

# THE MILITANT

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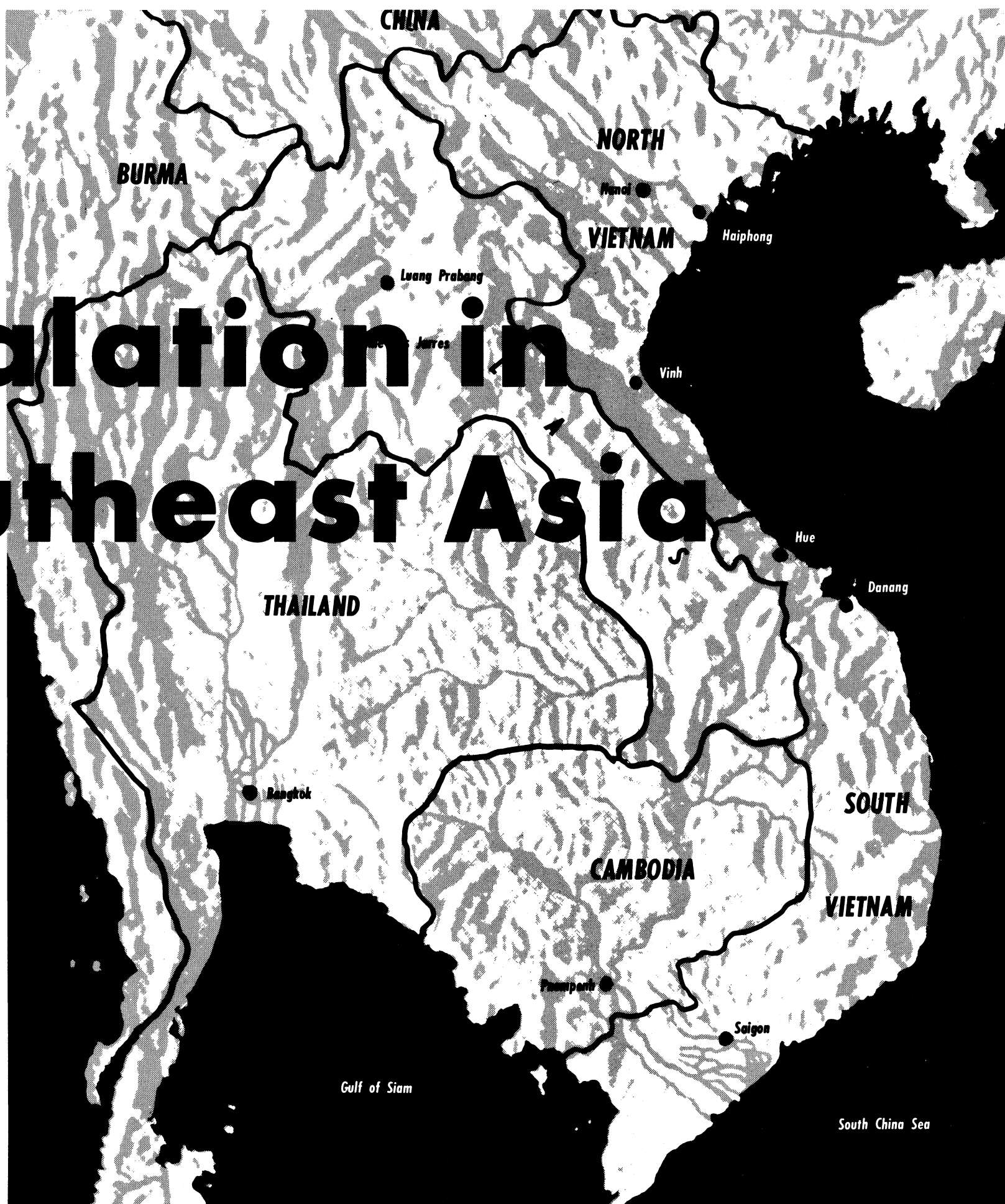
Vol. 34—No. 14

Friday, April 17, 1970

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## Escalation in Southeast Asia



**APRIL 8**—Significant new developments are now occurring as Washington presses its continuing political-military efforts to establish a permanent, stable power base in Indochina.

The most ominous of these developments are the moves leading toward direct U.S. troop involvement in Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, the steps in this direction have sharpened the rifts among those sections of the American ruling class and their spokesmen who are fearful that U.S. imperialism may be overreaching itself in Vietnam.

These circles are particularly fearful that a new escalation and widening of the war could detonate a massive new explosion of antiwar sentiment at home.

Meanwhile, the crisis of the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon was given added dimension in recent days as university students struck in behalf of their political freedom, and disabled South Vietnamese war veterans demanded

relief from their miserable existence, battling Saigon cops and troops with bricks, pipes and hammers.

The strike for university autonomy and basic democratic rights for student political prisoners by 32,000 at the University of Saigon, and supported by students at Hue, Cantho and Van Hanh universities, was given added strength as members of the Catholic hierarchy voiced support for student demands. Previous student actions have won little support outside of militant Buddhists.

The excerpts from the Wall Street Journal article which we reprint on page 6 provide a useful insight into the thinking of those among U.S. ruling circles who are fearful of the outcome of the struggle in Vietnam and Indochina generally. The article, which appeared on April 3, cites factors pushing Washington toward deeper involvement in Indochina and expresses concern that the administration's drift toward a wider war

can touch off a serious political crisis.

Nixon's current moves can be characterized as a "drift" in the same sense that Eisenhower and Kennedy were "drifting" when they sent a relative handful of "advisers" to Vietnam. At that point they may not have anticipated that less than a decade later over half a million U.S. troops would be committed there.

The actual course they followed, however, was determined not simply by their prior decisions but by the inexorable, logical pressure of events and contending forces more powerful than themselves.

What is fixed, what determines their course of action, is their basic imperialist perspective. With the defeat of the French in Indochina in 1954, U.S. imperialism was impelled to take up where the French left off. The U.S. rulers sought to "contain" the Indochinese revolution within the boundaries

(continued on page 6)

# Radical caucus confronts educators

## For transforming education into liberating force

Baltimore, Md.

At a recent convention of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in San Francisco, the Radical Caucus was formed in an effort to establish a meaningful relationship between educators and the current political and cultural revolutions. The ASCD has a membership of about 4,000—a combination of teachers, administrators and university professors of education. The Radical Caucus, with a core of about twenty activists, passed a resolution in support of the demands raised by the Black Caucus within the ASCD and is calling for a counterconvention in 1971 in St. Louis.

At the counterconvention we hope to do in-depth exploration of such formerly "untouchable" concepts as High School Rights, Students Making Their Own Schools, Military Components of Childhood, Learning Political Effectiveness, and The Mystical in Education.

In our call for the counterconvention, the following were offered as a basis for membership in the Radical Caucus:

"1) ASCD, once a radical organization, now helps to maintain an oppressive public school system. We believe that the association's proper function is to challenge and confront school systems.

"2) The annual convention of ASCD should be used to identify and enact strategies for transforming education into a liberating force."

J. M.

## Parker Pen Company struck in Janesville

Janesville, Wis.

Since March 15 600 members of United Rubber Workers AFL-CIO Local 663 and International Association of Machinists Lodge 1266 have been



## 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.

on strike at the Parker Pen Company here. The central dispute concerns wages. While the average worker earns a bare \$3 per hour, the company is offering a four percent increase over a three-year period. "It is unreasonable to believe that we would bargain for such an offer," one union official stated.

Other issues include pensions and length of contract. Small and localized, this strike nevertheless fits into the national labor upsurge that began in the GE strike and has mounted higher with the actions of public employees, notably the postal workers, and shows no sign of abatement.

J. T.

## A question on violence

Chesapeake, Va.

I read the article in the recent [March 27] *Militant* by Harry Ring entitled "Marxism vs. Individual Terror" with great interest. The temptation to plant a bomb in some government office is tempting to revolutionaries, but considering myself a Marxist-Leninist, I see that it is a romantic notion that bombs alone will bring revolution. Bombs exclude the people and are counterproductive in the long run as history has shown. Sometimes revolutionaries fall into the trap the capitalists also fall into. Mainly that one instrument will win a struggle, as the U.S. depends on napalm to stop the revolutionary movements.

But then I am curious as to how *The Militant* stands on the issue of bombs combined with mass insurrection as in the Algerian revolution as shown in the movie, "Battle of Algiers," or as used by the NLF. I rely on *The Militant* for its sound analysis and criticism; this is why I have asked this question.

D. V.

[In the article referred to I emphasized that Marxists reject the reformist notion that there can be a peaceful transition from violence-torn capitalism to the future socialist society of peace and brotherhood. The article also emphasized that the prospect of such a peaceful transition was utopian not because socialists want violence, but because the capitalist minority will seek

to use violence to prevent the majority of carrying through its democratic aspiration for fundamental social change. [Revolutionaries have the obligation to explain this political fact and to promote the idea that the working people and all other opponents of capitalism in their mass struggles against that system have the right and need to anticipate such violence by the capitalists and to prepare to defend themselves against it is an organized, effective way. Within the framework of that political approach the question of the forms of struggle by the masses against capitalist violence becomes a practical one which can not be realistically anticipated with advance military blueprints. In terms of self-defense against the violence of the oppressors, the basic formula was presented must succinctly by Malcolm X: "By any means necessary." — Harry Ring]

## No sooner said than done

Brookings, S. Dak.

We dig *The Militant*, but tonight I just figured out why I look forward to reading the *Guardian* more than I do your paper. The reason may seem trivial, but on a rather unconscious level, it has been affecting me: *it is such a hassle to unfold*. You have to fight it all the way. You practically have to tear a page in order to unfold it.

So please consider the suggestion which I humbly offer: just mail it out with the least folds necessary.

L. K.

[We're happy to inform you that beginning with the next issue *The Militant* will be mailed out with only one fold (and no wrapper). See announcement elsewhere in this issue. — Editor]

## Panthers address 200 in Philadelphia

Philadelphia, Pa.

Repression, violence, racism and the Black Panthers was the subject of a meeting last Wednesday night at the Quaker Meeting House sponsored by a number of organizations including Women Strike for Peace, the Student Mobilization Committee, American Friends Service Committee, and Resistance.

"Big Man," N.Y. Black Panther Party spokesman, filled in for David Hilliard who was unable to travel from California due to the airline slowdown. Reggie Shell, local BPP captain, also addressed the 200 persons attending the meeting.

"Big Man" spoke on the victimization of the Panthers, the incarceration of Bobby Seale, and the general questions of violence and the American government. He pointed out the role of the U.S. government in perpetrating violence in Vietnam and against Third World Americans. He also pointed out that the U.S. government was the first to use the atom bomb.

Reggie Shell outlined the various BPP activities in Philadelphia: breakfast programs, community control of police petitions, and coalitions with other organizations, formed to defend the Panther Party and educate against racism.

Arnold Terry

## A double error

Lawrence, Kansas

At the risk of being pedantic, I would like to point out that a double error was made in the calendar of the March 27 issue: "Centenary" has only "n"; and it is redundant to refer to a "100th Centenary" since centenary means 100th anniversary. (I take it that 1970 is not the 10,000th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birth.)

The duty of a revolutionary is to be CORRECT!

F. M.

# THE MILITANT

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Closing news date—April 10

For the most complete selection of the speeches and/or writings of:

# Che Malcolm Trotsky

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Israel, an analysis (II)

# How the state of Israel was really established

By NATHAN WEINSTOCK

[This is the second installment of a four-part series of theses by Nathan Weinstock, a Belgian Marxist who lived for many years in Palestine and whose work, *Le sionisme contre Israel* (Zionism Against Israel), appeared last year in France. References to Weinstock are to that work. The theses were originally published in the Jan. 12 issue of *Rouge*, the paper of the French Communist League.]

6. Israel was not born of the Nazi persecutions. The foundations of the Zionist colonization of Palestine were laid during the last quarter of the 19th century (the first wave of immigrants disembarked in 1882). There is no way Palestine could ever have taken in the 6,000,000 Jews exterminated by the Nazi regime.

Moreover, the Jewish community of Palestine was not saved from genocide because of its presence in the Holy Land, but—like American and British Jews—simply because of the fortunate fact that Hitler did not conquer the Middle East. It is the western "democracies" who systematically refused to open their borders to the victims of fascism who are really responsible for the genocide. As for the Zionist leaders, they never hesitated to deal with the most prominent anti-Semites to gain their objectives.

7. It is equally necessary to refute the grotesque myth of the purported "historical rights" of the Jews in Palestine. Even before the Roman conquest of Judea (70 AD), three-quarters of the Jewish population lived outside Palestine. As for the indigenous Jewish community, it was gradually absorbed by neighboring populations during the following centuries, just as were the Philistines, the Phoenicians, the Nabateans, and other clans of the ancient Orient (see the work of d'Avi-Yonah cited by Weinstock).

A consequence of this is the fact that paradoxically today's Palestinians are to some extent (there was much intermarriage with other communities) descendants of the Hebrews! Moreover, if the Jews have claims on Palestine, why don't the Arabs have claims on Spain or Sicily which were once upon a time integral parts of the Islamic Empire?

8. The Palestinians' resistance to the Zionist colonization (including the resistance of Levantine Jews) made itself felt from the very beginning of the Zionist enterprise, and especially from 1908 on (see Neville Mandel and Ro'i, cited

in Weinstock). Their resistance was expressed in the harassment of Jewish colonies by the fellahs who had been run off their land and by the uprisings of 1920-1921, which were part of the general revolt of the Arab world (Syria, Iraq, Egypt) against French and British domination. It was manifested again in the troubles of 1929, and above all during the 1930s in strikes and street demonstrations against the pro-Zionist policy of Great Britain. It reached its climax in 1936-39—a general strike of six month's duration, followed by a generalized revolt in the countryside, which was crushed in blood by the British forces, mightily aided by the Zionist militias.

Prof. Y. Bauer of Jerusalem, in "The Arab Revolt of 1936" (*New Outlook*, July-August-September 1966), concludes: "The Arab revolt of the years 1936-39 was the last attempt of the Arab people of Palestine to prevent by force the entry of Jews into the country. . . . The conditions of the victory in 1948 were created during the Arab revolt."

It took a full generation for the Palestinian people to recover from that ter-



Palestinians in refugee camp

Liberation News Service photo

rible bloodletting—the deaths numbered in the thousands. That is why the Palestinians' opposition after the Second World War was only sporadic and became extensive only after 1965.

9. The Zionist movement was able to sink its roots in Palestine because of the support first of the Ottoman Empire, then of Britain (Balfour Declaration of Nov. 2, 1917), and later of the U. S. (with, for some time, the support of the USSR). The Israeli community was constituted by a colonial process of forcefully displacing the indigenous population: "Without iron helmets and cannon, we would never have been able to plant a tree or build a house," said Moshe Dayan (quoted from "Uri Avnery," by Eric Rouleau, *Le Monde*, July 4, 1969).

But one must not hold the present Jewish inhabitants of the state of Israel responsible for the crimes of their Zionist leaders or seek to make them pay for these crimes. The destruction of the colonial structures of the Zionist state means neither the expulsion nor the oppression of the Jews of Israel. In the Palestine of tomorrow—which we must hope to see reborn within the framework of a reunification of the Arab world that has been Balkanized by the colonial powers—the Jews must be able to freely choose their national destiny in fraternal alliance with the Arab revolutionary forces in general and the Palestinian revolutionary forces in particular.

(To be continued.)

## ♀ Women's liberation notes

*Women: A Journal of Liberation* is by far the best known of the publications to come out of the women's liberation movement thus far—and rightly so. Published in Baltimore by a volunteer staff of a dozen sisters, the *Journal* is professionally done, informative and serious. The first two issues each contain not less than 80 pages of articles, illustrations, poems and letters concerning the most varied topics and submitted by women from all over the country.

A recent letter sent to subscribers from the *Journal* staff reported that circulation is now up to 20,000—a tribute not only to the attractiveness of the magazine, but also to the tremendous growth of interest in women's liberation.

Anyone who would like to join the 20,000 who are already reading the *Journal* can subscribe. Send five dollars to *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, 3011 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218.

\* \* \*

In New York City—the richest city in the world—there are now approximately 100,000 children of working mothers who need day care but are not getting it. This fact was revealed in an official nine-page report on the child-care crisis in New York, released by Comptroller Abraham Beame's office. According to the report, there are at present only 8,000 children being cared for in 116 public day-care centers, with an additional 13,000 accommodated in 335 private—and usually expensive—nurseries.

Compare this to the situation in Cuba, a relatively poor country which had no public nursery facilities before 1961. Cuba's population is nearly the same size as New York's, yet Cuba has already accommodated 34,000 children in 269 nurseries, and 170 additional ones are on the drawing board. These nurseries are free. Meals, clothes and medical care for the youngsters are provided, and some of the centers are open on a 24-hour-a-day basis. Children are taken from the age of three and up in most nurseries, and some in rural areas take them as early as 45 days.

\* \* \*

The women's liberation movement has blossomed in Houston, Texas. About 100 men and women turned out for the first meeting there which was a panel discussion held on International Women's Day. At the gathering, the formation of two new women's liberation groups was announced, one at the University of Houston and another at Rice University.

\* \* \*

A report on a young woman whose death has been linked to the pill was sent to *The Militant* by Debbie Woodroffe, an activist in the San Francisco movement:

Jo Anne Lowe, an 18-year-old from San Francisco, had been using the Syntex pill for four months when she died

from a blood clot lodged in her lungs. Her mother has filed a \$250,000 damage suit against Syntex Corporation, the pill manufacturer. The suit charges that Syntex failed to put warnings on the pill container explaining that birth control pills may cause clotting.

The suit was filed on March 23, the very day that the Food and Drug Administration announced it was "toning down" its proposed package warnings for the 8.5 million users of oral contraceptives. The new shorter warning deletes instructions on when women using the pill should see a doctor and mentions only a single specific possible danger from the pill. The Food and Drug Administration said the rewording was necessary for "legal and professional acceptance."

\* \* \*

There was a great deal of contradictory and confusing testimony at the Senate hearings on the birth control pill last February, but there was one point which came through clearly—the medical profession doesn't really know what the actual effect of the pill is on the millions of women who have been using it.

Very little basic research has been done on the pill, and even less time and money has been spent looking for safe and reliable alternatives. In fact, according to Barbara Seaman, author of *Doctor's Case Against the Pill*, the drug companies who produce birth control pills spend more money each year on promotion and advertising than they do on basic research.

For these companies, it is a simple matter of priorities. Profits come first. These same kinds of priorities come into play when the U.S. government allocates \$24 billion to put men on the moon and \$30 billion each year for the war in Vietnam, while almost nothing goes into birth control research. The needs of defending the private property system go before the human needs of over half the population of the world.

—ELIZABETH BARNES



Photo by Sid Sattler/LNS

# N.Y. SWP challenges state election law

By JUDY BAUMANN  
NEW YORK—At a news conference here April 7, the Socialist Workers Party announced its intention to file a suit against discriminatory sections of the New York State election law. The suit, which will be handled by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will focus on the requirements regulating the ballot status of independent candidates for office and the literacy requirement for voter registration. The ECLC's chief counsel, Leonard Boudin, will be the attorney.

The suit will challenge the constitutionality of the requirement that the 12,000 signatures gathered by an independent political party to put its candidate on the ballot include 50 signatures from each of New York's 62 counties. This provision not only violates the principle of one man, one vote, but it



Clifton DeBerry

means that any independent candidate who failed to gather the required number of signatures in one of the 62 counties would be denied ballot status even if he had enough support in every other county to put him into office! Similar laws in Illinois and Michigan have already been declared unconstitutional.

"The present election law is designed to deny the candidates and parties independent of the Democrats and Republicans equal access to the ballot and to deny voters the right to vote on all the candidates in an election," Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for governor, stated at the news conference.

Under the present law, Democrats or Republicans petitioning for ballot status in the primaries need only 10,000 signatures with 50 from each of 47 counties. (Republicans and Democrats must petition only if they do not have their party's official designation.) Anyone who signs a petition nominating a Democrat or Republican for the primary elections or votes in the primaries is not allowed to sign the nominating petition of an independent candidate.

The suit will also challenge the restrictive literacy requirements for voter registration. DeBerry pointed out that the literacy requirement for registration discriminates against Black and Latin peoples who, because of cultural differences or deficiencies in the educational system, cannot read and write English to the satisfaction of the board of elections. "Of course the Democrats and Republicans who made this law don't require a literacy test to establish eligibility for paying taxes," DeBerry said.

The SWP New York State Campaign Committee is initiating a fair ballot committee composed of leading civil liberties figures and all others who support this challenge to the present election laws. Those who are interested in more information about the suit should contact Mike Arnall, Socialist Workers 1970 Campaign, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 (212) 477-8950.



Photo by John Gray

**SOCIALIST CANDIDATES BUILD ANTIWAR ACTIONS.** California Socialist Workers Party candidates have been campaigning in support of spring antiwar offensive. Herman Fagg (left), candidate for governor, toured Northwest to build actions in Oregon and Washington. Dianne Feeley (right), candidate for U.S. Senate, toured Bay Area. Both are scheduled to address several antiwar rallies April 13-18. Other candidates speaking at rallies throughout the state include Patti Iiyama, Froben Lozada and Antonio Camejo, candidates respectively for secretary of state, attorney general and superintendent of public instruction.

## Pa. SWP files petitions; will challenge 'loyalty' oath

PHILADELPHIA—Over 26,000 signatures, 14,000 more than required by law, were filed March 30 in Harrisburg, Pa., to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the 1970 elections. This was the highest number of signatures gathered by any party in recent Pennsylvania history.

The great ease with which this number of signatures was collected clearly reflected the growing dissatisfaction of Americans with the war and other evils supported by the capitalist parties.

Statewide papers were filed for Robin Maisel for U.S. senator, Pearl Chertov for governor and Mark Zola for lieutenant governor. Nominating papers

were also filed for Arnold Terry, candidate for state representative in the 198th district, and Carol Lisker who is running for state representative in the 187th district.

The board of election refused to accept Carol Lisker's nominating papers, which contained nearly 600 signatures, 250 more than required. As part of a statewide legal and political campaign to strike down Pennsylvania's reactionary loyalty oath provision in the election code, she had refused to sign that section of her nominating papers requiring candidates to state that they are not "subversive."

"I believe that the so-called loyalty oath is an unconstitutional restriction on my rights of free speech, association and belief," Lisker stated. "For that reason, I am challenging the election code and hope to have that unconstitutional law stricken from the books." She is being represented in her challenge of this law by the American Civil Liberties Union.

A campaign is underway to publicize the case and gain the broadest possible support. It will be taken all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary.

A campaign will also be waged against the state regulation limiting the number of parties that may use the word "socialist" in their ballot name to one. Since the Socialist Labor Party also runs in Pennsylvania elections, this is obviously discriminatory. The SWP, together with the SLP and the ACLU, is launching a fight to have this section of the election laws stricken as well.

# Chicago ups the sub drive ante

By FLAX HERMES  
*Militant business manager*  
APRIL 8 — Let's hope this scoreboard marks the start of a new trend for the subscription drive!

When we announced last week that the sub drive would be extended for two weeks until May 1, we realized that the extension was a bit unfair. Areas which were doing well and could easily have finished on time would not get the full credit they deserved.

We were, therefore, glad to hear from Chicago that they plan to put the extension to good use—they've decided to increase their quota. Their new goal of 500 is up 50 subs from their original quota and they are confident of making it.

We hope all the areas that could smell victory under the original sub drive deadline will follow Chicago's lead.

Also this week, five areas hit and went over the 100 percent mark. Portsmouth, N. H., even inched ahead of Albany, N. Y., front-runner for most of the drive.

An interesting sub-getting idea came in this week from Los Angeles. They held a party and the price of admission was . . . you guessed it, two new subs turned in at the door. They netted over 40 subs and had a good party as well.

The ten areas on the scoreboard from Twin Cities and above are on time this week. But we are still running behind schedule nationally. We've only filled 52 percent of our goal of 7,556 new subs. To be on time we should

be almost 70 percent finished.

We're entering a week of nationwide antiwar demonstrations. Everyone who participates in these actions should become a regular reader of the newspaper that has been the most consistent build-

er of the antiwar movement. If we take full advantage of all the selling possibilities this week, we should be well on the way towards wrapping up the subscription drive—100 percent completed and on time by May 1.

Subscription scoreboard					
City	Quota	New subs			
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	238			
Portsmouth, N. H.	15	19	Bloomington, Ind.	50	23
Albany, N. Y.	25	31	Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	11
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	47	Hoboken, N. J.	30	13
Tacoma, Wash.	25	28	DeKalb, Ill.	100	42
El Paso, Texas	20	22	Gainesville, Fla.	50	21
Hamilton & Clinton, N. Y.	16	13	La Crosse, Wis.	15	6
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	37	Milwaukee, Wis.	40	16
Boston, Mass.	350	256	Hayward, Calif.	75	28
Worcester, Mass.	50	36	Logan, Utah	25	9
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	175	Oxford, Ohio	25	9
Seattle, Wash.	200	130	Phoenix, Ariz.	75	27
Atlanta, Ga.	225	146	Cleveland, Ohio.	350	120
Chicago, Ill.	500	304	St. Louis, Mo.	30	10
Detroit, Mich.	350	211	Newark, N. J.	75	23
Eastern Washington State	25	15	Kansas City, Mo.	60	16
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	15	Portland, Ore.	30	8
New Haven, Conn.	10	6	Columbus, Ohio	60	16
Paterson, N. J.	30	18	Madison, Wis.	200	50
New York, N. Y.	1100	620	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	17
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	183	Champaign, Ill.	25	3
Houston, Texas	100	56	Binghamton, N. Y.	120	14
Berkeley, Calif.	375	200	San Diego, Calif.	100	11
Red Hook, N. Y.	15	8	Mansfield, Pa.	40	4
San Francisco, Calif.	475	249	Athens, Ohio	25	2
Austin, Texas	150	78	Chapel Hill, N. C.	25	2
Washington, D. C.	125	63	San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	2
Providence, R. I.	80	40	General	235	143
Kent, Ohio	75	37	TOTAL	7556	3927

### The old Militant wrapper is gone

Beginning with our next issue, in order to facilitate the processing of our growing subscription lists, Militant subs will be mailed without wrappers and folded only once. The address label will be attached directly to the back page of the paper.

Any subscriber who wishes to continue to receive a wrapped copy of The Militant should notify The Militant business office and enclose \$1.00 to cover the additional mailing costs.



# High School SMC answers N.Y. Times



Photo by Howard Petrick

New York High School Student Rights Coalition press conference April 3, left to right: Bob Schwartz, Don Reeves, Julie Simon, Allen Hodge.

By MIKE WEISMAN

[The author is the national high school project director of the Student Mobilization Committee and a member of the New York High School Student Rights Coalition.]

\* \* \*

NEW YORK—It has become apparent to the vast majority of people that high school students are denied anything resembling constitutional rights. In New York, this basic fact has led to the formation of the High School Student Rights Coalition (HSSRC). Broad-based support has been obtained by the

coalition from student, parent, faculty and community groups (See *The Militant*, March 6).

The coalition has demanded that the board of education publicly agree to negotiate with it in order to formulate a student bill of rights which would then be voted up or down by New York's 275,000 high school students.

Rather than agree to this fair and democratic procedure, the board of education has chosen to attack the coalition and ignore the issue of high school rights.

A good example of this appeared in an article entitled "Student Leaders Split on Policy" in the April 5 issue of the *New York Times*. The article clearly illustrates the board's attitude toward the HSSRC and student rights. It reports that the GO (General Organization) City Council, composed of elected student representatives from every high school, voted to condemn the committee that drew up the student bill of rights.

Yet isn't it odd that the City Council meeting which approved the bill of rights on Feb. 18 had twice as many schools represented as the one March 18 at which the rights committee was condemned? The *Times* reports that the bill had been "railroaded" through the original council meeting. The simple fact that this is untrue explains why no specific evidence of such "railroading" is brought forward.

Furthermore, it is the assistant administrative director in the board of education's high school office, George Castka, a nonstudent, who has raised the loudest voice of protest about the original proceedings. One might ask, why, if the board of education is so concerned with legality, are students denied their legal rights? It is absurd for the very same people who are denying students their rights to be the ones who cry loudest about an alleged denial of rights at a meeting.

The *Times* article also notes that a number of principals have claimed that the "action of the GO Council in passing the rights proposal did not reflect the sentiment of the majority of their students." This assertion boils down to nothing more than principals claiming that students do not represent students.

What kind of school structure do we have? Representatives of the board of education complain about the way students run their meetings and principals determine which students represent students. It is obvious that serious changes are needed.

One fundamental change that is needed is a redefinition of the relationship of forces in the schools. It is essential for students to join hands and build a mass movement that will facilitate this basic change by forcing the board of education to negotiate with the coalition. It is for this reason that the High School Student Rights Coalition is engaged in a spring offensive for high school rights. The board of education must be forced to deal with the real issue involved—the need to formulate a new definition of the purpose and process of education.

Demonstrate at the board of education April 14!

Join the April 15 citywide high school strike and noon rally at City Hall!

## Alienation, the New Left -- features in May ISR

By MARTY RUDENSTEIN

The May issue of *International Socialist Review*, which will soon be off the press, is now a monthly published by members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. It will contain a number of exciting and original contributions by leading revolutionary writers and thinkers. "The Marxist Theory of Alienation," by Ernest Mandel, internationally respected Belgian Marxist, traces the development of Marx's theory of the alienation of labor from its inception in his early works to its mature expression in a little known later work, as yet unpublished in English.

"The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them," by Marxist author George Novack, affirms the crucial importance of Marxism as a tool in bringing about the coming American revolution. "Ten Years of the New Left," by Larry Seigle, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance and editor of the *International Socialist Review*, describes the turbulent history of the

New Left from its inception in 1960 to the recent collapse of SDS.

"Trotsky in Coyoacan," by Joseph Hansen, secretary to Trotsky from 1937 until his assassination, contains a description of Trotsky's activities and political perspectives during this period of exile in Mexico. Written as a special introduction for a new Pathfinder Press edition of Trotsky's autobiography, *My Life*, it is of special interest to readers who wish to learn more about Trotsky's final years.

The issue also includes the entire text of "But What Have You Done For Me Lately?," a play by Myrna Lamb, women's liberation playwright.

To help American readers follow the international discussions which are occurring in the revolutionary movement the magazine will feature commentary on articles in the foreign movement press, as well as reviews of movement publications in the United States.

The May issue of *International Socialist Review* should be read by everyone who is interested in radical politics.



## High school rights fight in Bay area

By LAURA DERTZ

SAN FRANCISCO — The High School Student Mobilization Committee hosted a news conference for the Bay Area here April 6 in preparation for board of education meetings in Berkeley and San Francisco the next day. It was well-attended with representation from high schools in El Cerrito, Berkeley, Hayward, Oakland and San Francisco. Speaking were the chairmen of three BSUs; Dan Siegel, UC Berkeley student body president; and Ron Dellums, Berkeley city councilman and Democratic candidate.

On April 7, the San Francisco High School SMC went to the board of education meeting and set up a picket line outside the building demanding to be put on the agenda at an earlier point.

Three requests were made to the board:

- That the High School Bill of Rights be made board of education policy;
- That a special meeting on student rights be held in April in the community and all efforts be made to include parents and faculty;
- That the schools be turned over to the students on the morning of April 15.

The first two demands were shoved into committee and the third was denied.

High School SMC is calling an all-day student strike April 15 with picketing in front of the schools in the morning. A high school rights rally at the gates of the Presidio will be held at 11:30.

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# ..Indochina

(continued from page 1)

of North Vietnam, by trying to crush the revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. Eventually there was the hope of smashing it in North Vietnam and perhaps—dream of dreams—smashing it one day in China itself.

It is within the framework of this fundamental U.S. imperialist policy of retaining hegemony in Indochina that the events in Laos and Cambodia are taking place.

The *Wall Street Journal* is entirely correct that the attempt to hang on in Vietnam and hold back the revolutionary tide in Laos and Cambodia is now driving the U.S. toward a wider war.

Consider the most recent developments in these areas. Since the ouster of Prince Sihanouk for not being sufficiently "neutral" on the side of western imperialism, Saigon troops have openly participated in the fighting there and little effort has been made to conceal the direct cooperation between U.S., Saigon and Cambodian military staffs. The new Cambodian junta recently made a public point of revising a transcript of a press interview to emphasize that it would accept the presence of U.S. troops.

In Laos, it is now admitted, the U.S.-backed forces control less than a third of the country and no one even argues the fact that the Cambodian generals, now drafting school children, have no capacity to fight for themselves.

Step-by-step, the motion is toward wider war. This puts additional pressure on the American capitalist class. They risk once again setting into motion the powerful mass antiwar opposition at home.



U. S. napalm bombing of South Vietnam, Dec. 2, 1965.

This too was quite cogently explained in an April 7 *Wall Street Journal* editorial. The editorial pointed to a number of key facts which show that popular antiwar sentiment has by no means dissipated.

"Mr. Nixon remains highly vulnerable," the editorial warned. "He dare not let the public think he has rekindled a long-term U.S. commitment to defend South Vietnam . . .

"If that should happen again on a wide scale, the personal political price Mr. Nixon would pay may only be exceeded by the agonies which will befall an America already deeply troubled by a widespread sense of lost confidence in Government."

If Nixon "does not fully weigh the power of the popular suspicions in his thinking now," the editorial concluded, "his capacity to handle that future

agony is not comfortable to ponder."

This same warning was made earlier by Senator J.W. Fulbright in an April 2 speech on the Senate floor. He declared that tensions in the U.S. "would be aggravated if Vietnamization is allowed to continue until a major military disaster occurs in Indochina."

"A disaster of great proportions to American foreign policy in Asia," he declared, "would induce a wave of re-creation at home, which in turn could set off a chain of events culminating in a disaster for American democracy."

An interesting aspect of these and other similar warnings is that while they offer the administration some rather sound advice on what it should not do, they offer very little in terms of suggesting what the administration should do.

This is not accidental. The reason being, rather simply, that such critics

as the *Journal* and Senator Fulbright share the basic aims of American imperialism for retaining the maximum possible hegemony in Southeast Asia. They flatly reject the one practical, effective antidote to deeper military involvement—that is, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

For the *Journal* this is unthinkable. The previously cited editorial warning to Nixon points to recent public opinion polls as reflecting "an ominous shift toward immediate withdrawal." (emphasis added)

Opponents of U.S. imperialist aggression will, of course, find such sentiment anything but ominous. It offers the brightest hope for the Indochinese and American people. The organized movement to win immediate withdrawal must press toward its goal more intensively than ever if a wider war is to be prevented.

## Wall Street Journal: spreading war

BY ROBERT KEATLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Last July 25 President Nixon strode into the modern Naval officers club at Guam, the U.S. Polaris submarine base in the Western Pacific, and outlined his new Asian policy.

It was to be a program of limited involvement. Washington must avoid making countries in Asia so dependent upon the U.S. that Americans are dragged into new conflicts such as the one in Vietnam, the President told reporters along on his Far Eastern journey. The U.S. hopes in the future to avoid creeping involvement that could entangle the country in new clashes abroad, he stressed.

However, turning wise words into sound policy can be something else altogether. And events in Southeast Asia today strongly tempt some officials here to creep a little deeper into that region's spreading warfare, in the hope that a little extra effort now could end the Vietnam conflict sooner and more cheaply than would be possible otherwise.

Such temptations make this the first true test of Mr. Nixon's avowed low-profile approach to Asian and other trouble spots, according to many Washington worriers who fear the worst. They are afraid the current confusion in former French Indochina (Laos, Cambodia and the two Vietnams) may pull the Nixon Administration deeper into an uncontrollable conflict, much as LBJ allowed himself to drift into a bigger Vietnam war than imagined at the outset. If the U.S. should broaden its role in Indochina, the cost in men and material would be high, yet the U.S. ability to master events there would still be extremely limited, many analysts believe, and the payoffs would be few.

**CAMBODIA:** New leaders have deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk as chief of state, and they vow to get Communist Vietnamese troops off their soil—by peaceful means if possible. But they raise the possibility of future American arms aid, while some local Cambodian commanders already are cooperating with Saigon forces along the border in joint moves against a common Red foe. Some officials here want to encourage more such moves, to rush other help to the new regime and even to send American troops into Cambodia on sweeps through Communist sanctuaries.

**LAOS:** A North Vietnamese offensive has faltered at least temporarily, because reinforcements are now fighting alongside the so-called clandestine army of Gen. Vang Pao, a U.S. protege. Some in Washington are tempted to increase outside aid, keeping the Hanoi

forces off balance or even regaining some Plaine Des Jarres real estate surrendered in recent weeks.

**VIETNAM:** It is here that Communists face the worst, thanks to improved allied military and pacification efforts. According to published reports, this prompts Gens. Creighton Abrams (the American commander in South Vietnam) and William Westmoreland (the Army Chief of Staff) to seek a six-month delay of troop pull-outs. The rationale: Leaving U.S. battalions on the scene an extra few months will bring faster improvements and deal decisive blows to an already reeling enemy.

Any or all of these intensifications of U.S. efforts would violate the spirit of Guam pronouncements (now called the Nixon Doctrine), though the President carefully left himself loopholes for occasional deviations from the concept of limited involvement. The loopholes have since widened. In a more recent foreign policy statement, he said the U.S. will help only where "it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest." Some argue that fresh Indochina intervention would prove neither decisive nor in the American interest. Yet the desire to "do something" pervades top levels of Government and may overpower other "common sense" advice that insists the U.S. ability to shape events is negligible.

Most of today's tensions arise from Cambodian developments of the past two weeks. In mid-March, the Cambodian cabinet, apparently without much planning, deposed Prince Sihanouk as head of state while he was outside the country.

Events since then have moved quickly. The angry prince has settled temporarily in Peking, announced a government in exile and promised to "liberate" his homeland from the new rulers, whom he brands American stooges. Moscow, Peking and Hanoi have promised varying degrees of support, with the Chinese radio broadcasting appeals to Cambodians to rise up behind Sihanouk's new National United Front of Kampuchea (Cambodia).

### Violent Protests

This appeal is strong, for the gregarious prince enjoyed immense popularity in the countryside, where peasants regarded him as a kind of Buddhist god-king. Apparently with Vietcong assistance, violent protests against the new regime have already erupted in provinces bordering South Vietnam; scores have been reported killed.

Meantime, Vietnamese Communist troops are not only still around but more aggressive. Some Cambodian army posts have been at-

tacked, though official reports of Vietcong forces marching on the capital are apparently deliberate falsehoods by a government trying hard to rally popular support. The 45,000-man Cambodian army, including 10,000 recalled reservists, is considered no match for skilled Vietnamese Communist units. In addition, the Lon Nol regime faces political divisions—some ousted Sihanouk supporters want their lucrative jobs back—and economic difficulties.

All this means the new rulers soon could topple unless they get foreign help, and many Washington officials seem eager to provide it. The proposals vary. Small-scale cooperation along the border already occurs; for example, the allies have occasionally provided artillery support to Cambodian outposts being harassed by Red units.

The willingness of some Cambodians to cooperate with allied forces was demonstrated in one recent battle. Communist troops were scurrying back and forth across the border to attack Saigon units, which were being aided by American aircraft. The local Cambodian commander, whose forces were also harassing the Reds, told his radio operator to stop reciting enemy locations in Cambodian and use very slow French instead—"so the Americans can understand."

Some Washington officials want more of this sort of cooperation, plus larger sweeps by U.S. or Saigon soldiers into Cambodian sanctuaries where Hanoi hides tons of arms and other war supplies. In addition, there is some pressure to rush arms aid to Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital; though the new rulers haven't yet asked for it, they have dropped some hints. And if costly military goods are to be provided, financial assistance to keep the local economy viable might well be expected to follow.

Arguing for U.S. involvement in Cambodia, a senior American general, with much Vietnam experience, insists the Communists couldn't keep up their warfare around Saigon and in the Mekong Delta if Cambodian refuge was denied them. "Hanoi would quickly find it couldn't keep up its present war strategy without these sanctuaries," he says.

### Long-Range Peril

The counter-argument doesn't deny this. But it warns that the Lon Nol regime is so shaky, its army so ineffective and the ousted prince so popular that American involvement just won't work. The view contends the long-range result could be negative, leading to a hostile government in Phnom Penh and Communist bases still firmly in place.

What U.S. policy will be is unknown. But some fear that under President Nixon, as under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the

voices that call for action will be louder than those urging caution. One official, more than half-seriously, says he is helping plug bureaucratic channels with somewhat irrelevant paperwork, just to occupy the time of men (mostly military) who would otherwise be drafting action plans.

Even if the Cambodian crisis passes without new American action, the Laos question is sure to rise again soon. Overextended North Vietnamese troops have paused in their campaign to wipe out Gen. Vang Pao's tribal army, allowing the government side to retake the U.S. aid headquarters of Sam Thong. But this halt is believed to be a momentary one while new supplies and troop replacements arrive from Hanoi. Experts here expect the war to resume fiercely, with Gen. Vang Pao greatly outgunned.

### Concern in Bangkok

This development would revive the issue of outside aid. Neighbor Thailand seems willing to send its own troops into Laos, largely to keep North Vietnamese away from its own borders. But Bangkok wonders how far the Americans would go if this should prompt escalation by either Hanoi or Peking. Would the U.S. come through with its own troops if its Thai ally were attacked directly? Some promises may be sought. Again, the temptation to do a little more for Laos can lead to involvements that Washington neither desires nor anticipates.

As for Vietnam, according to highly unofficial but widely believed reports, some senior American generals want to keep all 78 U.S. mobile battalions in the country another six months or so, rather than accede to another troop pullout about April 15. It's no secret that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have consistently advised Mr. Nixon to withdraw men at a slower pace than the one selected to date. Troop strength, now about 450,000, is to drop to 434,000 by mid-April, and the President is believed ready to withdraw up to 70,000 of those during the summer. A large percentage would be combat troops, including most remaining Marines.

However, a major pause in the withdrawal program may be ruled out by domestic political considerations, some here argue. Public concern is focused on troop strength and battle casualties, and a pullout pause would bring problems with Congress that the Administration would rather avoid. Some offer a more Machiavellian suggestion: By giving in on troop withdrawals from Vietnam, hawkish officials might win backing for more adventurous policies in Laos and Cambodia. "We can't forget the possibility of such a trade-off," warns one analyst who opposes deeper entanglements.



## Your local Thai experts:

1. AMERICAN UNIVERSITY: Gertrude Marlowe, participant in AACT panel at April 1970 AAS-ISAC conference; Warren Hunsberger member SEADAG; Kenneth P. Landon, member SEADAG.
2. BROWN UNIVERSITY: Robert Jay, member SEADAG.
3. CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE of TECH. Murray Gell-Mann, at Jason 1967 meeting.
4. UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY Herbert Phillips, at Jason 1967 meeting; Joseph Fischer, member SEADAG; Daniel Lev, member SEADAG; Robert Scalapino, member SEADAG.
5. UCLA: Contract with AID to do counterinsurgency research; David A. Wilson, exec. secretary AACT, member SEADAG; Michael Moerman, member AACT, at Jason 1967 meeting, member AIR Advisory Panel, member SEADAG; Clark Neher, did research for RED of USOM/T.
6. UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO: Gilbert White, member SEADAG; Robert Gomer, at Jason 1967 meeting; Millard F. Long, at Jason 1967 meeting, member SEADAG; Frederick Egan, member SEADAG; Norton S. Ginsburg, member SEADAG.
7. CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY: Jasper Ingersoll, member SEADAG.
8. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY: Robert Meagher, member SEADAG.
9. CORNELL UNIVERSITY: Lauriston Sharp, chairman AACT, at Jason 1967 meeting, member SEADAG, possibly member AIR Advisory Panel. Howard Kaufman (Cornell Aeronautical Lab) at Jason 1967 meeting; A.T. Dotson, member SEADAG; Frank Golay, member SEADAG; George M. Kahin, member SEADAG; S.J. O'Connor, member SEADAG; Roger M. Smith, member SEADAG.
10. FALMOUTH INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL: scene of 1967 Jason meeting.
11. GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY: James Mosel, member SEADAG.
12. HARVARD: John D. Montgomery, member AIR Advisory Panel, member SEADAG; Merle Fainsod, member SEADAG; Joel Halpern, member SEADAG; Samuel Huntington, member SEADAG; also, consultants for Abt Associates.
13. UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII: Wilhelm Solheim, member SEADAG; Robert Stauffer, member SEADAG.
14. UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS: Melvin Wagner, member AACT; Clark Cunningham, member Chiang Mai Project, member SEADAG, AID Mission in Bangkok; Edward Bruner, member SEADAG.
15. INDIANA UNIVERSITY: William Siffin, member AACT, member SEADAG; Thomas Barton, member SEADAG.
16. UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: Richard Butwell, member SEADAG.
17. LOYOLA UNIVERSITY: Jasper J. Valenti, member SEADAG.
18. MASS. INSTITUTE OF TECH.: consultants for Abt Associates; Everett E. Hagen, member SEADAG; Max Milliken, member SEADAG; Theodore Morgan, member SEADAG; Lucian Pye, member SEADAG.
19. MIAMI OF OHIO: Paul Trescott, member AACT.
20. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN: L.A. Peter Gosling, member AACT, member SEADAG; David Wyatt, member AACT, member SEADAG; John Bardach, member SEADAG; James D. Clarkson, member SEADAG; Gayl D. Ness, member SEADAG.
21. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY: Wesley Fishel, member SEADAG.

# American sociology vs. the people of Thailand

By DICK ROBERTS

The perversion of education on American campuses reaches its most nauseating epitome in the widespread use of campuses for government war research.

From the study of biological and chemical defoliants to the study of nerve-gas warfare and the playing of counterrevolutionary wargames—these subjects have nothing whatsoever to do with civilizing knowledge. They have everything to do with U.S. imperialism and above all its bloody attack on Southeast Asia.

The Student Mobilization Committee has done an important service for the antiwar movement in uncovering an extensive network of university research devoted to Washington's counterinsurgency war in Thailand.

On April 3, the national headquarters of the SMC in Washington, D.C., disclosed that it possesses copies of about 700 pages of documents connecting over 30 universities with U.S. counterinsurgency operations in Thailand. These documents are summarized in a special issue of *The Student Mobilizer* planned for mass distribution in the antiwar week of April 13-18.

This *Mobilizer* traces an intricate web of academic research organizations and government agencies involved in Thai counterinsurgency operations. Universities and Thailand "experts" connected with the organizations involved in these operations are shown in the list on this page reprinted from *The Student Mobilizer*.

22. UNIVERSITY of MINNESOTA: William W. Cochrane, member SEADAG; Harry W. Kitts, member SEADAG; Vernon Ruttan, member SEADAG.
23. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY: Frank N. Trager, member SEADAG.
24. UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA: Peter Goethals, member SEADAG.
25. NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY: M. Ladd Thomas, participant in 1969 AACT "local authority" conference, at Jason 1967 meetings, suggester for AIR Advisory Panel, member SEADAG; J. Norman Farmer, member SEADAG.
26. NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY: H. Edelman, studied economic impact of U.S. military bases on Thailand.
27. PRINCETON: John McAlister, member SEADAG.
28. RICE UNIVERSITY: Fred von der Mehden, member AACT, member SEADAG.
29. STANFORD UNIVERSITY: Frank Moore, member AACT; William L. Bredo, member SEADAG.
30. SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY: John

The abbreviated organizations are:

● AACT—Academic Advisory Committee for Thailand established by AID to coordinate the academic community and government-sponsored counterinsurgency research. An AACT meeting described its purpose: "the subject of local authority in Thailand, including the implications for village security, should be [our] first priority . . ."

● AAS—Association for Asian Studies; independent association for scholars of Asia.

● AID—The U.S. Agency for International Development, the main agency in Washington responsible for military and military-related aid to foreign governments. It has supplied Bangkok with nearly \$2-billion in military support since 1946.

● AIR—American Institute for Research. Involved in Thai counterinsurgency programs since 1967, according to *The Mobilizer*, this Pittsburgh-based center of sociological research discovered that:

"A weak stimulus, such as the instructions given to a village by an unknown government official will probably become stronger after a sequence of positive personal interactions. A strong stimulus, such as the threat of physical violence as the penalty for noncompliance, will probably become weaker after a sequence of experiences in which the individual finds that this threat is no longer carried out . . ."

● ISAC—Interuniversity Southeast

Honey, member SEADAG.

31. TEMPLE UNIVERSITY: John Donnell, member SEADAG.

32. UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON: Charles Keyes, member AACT, member SEADAG; Peter Kunstadter, Dept. of Anthropology Thailand Project, got AACT panel placed on agenda of April 1970 AAS-ISAC conference.

33. WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY: Charles O. Houston, member SEADAG.

34. WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY: Melvin Mednick, member SEADAG.

35. UNIVERSITY of WISCONSIN: Fred von der Mehden (now at Rice U.) member AACT, member SEADAG; P.T. Ellsworth, member SEADAG; Everett D. Hawkins, member SEADAG.

36. UNIVERSITY of WISCONSIN-GREEN BAY: Edward Weidner, member SEADAG.

37. YALE UNIVERSITY: Robert Tilman, source for AACT directory of Thai scholars, member SEADAG; Karl J. Pelzer, member SEADAG; Bruce Russett, member SEADAG.

Asia Committee: a subcommittee of AAS.

● SEADAG—Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group, subdivision of AID, administered by the Asia Foundation. This organization was mentioned in several documents the SMC possesses, but *The Mobilizer* emphasized that:

"While we do not have possession of the minutes of any SEADAG meetings or activities . . . the number of academicians who are involved in both SEADAG and organizations like AACT, the representation of groups like the Ford Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation, and the ties to AID, certainly justify a demand that these professors make known the nature of their work for SEADAG." *The Mobilizer* also states, "We hope that those professors [mentioned in the list on this page—D.R.] not involved in counterinsurgency research will join with us in exposing, criticizing and putting an end to the counterinsurgency work being done by their 'colleagues.'"

● USOM—United States Operation Mission, subdivision of AID.

In addition to these agencies, the SMC documents revealed the particular importance of a "Project Jason" supported by the Pentagon's Institute for Defense Analysis.

*The Student Mobilizer* extracted the following comments from the transcript of a typical Project Jason meeting on Thailand:

"Heavy handed action by the government has added to unrest. Many people were imprisoned because they were interviewed by a separatist. They have been held without trial for one and a half years . . ."

"Couldn't we have ward politics at the village level?"

"How would the ward politicians be rewarded?"

"Through the dispensation of goodies which gives him status and power."

"Can we find out what effect increasing police density or ear cutting, or other negatives have on village attitudes?"

In its introduction to the special issue, SMC writes, "These documents lift a corner of the curtain behind which is hidden a widespread abuse of the American academic community under the general counterrevolutionary policy of the government . . ."

"Though this abuse of scientific ethics and academic integrity may be directly encouraged by only a relatively few professors the documents show how it has become virtually all-pervasive."

The special *Student Mobilizer* on Thailand research in U.S. universities is available from the SMC National Headquarters, 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005, for 15 cents each, \$10 per 100.

"Can we conclude then, gentlemen, that cutting off a man's ears makes him better able to listen to reason?"



Excerpts from the discussion at the Denver Chicano conference,

# The need for a Chic

The following special feature is composed of excerpts from the discussion that took place during the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver March 25-29 (see *The Militant*, April 10). The excerpts deal with the question of forming an independent Chicano political party such as La Raza Unida Party of Texas, which was initiated two years ago, and La Raza Unida Party of Colorado, which was launched by the Crusade for Justice immediately following the Denver conference.

The first excerpts are from the discussion during the workshop on forming a Chicano political party. Antonio Camejo, formerly of the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif., is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction in California.

**ANTONIO CAMEJO:** The important thing in terms of what we do with a Chicano party is to understand how we are going to get liberation.

I was hoping that Mario Compean of La Raza Unida Party would be here today. [See *The Militant*, March 27, for interview with Mario Compean, chairman of MAYO, the Mexican-American Youth Organization, and a leader of La Raza Unida Party in Texas. Compean, unfortunately, did not make it to the conference.—Editor] The first real independent Chicano political party that's been organized in the United States is in Southwest Texas, in areas that are 85 percent to 95 percent Chicano; areas where the entire school board, city council, and county governments were gringo, 100 percent gringo, although the population was 95 percent Chicano.

They raised the concept that it is a basic democratic right of the people to control the community in which they live. If they are not going to integrate La Raza into so-called United States, then we need to have control over the communities in which we live.

It is our right to take over the schools and run them as we see fit and to use all of the federal and state moneys that come into those schools for our needs. It is our right to take over the hospitals, to take over the libraries, to take over the welfare agencies, to take over the churches as has been done around the country. If they are in our community and they are not meeting our needs, it is our right to control them for our interests. It's a simple democratic right.

La Raza Unida Party began organizing around this concept. It wasn't

easy because the majority of the people of La Raza in Texas that vote have been voting in the Democratic Party. The same people that have gone out in militant demonstrations for La Raza vote for the very people that are oppressing them. Why? Because they have many illusions, as Ricardo Garza pointed out, they have many illusions about how the system functions. They believe that the liberal Democrats are going to be able to meet the needs of the people.

It's taken our people time to experience a political organization that doesn't just run in elections. The La Raza Unida Party led school walkouts in Crystal City, paralyzing the entire city. And they didn't stop there. When they closed down some of the schools, students that picketed were fired from their jobs. So they immediately went and set up Chicano businesses and wiped the gringo out, pushed him out of the community to have Chicano control of that.

They didn't stop there. They pointed out how the vice-principal of the high school that came down on the students was also mayor of the town. And some of the teachers, some of the most racist teachers in the school, were on the city council of Crystal City. So they are now in the process of moving in the entire four-county area around Crystal City to take over, to have Chicanos run the city council and the school board, to meet the needs of the Chicanos.

Now the only guarantee that those Chicanos are not going to sell out, which is key, is that they have to be controlled by a mass political organization based in the community. All of their support, all of their funds, everything they do has to be based on that political party.

And a Chicano political party, or a La Raza party, or a Puerto Rican party, whatever is formed around the country, has to raise demands relating to the level of consciousness of our people now. The biggest mistakes we can make are to be too far behind the people, that is, to be behind what they are thinking, or to be too far ahead of the people.

A political party has to be able through struggle to raise the level of consciousness of our people by relating to where they are at. And the fact is that the majority of our people are not ready for armed struggle. How can they be ready for armed struggle when they are voting for the Democratic Party?

Now in Texas they have been able to accomplish a tremendous amount. They haven't solved all of the prob-



Los Angeles, Feb. 28—Chicano Moratorium demonstration

lems but they have begun to break down all types of illusions. Let me give you an example of an illusion. In San Antonio, the West Side is 95 percent Chicano. And the Chicanos there have been told year after year, "You can't do anything. You are a minority in the city of San Antonio. If you want to flush the toilet, you got to get a gringo to help you."

And the people who organized an educational campaign that Mario Compean participated in began to break those illusions, began to explain to people how the political structure operates, how it oppresses them, how racism is not just a thing of ideas in peoples' minds but is part of a system.

*In further discussion, some of the participants took up the questions of genocide and the formation of a nation-state. Camejo, and a leader of the Crusade for Justice, Enrique Montoya, both responded.*

**ANTONIO CAMEJO:** It is true that in terms of getting complete self-determination we have to have a nation that we control. We all agree on that in the last analysis. But it's one thing to declare a nation and it's another thing to actually achieve a nation. To achieve a nation, to achieve self-determination, we have to have organization.

Our enemy is thoroughly organized, thoroughly centralized. He doesn't fool around. We've got to have organization, a political organization to fight for community control and to respond if the brothers in Crystal City are actually able to win. The power structure is not going to stand by and just let them take over four counties in Texas. We've got to have a national organization that can come to their aid.

Now people have said that the gringos don't need us, that the gringos can wipe us out tomorrow, that the gringo is in the process of wiping us out. Yes, it's true that he goes around murdering our people. Nobody has to tell us that. But it's wrong to say that the gringo doesn't need us. He didn't

bring thousands of Chicanos in freight cars to every major industrial city of this country because he didn't need us. He didn't force Chicanos to live in freight cars throughout the Southwest to take in the harvest because he didn't need us.

Now agriculture is being automated, that's true, but also our people are changing where they live. Eighty-five percent of La Raza—and this includes Puerto Rican brothers, Latinos, and Chicanos—live in urban areas and work in factories. And those workers are indispensable to the millionaires in this country. They make \$25-billion in extra profits. They are not going to give it up. They are not going to wipe us out. They need us and they use us. And because they need us, they don't want us to organize ourselves politically.

**ENRIQUE MONTOLYA:** What I wanted to say on the political thing is that we have to control ourselves 100 percent—that means politically, economically, socially, etc. We're all in agreement on that. But, as to the statements about boycotting everything—not paying your taxes, and all this—I think it's kind of foolish to even think of that because we're not in a position to do that yet. We can't bargain on a powerless base. We have to build ourselves into a power. We are here to establish a seedling, so that when we go back home, we plant these seeds in order that political groups start to organize.

Where we are in a majority, like in southern Colorado where we are 90 percent and 85 percent of the population, we move to a position of control. In places like Denver, where we are 10 percent of the population, we act as a strong pressure group. For example, here in Denver elections will be coming up. Since we are only 10 percent of the population, we know we can't get elected to any of the offices. But one thing we can do by establishing a political party is get the equal time that all of the other political parties are entitled to by law. So therefore, we can

## GIs Speak Out Against the War

The Case of the Ft. Jackson Eight interviews of participants by FRED HALSTEAD



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## GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Ft. Jackson Eight interviews by Fred Halstead

AN INSIDE LOOK AT ARMY LIFE, THE VIETNAM WAR, AND THE THINKING OF TODAY'S CITIZEN SOLDIERS.

This book tells the story of what happens when GIs fight for their constitutional rights to assemble and speak out against the war in Vietnam. It contains interviews with leaders of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson and Fort Bragg, in which they tell why they organized, and how. All of them figured in the case of the Ft. Jackson Eight in which the Army tried to victimize the antiwar GIs and then backed down. The case went into the federal courts and resulted in a new Army directive on how to deal with dissent in the ranks. The introduction is by attorney Michael Smith.

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# Chicano party



Photo by John Gray

also photo on right.

start going on the TV, we can start getting news coverage in the papers, we can start going on the radio, and we can start teaching. And this is all we can do, just pass the word and continue the education. Until we educate ourselves, we have no power. (applause)

On Saturday, the entire conference devoted the day to a discussion of a Chicano political party. The remaining excerpts are from that discussion.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, president and director of the Crusade for Justice led off the discussion. Jesus Ramirez, who Gonzales refers to, is from Texas MAYO and La Raza Unida Party. Unfortunately, due to a tape recorder breakdown, The Militant was not able to record his presentation.

Manuel Lopez, a student at Colorado University, is a leader of the Crusade for Justice and a member of UMAS, United Mexican-American Students. Miguel Padilla is the SWP candidate for attorney general of the state of New York. Tatcho Mendiola is a student at the University of Houston and a member of MAYO. Peter Camejo is the SWP candidate for U.S. senator in Massachusetts.

RODOLFO "CORKY" GONZALES: If we call for a national political party, then what comes out of this is a brotherhood across the country. Everybody who runs in the different areas will be expressing the philosophy of a political party, the philosophy of Aztlan, the philosophy of the nation. Its very important because that's the most important thing we have come here for.

And we say that nationalism transcends all political beliefs. In other words, we are concerned with being a Chicano party first, being Chicanos first, and everything else secondary. If you are a Catholic, you are a Catholic. If you are a Presbyterian, you are a Presbyterian. If you are an atheist, you are an atheist. But the one common denominator is that you are a Mejiicano, we are Chicano. If you are a \$10,000-a-year man, or a \$5,000-a-

year, or a \$300-a-year man, the one common denominator is that you are a Mejiicano, you are a Chicano. (applause)

I know this is going to be a very interesting meeting because a lot of people are waiting to take part in it. I would like to hear some of the young people from MAYO who have organized an independent party. I see my hermano [brother] Jesus Ramirez who played a tremendous part in it. Maybe he will decide to do a little speaking on that. We want to allow time for any explanation or any discussion on what is taking place because it is very important.

All of us have taken part in independent politics. We've done that here in Denver. We've used it simply as a forum. In South Texas, they are using it as a power move to control because they are a majority. One of the reasons why we talk about a national political party is because we are trying to break down regionalism and gangsterism.

We've been trying to say to everybody that wherever we start to take over power, political power, economic power, or social power, this society comes down on you with its police-state tactics. I don't know if you can even compare the type of oppression that exists in South Texas, the type of oppression and racism of Texas honkies. The time will come when our young people start to take over those school boards and commissions. And I don't think that the owners of those ranches are going to sit still. I think that they'll be calling in their gunslingers and the Texas Rangers.

Creating a national concept of what is going on in each area means that when that happens, we will be calling on everybody across this nation to go to Texas. Because there isn't going to be a nonviolent Selma in Texas.

That's why national consciousness is very important. If there is a problem in San Jose, it's all of our problem, and if there is a problem anywhere, it's all of our problem.

So this is why we are saying that each locality may do it their own way, they may have their own candidates selected by themselves. The important thing is that we are a national political movement that recognizes Chicanismo. (applause)

MANUEL LOPEZ: I want to talk about withholding our support from candidates running in elections. I had in mind the Democratic Party because we Chicanos traditionally vote in the Democratic Party.

For example, how many of us go over to our relatives' homes and still see a big framed picture of John F. Kennedy with palm leaves crossed underneath it and a crucifix above it. John F. Kennedy was a pig! We have got to start getting things like this across to our people. If our people run in the Democratic Party they are telling us that the solution to our problems lies in the two-party system. And that is the basis for not supporting any candidate that runs in any other party. (applause)

MIGUEL PADILLA: I'd like to underscore what the brother just now said about the Democratic Party and give you a concrete example in terms of what happened in New York last year.

I am a student at City College. And City College is in the middle of Black Harlem and Puerto Rican Harlem, which are the two biggest Black and Puerto Rican communities in the country. There are over a million Puerto Ricans in New York City. And even though City College is in the middle of Harlem, out of 18,000 students only 900 are Black and Puerto Rican.

Now the Black and Puerto Rican brothers at that school launched a struggle demanding open admissions,



Photo by John Gray

demanding that City College be under community control and that the admissions be open to the community.

In New York at the time, we had a Puerto Rican Democrat named Herman Badillo who was the borough president of the Bronx. And of course all of the Puerto Ricans looked up to Badillo as a leader of the Puerto Rican community. But during the struggle, Badillo came out and smashed us. That is, he came out and opposed open admissions for Puerto Rican students. He said, you know, "If Puerto Rican students are allowed into the school the standard of education is going to be lowered."

They say we are stupid because we speak Spanish. Yet, the gringos go to school and get BA's for studying our language. And so by that standard, everyone of us should have a BA. (applause)

But I just wanted to point out that time and time again, these people in the Democratic Party come out and play a treacherous role in terms of every struggle that is launched for community control of the schools. And I think on that point we should be very clear. (applause)

TATCHO MENDIOLA: I'd like to speak to some of the questions that have been raised here. That is, what steps have to be taken to form a political party.

The first steps that we are going to have to take are to go back to our respective states and obtain a copy of the election code. In their election code, the procedure to establish an official third political party is spelled out.

In Texas, it's a system of getting signatures on a petition. And it's done on a county basis. The party has to be established independently in each county. MAYO went through this procedure.

Then you set up precincts. And you pinpoint your precinct captain or your precinct chairman. It's spelled out in your election code as to how these people are elected. So that's your first step. Those of you who are committing yourselves to a third independent political party have to start from this position. And from this position you move forward.

Now, also, the election code spells out the type of signatures that you have to have on your petitions. In some states there is a residency requirement, and in others they suggest that the person be a native citizen or have property owner-

ship. Now I'd like to ask Jesus [Ramirez] to come up and explain what they went through officially in order to have the party established as a political party.

The gentleman that was speaking over here about MAPA and PASO, they are not political parties, they are political organizations. What we are talking about here is establishing an official political party. And this is what I think we should do. (applause)

PETER CAMEJO: I want to point out how the people who run this country use the Democratic and Republican parties. You see, the people who run this country, the millionaires and billionaires, understand that you can't invite someone to a baseball game and tell the person that there is only one team, because if you did, the person wouldn't show up. They have got to have two parties, the Republicans and Democrats, to make you think that you are choosing who is going to run the government.

The way they do it is that they put up someone like Bobby Kennedy, who used to come into Chicano neighborhoods and Black neighborhoods and say, "I'm here. I'm the candidate for you, the other candidate is against you."

When they want someone like Lyndon Baines Johnson elected, they just run Goldwater against him. And then everybody says, "Oh, we've got to elect this guy because the other guy is worse." So if they want you to elect Mussolini they'll run Hitler against him. They use this technique on us all of the time. They pick the candidate, they've got control of the press, they've got control of radio and television. We do not have a single person representing us anywhere. (applause)

The key is that they use this to try to give the impression that the people rule in this country when the people don't rule. That is why we need an independent Chicano party because we have to go among our people and say that we should rule, that is the question—that we should rule. (applause)

We need our own party, our own candidates, controlled by us, run by us, going out for power. That's what we're talking about. The party is not so much for elections but elections are just a means to organize and educate on the fundamental question of who rules this society. What the masses have to understand is that only they can do it. (applause)

# New York antipollution demonstration

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK — Some 5,000 people — mostly high school and junior high school students — marched here April 4 to protest the destruction of the environment. The demonstration was scheduled to coincide with the opening of the International Automobile Show at the New York City Coliseum.

The march which began in front of the General Motors Corporation headquarters on Fifth Avenue concluded with a rally in Central Park.

Speakers at the rally included Garry Susy of Friends of the Earth; Bess Meyerson Grant, commissioner of the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs; John Esposito, Center for the Study of Responsible Law and an associate of Ralph Nader; and Jerome Kretschmer, Mayor John Lindsay's commissioner for environmental protection.

Bess Meyerson Grant and Jerome Kretschmer, loyal servitors of the Lindsay administration, were not well received by the demonstrators. Few in the assembly found convincing, for ex-

ample, Kretschmer's assurance that "you have to decide which part of the system you can work within and which part you can't" or that "some people in government are interested in doing what's right." And the great majority made clear by their boos what they thought of his vacuous rhetoric to the effect that "it's not enough to scream at the corporations. They're doing their thing, which is making money. Now we've got to do our thing, which is

changing the course of our lives."

Esposito received by far the warmest response, with his well-documented denunciation of General Motors and his conclusion that the source of the pollution problem is "concentrated, irresponsible, corporate power." However, Esposito, too, did not draw the consequence of what he was saying: that the capitalist system is the cause of the destruction of the natural environment.

The platform was turned over to a spokesman of the Black Panthers for about 15 minutes. He emphasized the priority of the struggle of Black people for liberation and called for support to the Panther 21 and all other Panther political prisoners, but also expressed sympathy for the antipollution movement.

Pete Seeger and a recently formed "ecology rock group," the Smuggs, provided entertainment.



April 4 antipollution demonstration in New York

# Postal workers' demands thwarted

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK, April 7 — Postal workers here and across the nation have been watching anxiously to see what the Congress will do about their promised wage raise, while discussing among themselves what their next move must be in their own self-defense. They express feelings of frustration, and the conviction that the basic aims of their historic eight-day strike (March 18-25) were successfully thwarted by collusion between top union officials and high representatives of government.

The negotiations in Washington resulted in an agreement between the AFL-CIO hierarchy and the Nixon administration. Each of the parties to these negotiations considers itself richer. The underpaid postal workers, however, are left only with promises for another day.

The vague nature of these promises was delicately couched in an "important announcement" by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, April 2:

"I am pleased to take this opportunity to announce that we have reached a settlement in the postal negotiations. The Post Office Department and the presidents of the seven postal unions having exclusive representation have agreed to recommend to the Congress the following for postal employees and their families:

"1. A 6 percent pay increase retroactive to December 27, 1969, for all postal employees, and this increase will also apply to other government personnel.

"2. In order to meet the special needs of the unions and their representation of the Department's problems, to enable adequate management of the services for which it is responsible, the parties will agree upon and jointly sponsor a reorganization of the Department . . ."

The reaction of the postal workers upon hearing this announcement was that Congress has already had plenty of time to act and has failed.

Rumors quickly circulated that the government had reneged on all points of the "informal understanding" that had been used to lure the strikers back into the post offices only a week before.

"They said a 12 percent raise would be coming, and now it turns out to be only 6 percent — when Congress approves. Maybe 8 percent more later on. When?"

These were the common questions about the wage increase. What about top pay? When will we get that? "Sometime when we get the new postal system — when we're all long gone." And what happened to the demand for collective bargaining, the right to organize a union? "They pick our unions for us. We never had a chance to vote on what union the majority wants." Will they try to fire anyone for walking out during the strike? "They want to hold that over our heads so it won't happen again."

One letter carrier explained to a *Militant* reporter that 100 percent paid medical care was promised. "They intend to keep their promise, but now it turns out the 100 percent they are talking about is only for their part. For example, if you pay \$30 and the government now pays \$5, they will raise their payment 100 percent, to \$10. But you still have to pay the rest." Another example he gave was the promised top pay after eight years. "We thought that meant after 8 years of service, but they say now it means you get it 8 years after

the new rule regardless of how much service you have." He concluded, "This government is like every other skinflint boss. Chisels any way it can."

At the offices of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union a spokesman who asked not to be identified said, "This whole agreement is a sellout. It is what we expect from the AFL-CIO. We left them 12 years ago because they never did anything for us."

Rank-and-file members of the local Association of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO) are bitter because none of their local officers were consulted during the negotiations.

The question of wages remains unsettled. The starting pay of these postal workers is still \$6,176 a year. After 21 years, if they stick with the postal system, they get \$8,442 yearly. This comes to less than \$3 an hour for starting pay, and \$4.05 tops. When Congress puts through the first raise of 6 percent, they will get \$3.18 to start and \$4.29 an hour after 8 years. And sometime in the future, "after reorganization," if they get the additional 8 percent raise it will bring starting pay to \$3.42 an hour, tops will then be \$4.71. Not a prosperous future.

In contrast to the resentment of postal workers, both government and the union bureaucracy are gleeful over the bargain they made.

The Nixon administration has the most right to be pleased. Secretary of Labor Shultz and Blount got everything they had hoped for. They got the strikers back in the post offices and the mails moving again. They bargained for a postponement of the very urgent wages question and managed to shift the responsibility onto the Congress. And, most important of all, they succeeded in winning the support of the AFL-CIO lobby for Nixon's postal reorganization scheme which had previously been opposed by all unions.

In addition, the Administration has shifted the problem of raising postal rates to the Congress by recommending a new 10 cent stamp for letters to replace the present 6 cent stamp. This represents a 75 percent increase in rates

to cover the 6 percent recommended wage raise, characteristic of industry's manipulation of the wage-price spiral.

None were more pleased with the outcome of the negotiations than AFL-CIO President George Meany who discovered that his services are useful to government and needed by it.

The April 4 *AFL-CIO News* reported that "labor history had been made" on April 2. Meany said of the deal, "This means that the federal government is taking the lead in resolving the question of representation for public employees, and they're resolving it by the method we know best — collective bargaining."

The kind of "collective bargaining" represented here was typified by the fact that only seven postal crafts which "hold exclusive bargaining rights" were allowed to participate, others being excluded. What it means for rank-and-file postmen dissatisfied with the outcome was forecast by the same issue of the *AFL-CIO News*. "The Post Office Dept. also promised not to initiate disciplinary action against any postal employees with respect to the strikes that took place until there have been union-management discussions on the issue," the paper reported.

This was part of the deal, to insure maintenance of membership for the AFL-CIO crafts having "exclusive bargaining rights," thus depriving the postal workers of the opportunity to organize a single union of their own choice that more directly represents their needs.

The Congress now begins its consideration of the postal reorganization scheme. The conduct of Congress throughout has shown that it is least interested in the needs of postal workers. And working men and women everywhere are taking note of this peculiar characteristic of the Congress. There is not one congressman who represents workers. All represent the interests of the employers. This situation exposes the sham of the current drive by the union officialdom to elect Democratic Party "Friends of labor" in the 1970 elections. It reveals the urgent need of a labor party based on a new revitalized labor movement.

## WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35c

## GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

By Mary-Alice Waters 25c

## IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS

By Caroline Jenness 25c

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# Nixon's plans for 'postal reform'

By DICK ROBERTS  
(Second of two articles)

APRIL 9 — President Nixon's final agreement with postal-union officials April 3 seeks to undermine through future Congressional legislation gains the postal workers made as a result of their big-city walkouts three weeks ago.

If Congress approves, postal workers and all government workers will get a pay increase of six percent for 1970 (retroactive to Dec. 27, 1969). Nixon had attempted to put off this pay increase until Jan. 1, 1971. The White House now terms Nixon's attempt a "major omission" in the budget plans.

Beyond the six percent, however, a further pay increase of eight percent is pegged to Congressional adoption of Nixon's "postal reform" plan, which the postal workers unions and the AFL-CIO are pledged to support. "Postal reform," in turn, has been pegged by the administration to a hike of postal rates, including an increase from six cents to 10 cents on first-class mail.

So Nixon has rigged any increases in postmen's wages beyond the minimal six percent for 1970 to raising the price of postage and "reforming" the postal system. Just what "postal reform" will mean, however, when if ever it is adopted by Congress, is another question.

*Business Week* magazine, which speaks with some authority for the interests of the capitalist class, spelled out the main lines of the kind of "postal reform" it would favor in a special supplement to the March 28 issue. Two points were paramount: major automation of postal machinery; and placing the postal system under corporate control "independent" of the government.

*Business Week* began by applauding Postmaster General Blount's "successes" so far in his 14 months in office:

"The Post Office has become more decentralized and more automated. Eight post offices are using optical character reading systems developed under contract by Philco-Ford Corp. 'Reading' both city and state names as well as zip codes, they can process 42,000 letters an hour and shoot them off into the appropriate bins. Ten more are being installed. . . .

"One positive result: Mail last Christmas moved more efficiently than it has in ages, at a direct cost of \$19-million less than the year before. Whole regions, such as Philadelphia, moved the Christmas mail without hiring any temporary help."

Labor-saving machinery is one key to the "postal reform" concept. The other is its "autonomy":

"Such improvements," continues *Business Week*, "are nothing compared to Blount's triumph of March 12, when the House Post Office Committee reported out a reform bill that varied only slightly from proposals for managerial and operational reform dating back to O'Brien's tenure [postmaster general under the Johnson administration].

"The bill, most significantly, would make the Post Office a TVA-like authority with a degree of corporate autonomy still to be determined."

It is to this bill that Nixon has tied

postal wage hikes after the first six percent. But how would it aid workers? What would their working conditions be like after this machinery is introduced? The magazine for executives lets slip only one indication; it comes as *Business Week* is cheering on a letter-sorting machine built by Burroughs:

"Whether it ever goes that far, the Post Office is committed to ending its traditional pattern of hand-sorting mail into racks with 44 cubby-holes, with each piece resorted over and over until it reaches its destination.

"Already, nearly 300 letter-sorting machines, most of them built by Burroughs Corp., are handling up to 30,000 letters per hour. Twelve clerks code the letters as they pass by to sort them into as many as 277 bins, giving much more flexibility on a single pass than the traditional hand-sorting. Unfortunately, fatigue and demands on the clerks' speed and memory lead to an error rate of more than 5 percent." (Emphasis added.)

In other words—speedup. The fancier machinery is not being introduced to benefit the postal workers. It is being introduced, for one thing, to get more work out of them.

How many of the present force of 750,000 postal workers would lose jobs as a result of automation? It is another question *Business Week* does not give details on. Most likely, the administration will attempt to weed out the postal force by attrition due to its low wage scale, little improved by the six percent wage increase.

But placing the postal system in the hands of a nongovernmental structure would have the advantage, according to *Business Week*, that management would act in the interests of business. Under the present system, with Congress in control, since Congressmen need the votes of postal workers, "Management need not line up against labor and even tends to sympathize with it."

Horrors! Imagine trying to run something with the bosses on the side of the workers! Never can it work! "New York Postmaster John R. Strachan," cries *Business Week*, "a career man whose father was a postal clerk [sympathizes with the] low pay for his men, the lack of regional pay differentials to compensate for urban costs of living, and his incapacity to do anything about either."

No wonder the system doesn't work . . . Of course, New York postal workers might consider *Business Week's* viewpoint slightly exaggerated on this score. To get anything done about their conditions last month, they not only had to go against management but also their own union leadership.

The real phoniness of Nixon's "postal reform" system is exposed by his anxiety to tie it to postal wage increases, when the two matters are clearly separate. Texas Senator Yarborough made the point on the Senate floor April 2:

"There is need for improvement of our postal system. No one denies this. But let us look at this matter carefully. Let us not be tricked by the public relations gimmick of substituting the term 'postal reform' for 'postal corporation.'"

"Anybody who believes this corporation proposal will bring about any of the needed reforms in our postal system has been sold a bill of goods. If this corporation idea was a solid reform measure as its proponents claim, they would not have tried the tactic of holding up pay raises as ransom for support by the postal employees of the corporation."

Finally are two matters only implicit in the *Business Week* article: first, that a postal corporation would be financed by private bonding, and consequently offer a vast new investment arena to the banks and their owners; second, that it would supply a big market for automatic machinery of the types described above. After all, business is business and profits are profits.



*Business Week* argues for automating postal machinery and there's no question the mail system could use more advanced equipment. But to do this under Nixon's plan of turning the Post Office over to a private or semi-private corporation means reducing postal jobs by the thousands and forcing postmen who do keep their jobs to work all the harder.

## Seattle teamsters strike private garbage companies

SEATTLE — After three months of fruitless negotiations, rank-and-file members of Teamsters Local 174 began a wildcat strike against the private companies who are contracted to haul the city's garbage.

Garbage truck drivers and swamper began walking off the job April 3 after rejecting a token offer by the garbage contractors. This includes \$1 an hour spread over a three-year contract, 3 1/2 hours a month sick leave, and a six cent cost-of-living increase which would be taken away if there was a decline in the cost of living.

The strikers are demanding \$1 an hour the first year and 50 cents an hour in each of the next two years of a three-year contract. In addition, they want the six cent per hour cost-of-living increase to be nonretractable and are calling for eight days of annual sick leave. The 300 predominantly Black drivers and swampers are a small minority in Local 174, which has some 6,000 members, and their hourly pay scale is far below that of truck drivers in other trades.

Picket line signs carried by the strikers spell out these demands: "Strike! We ask fair wages and fringe benefits," "We paid our union dues, where is our union now?—taxation without representation," "This employer unfair," etc.

One of the tactics used in the strike to stop trucks that were still operating was

a roving picket line that stopped garbage trucks, removed the keys, and left the trucks stranded. Most of the drivers stopped in this way have subsequently joined the strike.

One contractor responded to this tactic by charging that the strikers were running around like a bunch of wild Comanches. Strikers have denied any acts of terrorism and have insisted that they are running a peaceful strike. Their militant spirit, however, was reflected in one picket's response to a false company charge of terrorism. "If they go around calling us Comanches, they better remember that Comanches carry bows and arrows."

In addition to important wage issues, strikers are particularly angry over job conditions. "If a man is sick he has no protection," said one striker. "No one pays any attention to the hazard of our job. We work in all types of weather and it is easy to get hurt. It's easy to get a busted back or a broken arm." As he spoke another striker held up his arm which was in a plaster cast. "We want better conditions," the striker continued. "We want fair wages, sick leave, with higher retirement benefits and a health plan."

One Black picket summed up his attitude toward these demands by observing, "They made a mistake when they taught me the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We have a Constitutional right to be here."

### REFORM OR REVOLUTION

by Rosa Luxemburg

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## BOOK REVIEW

# Why Jerry Rubin's Do It! doesn't

*DO IT! By Jerry Rubin. Introduction by Elridge Cleaver. Simon and Schuster, New York. 256 pages. Paper \$2.45.*

One of the main things that made me a socialist was when I became convinced that it was capitalism that regimented the individual and that it would take a socialist revolution to open the way for a genuine flowering of individual freedom.

By the same token, I've always had a particular appreciation for those irreverent iconoclasts who effectively put down the system and thumb their noses at its hypocritical morality and barren way of life.

For those reasons (plus the fact that he and the other victims of the monstrous "conspiracy" frame-up should be defended), I would gladly recommend Jerry Rubin's book if it put the system even part way up against the wall or offered some minimally significant insight into the problem of individual freedom.

But *Do It!* does neither. A candid capsule review would necessarily include such adjectives as "shallow," "superficial" and, to borrow a Rubinism, "bullshit."

*Do It!* is not devoid of virtues. The graphics are first-rate. There are occasional flashes of wit, some amusing accounts of encounters with HUAC, and so on.

But compared with the works of the early bohemians, the beat artists of the 50s or the most serious of those now seeking to develop what they see as a counterculture, *Do It!* is a slim work. Few will find the message very novel: It boils down to, Turn on and drop out.

Rubin recalls his happy days with the street people on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue: "It was an easy life. The weather was warm and the seasons hardly changed, so you didn't need to buy winter clothing. You could always get by selling dope. Or you could hawk the *Barb* on the weekend and make

enough money for the rest of the week. There were always guilty professors to panhandle."

"Panhandle." Few words more fully express the most demeaning and degrading aspects of this system—a system where one individual finds himself begging from another for his subsistence. Yet it appears several times in the Rubin blueprint for "freedom."

The unthinking acceptance of capitalist norms is combined with a political prescription-writing that can most charitably be described as light-minded.

The Rubin plan for the transition from capitalism to the new society:

"Our youth ghettos must have a communal economy so we can live with one another, trading and bartering what we need. A free community without money.

"We will organize our own record companies, publishing houses and tourist companies so profit will come back to the community for free food, free rent, free medical care, free space, free dope, free living, community bail funds . . .

"We are creating our own institutions which will gradually replace the dying institutions of Amerika."

It all seems idyllic and beautiful. But several years after Haight-Ashbury, the East Side, the Free Store, the Diggers, and a host of other similar sorry experiences, the dream of escaping from the hate and greed on which this society runs seems more like a nightmare.

Rubin has a prepared response for those who may take note of some of his more nonsensical arguments: "Don't you recognize a put-on? Can't you take a joke?"

## Put-on?

Which would be all right if the product was clearly labelled. But we can assume, for example, that it's not a put-on when Rubin recalls how moved he was on hearing Che in Havana tell a group of U.S. visitors:

"You North Americans are very lucky. You live in the middle of the beast. You are fighting the most important fight of all, in the center of the battle. If I had my wish I would go back with you to North America to fight there. I envy you."

Che recognized there will be no resolution of the world revolutionary struggle until there is a revolution in the U.S. imperialist center. His perspective was serious and profound.

Meanwhile, Rubin proclaims: "The yippie political strategy is to ally with Billy Graham. Keep the word 'fuck' dirty! At the same time we yuppies fight for the right to say fuck whenever we want to. It's a contradiction—but in contradictions like this lie the genius of making revolution."

Or, in elaborating his political strategy, "The more people you alienate, the more people you reach. If you don't alienate people, you're not reaching them."

More put-on? No. Rubin is serious (as opposed to joking). This is made clear in his diatribes against Marxism. "The left," he wails in despair, "would rather hand a soldier a leaflet than a joint."

Ideology, we are advised, "is a brain disease." The yippie program is "Act first, analyze later."

But the disease of ideology does creep in. "The yuppies," Rubin explains a breath later, "see white middle-class youth as a revolutionary class. We are exploited and oppressed, and we are fighting for our freedom. . . . Capitalism will die because it cannot satisfy its own children!"



**DEBATING TEAM.** Jerry Rubin and bodyguard during Nov. 27, 1967 debate with Fred Halstead of Socialist Workers Party at New York Militant Labor Forum. Rubin reports with relish in *Do It!* that the audience was "perplexed" when he used his rebuttal time to play a record.

That sounds so much like a caricature of a spoiled middle-class brat threatening poppa that for a moment I thought, Now there's a put-on. But it's not. Rubin is really convinced that a movement of middle-class dropouts, sufficiently turned on and screaming obscenities loud enough, will somehow cause the masters of America to keel over.

Or at least that's what he says.

## Youth radicalization

There is, of course, an extremely significant process of radicalization taking place among middle-class youth today. And it is proving itself a potent revolutionary force. But its contribution lies not, as Rubin sees it, in pot parties, acid trips and shocking daddy.

What is happening is that more and more of the student youth are turning their radicalism in a positive direction. For example, despite Rubin's railing against it, the students have continued to build the antiwar movement which has proven a significant factor in the U.S. and world revolutionary process.

Regardless of Rubin's insistence that the goal of revolutionaries must be "to abolish program," student radicals are increasingly giving serious consideration to socialist ideas. And increasingly they are coming to recognize that the working class, with its social cohesiveness and the power it wields at the point of production, is indeed the basic force for social change. In sum, the trend is more and more toward a recognition of the need for a scientific theory as a guide to action as counterposed to the ideology of act now, think later.

This was well expressed in an April 4 Liberation News Service review of *Do It!* by Jomo Raskin. He said in part:

"Rubin says the major conflict today is between the generations. No, it ain't. It's between the forces of revolution and the forces of fascism. Black Panthers and white revolutionaries are now finding out that the old left which lived through, and endured the era of McCarthy, has a lot of vital information and pertinent experience. Rubin says almost nothing about the conflict between the Black colony and the mother country, or the conflict between capital and labor.

"One of the things that Elridge Cleaver says in the introduction to the book is that Rubin 'bubbles through life.' Elridge doesn't mean to put Jerry down, but it's an accurate description. There's little sense of conflict or struggle in *Do It!* Rubin bubbles along without dealing with the major contradictions . . ."

## Individual freedom

Nor, it can be added, does the do-your-own-thing plan provide a formula for greater individual freedom.

Throughout history, collective effort

has been the key to the development of human freedom. It was only as man left his individual caves and banded together in a collective effort to cope with nature that he began to develop as an individual. And it will take the planned, collective socialist society of the future to fully ensure man's final victory over nature and control of society's productive forces. This in turn will pave the way for an undreamed of flourishing of individual freedom.

Within capitalist society, the opportunity for individual development is sharply limited. But it is by no means ruled out. What it requires, simply, is active revolutionary opposition to the society in concert with other like-minded individuals. The key to such personal development, however, is the capacity of the individual to work for something larger than himself.

Such an idea may at first glance seem contradictory, but it really isn't. A person whose perspective is limited primarily to his own personal needs, interests and desires necessarily becomes stultified. It is only when you have a perspective broader and deeper than yourself, a perspective that gives aim and purpose to your life, that the way is opened for developing your individual capacities.

The back cover of *Do It!* announces that "Jerry Rubin has written the *Communist Manifesto* of our era."

This is a bit of an overstatement.

But it might serve as a very worthwhile suggestion to go back to the *Manifesto* of Marx and Engels. The key point about human freedom is right there. Anticipating the future society, the document declares: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

— HARRY RING

## CALENDAR

### BERKELEY

**NORTH KOREA TODAY.** Young Socialist educational presentation. Sunday, April 19, 2 p.m. 2519-A Telegraph Ave. Sponsor: Berkeley YSA.

### CHICAGO

**COME TO SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE AFTER APRIL 15 ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION—MEET THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.** 6:30 p.m. dinner (\$1). 8:00 p.m. short talk by Willie Petty, SWP candidate for Cook County sheriff and leading activist in Black and Brown SMC, on "How to Make a Revolution." Party afterwards. 180 N. Wacker, Room 310. Tel: (312) 641-0147. Adm. 75c, students and GIs 50c.

**THE HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS STRUGGLE—WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?** Panel of high school activists. Fri., April 17, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Room 310. Tel: (312) 641-0147. Adm: 75c, students and GIs 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CLEVELAND

**THE STRUGGLE FOR HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS.** A panel discussion with a representative from American Civil Liberties Union High School Rights Committee and with activists from five Cleveland-area schools. Fri., April 17, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

### NEW YORK

**LENINISM AND THE NEW LEFT—On the 100th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth.** Speaker: Larry Seigle, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 17, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.) Contrib.: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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# Reports underline continuing rebellion on nation's campuses

## Highland Park

DETROIT—Over 350 students gathered April 8 at Highland Park Community College here to discuss plans for action around the announced dismissal of sociology Professor Edward C. Cooper. Cooper, along with 11 other teachers at the school, faces an arbitrary dismissal by the college administration because he "lacks tenure."

But the facts point to other reasons. Cooper, a member of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, insists on teaching his students the truth about American civilization.

"I taught that Daniel Webster was an alcoholic. I taught that Ben Franklin dug young girls, that he was a dirty old man. I taught that George Washington owned slaves and had illegitimate children," said Cooper in response to a question.

At the meeting, Larry Simmons, president of the student council, reported on an April 7 meeting of the Highland Park board of education. Under the pressure of the more than 250 militant student, parents and community people who jammed the meeting room, the school board admitted that the college had "cleared in profit" over \$162,000 the year before. Lack of funds was one reason cited for releasing teachers who lacked so-called "tenure" and for raising tuition this year from \$12 to \$18 per credit hour. In fact, the raising of tuition fees has resulted in a reduction of state aid to the school.

The students and a majority of the faculty view the tuition hike as well as the threat of Cooper's dismissal as a racist attack upon Black students and the Black community as a whole.

Dean Jones, chief administrator of the college, typified the racist attitude of the school board and administration by his statement, "Mr. Cooper's evaluation could be reconsidered if Mr. Cooper changes his philosophy."

The students and community who remember the student strike last May for a Black studies department and how the administration and school board have since broken the joint declaration drawn up during negotiations, demanded the resignation of the school board and the creation of a student-community-faculty council to administer the school.

The issues in the struggle have grown beyond the firing of one instructor. The students and community are demanding

total control over the educational system of Highland Park. The college is 85 percent Black. Highland Park is 65 percent Black. Of the 127 faculty and administrators there are only 10 Black faculty and no Black administrators.

Since March 8 when it was announced at a mass meeting that Cooper faced the threat of dismissal, the Black Student Alliance, a coalition composed of the student council, Black Liberation Front, Young Socialist Alliance, and members of the Student Mobilization Committee, along with the People's Action Committee have been going door to door in the Black community to rally support for the struggle.

A strike date for April 13 was tentatively set after a nearly unanimous vote.

—JOHN HAWKINS

## Hunter College

NEW YORK—Students at Manhattan's Hunter College here continue to boycott their regular classes and attend instead "liberation" seminars called by faculty members and students to discuss relevant subjects like women's liberation and racism at Hunter. On April 8, demonstrators blocked elevators and chained the doors at the skyscraper school in an intensification of the struggle.

The boycott was called in support of demands put forward by the People's Coalition, a broad coalition of campus groups. The People's Coalition grew out of a March 18 rally by Hunter students in support of students at Queens and Brooklyn colleges who were protesting financial cutbacks and tuition increases. The rally proceeded to focus on long-standing internal grievances at Hunter and led to a sit-in at the office of the registrar.

The People's Coalition has presented the administration and faculty with 34 non-negotiable demands. The basic demands are for:

- The creation of a student-faculty congress that will implement all the demands and abolish the present faculty council;
- The installation of 50 percent student, 50 percent faculty representation on all decision-making bodies of the college with equal voting strength to all participating;
- That all departments be communities of students and faculty with those participating having the right to recruit, hire, and terminate personnel; the right to formulate curriculum; and the right to administer their own budgets.

Other demands include abolition of tenure; abolition of on-campus industrial recruitment; public audit of financial reports; open admissions for 200 Black and Puerto Rican students from inner city high schools; high school rights for the students of Hunter High School; a day-care center for Hunter students, faculty, employees and the community; that the elevator operators at the college be granted immediately the raise promised them in July 1969.

—DAVE HALDANE



Pack Rat/LNS

## U of Wisconsin

MADISON—With the opening of spring term here on April 6, teaching assistants voted overwhelmingly to continue their strike of more than four weeks against the University of Wisconsin despite a court injunction making the strike "illegal."

The continued pressure of the strike has forced UW administrators to use new tactics in their efforts to keep a powerful public employees union from emerging. Faced with both a continued class boycott of 60 percent in the College of Letters and Science, even after the return from spring vacation, and sustained support from other labor groups, especially from Teamsters who deliver necessary supplies, university managers can no longer maintain their old contention that the strike will die of its own.

While still publicly adhering to their "no work, no talks" position, the administrators have made substantial concessions to Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) demands for equitable grievance procedures, reasonable work loads, long-term appointments and adequate health insurance. Yet their failure to give TAs and students a meaningful role in educational planning as well as their refusal to insure that reprisals will not be taken against students, faculty members and campus workers who have supported the TAA strike has kept heavy picket lines around the campus.

In response to the injunction, the TAA issued a statement rejecting the "unethical and repressive judgment of the courts" and expressing its determination "to continue forward in the face of whatever force and oppression may be used against the union until a just and equitable settlement is achieved."

Messages of support and urgently needed contributions to the TAA strike fund may be sent to Robert Muehlenkamp, c/o TAA, 306 North Brooks, Madison, Wis.

—HARRY BRENT

## Cornell

ITHACA, N.Y.—Black students conducted an invasion of the Cornell University Campus Store April 6 and expropriated merchandise as "payment" for the Black studies center that burned down during the Easter break on April 1. The fire is generally believed on the campus to have been the result of arson.

The expropriation was undertaken following a meeting between Black students and President Dale Corson. Emerging from the meeting, Stanley Reeve, president of the Black Liberation Front, stated, "This administration doesn't think it has to be accountable to Black people. We're going to have to change that."

Commenting on the arson attack against the Africana Studies and Research Center, the Black Liberation Front stated, "The clear fact is that this

incident reflects a historical truism in America—that it has been in the white community that law and order has never been respected. It has been in the white community that the breakdown of law and order has been most criminal and, of course, most damaging to both life and property of Black people. . . .

"Despite the opposition of the white community we are determined to defend ourselves and initiate programs for the improvement of the Black community. No fire can stop this determination."

## Staten Island

NEW YORK—Students at Staten Island Community College have taken over the school library, the offices of President William Birenbaum and four department chairmen, and the school switchboard in a struggle that began on April 6. They are demanding 50 percent student voice on all administrative and faculty committees.

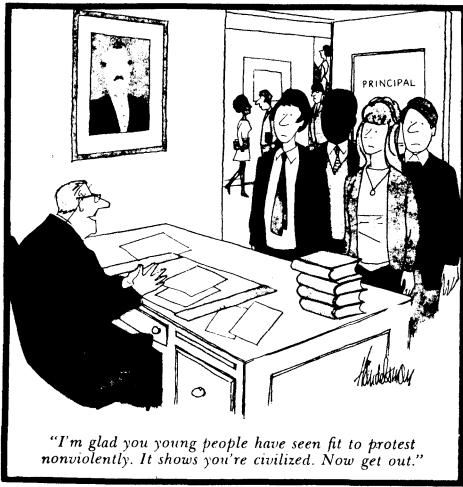
Birenbaum has reportedly agreed to the demand for representation on administrative committees. The question of faculty committees is still open.

## U of Michigan

ANN ARBOR—The student strike in support of Black Action Movement demands for increased minority admissions to the University of Michigan ended here April 2 with the administration giving in to some of BAM's major demands. Following 16 hours of discussions with President Robben Fleming, the regents issued a statement assuring 10 percent Black enrollment by 1973-74 along with the necessary financial aid, recruiting and other supportive services.

The regents rejected, however, BAM's demands for no reprisals against strikers, a Black student center, tuition waivers and university collection of student fees for a scholarship fund honoring Martin Luther King.

While calling off the strike in recognition of the important victory that had been won, BAM emphasized that it would continue its efforts. "We say there can be no total victory until the racist malignancy either consumes this country or we cut it out," anthropology Professor Gloria Marshall told the mass meeting that voted to end the strike. "We will fight on, because like all mankind we hope, and because we're arrogant enough to know we'll win."



## The national picket line

# Bosses feeling heat of rising militancy

Peter Millones, news analyst for the *New York Times*, has a feature article in the April 2 issue which proves him either a man with absolutely no sense of humor or a great deal of it. His article is headlined "Clouds Appear in Labor Picture." It is subtitled: "Rebellions Fostered as Union Militants Ignore Leaders."

The "clouds" Mr. Millones talks about are: contract expirations in September for 70,000 rubber workers, 75,000 meat packers and 600,000 auto workers.

He also cites the fact that in recent weeks there have been disputes involving postal workers, air traffic controllers, truck drivers, gravediggers, railroad workers, tugboat workers (who returned to work on April 2 after a two-month strike which won them a walloping 53.5 percent raise, 41 percent of it in hourly wage increases), newspaper employees, television technicians, and others.

"While each dispute has had its own peculiarities and problems, several common threads have intruded into many of the negotiations according to [so-called] labor specialists."

1. A "strong inflationary trend over the past several years."

2. A "spirit of rebellion evident in the country that has encouraged some union members to disregard the advice of their union leaders."

3. "... the willingness of many public employees on the local, state and federal level to strike or slow down and run the risk of court action and loss of jobs."

None of these factors is new this year, but the very fact that they exist, and have increased since the mighty General Electric Corporation was brought to its knees in the recent long strike, has shivers of apprehension running up and down the spines of the mass industry employers.

And those same shivers have shaken up the labor bureaucracy who "do not miss the significance when other union leaders are repudiated by their members. Nor are many public employee union leaders willing to appear less militant than their members, even if the members propose to violate law."

Last winter, both Nixon and his labor secretary urged labor to moderate its wage demands lest it price itself and its employers out of the market place.

Even that nonfighting misleader of labor, AFL-CIO President George Meany (who is publicly in favor of both wage and price controls), reacted to that. He said:

"If he [any 'leader'] does, he isn't going to be head of that union for long."

\* \* \*

Truck drivers in 37 cities hit the bricks on April 1 when their contract expired. The whole Central Valley, from Minneapolis-St. Paul to St. Louis and eastward to Atlanta, Ga., with many smaller cities in between, has been

struck. Drivers in Buffalo, N. Y., also went out.

On April 2, a "tentative agreement" between the Teamsters and the Trucking Employers Association was announced in Washington. It called for a 27.5 percent raise over three years—up from an average of \$4 an hour to \$5.10 an hour, through July 1, 1973—and was turned down almost immediately by the Chicago Teamsters.

The original demands were increases of \$1 an hour for each year of the new contract, an overall 75 percent raise in three years. Union negotiators have backed off a long way from this original goal. The Chicago teamsters think 27.5 percent is too far back.

On the employers' payments to the health-welfare and pension plans (the union had demanded an increase of \$24 per week for each year of the contract), the companies are offering \$3 per week more than they are paying now.

Meanwhile, the strikes are spreading. The top IBT leaders claim they have not authorized these walkouts and are

## Socialist summer schools planned by SWP and YSA

By GUS HOROWITZ

Local units of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are mapping joint plans for a nationwide network of socialist summer schools in 1970. Hundreds of young socialists are expected to participate, along with members of the YSA and SWP.

The underlying concept behind the summer schools is recognition of the need to combine basic Marxist education with revolutionary activism. The socialist summer schools are designed to take advantage of the fact that the summer affords a valuable opportunity to set aside time for intensive study of the basic problems confronting the revolutionary movement.

Courses will be unlike any taught in a bourgeois university. These will be no dry and sterile academic exercises which purport to be unconnected and uninvolved with the subject matter. On the contrary, the classes are designed as tools to better enable revolutionary cadres to carry out their political activity. Participants in the socialist summer schools will be applying the lessons learned even as the courses are given. Teachers will include prominent Marxist educators whose credentials include active participation and leadership in the revolutionary movement.

Although there will be no grades, papers, exams or other requirements as is the norm in academia, experience



Photo by John Gray

**AGAINST WAR.** United Farm Workers representatives in Los Angeles Chicano Vietnam Moratorium demonstration.

fearful "test enough occur to cause the industry to lock out everybody."

\* \* \*

The four New York City newspaper contracts expired on March 30, and as yet there has been no strike call nor has there been any apparent meeting of minds between the several craft unions (the Newspaper Guild negotiates separately and is threatening to close down the *New York Post*).

Bertram Powers, the head of the pow-

erful "Big 6" New York Local of the International Typographers Union, is using the chapel meeting tactic against the *New York Times*. Under the previous contract, chapel meetings can be called on the job and at the owners' expense, to discuss union-management problems. Powers has called daily, lengthy chapel meetings in the *Times* composing room, thus upsetting the composition of any newspaper's blood—the profitable large advertisements.

\* \* \*

The United Farmworkers Organizing Committee won the first labor contract covering table-grape pickers. Cesar Chavez, whose union has conducted a bitter four-year boycott against California table grapes, says the contract with two Coachella Valley growers provides a wage increase of six percent or 10 cents an hour, whichever is higher, over three years plus a picking bonus of 25 cents a box.

In addition to the wage gains, the union has won the 750 workers involved 10 cents an hour to the union's health and welfare plan and two cents a box for an economic redevelopment fund for workers ousted by mechanization or illness.

Another very important victory for which the union has been fighting for years was also won—the prohibition of the use by growers of six hard pesticides including DDT. Tests conducted by the union have proved that workers continuously exposed to these pesticides suffer from many types of allergic reactions resulting in serious illnesses.

It is hoped that this contract will serve as a pattern for settlements with other grape growers who are still being struck and boycotted.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

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### YSA-SWP Socialist Summer Schools

I am interested in more information concerning the socialist summer school planned for

(city) \_\_\_\_\_

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has shown that the motivation provided by a common purpose aiming at the goal of human liberation is more than enough to insure an intensive education for all.

The SWP and YSA units will beundertaking the task of education with a seriousness of purpose that marks all political work in the mass movement; for, to a conscious revolutionary organization, education is a central political responsibility.

Topics to be taken up run the entire range of revolutionary theory. The subject matter will vary from city to city, but the heart of each summer school will include some of the following five topics:

1) The nature of the revolutionary Leninist party. This will include study of the fundamental aspects of the American socialist revolution, the perspectives of the current radicalization, the transitional strategy of the revolutionary party, and the organizational concepts of the Leninist party which are necessary for the tasks that it undertakes.

2) The national question, with particular emphasis on the history and dynamics of the Black and Chicano liberation struggles in the U.S., and the application of the revolutionary socialist program to these struggles.

3) The history and dynamics of the women's liberation struggle and a revolutionary socialist approach towards it.

4) Revolutionary Marxism versus anarchism, terrorism and ultra-leftism.

5) Basic ideas of revolutionary Marxism today, especially as incorporated in a study of the theory of the permanent revolution, the Russian, Chinese or Cuban revolutions, the nature of Stalinism, and the degeneration of the Soviet Union.

Those interested in attending one of the socialist summer schools can obtain information from the YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003 or Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003, or by mailing in the coupon below.



# The Great Society

*Our cultural leader*—After being flour-  
oscoped by Secret Service agents, a  
set of books were presented to Presi-  
dent Nixon by the American Booksellers  
Association. Since there was no anti-  
war demonstration that day, the presi-  
dent was not at the TV set. He declared:  
"It is good for our country if the art  
and pleasure of reading can grow in  
years to come. Young people do not  
know how they waste their time sitting  
in front of a TV set, blowing their bub-  
ble gum or whatever they do."

*Philosophy dep't*—Responding to a  
report on the growing police use of  
dumdum bullets, former Chief Patrick  
Gerity of Cleveland observed: "Moral  
objections are always the cry of the  
weak and uninformed."

*Chicken delight*—Chicken producers  
are moaning because 1.5 percent of  
their product was condemned for can-  
cer last year, with federal inspectors  
rejecting only those with visible, un-  
esthetic lesions. Ralph Nader pointed  
to the health dangers of such a criteria,  
plus the fact that only a small percen-  
tage of market-bound chickens are in-  
spected. Responded George Cagle, an  
Atlanta-based processor: "He rattles his  
mouth so much."

*Successful hunger strike*—We're mere-  
ly reporting, not advocating, that  
Sheree Bryan, 14, of Mill Valley, Calif.,  
went on a hunger strike to force her  
father to quit smoking. After two days  
in which she lost a reported eight  
pounds, the old man took the pledge.

*Bold as brass*—The Pentagon decided

to display a gold plaque of Eisenhow-  
er's farewell speech on leaving the office  
of President, forgetting that it included  
his warning against the dangers of the  
"military-industrial complex." So the  
plaque was made with the offensive  
section deleted.

*That'll learn him*—Queried about a  
New York subway passenger who was  
killed when he was caught in a train  
door and dragged into the path of  
another train, a Transit Authority  
spokesman explained, "No one has any  
business getting engaged in the doors  
when they are closing."

*Sip on this*—We were planning a trip  
to Woolworth's to replace our broken  
gimlet glasses when we noticed a Tif-  
fany ad offering crystal goblets in three  
models—\$10.75, \$17 and \$25 apiece.  
Add \$1 for shipping.

*Freudian sales slip?*—Herbert Stein,  
one of Nixon's economic advisers, says  
the administration has got the economy  
in great shape. The following is from  
an April 2 *New York Times* account  
of Stein's views: "He asked, Would a  
different combination of economic pol-  
icies bring the country through 1970  
and 1971 more satisfactorily? He quack-  
ly answered himself: 'No.'"

*Item of the year*—"FRANKFORT,  
Ky.—A 15-member task force to fight  
malnutrition in Kentucky includes a  
behavioral observer, Dr. Robert Strauss  
of the University of Kentucky, who will  
try to suggest ways of motivating peo-  
ple to eat better."

—HARRY RING

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.  
Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel: (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.  
Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.  
San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.  
San Diego: Alan Standliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.  
Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.  
**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.

**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.  
Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.  
**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.  
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Worcester: YSA, Box 406, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.  
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## First time in English

# Trotsky on civil war

The debate about guerrilla tactics in Latin America has focused attention on a number of key questions for revolutionaries: What are the *political* and what are the *military* aspects of civil war?

What is the relationship between the revolutionary vanguard party and the military front during the struggle for state power? Under what circumstances should the armed insurrection be launched? Can a definite timetable be fixed for the seizure of state power?

These questions are taken up in detail in Leon Trotsky's speech: "The Problems of Civil War," which has just been published for the first time in English.

Trotsky, who was the leader of the Red Army during the Russian civil war and commissar of war from 1918 to 1925, considered the study of military-revolutionary strategy essential to the training of socialist cadres.

The pressure of events in the revolutionary period sharply exposes the vanguard party to the dangers of ultraleft adventurism on one side and opportunist hesitation on the other. In the first case, the party could move too soon, isolate itself from the struggling masses and assure its own defeat. In the second



Leon Trotsky

case, the key moment for responding with armed defense could be missed and the revolutionary opportunity lost for a long period.

Trotsky develops criteria for estimating the correct revolutionary tempo in this speech.

"Problems of Civil War" was delivered in 1924, and it takes into account the lessons of revolutionary defeat in Europe, following World War I, as well as lessons of the revolutionary victory of October 1917.

This important work of Trotsky's appears in the *International Socialist Review* for March-April 1970. Also included in the March-April ISR is a comprehensive analysis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union from Lenin's time to today by Ernest Mandel, the leading Belgian Trotskyist theoretician.

Mandel's "Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution" treats in some detail the Spanish civil war of 1936-37 and the Yugoslav revolution that erupted during the Second World War.

Particularly interesting in this article are Mandel's answers to two questions of the utmost importance to the world revolution today: How to deal with the U.S. nuclear arms arsenal? Does this nuclear stockpile necessitate a major alteration of revolutionary strategy from Lenin's time?

Copies of the *International Socialist Review* may be obtained for 50 cents from 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. A full-year subscription (11 issues) is \$5.00.

— E. S.

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# Panther 21 trial reopens in N.Y.

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, April 7—The preliminary hearings for the trial of the New York Black Panther 21 began again today. The hearings were terminated on Feb. 25 because of what Judge John M. Murtagh termed "disruptive" and "unethical" behavior on the part of the 13 defendants.

However, the Panthers point out that the judge has stripped them of every constitutional right by denying motions to scale down the \$100,000 bail. This measure has kept most of them behind bars since April 2, 1969. Included among the incarcerated is Lee Berry, a Vietnam veteran with epilepsy. Berry has had his case separated from the present defendants due to illness.

Murtagh has also refused their lawyers access to the grand jury proceedings that drew up the indictments on the alleged conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations. Access to the proceedings would allow the defense to comprehend how the state got most of its evidence, i.e., whether through human agents and/or electrical devices.

In a second grand jury indictment late last year, the focus was not so much on the alleged conspiracy as on illegal possession of weapons. The "conspiracy" charges were partially a ruse to get indictments on more substantial charges, such as that of weapons. And all of it falls in line with the aim of the Lindsay administration, backed by the U.S. government, to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The 13 defendants have stated their readiness to "stand trial," but they gave no assurance to the judge of remaining silent in the event of court provocations.

A new element, however, was added to the trial by a recent Supreme Court decision. This decision, in the case of

Illinois v. Allen, was handed down supposedly to deal with "contumacious, stubbornly defiant defendants." It establishes the right of the courts, in respect to a defendant, to: "1. Bind and gag him thereby keeping him present. 2. Cite him for contempt. 3. Take him out of the courtroom until he promises to conduct himself properly."

However, the court failed to consider, as did an article in the April 5 *New York Times*, that defendant Allen may have been "of dubious mental stability." In this way, Allen, who was banned from part of his trial because of his conduct, might possibly have been committed to a mental institution rather than a penal one.

Upon this very shaky basis, the Supreme Court has demolished the Sixth Amendment right of a defendant to even be present at his trial. The judge has the power to bind and gag or just simply ban the defendant from his trial on any pretext of conduct the judge deems unacceptable.

For the benefit of the Panther defense counsel, Judge Murtagh talks of using these new-found powers "sparingly" and in "moderation." But District Attorney Joseph A. Phillips couldn't wait. He wanted the judge to grant a motion to begin the construction of closed-circuit TV rooms so that the trial could continue uninterrupted in the event of any "disorders." But the Judge held back.

At present, the defense continues the questioning of police who staged the predawn raids on Panther homes last April 2.

In addition, Atty. William M. Kunstler along with Prof. Leroy D. Clarke, head of the NYU Law School and of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, have been added to defense counsel.

## Witch-hunt of New Mobe begins in Washington

A subcommittee of the House Committee on Internal Security—formerly HUAC—opened "hearings" on "Communist influence" in the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, in Washington April 7.

The subcommittee, in true-to-McCarthy style, began by listening to two "former undercover agents with the Chicago police," according to the *New York Post* of the same date. The *New York Post* also revealed that these two agents are "well known" because they testified in the Chicago Conspiracy 7 trial.

The subcommittee, together with its agents, the Federal Bureau of Investi-

gation, and various other police organizations has purportedly discovered that the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are active in New Mobe. For a smaller amount of taxpayers' money, they could have learned the same thing by reading any of a number of newspapers, including this one, or by attending any of dozens of meetings around the country . . .

"It's precisely because the antiwar movement was built on the basis of nonexclusion that it is so powerful," stated Fred Halstead, an SWP former presidential candidate and member of the New Mobe steering committee.

"We're proud of our role as socialists in building the antiwar movement," Halstead continued. "And we're not stopping now."

Carol Lipman of the Student Mobilization Committee in Washington, another New MOBE steering committee member, stated: "The young people in this country, particularly the student antiwar movement, led the way for the American people to reject the witch-hunting of the 1950s with this policy of nonexclusion. We will vigorously oppose any attempt to return to the atmosphere and practices of those days."

A New Mobe statement issued in Washington recalled that the same type of witch-hunt methods were tried on the eve of the Nov. 13-15 Washington actions, "and they did not succeed in preventing a magnificent outpouring of American sentiment against the war."



Fred Halstead



Photo by Michael Hardy

N. Y. rally April 4 in support of Panther 21 brought out over 5,000. Here, Analye Dharuba (Richard Moore) and Afeni Shakur, the only two of the imprisoned Panthers who have been freed on bail—at \$100,000 each—address crowd in front of Queens Detention House.

## City workers' strike continues in Atlanta

ATLANTA, April 8—As nearly 1,000 striking city employees and their supporters marched through the streets of Atlanta on Saturday afternoon, April 4, a shot rang out. A scab working on one of the city sanitation trucks had wounded Fred Simmons, a union picket captain, in the back of the thigh. When angry strikers climbed onto the truck to disarm the scab the city cops violently beat up a number of them.

The march started at Ebenezer Baptist Church and went to the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce building and then to City Hall. The main speakers were Rev. Joe Boone of the Metropolitan Atlanta Summit Leadership Congress, Josea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Rev. Austin Ford of Emmaus House.

The strike is now in its fourth week. Although the newspapers are filled with rumors about the strike's loss of strength, the workers are still holding fast against savage attempts by the city administration headed by liberal Democratic Mayor Sam Massell to break the strike.

The majority of the striking workers are Black and work for the city sanitation department. They are demanding an immediate one-step wage increase (see *The Militant*, April 10).

Since Saturday, marches and rallies have been a daily event. On Monday, supporters of the strike called by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644, joined and disrupted a march which was part of the annual Dogwood Festival organized each year by Atlanta's businessmen. On Tuesday night a candlelight march was held.

The marches and rallies are being organized by a support group called the Coalition of Concerned Citizens. The AFL-CIO nationally has also declared its complete support for the striking workers. And support activity is being organized on Black campuses as well as at Emory University and Georgia State University.

At Georgia State, Young Socialists supporters of Linda Jenness, Frank Grin-

non and Joe Cole, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and U.S. Congress, are helping to organize a meeting at which representatives of the union will speak in order to reach students with the facts about the strike.

## Israeli protest of gov't policy

Special to *The Militant*

JERUSALEM, April 8—The largest and most militant demonstration against Zionist government policy in the last 10 years took place here today in front of Prime Minister Golda Meir's office. Some 800 young people, representing all groups to the left of the Zionist parties—particularly the Israeli Socialist Organization and the Communist Party (Rakah)—protested the hypocrisy of the government's absolute refusal even to consider an offer allegedly made by President Nasser to open discussions with Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress.

The Zionist government has always claimed it wants direct negotiations with the heads of the Arab states. Immediately after the six days' war, Moshe Dayan declared, "We are only waiting for a telephone call." Last Sunday, Goldmann said he had received indications that Nasser wanted discussions with him, on condition that the Israeli government be informed and that notice of the meetings be made public. Golda Meir and her government flatly refused to sanction any such meeting, although it would constitute exactly what they have always insisted they wanted. At today's demonstration, the students marched under the slogan, "The phone rang; why didn't you answer it?"

The picket line was attacked by mounted cops, and the young people actively defended themselves. At least seventeen of the demonstrators were hospitalized, five of whom are in serious condition.