plans for Laos. Nevertheless, it is extremely significant.

Rogers implicitly revealed that the administration is totally conscious of the profound opposition of American people to the Vietnam war despite all its allegations to the contrary.

Just imagine Nixon one year ago telling his "Great Silent Majority" that he would not use U.S. forces to "protect a country from being overrun by Commies." In effect, that is exactly what Rogers said.

As revolutionary forces have steadily gained ground in the Laotian civil war despite Nixon's escalation of U.S. bombing, the overwhelming response of Americans has been: "Don't get involved in another war. Don't take steps that will prolong the Vietnam war. Above all, don't send our boys into Laos."

The Gallup poll, which leaves much to be desired in the way of scientific sampling techniques, nevertheless registered further deepening of antiwar sentiment since last December. Gallup reported March 14 that those people he interviewed who favored immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops had increased from 18 percent to 21 percent since mid-December. Those favoring withdrawal within 18 months increased from 22 percent to 25 percent.

According to Gallup, then, 46 percent of Americans oppose Nixon's policies and want faster withdrawal. The same poll showed only 38 percent sup-



Oct. 15 Moratorium in Binghamton, N. Y.

antiwar movement succeeds in rallying only a fraction of those who oppose Nixon's policies, it can stage the largest demonstrations so far against the war, April 15.

The Democratic Party has begun to make moves towards exploiting the antiwar sentiment of these masses of American people, to regain ground lost in the 1968 elections. They have attacked Nixon's "Vietnamization" policies.

This does not mean that the Democrats favor immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. They do not favor immediate withdrawal and they have said so over and over again. What they favor is winning votes. And this poses problems, as well as offering new potential, to the antiwar movement.

The problem is that a wing of the Democratic Party mounts tremendous pressure on the antiwar movement to deflect it into the channels of electoral politics and into supporting Democratic Party "peace" candidates. That is a problem the antiwar movement must meet head-on.

The whole lesson of 1968, and it should be reviewed and studied by antiwar forces, is that "peace" campaigns succeeded in temporarily derailing many of the forces of the antiwar movement. It succeeded to a certain extent in doing just what Senator McCarthy said he wanted to do—"take the antiwar movement off the streets."

But from this it does not at all follow, as some sections of the left have argued, that the antiwar movement should narrow itself, exclude "liberals," and shun mass demonstrations whose list of speakers includes one or another capitalist politician.

This amounts to seizing on a secondary issue in a sectarian way. If such a narrowing tactic was actually carried out by the antiwar movement, instead of confronting the capitalist political challenge and defeating it, the antiwar movement would be retreating and surrendering them the field.

The correct tactics for the antiwar movement flow from fully recognizing what the Democratic Party maneuvers really mean. They mean that there is massive and deepening antiwar sentiment in this country that is directed towards getting U.S. troops out of Vietnam.

That prospect is opposed by the rul-

ing capitalist parties. They want to keep U.S. troops in Vietnam and they want to defeat the revolution in Vietnam and neighboring Laos. And this means that whatever "liberal" rhetoric they use, they cannot co-opt the antiwar program of immediate withdrawal.

Massive demonstrations, organized as they have been since the beginning of the antiwar movement, by nonexclusive antiwar committees, outside and independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, do not help the ambitions of the capitalist politicians. They hinder these ambitions.

It is precisely this mass independent antiwar movement, which includes within its ranks the full range of views of those who oppose the war, that the capitalist politicians hope to choke off. The forces of the left should certainly not help them in this regard.

On the contrary they should follow an old rule of thumb: that is, giving their class enemies the political rope to hang themselves.

A Senator McCarthy, who opposes immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, who wants continued capitalist property relations in Vietnam, who has voted for war appropriations bills over and over again, speaks at a mass antiwar demon-

stration on a platform side-by-side those who have been in the forefront of every anticapitalist battle: fighters for Black, Chicano and other Third World liberation struggles, the leaders of the women's liberation struggles, high school students demanding their rights, revolutionary socialists battling to end the capitalist system once and for all—these forces united in the struggle to win self-determination for the Vietnamese people and to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam. A McCarthy is not on that platform because he supports this revolutionary movement.

He is there because he is desperately trying to ward it off. That is his contradiction, not ours, and the job of the antiwar movement is to turn that contradiction against the war makers.

And that can be done by continuing to build the antiwar movement the way it has been built in the past: massive, nonexclusive, independent, on the streets, for immediate withdrawal. That movement cannot be side-tracked by the ruling class and its agents. It can, with sufficient forces, ultimately turn the tide of public opinion decisively against Washington and for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

N.Y. Senate adopts reform of abortion law

NEW YORK, March 18—Under pressure of the growing abortion law repeal movement, the New York state senate approved the most liberal abortion law in the country today, legalizing all abortions performed by licensed doctors. The bill must now go to the House, where approval is anticipated.

This significant victory for the anti-abortion law forces will not alter plans for the March 28 demonstration in New York called by People to Abolish Abortion Laws. Demonstrators will demand prompt approval of the bill and press for the immediate establishment of state-financed free abortion clinics.

port for his "Vietnamization" policies as long as they seem to mean de-escalation of the war.

Within the category of those favoring immediate withdrawal, Gallup found grade school students and women to be the most adamant: 25 percent of grade school students and 26 percent of women favored getting out now. High school students scored 21 percent for immediate withdrawal.

You don't need a sliderule to see the implications of these figures. If the

Ft. Bliss GIs protest war

EL PASO, March 15—Close to 2,000 people attended an antiwar GI rally in McKelligon Canyon park. Well over half of those who attended in the course of the day were GIs from nearby Ft. Bliss. One indication of the spirit the rally generated was the appearance of a PX ice cream truck which catered the affair.

The rally was organized by GIs for Peace at Ft. Bliss. Speakers included Ron Withem, chairman of the Ft. Bliss GIs for Peace, ex-GI Allen Myers, editor of the GI Press Service, John Worcester, a GI and the MC for the program, and Phil Langford of the University of Texas at El Paso Student Action Committee and Young Socialist Alliance.

Music was provided by Stanley and the Steamers and McKatush.

The occasion for the rally was to build support for the suit that GIs for Peace is filing against the Command-

ing General of Ft. Bliss and the Secretary of the Army. This federal court action will seek a declaratory judgment from the court that GIs have the right to distribute their literature on post. Attorneys for the suit include Michael Mendelson of El Paso and Leonard Boudin of New York in association with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. The suit will also ask that the court enjoin the Army from utilizing unconstitutional post or Army regulations which deny distribution rights.

GIs for Peace has been publishing *Gigline* on a monthly basis, and has requested and been denied on-post distribution rights by Ft. Bliss authorities.

A similar Ft. Bragg injunction suit, filed by GICLDC attorneys on behalf of 18 soldiers at that North Carolina base, is on appeal from an unfavorable decision at the district court level.