

young Socialist

October 1969

25 cents

Which Way for the Antiwar Movement?



Chicano Liberation; Women's Liberation; Dave Dellinger Joins the Bodysnatchers; Atlanta Socialist Campaign; Midnight Cowboy

ys misc.

□The Chicano movement has been making a growing impact recently. This month we examine some of the thinking going on in the movement with "The Chicano State of Mind" by YSIDRO RAMON MACIAS (top left). Originally titled "The Evolution of the Mind," the article first appeared in *El Pocho Che* (see page 20). Macias was a leader of the Third World Liberation Front during the strike at Berkeley this spring and was brutally beaten by the police. □The woodcut in the center spread is by a Chicano artist, JOSE CAMACHO. This and other posters are available from La Causa, 1560 35th Ave., Oakland, Calif. □DAVID THORSTAD (top center), member of the YSA National Executive Committee, goes after pacifist David Dellinger for his recent attack on the YSA in *Liberation*. □The YS has two articles this month which relate to the swiftly rising women's liberation movement. SUSAN LAMONT (top right), a member of the YSA NEC, reviews a new pamphlet by Marxist Evelyn Reed, and we have an important document from the co-thinkers of the YSA-SWP in Canada, where women's liberation was a burning issue a couple of years before it got off the ground in this country. □ANDY ROSE (bottom left), formerly a leader of the YSA in Chapel Hill, N.C., and now living in Atlanta, reports on the dynamic campaign of Linda Jenness. Since the article was written she has been ruled off the ballot on a technical residence requirement. However, a write-in campaign is going full steam. We heard that Linda's husband, Doug Jenness, has been invited to appear on a TV program entitled "Meet the Candidates' Wives." Doug agreed to go on the program, we understand, on the condition that they change the title. □NELSON BLACKSTOCK (second from left, bottom), explains why November 14 and 15 are the most important dates this fall. In the process he examines the most recent stage of the degeneration of SDS. □While we are on the subject, the YSA recently received a letter from California which sums up a growing sentiment: "I've read a lot about SDS and about S'P-YSA. You win." Dates to remember: Dec. 27-30. That's the time of this year's Young Socialist convention in Minneapolis, Minn. □TONY THOMAS (third from left, bottom), a YSA national field secretary, does the film review. □LOUIS PROYECT (bottom right), a member of the Manhattan YSA, reviews the new book on the founding convention of the IWW, which gives us the excuse to print some Wobbly revolutionary art. □Anniversaries of two of the twentieth century's greatest revolutionaries: Che Guevara was murdered on Oct. 8, 1967, and Nov. 7 will be the 90th year since Leon Trotsky's birth. □As part of the overall fall offensive, the YSA is co-sponsoring with the SWP a joint eight-week subscription drive for the YS and *Militant* (see ad, p. 23). Initial reports indicate that the quota of more than 4000 is too low. By the end of the second week more than 1000 new subs had been sold. Subs are going fast. Get them while they last. Your local YSAer will be glad to sell you one.



young socialist

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THE MAGAZINE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, A MULTINATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ORGANIZATION.

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HOW TO BUILD THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT



**Or You Don't Need
a Weatherman to
Know Which
Way the Wind
Blows
or Anything
Else**





When I saw Godard's film "La Chinoise" last year my reaction was one of anger. The subject of the film—the lives of French student Maoists—had great possibilities. But Godard's student play-revolutionaries lived in such a political fantasy world, engaging in entirely make-believe politics, that I felt the director was cheating his audience. Godard's characters were so far out of touch with reality that they could obviously never exist in the real world. But after watching SDS in recent weeks I have begun to reconsider that opinion.

To the uninformed observer it would be hard to imagine how SDS could have landed in this never-never land. Somehow it has latched onto a style of make-believe revolutionary politics that defies parody. The recent issues of *New Left Notes* are required reading for any serious revolutionary. They provide an object lesson in how far detached from political reality it is possible for one to become today.

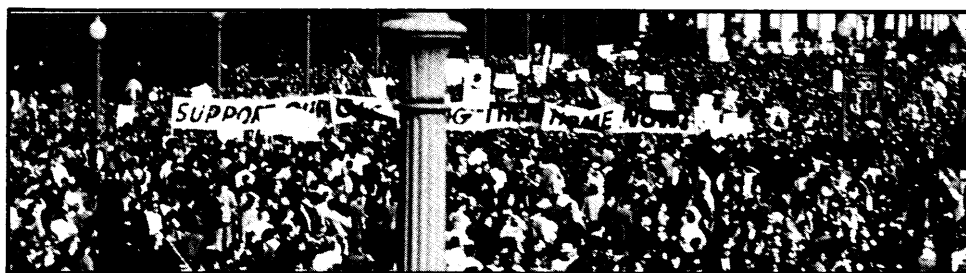
Writing in the August 29 *NLN* the Motor City (Detroit) SDS runs down some of its activities over the past summer. It is "La Chinoise." Entitled "Break on Through to the Other Side" (which they have clearly managed to accomplish), this may very well be one of the most amazing documents in American radical history. "We've become fighters this summer," Motor City SDS says. "Our study of karate makes us strong."

The bulk of the article is a description of a number of situations they have become involved in, including the "Metro Beach Riot." "The 'Metro Beach Riot' (as the papers called it) was the first action Motor City SDS undertook in organizing for the national action. Metropolitan Beach is located in one of the white working class suburbs that surround black Detroit, and is packed

with young white kids. One Saturday afternoon in the middle of July, about 30 SDS cadre and people starting to work with us swept the beach in a line distributing Chicago leaflets and carrying a red flag. When we planted the flag a crowd of about 200 quickly gathered. Loud arguments began in the center of the crowd, which included many Vietnam veterans. The reaction of the kids was a vehement defense of American myths. The arguments centered around communism, and especially the Viet Cong, upward mobility, and white-skin privilege. Many of us got into good raps with people on the fringe of the crowd who wanted to know what was happening. When we heard that the beach rent-a-pigs had called the sheriff's patrol, we moved to regroup. One Viet vet yelled 'Let's get the flag!', and about 40 people charged it. Sticking together as a group, we fought the attackers to a standstill and left the beach chanting."

The article goes on to describe the now widely-known incident of the Motor City Nine. These are the nine SDS women who barged into a classroom at a college at which they had done no previous work. "We entered the classroom chanting, and barricaded the door with the teacher's desk. One woman distributed Chicago leaflets while the rest of us lined up in front of the classroom, and we stopped chanting as one woman began to address the class. She rapped about how American imperialism fucks over the people of the world, and about people's struggles for self-determination. Another woman spoke about how imperialism oppresses the black colony within America. When a third woman began to talk about the material oppression of women and the necessity to break out of subordinate roles and join the struggle, some men

By Nelson Blackstock



got uptight and tried to charge the door in order to get out and call the pigs. These pig agents were dealt with while a fourth woman continued to rap to the people in their seats about Chicago and the necessity to take sides with the peoples of the world. Somehow a teacher managed to get out a back door, and the administration called the pigs. Because of an unclean getaway, we were busted as we left the school on charges of disorderly conduct and assault and battery."

In the same issue a group of SDSers from the University of Colorado tell of their work in Denver this summer. They organized what they call a war march, as opposed to a peace march. Their comments indicate that there were some "concrete political differences among the people living and working in Denver" over the march. It seems that "many people couldn't understand the revolutionary potential of a militant march with a relatively small number of kids." It is not hard to see why some of the people might have been confused on this question. I guess they can just be thankful that the SDSers came in to help straighten them out.

All of this might be only laughable if it were not for the fact that a lot of good, serious students are going to be disoriented by all this nonsense. Despite its skyrocketing unpopularity SDS will still have a certain amount of influence on the campuses this fall. What makes this situation potentially quite tragic is the fact that a very crucial task faces the largely student-based antiwar movement this fall. The antiwar movement has the potential of undergoing a deep and far-reaching growth. But the tactics currently popular within SDS, the way of building antiwar demonstrations it is projecting for the October 11th march in Chicago can only

serve to isolate, demoralize and even destroy this movement.

In the August 23 *NLN* there is an article by Bernardine Dohrn, Kathy Boudin, and Terry Robbins, all members of the SDS staff for the Chicago national action. About the only sensible aspect of their approach is their decision not to take on the ruling class with arms because: "Even though SDS has recognized the correctness of Mao's slogan, 'Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun,' we have little experience with armed self-defense and have very little strategic understanding of how the RYM is going to move to the level of armed self-defense." Right on.

But it would seem that short of armed struggle anything goes. In order to build the Chicago action, the three authors recommend that we turn to the study of karate for "physical and mental conditioning." Furthermore, people should form themselves into small "affinity" groups and begin learning how to operate in the streets in order to practice up for the Chicago action.

"The scenario" (projected schedule of activities) is as follows: Wednesday, a rally to commemorate the death of Che; Thursday they will go into working-class high schools and yell "jail break." That night there will be a rock festival to celebrate the day "Mrs. Leary's cow knocked over a lantern and burned down half the damn city;" Friday they will shut down the "fascist" courts; then on Saturday there will be a mass march (of all those still left).

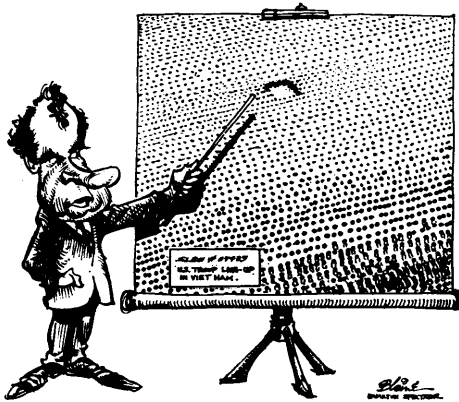
It is fairly clear what is behind the thinking of the SDS leaders in projecting this ridiculous adventure, i.e., a national version of what they have been doing this summer on a local scale: "smaller, but more militant action." But this is exactly what the antiwar movement does not need at this point. Des-

pite the illusions of the SDSers, an incredibly small percentage of the American population has ever marched in any kind of demonstration.

However, this fall we have a chance to build the largest demonstration this nation has ever seen, to reach out and involve new social layers. To bring out masses of working-class kids and working-class adults, too (not just rap with one or two of them in the White Castle drive-in, as the Motor City SDS prides itself in doing). The action on November 15 in Washington, D. C., called by the national antiwar coalition, the New Mobilization Committee (which SDS has boycotted), might very well prove to be the most important antiwar demonstration this country has ever seen.

October 11th could have been an important build-up to this action, bringing out a massive presence of the movement when the Conspiracy 8 go to trial. But the October 11th action as presently projected can only reach out to the thinnest layer of frustrated radical students. And this is at a time when we should be aiming at those segments of the population who are least committed but may be willing to go into the streets and take that first step against the war in Vietnam. Don't forget, that first step has been the driving force behind the student radicalization. In can very well be the first step for the radicalization of other segments of society, including the working class. This is where those who say that the antiwar movement must be turned into a consciously "anti-imperialist" movement go far off course.

The war in Vietnam is an imperialist war. Masses of people moving to end that war are objectively anti-imperialist. But to insist that people who do not understand the meaning of imperialism, but who oppose the Vietnam war, march



"I hope you can see on the screen the hole left by the withdrawal of our 25,000 men from Vietnam."

in the name of "anti-imperialism" is to put the cart before the horse. It is the struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam that has led to the development of anti-imperialist, anticapitalist consciousness among the student radicals. The same can be true of broader layers of the population. Moreover, to limit participation in demonstrations to those who are willing to march under the banner of anti-imperialism is to hinder the fight against the imperialist war in Vietnam.

What is the situation facing the antiwar movement this fall? The war in Vietnam has been going on for the better part of a decade. American deaths in Vietnam have reached nearly 40,000. No apparent end is in sight.

Last year Lyndon Johnson became so identified with the war that he chose not to run rather than face humiliating defeat. During the election period the ruling class was given a bit of a respite. After all, come election time we can have a change. This is still a deeply ingrained illusion. So, many active opponents of the war turned their attention away from the antiwar movement and building the mass demonstrations, toward more serious business, like trying to elect Eugene McCarthy. Or getting the Peace and Freedom Party on the ballot. (The ruling class breathed a sigh of relief.) Even after Nixon was elected most Americans felt that there would be some let up in the Vietnam war. After all, he wasn't identified with Johnson's war policy and had no need to worry about saving face. Yet, when Nixon made his first speech on the war it sounded like one Johnson left behind when he was cleaning out his desk. It became increasingly clear that Johnson's war policy was Nixon's war policy. The fraudulent token troop withdrawals were designed as a tranquilizer to soothe public opinion, but it never really took hold.

Now we are getting into the fall. Antiwar sentiment is on the rise. The role of revolutionaries and all opponents of the war in Vietnam is clear. What the ruling class needs more than anything else right now is time. It figures that even though it has been unable to win a military victory in the field, it may be able to force a favorable settlement at the conference table. We cannot let it have that time. We must build the largest action possible this fall to call for the immediate withdrawal of all troops from Vietnam.

The YSA has set as its number one priority the mobilization of masses of people against the war this fall. On campuses we will be building Student Mobilization Committees, which can mobilize wide sections of antiwar students, regardless of their other political convictions. These SMC's will play an important role in an overall fall offensive, including struggles that will be breaking out on local campuses. The November 14th student strike called by SMC is gaining wide support.

Unfortunately, SDS hasn't begun to understand what is needed this fall. The current SDS leadership, for all its hyperintense rhetoric, is following in the well-worn footsteps of its predecessors. It is almost as if the national officers of SDS were innately unable to grasp what the antiwar movement is all about.

In the past, SDS came up with a variety of reasons to explain why it was unnecessary to build the antiwar movement. First, building mass marches interfered with either community organizing or local organizing in general. Then it was more important to organize draft resistance unions or fight for student power. I remember Carl Oglesby's famous speech in the spring of 1968 when he explained with uncanny foresight that since the ruling class was ready to phase out the war, we should abandon the antiwar movement so as

we would not be caught off guard.

After the split with the Progressive Labor Party and its Worker-Student Alliance allies at the last SDS convention, the RYM grouping began talking about the importance of getting into the antiwar movement. Some people hoped this might be a turning point for SDS. But it has now become clear that the present SDS leadership is no more serious about building the antiwar movement than its predecessors.

No one should be confused by the use of Marxist terms now popular in SDS. These people are not Marxists. They have merely adopted and reduced to caricature what they consider to be the symbols of revolution (Mao's red book and fragments of a Marxist vocabulary) as a substitute for serious revolutionary political analysis. Their practice (a term currently enjoying great popularity within SDS) resembles that of a political current opposed by both Marx and Lenin: petty-bourgeois anarchism.

In fact, taken as a whole the activity of SDS referred to above is a reflection of the "spark theory" approach to politics. This theory, which Lenin was forced to fight vigorously against, holds that a small number of very dedicated individuals can spur the masses into motion by engaging in violent acts (like knocking off a czar). Thus, we have smaller, but more militant demonstrations and Motor City Nines who invade campuses and practice karate on dissidents.

SDS's present ultrarevolutionary rhetoric tells us no more about the political realities of this country than the quasi-sociological graduate school rhetoric of a few years back. I'm convinced that its approach to workers could have only originated from people totally ignorant of the lives of the working class, from people brought up in the plush upper-middle-class suburbs.

What LIFE doesn't see.



This photo is from a **Life** magazine story on Vietnam GIs and their attitudes toward the presidential elections (October 25, 1968). Although the article itself states such things as "if the troops were in agreement on any political issue, it was that bombing of North Vietnam should not be stopped," take a good look at the photo. Look at it carefully, and then look again.

Notice the three guys in the front. Look at the peculiar way in which they hold their rifles. Yes, those guys are all flashing V-signs. The third GI from the left is even wearing a peace symbol—hanging rather high

on his neck so the camera would catch it. He has also painted one on his forehead. Also look at the uniform of the GI on the farthest right. He has a peace symbol designed into the uniform itself.

The written copy below the photo has nothing whatever to say about the real content of this photo. And if the photographer knew what these GIs were doing, you can be sure that the editors missed it completely. Nevertheless, these guys are making a pretty powerful statement. And one that should not be missed by the antiwar movement.

What VIETNAM sees.



The National Liberation Front has consistently recognized the importance of mass antiwar demonstrations. In a message of support to the April 6 antiwar demonstrations, which the SDS leadership did not help build, the NLF said: "What more to say than that we are entirely pleased with your suggestions to concentrate on the themes: **TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS! VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!**"

The above article in the March 1969 issue of this Vietnamese publica-



tion states: "The support for the Vietnamese people shown by the American people and their protests against the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam show clearly that should the U.S. ruling circles persist in their neo-colonialist policy in Viet Nam, the wave of protest would rise even higher in the United States and the American people would press even more vigorously for an end to the U.S. government's war of aggression in Viet Nam."

Rudd and his cohorts have a distinct tendency to confuse their own moods, their own frustration and chronic agitation, with the moods of the masses.

Another factor which should not be overlooked when examining the present state of SDS is that in its struggle with the Progressive Labor Party, the RYM leadership seemed to acquire some of the most distasteful aspects of PL's political style. The most obvious example is the use of violence against political opponents on the left, first introduced into the student movement of the sixties by PL, which has now been picked up in several instances by SDS. But this trend runs deeper than that. PL, it should be remembered, has a certain tradition it draws from. It originally came out of the American Communist Party and brought with it a weird assortment of Stalinist baggage. PL has seemingly meaningless ways of expressing itself which make sense when placed in a certain distorted framework. Like bullshitting people in its press about the size and significance of actions in which it is involved or calling its political opponents counterrevolutionary agents of the ruling class who have taken the capitalist road so that it does not have to deal with their ideas. This is accepted as normal within PL's style of operation. When the SDS began to adopt these tactics, it looked even more ludicrous.

SDS has an abnormal ability to get carried away by the momentum of its own rhetoric. There is no better example of this than the evolution of the Bring the War Home slogan, the central slogan projected for the October 11th action. It first appeared in the title of Mike Klonsky's proposal for the fall action adopted at the last SDS convention. The title was simply meant to convey the idea that the issue of the war should be taken to the American people. The slogans included for the action in the original resolution were relatively reasonable. But they went on to become so enraptured by the revolutionary sound of the slogan that they began to push it as the central theme of the action.

What in the hell is Bring the War Home going to mean to the average person, unacquainted with the turbulent level of SDS rhetoric? The most likely interpretation would be either a) the Vietnamese liberation fighters or b) the American GIs should come to this country and launch a war on the people here.

Could you expect this person to support a demonstration built around such a slogan? More likely than not he would tend to support the ruling class and its cops in crushing the demonstration.

On one thing we should be clear. Despite all their rhetoric, the RYM SDSers lack any confidence in the ability of the American people to move on the question of the war. Their approach toward building October 11th is in no way designed to reach out to the masses and involve them in the action. Rather, their approach is geared toward titillating the imagination of a very thin layer of radical students. The Bring the War Home Now slogan may be useful to the dominant faction within SDS in the contest to see who can come up with the most revolutionary rhetoric. But in the struggle for the real revolution, which today means mobilizing masses of people in the street to demand the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, the Weathermen are blowing in the wind.

It is significant that Klonsky, the ultra-leftist former national secretary of SDS, has seen fit to dissociate himself from the way the Chicago SDS national office staff is promoting the demonstration. If the thing has gotten so ultra-left that Klonsky is backing away from it, then it has to be pretty wild.

Whenever we think about the antiwar movement in this country, its history and the course of its future development, a few simple facts about the basic political realities in this country should be kept in mind. Despite its brilliant technical achievements, the United States today is profoundly backward politically. It presents a striking case of uneven and combined development. We are nineteen years into the second half of the twentieth century and the American working class still does not even have its own political party. It is still tied to the political parties of the capitalist class.

Now, the antiwar movement in this country has evolved independently of the ruling-class institutions of political power. At times sections of the movement have been diverted back into these institutions, most notably during the McCarthy campaign within the Democratic Party.

The physical form of the antiwar movement assumed the character of periodic mass demonstrations in the street. (If the working class had its own political party, a mass labor party, for

example, without a totally corrupt leadership, such a party could have directed and built the antiwar movement.) Because of the confusion generated by the elections last year, it was not possible to build really massive actions. But this year the antiwar movement has the upper hand. There are no elections.

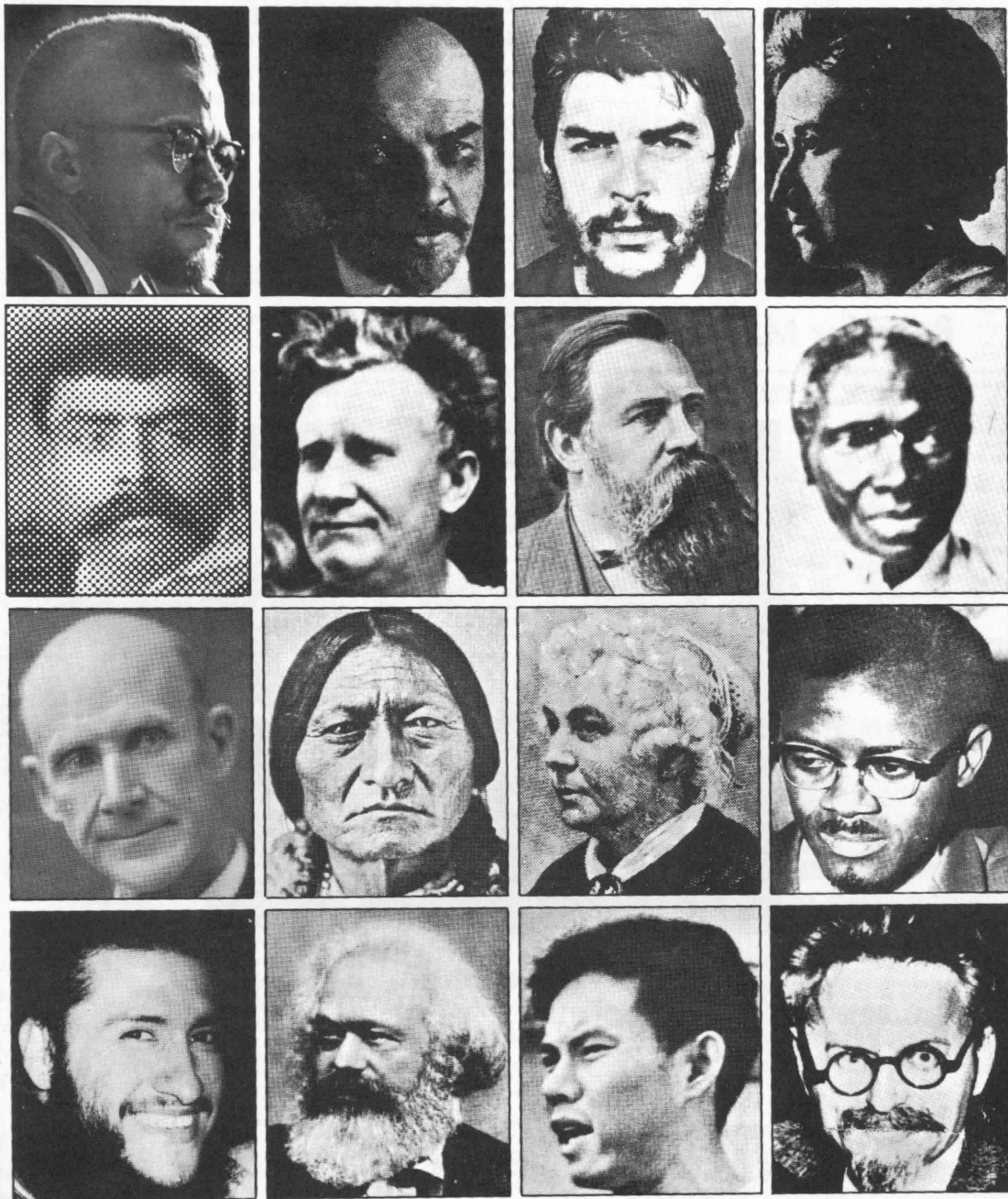
Nixon's grace period is at an end. Antiwar sentiment is on the rise. We have seen an incident in which Company A refuses to go into fight and the response from the country is favorable. Widows have begun refusing to accept the flags on their dead husbands' coffins. We have to be very clear about what faces us this fall. In many ways the left hasn't had such an opportunity in years.

The potential is this: we have the opportunity to bring out hundreds of thousands of people to Washington on November 15th. Masses of people have a chance to feel their power independently of the ruling class, to draw a line between themselves and the rulers. For the first time, we have the chance to bring out masses of workers into the street. If a million or two million people were to hit Washington so that it became perfectly clear that this war was rejected by the masses of the American people, a situation could develop in which there would be more Company A's. Where militants in the shops and factories would begin to receive a hearing. And out of that a situation could arise where workers in war-related industries refuse to give supplies to the war.

But for anything like this to happen, it is key that the students, the backbone of the antiwar movement, be geared in to building for November 15th; that Student Mobilization Committees be established on every campus in the country to mobilize for the November 14th student strike and for Washington; that broad coalition groups in every city begin to reach out and build support for the action. This is what the YSA sees must be done. Opposed to this is the perspective of SDS and its recklessly adventurist Chicago action, which can only serve to isolate the movement. It serves as a shining example of how not to build the antiwar movement.

Students this fall are going to have the opportunity to compare the practice of SDS and the YSA, to compare October 11th to November 15th. And at this point, the winning money is on the YSA and November 15th.

To make a Revolution...



It takes Revolutionaries.

JOIN THE YSA.

Malcolm X, V.I. Lenin, Che Guevara, Rosa Luxemburg, Emiliano Zapata, James P. Cannon, Frederick Engels, Sojourner Truth, Eugene Debs, Tatanka Iyotake (Sitting Bull), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Patrice Lumumba, Hugo Blanco, Karl Marx, Nguyen Van Troi, Leon Trotsky

WAGA-TV has just finished taping a program in which all the mayoralty candidates have appeared on a panel. Linda Jenness, Atlanta's socialist candidate, is walking down a corridor on her way out of the studio when suddenly a door opens and out pops Guy Sharpe, Atlanta's favorite weatherman (no relation to Mark Rudd).

"Aren't you Linda Jenness?" he asks.

"Yes," Linda replies.

Sharpe clasps her palm with both his hands. "Congratulations on your campaign. We're so proud of you. How did you do upstairs?"

"I'm not sure," Linda answers hesitantly, "I tend to get a little nervous on TV."

"Oh, I'm sure you did better than that bunch you're running against," the weatherman assures her. "We're all voting for you."

ALICE IN MADDOXLAND



ERIC

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL

THAT GIRL WHO'S RUNNING FOR MAYOR

In 1920 Eugene V. Debs ran for president on the Socialist Party ticket from the Federal prison in Atlanta, Ga., where he was serving a twenty-year sentence for his opposition to the imperialist world war, and polled nearly a million votes. In 1969 Atlanta's second major socialist campaign is being waged by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor.

Launched at the first Southwide Young Socialist Conference, held in Atlanta on May 11-12, her campaign immediately attracted attention as something of a novelty. One article published in the *Atlanta Constitution* early in the campaign began: "For the first time in recent years, Atlanta has a woman candidate for mayor, and her views will surprise—and shock—the public she is asking to support her in the October 7 election."

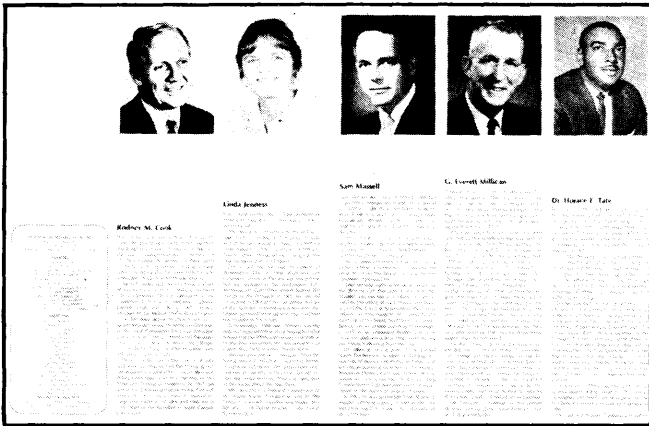
By Andy Rose

What the reporter found so shocking was, of course, a platform calling for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, for black control of the black community, for a break with capitalist politics, and for a socialist America.

Reporters, along with the businessmen and bankers who run Atlanta, were perhaps even more surprised to find that this platform was directly related to the needs of the people of Atlanta, and that Linda Jenness was absolutely serious in her determination to win the people's support for her "shocking" program of revolutionary change.

PRELIMINARY SKIRMISHES

The first issue to emerge in the campaign concerned proposed limitations on the use of the city's parks. The bill was submitted by 71-year-old Alderman Everett Millican, old-time Atlanta politico, a leading contender for mayor and the self-proclaimed "law'n'order" candidate. Millican cheerfully admitted that his bill was directed against the young people who are the main users of the parks,



BROCHURE PUT OUT BY THE ATLANTA ADVERTISING CLUB FOR A MEETING OF THE CANDIDATES

and whom he calls "sex deviates, indecent citizens, and hippies."

Linda Jenness testified before the Aldermanic Board and, standing a few feet from her co-candidate, charged that Millican was trying to whip up a "hysterical campaign of slander."

"Enough cases of high school students and other youth being picked up or harassed by the city police for putting flyers on telephone poles or sometimes for no reason at all, have come to my attention for me to know that Millican is guilty of trying to make the victim appear to be the criminal," she said.

Millican turned beet-red, looked away angrily, and shuffled through papers on his desk. The parks bill was defeated.

A second minor stir was created when Linda, invited to participate in Atlanta's Fourth of July parade with the other mayoral candidates, declined with the declaration:

"The men and women who struggled against British rule in 1776 were revolutionary fighters with the highest of ideals. They were the liberation fighters of their generation, engaging themselves in a battle against oppression and a victorious movement for national independence. There is nothing in common between these sons and daughters of liberty and today's standard Fourth of July orators. . . ."

"And especially at this time, when over 500,000 American troops are in Vietnam attempting to crush a national liberation struggle, those who call for less than the unconditional self-determination of the Vietnamese people have no place at my kind of Fourth of July celebration. . . ."

It was not until July 7 that the issue appeared which was to energize the Socialist Workers campaign and put some life into the mayoral race as a whole.

LINDA JENNESS VS. THE CITY OF ATLANTA

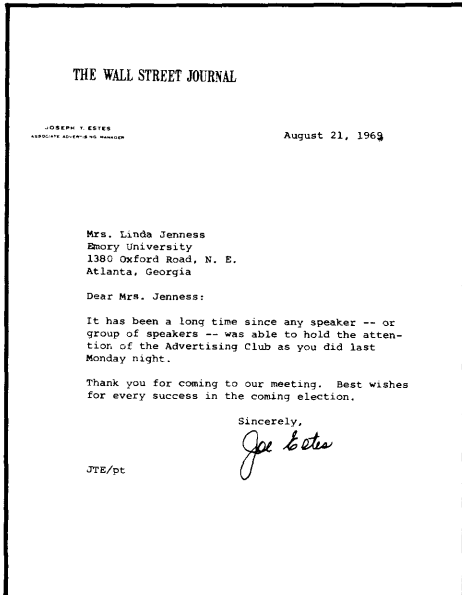
On that date, Atlanta's Board of Aldermen unanimously voted to set the qualifying fees for the city elections at the maximum allowable under a 1969 Georgia statute: \$5000 for Mayor; \$1400 for Vice-Mayor; \$1200 for Alderman; \$600 for School Board.

Linda Jenness immediately issued a statement condemning the fees. She pointed out that the fees are a blatant attempt to discriminate against candidates from the black community, candidates who are workers, and those who launch campaigns independent of the Democratic and Republican party machines.

The city government was not especially disturbed by this attack—at first. The other mayoral candidates indicated that while the fees might be a little high, any serious candidate could raise the money from his friends and associates, and that, after all, the fees prevented "mere publicity-seekers" from running.

At a mutual speaking engagement Vice-Mayor Sam Massell, leading "liberal" candidate and the pride and joy of Atlanta's big money boys, privately told Linda that the fees were not unreasonable because one could also get on the ballot by collecting a certain number of signatures on petitions. When Linda pointed out to him that, in fact, the 1969 legislation specifically eliminated this method of running, he assured her that he would stand "shoulder to shoulder" with her in the fight against the fees. Almost a month later, Massell had not even made a public statement about the issue, while the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee was waging a vigorous drive to have the fees lowered or abolished and had filed suit in Federal court against the city.

Speaking at a rally of the Fulton County



HEAVY RAP FORCES CAPITALIST TO KNEES. LETTER FROM ADVERTISING CLUB OFFICER.

“And now the latest on the Bernadette Devlin of Atlanta, Linda Jenness.”

— Newscaster, WGST Radio

“So you’re the young lady who is running for mayor. Well, er, are you having a good time?”

— Mayor Ivan Allen



PHOTO BY TOM COFFIN

Democratic Party (to which she was invited apparently by mistake). Linda Jenness attacked Massell for renegeing on his pledge. Massell spoke immediately after her and made no comment. A few days later, when all the announced mayoral candidates appeared on a television special, he privately approached Linda and explained that he was doing the best he could “behind the scenes” to have the fees reduced. When Linda made it clear that this was completely inadequate and that he should tell the people of Atlanta exactly where he stood and what he was doing about it, Massell became angry. Since then he has dropped any pretense of opposing the fees.

Despite the capitalist politicians’ attempts to ignore the question, the exorbitant qualifying fees quickly became one of the most important issues of the race. Suit was filed in Federal District Court on July 31 to restrain the city from enforcing the fees. Both major television stations in Atlanta editorialized against them. Such Georgia notables as black legislator Julian Bond signed petitions.

The legal bombshell burst on August 18, when a federal three-judge panel threw out the 1969 state election law and the city election ordinance because of legal technicalities, and ordered the Board of Aldermen to reset fees at a reasonable level in accordance with an older law. The decision came on the first of five days during which prospective candidates could qualify by paying the fees. Twenty-nine candidates for various offices had paid already—their money had to be refunded and the qualifying period extended two weeks.

The Board of Aldermen met in emergency session August 19 and dropped the mayoral fee to \$1000. This 80% cut, passed over strong objections by some aldermen, was an obvious attempt to

forestall another court battle and a possible delay in the elections themselves. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of working-class and black candidates, \$1000 is just as unattainable as \$5000.

A front-page article in the *Atlanta Constitution* on August 26 put it this way: “Prospects for a settlement that would pave the way for smooth running of the city’s election machinery were shot down Tuesday when the Socialist party candidate for mayor flatly refused to accept the city’s action lowering filing fees for candidates.

“The candidate, Mrs. Linda Jenness, in effect told the members of the Atlanta Board of Aldermen that she would see them in court. . . .

“‘The new fees are completely unreasonable,’ Mrs. Jenness said moments after the meeting in City Hall where she observed the proceedings from a rear seat in the hearing room.

“‘This is a joke. When we argue for minimal fees we mean just that,’ added the slightly angered woman candidate. . . .”

A week later the same three-judge panel upheld the revised fees on the curious grounds that, while in future elections it will be illegal and unconstitutional “to prohibit candidates from getting their names on the ballot solely because they cannot post a certain amount of money,” that “good administration and common sense” demand that the current election go on as scheduled, despite its illegality and unconstitutionality! This decision was immediately appealed.

The supreme court was not to reconvene until October 6. But Justice Black, the presiding justice for the southern region when the court is not in session, has the authority in certain cases such as elections to issue what amounts to a temporary decision until the court can meet to hear the case. On September 9 Black

issued an opinion which forced the Atlanta Board of Aldermen to permit any candidate who said he was unable to pay the fee to qualify without paying it. The opinion also forced the qualifying date to be again extended to September 16. This brought more front-page headlines. It appeared to throw a monkey wrench into the election schedule. City Clerk Jimmy Little maintained that this new qualifying deadline did not allow him enough time to prepare the ballots and voting machines for the election on October 7.

A SHOW OF HANDS

In Atlanta, where Afro-Americans comprise 45% of the population, the program which is summarized in the slogan “Black Control of the Black Community” is of particular importance. One of the biggest successes of the Atlanta campaign has been in raising this slogan and demonstrating how it is connected with the very immediate problems facing the black community.

Early in the campaign, Linda Jenness and several campaign workers took part in a march and rally of 250 people called by Tenants United For Fairness (TUFF) where they circulated a statement calling for tenant control of the Atlanta Housing Authority. A campaign spokesman testified before the “Mayor’s Housing Resources Committee.”

On August 14, all of the candidates for mayor were invited to a mass rally sponsored by the Kirkwood Civic Organization. (Kirkwood is a predominantly black community in Atlanta.) The rally was called to protest inadequate police protection in the community, and as the various candidates presented their views on the problem, the question of black control was sharply posed.



PHOTO BY BRUCE MARCUS

Linda Jenness spoke first, and said, "I believe that black people must have control over the police in their community—that they must select them and supervise them and have the right to recall them."

Mrs. Horace Tate, speaking for her husband, called for more police and a more strongly centralized police force. "Why should black people be any different?" she asked. The other white candidates all supported such "solutions" as more police, precinct police stations, etc.

A handful of militants at the back of the room realized the significance of the difference between the two ideas put forth. One of them, during the question period, asked for each of the candidates to address himself more directly to the question of black control of police. One aldermanic candidate spoke and skirted the issue.

The questioner then took the floor again and irately said, "You're missing the point. Let me make it nice and simple for you—I'd just like to see a show of hands. How many of you on the platform are in favor of black control?" Linda Jenness was the *only* candidate to indicate support for this crucial idea.

ON STICKING TO THE ISSUES

The demand "Bring All the GIs Home Now" is one of the key points in the Socialist Workers campaign platform, and Linda Jenness has on numerous occasions explained the connection between the war and local problems. In addition, she has brought up very specific proposals for what the mayor could do to help build the antiwar movement (e.g., hold a city-wide referendum, make public facilities available for rallies, meetings, and demonstrations).

Linda is a well-known leader in Atlanta's antiwar movement, and spoke at the August 9 Nagasaki Day demonstration and rally. Indeed, Eleanor Bockman, who chaired the rally and who is recognized as a founder and one of the leaders of the antiwar coalition in Atlanta, urged all the demonstrators to support Linda's campaign for mayor, because she is the only candidate to call for bringing the troops home now.

The other mayoral candidates carefully ignored the war until a meeting at the Atlanta Advertising Club. In her introductory remarks Linda said, "It is my feeling that there are some overridingly important issues facing the nation and Atlanta that the other candidates are ignoring—and I urge them tonight to address themselves to these subjects and make their stand on them clear." In particular, of course, where do they stand on the war and on black control?

This was apparently not enough prodding, so when questions from the floor were invited, a campaign worker who had accompanied Linda asked, "What would each of the candidates do, if elected, to help build the antiwar movement in Atlanta?"

Next to Linda, the most liberal position was taken by Sam Massell, who actually endorsed the idea of immediate withdrawal, and said he might support some sort of petition campaign against the war. Both Millican and Tate explained that they really didn't like the war, but at the same time did not believe the mayor could do anything that would matter. Rodney Cook, a liberal Republican and member of the Board of Aldermen, said, with a straight face, that he believed the candidates should stick to the issues and therefore he would not say anything at all about Vietnam.

The campaign has made an impact on

the average Atlantan. Linda is recognized on the street. A member of the YSA went into a bank to open an account for the new Militant Bookstore. The bank clerk wanted to know if he was with the people who are running the Linda Jenness campaign. When the YSAer said that he was, the clerk wanted to know all about the campaign.

Another example is the call Linda received from a black man who had heard about the campaign. She described it in a speech this way: "Last Wednesday night (August 20) Mr. Charles Harding called me at home and asked for my assistance. That afternoon four of his children, aged 11, 12, 14, and 16, had gone swimming at the McCoy public swimming pool in Decatur. The lifeguard, for no reason other than that they were black, asked them to leave and then called the police. When the policeman arrived, he hit Louise Harding, one of the younger girls, and when the others protested, arrested all of them on charges of 'assaulting a police officer and resisting arrest'—remember that they were 11, 12, 14, and 16.

"They were taken to the Dekalb County Juvenile Detention home and no effort was made to reach either of their parents—who had to literally track them down when they became worried. When Mr. Harding went to get his children they were released to him on \$200 bond each. To make sure that Mr. Harding did not protest too loudly, 5 squad cars were called into the station when he arrived." Linda was able to publicize this case and the campaign committee helped Mr. Harding secure legal assistance.

In mid-September all the candidates were invited to speak at Mead Packaging, a major "civic-minded" Atlanta industry. Linda was looking forward to speaking to the workers at the plant. However, when

"Mrs. Jenness says radical things, all right, but she says them demurely."

— Raleigh Bryons, The Atlanta Journal, August 13

"If you are elected, will you raise your salary like all the Republicans do?"

— Question directed to Linda Jenness on WRNG radio call-in program



she got there, she discovered that the audience was limited to administrative personnel and secretaries.

After their speeches, all the candidates were invited on a tour of the plant. Undaunted in their attempts to reach the workers, two YSA members of the campaign committee, John Votava and Jim Hartz, who had accompanied Linda to Mead, broke away from the main body of the tour. They began to paste up campaign stickers around the plant and distribute literature to the workers. When some of the black workers began to respond with black power salutes, a couple of the managers went into a dither. They couldn't be rude to their guests. Yet, they had to do something. So they ran around frantically scraping off all the stickers.

THE MAN FOR THE JOB

Speaking before the West End Kiwanis Club, Linda said, "Every time I come to one of these meetings, I notice that the only women present are waiting on tables, and that they are all black. I just want to assure you gentlemen that when we socialists take power, that is going to change."

Linda is, of course, the only candidate to take a stand on women's liberation. Her campaign platform calls for full equality for women: with full equality in employment and wages; legalized abortions; and free nurseries for all mothers as necessary beginning steps.

She spoke to a meeting, sponsored by the Atlanta chapter of the National Organization of Women, which was attended by about 500 people (mostly women). After commenting briefly on the role women are forced into in this society, she said, "Of all the advances made by the Cuban Revolution in ten short years,

one of the most outstanding has been the progress made in freeing women from the yoke of economic dependence." She went on to describe some of the concrete measures enacted there.

Defense of the Cuban Revolution has been a hallmark of the Atlanta campaign. Moderators introducing Linda almost invariably mention her visit to Cuba early this year and her subsequent South-wide speaking tour on the achievements of the Cuban Revolution. Several reporters sympathetic to the campaign have commented, "She could really get somewhere—if she would just lay off that Cuba stuff."

"THEN WHAT CAN YOU DO?"

SDS in Atlanta is split into several factions. Of these, Georgia State SDS and the Movement for a Democratic Society have endorsed the campaign; the Atlanta Revolutionary Youth Movement (ARYM) and the Women's Liberation Group have denounced it. The latter two give some very confused reasons for their action.

One complaint is that the campaign addresses itself to bourgeois liberals rather than to the working class. This contention is simply and obviously false. The liberals are supporting Tate or Massell. The whole fight over the qualifying fees was clearly for the purpose of getting working-class and black candidates on the ballot. Linda has spoken directly to hundreds of workers at some meetings, and indirectly to hundreds of thousands more through the radio, television, and newspaper coverage of others. Most important, the campaign platform is a working-class program.

One other groundless objection is that by participating in elections at this time, the SWP is giving some sort of "legitimacy" to bourgeois electoral politics, and

distracting people from more direct forms of action. This view completely misstates the problem: the vast majority of Americans are not only already firmly wedded to electoral politics, they do not even see that other varieties of political action are open to them. One way to involve these people in anticapitalist politics is to demonstrate in practice how campaigning in elections can be combined with the direct activity of masses of people.

The Atlanta campaign is an excellent example of how this can be done. Its participation in and support of TUFF's fight for control of the Atlanta Housing Authority is one instance. Participation in a drive to boycott city buses because of a recent fare hike, and raising the demand to socialize the bus system and provide free public transportation, paid for by taxes on the big corporations, is another. The leading role played by Linda Jenness and the SWP in building a mass antiwar movement based on the demand "Bring All the GIs Home Now" and the tactic of mass actions in the streets is still another.

In discussion at an Urban Corps meeting, Linda explained why meaningful changes in society could not come about by a piling up of liberal reforms—why working in projects like the Urban Corps is not an effective way to make social progress. A voice from the back of the room called out, "Then what can you do?"

"Work where the mass movements are developing," she said. "Work with the radicalizing elements of the population; work in the antiwar movement. And if you are serious about ending the war, about the black liberation struggle, and about building a completely new and better society, then join the Young Socialist Alliance."

THE CHICANO STATE OF MIND



BRAZILIAN GUERRILLA FIGHTER (WOODCUT)

JOSE CAMACHO

One of the most pressing problems for a person of Mexican descent in the United States is that of identity, commonly called the identity crisis. For here is a person who is officially classified as white (Spanish surname) by the Census Bureau of this country, yet because the shade of his skin generally is darker than the Anglo's, he is actually designated as a minority. Furthermore, he is also discriminated against because of his desire to retain the Spanish language and some of the customs and traditions of Mexico.

Even though the Indian strain in Mexicans is predominant among the population, as in all the countries of America (Latina), there are a significant portion who have very definite European features. These light-skinned Mexicans could, if they did not speak with an accent, easily be mistaken for Anglos or some European stock.

This multiplicity of shades among Mexicans has to some extent played a significant historical role in the level of economic and social achievement for Mexicans living in the barrios of the United States. Those Mexicans who were lighter generally received better treatment in the schools, usually obtained greater opportunities in vocations, and were accepted much more easily into the mainstream of American society.

All of the above factors plus the obsession with skin color (racism) in this country served to place many of these light-skinned Mexicans in roles as leaders of the Mexican communities. Since childhood, especially in the school system, the little dark-skinned Mexican was taught that he was inferior in most capacities to the Anglo, and even to

his lighter-skinned Mexican brother. Therefore, what evolved in the barrios to some extent was a hierarchy of types based upon the color of an individual's skin.

The identity problems of the Mexican did not, however, end with the color of his skin. Of even greater importance was the constant attempt by the dominant Anglo society to pressure and humiliate the Mexican into giving up the Spanish language and customs and traditions retained from Mexico. The now recognized lack of Mexican history in U. S. history textbooks; the forcible suppression of the Spanish language in the classrooms and playgrounds; the sick humor directed against the young Mexican's customs, clothes, and even his lunch; the inability of teachers and counselors to motivate the youth and encourage higher education goals—these and many other examples served to create a sharp lessening of self-respect and bewilderment in the minds of young Mexican children.

Socially he was constantly made aware that he was not acceptable unless he would shed many of his native habits and language. Even when he would conform to the wishes of his Anglo associates he would often find that they considered him nothing more than a "good Mexican," and talk and jokes continued behind his back. At restaurants and theaters he was often led to areas specifically set aside for Mexicans. One of the most insulting displays of bias occurred in the Church, where the Mexican took his family on Sunday and proceeded to be ushered to pews on one side of the church or to specific pews where other Mexicans sat.

The above paragraphs attempt to create some understanding as to the identity crisis that has developed among many Mexican youth in the United

States. For here is a person who is taught from childhood on that almost everything he represents is not only inferior to Anglo standards but also anti-American. In some homes the young Mexican's parents did not even offer an understanding of his cultural background or refused to speak Spanish for fear their children would be discriminated against by the Anglo society.

The result for the Mexican seeking to raise his standard of living has often been a denial of his native customs and language and a never quite attained drive for full acculturation and assimilation into the mainstream of American society. For those Mexicans not willing to part with their native ways, it has often meant relegation to a bad education, low-paying jobs, and social ostracism. Therefore many Mexicans previously refused to admit their ancestry, instead proclaiming themselves Greeks, Italians, Spanish, etc.

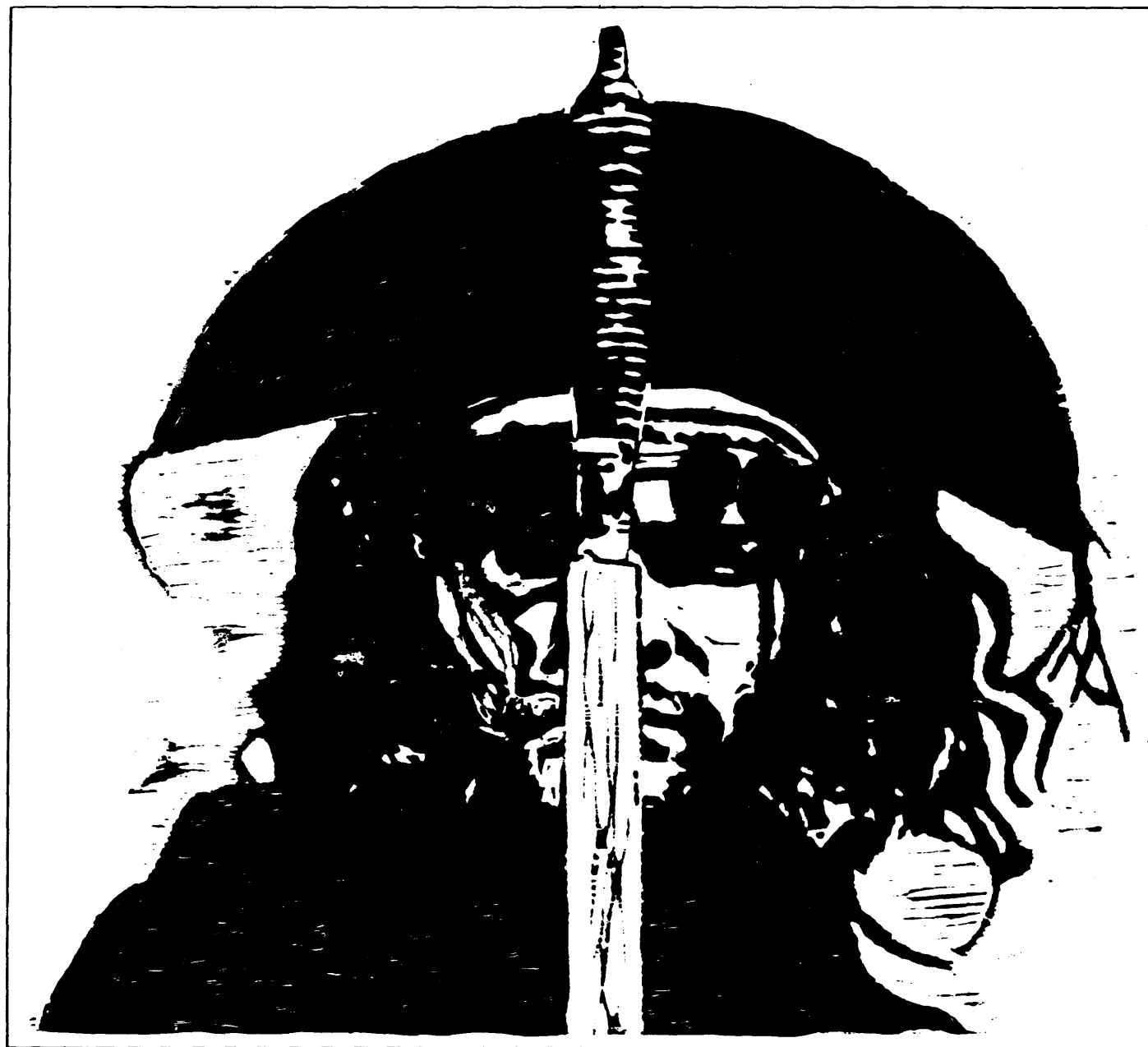
Recently, however, beginning in 1966, a phenomenon has revived, primarily among Mexican youth, of denying the term Mexican-American and adopting another term (Chicano) instead. The remainder of this article will deal with the differences, both semantic and real, between the mentalities of a Mexican-American and a Chicano.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

In the contemporary Chicano movement and thought, the term Mexican-American has acquired certain distinguishing aspects which differentiate it substantially from the term Chicano. Aside from differences emanating from emotional or philosophical causes, the term Mexican-American is repugnant to Chicanos for at least two reasons. The first reason is that the term is

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semantically wrong. The arrogance of citizens of this country in calling themselves Americans as if the term is exclusively theirs rankles most Latin Americans. If one travels to Latin America, one is constantly made aware that one is regarded as a *norteamericano*. Mexicans have historically stressed the above point, and therefore Chicanos have noted that by virtue of being Mexican one is automatically American also. Therefore it is semantically correct to say Italian-American, Irish-American, Chinese-American, etc., because these U. S. citizens are descended from those areas of the world not in the Americas. But the attempt by Anglos to further define Mexicans by adding the hyphen and "American" is wrong and arrogant.

The second reason the term Mexican-American is unacceptable to Chicanos is that it is a term which has been attached to us by Anglo society. One of the major points of contention between ethnic minorities and the dominant Anglo culture in this country is the concept of self-determination. The concept of self-determination is of paramount importance to Chicanos, and one manifestation of this concept is to be able to define what certain words and terms mean to us and what we wish to call ourselves.

Mexican-American is a term which persons of Mexican descent in this country never called themselves previously, instead proclaiming themselves Mexicanos, Hispanos, Chicanos, etc. Therefore, after years of passively accepting the Anglo designation for us,

Chicanos have begun to understand that one of the prime motivating factors for a movement is positive self-identity, and acceptance of a term that the system and culture we are directly in conflict with have applied to us is unacceptable. For it is understood that we could have easily been accepted as Americans, yet the tokenism involved in naming us Mexican-Americans is nothing more than an attempt to isolate us and maintain a master-servant relationship.

The view of the term Mexican-American in contemporary Chicano thought, then, is that of a Mexican who seeks acculturation with the dominant Anglo culture and society. This desire for assimilation features certain aspects which are negative for positive self-identity and self-respect. One aspect is that the Mexican-American either rejects his Mexican heritage or else places it in a role of secondary importance to the Anglo culture.

In fact, what the Mexican-American is doing when he devalues his heritage is admit that his parents, symbolizing the Mexican heritage, are inferior. Since he is but a product of his parents, the Mexican-American is also admitting that he is inferior, and the result is a conscious or subconscious lack of self-respect.

In terms of what this acculturationist drive means to the Chicano movement, the Mexican-American is politically ineffective because he either fails to see or rejects the notion that as a Mexican he has a responsibility to his community. Previously too many Mexicans who "made it" left the Mexican communities never to return and instead

attempted to assimilate with the Anglo society. The Mexican-American, on the other hand, has become indoctrinated with the Protestant or puritan ethic of self-achievement and material gains because of his search for acculturation, which causes his commitment to the Chicano cause to be in contradiction with his now distorted values.

This puritan ethic, stressing the concept of "lifting yourself up by your bootstraps" is inapplicable to Mexicans in this country because of discrimination and racism by Anglos and the capitalist system. Thus when a Mexican-American accepts this ethic he is in fact denying the existence of the many injustices perpetrated against Mexicans in this country (*vendiendose*).

THE CHICANO

Every Mexican-American is a potential Chicano. Before we can explore what a Chicano is the reader should have a background as to where the term originated and its use in the United States.

Although no one has categorically determined how the term was born, it is generally accepted that it came from northern Mexico. It is from northern Mexico that burritos originate, and where menudo, mole, pozole and many other foods prepared by Chicanos also are made in the same manner, distinct from southern Mexico. It is also in northern Mexico, because of its close contact with the United States, that the language academically called Calo and locally named Pocho also originated. One theory that this author presents as to the origin of the term Chicano is that

the citizens of Chihuahua, a city and state in northern Mexico, took the "Chi" from that name and added the "cano" from Mexicano, arriving at Chicano.

Chronologically speaking, the term Chicano has perhaps been common in the United States since the 1930s. It is a term that was used as an intimate name to note recognition of our particular status as not full Mexicans nor full Americans (U. S. type). Therefore, the term Chicano is not a new phenomenon, as is popularly supposed. The name perhaps had significant national attention during the so-called "zoot suit riots" in Los Angeles during the early 1940s. Recently the name was revived about 1965 at the beginning of the Delano strike and is continuing to grow in popular usage and in the building of a definite civil rights movement and philosophy. It should be noted that a civil rights movement does not embrace fully the term Chicano, because many Chicanos want either a complete revision of the U. S. political and economic system or separation from it.

Salient aspects of the Chicano include a self-awareness or self-respect and a personal commitment to the Chicano communities. The high degree of self-respect among Chicanos exists because this individual accepts his Mexican culture and language as at least equal to, if not superior to, the Anglo's. He rejects the notion that he must subjugate his heritage in order to rise within American society and instead presents the Anglo with the alternative of accepting him as an equal human being. If the Anglo refuses to allow him his self-

respect, as is often the case, the Chicano seeks to establish political and economic hegemony over his communities in order to control them and perpetuate his existence as a distinct entity.

The Chicano is becoming more isolated in many respects from Anglo society than ever before because of the Anglo's refusal to accept him. For the Chicano asks himself: "Why should I try to prove myself to the Anglo? I am going to be my own man, respecting my heritage, and if accepted as such, it's well; if not, that is also all right."

A Chicano is also very much aware of the history of Mexican peoples in this country. He recognizes that Mexican citizens defending the Mexican flag fought against Santa Ana at the Alamo; that 20% of the GIs on the front lines in Vietnam are Chicanos when we comprise but 3% of the total population of this country; that educationally, politically, economically, and socially gross injustices have been perpetrated against our communities by the dominant Anglo society, etc.

Linguistically, the Chicano recognizes that he possesses a different mentality or outlook towards life than the Anglo due to some extent to the differences between the Spanish and English languages. As an example, the Anglo will say "I missed the bus" while the Chicano will say "Me dejo el camion" (the bus left me). Or notice the difference between "I broke the glass" and "se quebro el vaso" (the glass broke itself). The above examples are but two illustrations of how, because of the language, Spanish-speaking peoples develop a somewhat different outlook on life from that of English-speaking U. S.

citizens. This tendency to not accept the blame for some incidents that occur to us, coupled with many other peculiar aspects of the Spanish language and Mexican culture, distinguish us from the great majority of English-speaking citizens of this country. This is not to say that we have an inferior mentality; on the contrary, our way of thinking is something innate, and Chicanos who recognize this consider this difference to be positive, for it represents a more communal philosophy and a greater responsibility to our fellow Chicanos. It is to say that the spirit of *compadrazgo*, or closeties to certain individuals, is part of the Mexican heritage and is connected with the Spanish language.

This sense of responsibility or personal commitment to our communities is the second point that distinguishes the Chicano from the Mexican-American. Rejecting the ethic of self-advancement above all else, the Chicano recognizes that just because he "makes it" does not make the system in this country valid or responsible to all Chicanos. He recognizes that he is part of a brotherhood and that he has a responsibility to work for the betterment of his people in whatever way that he can. Therefore, he automatically devotes a portion of his lifetime energies to exclusively working for the Chicano communities and for his *carnales* and *carnal*as [brothers and sisters] who live in those communities.

The third item that distinguishes Chicanos is the concept of Chicanismo. This concept, or philosophy, has currently not been entirely defined or outlined, yet one can say that it includes the previous two points plus the continued

maintenance and enrichment of our peculiar Chicano, or Mexican, heritage.

Chicanos note that we are heirs to a great mixture of cultures, the Indian and Spanish; and added to this Mexican culture is the experience of living in an English-speaking country with its continuous attempt to erase our Mexican heritage. Out of this historical conflict has arisen our own unique mentality and language, different from both the Mexican and the American.

Chicanos now accept these characteristics as positive and beautiful points instead of the previous relegation of them as inferior and vulgar forms of behavior and expression. Chicanos perceive that their culture must not be allowed to remain stagnant, and therefore throughout the greater Atzlan (U. S. Southwest) he is daily expressing himself in his native tongue, Pocho, and seeking new and more effective ways of reviving, maintaining, and enriching his Chicano culture.

Finally, no longer does the color of a Chicano's skin determine his status within his community. The lighter-skinned Mexican is not the favored son; quite the contrary, the darker Indian type is now exemplified along with other characteristics and customs derived from our Indian heritage.



PHOTO BY ANTONIO CAMEJO

EDITORIAL BOARD OF EL POCHO CHE: ROBERTO PEREZ DIAZ, VICTOR ACOSTA, YSIDRO RAMON MACIAS, FROBEN LOZADA (CHAIRMAN OF LATIN AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT, MERRITT COLLEGE), ROBERTO VARGAS.

The preceding article was taken from the first issue of *El Pocho Che*. *El Pocho Che* is the first Chicano magazine that, to our knowledge, takes on an internationalist perspective in its content. Its staff is made up of militant Chicano activists in and around the Bay Area, and specifically from the University of California at Berkeley, Merritt College, the San Francisco Mission District and Oakland *barrios*.

It is an independent publication with no ties to foundations or university authorities. It imposes no restrictions on its contributors and as a result has already attracted some of the top writers, poets and painters involved in the Chicano struggle for self-determination. Most of its contributors are college graduates and educators who come from the *barrios* (Spanish for ghetto) but who candidly state "our *barrios* are not confined to arbitrary city limits. Our *barrio* extends through the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Mexico City, through the *favelas* in Brazil, the jungles of Bolivia and Vietnam. Our *barrio* is the world!" Appropriately, the first issue of *El Pocho Che* was dedicated to Fidel Castro "in the spirit of the 26th of July."

Designed to reflect vanguard expressions of the Chicano, the staff is aware of the dual nature of the oppression of Chicanos—as a nation and as workers. It is perhaps the only magazine coming out of the Chicano community in the Southwest which will appeal to all who will want to better understand the fast-growing political consciousness of the Chicano. Subscription rates are \$6.00/year and contributions are gratefully accepted by writing to: *El Pocho Che*, 5817 Dover St., Oakland, Calif.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO

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The Status of Women in Canada

This is a reprint of a brief submitted by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere to the Canadian government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women in April 1968. It is one of the best statements to date of the Marxist view of the oppression of women in capitalist society. Although it was written in Canada, the points it makes are equally applicable to the USA. Copies may be obtained at 10 cents each from Vanguard Books, 824 Yonge St., Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.



As an organization seriously concerned about *all* problems confronting the people of Canada, the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière welcomes the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission, in the questionnaires it has circulated, has asked some pertinent questions regarding Canadian women and the law. But while an examination of the laws is both revealing and necessary, it is our opinion that the problem of women's status, which is that of an inferior in all respects, lies deeply below the surface of society and involves fundamental aspects of the economic and social structure.

In Canada we have developed our natural resources on such a scale as to clearly demonstrate the real possibility of liberating all sections of the population from social and economic insecurity. But if men are not yet free — woman is less free because she is further enslaved by her sex. We maintain that the attitudes and prejudices both reflected in and sustained in law and custom that tie woman to what has been called a second class citizenship, are embedded in the very foundations of present day society and that a fundamental change in this society will be required to eradicate them.

The situation confronting women in Canada — a developed industrial society — demonstrates all the more clearly the profound character of the problem. The high standard of living, advancing birth control techniques, extensive legal rights, access to all levels of education — all these have contributed towards the emancipation of woman and have helped free her from the hardships that have traditionally burdened her down.

Contradictions

But what is the real situation?

— technology has rendered housework almost obsolete. But despite the fact that more and more married women are entering the labor market — large numbers continue to function almost entirely outside the social mainstream, tied by a thousand threads to the maintenance of the home.

— women have the *right* to vote, to run for public office, to own property. Yet the political and economic life of the

country remains dominated by a minority of men.

— the federal government has recognized the concept of equal pay for equal work. Yet in some provinces the law actually condones wage inequality between men and women. Even where equal pay legislation is on the books, women receive substantially lower wages for doing the same work as men. While the trade union movement is in the forefront of this struggle, it has not yet won it.

— it is conceded that women and men have equal mental capacities. Yet early in the school years, women are systematically steamed out of the analytical subjects and channelled into less creative, less prestigious and less rewarding areas.

— women have the right to higher education and to work in the professions. Yet the number of women who actually graduate from college is far lower than men, and with the exception of nursing, librarianship and teaching, women compose less than 10 percent (as low as 3 percent in some) of the main professions in Canada. Even in those professions where women are the majority, men hold nearly all the key positions.

— advancing birth control techniques give women increasing control over their bodies. Yet thousands of unwanted babies continue to be born and many illegal abortions are performed at great risk and loss of life.

What Must Be Done?

These contradictions point to the fact that woman's inferior position in society, is not merely a result of custom or law, but is deeply rooted in the existing social and economic order which they sustain. How are we to solve these problems? The implementation by the government of the following program would constitute the first necessary steps to allow woman to take her place as an equal partner in society.

1) *Woman must be freed from her traditional responsibilities for the child.*

— the child has the right to everything that society can provide, regardless of the resources of the parents. Parents should not be burdened with providing for the child but every facility should be available for the full development of the child. A far reaching system of government financed facilities including nursery schools and day care centers

must be established. In this way those women who prefer employment outside the home would be able to seek it. Those who prefer to be homemakers should receive a wage from the state. The family, through the imposition on its slender resources of the responsibilities of society as a whole, has taken on many of the forms of a prison. With the implementation of these propositions, the family could freely evolve into a harmonious relationship between human beings.

Birth Control, Abortion

2) *Woman must have complete control of her body.*

— the government must initiate a widespread educational campaign on birth control, and establish community birth control centers for the dissemination and distribution of birth control information and devices. Both of these projects should be financed by the government. Any and all restrictions on the right of women to determine whether or not to bear a child should be removed.

3) *Special measures must be taken to ensure that women benefit fully from the educational system.*

— all educational fees must be abolished and an income provided for students adequate to meet their essential needs while attending school.

— all educational institutions must be co-educational.

— all classes must be co-educational, with the presently all-female home economics courses dropped and substituted with a general living course which would equip both girls and boys to take care of themselves.

— women should be given special encouragement in the analytical fields, such as maths and sciences, in order to compensate for the social prejudices which now exist and which discourage them from developing their individual abilities in these areas.

Write Women Back Into History!

— school text books should be completely rewritten to exclude sex discrimination. Women must be written back into history! Not only are fundamental questions about the changing role of women through the ages still unexplored, but it is only recently that a start has been made in straightening out the slanders against the feminists, only lately that we have learned of great and brave women who fought along with men for social progress in the past. How many more valiant women are buried in history? Would not women today be inspired to hear of them! A retelling of history would banish forever the myth of feminine inferiority!

4) *All barriers excluding women from equality in the area of work must be removed.*

— the minimum wage must be the same for women and men in all provinces.

— sex discrimination in job classification must be eliminated.

— all employers must be required by law to grant generous maternity leave with full pay.

While implementation of these demands would not secure full equality for women, it would pave the way towards this objective.

But why haven't even these requirements for woman's emancipation been achieved? And why do women appear not to have taken advantage of the opportunities that presently exist? *There are two standard answers that are given. One is that woman's "nature", is such that she is incapable of rising to a state of equality with men. The other (our answer) is that class society has enslaved woman and continues to do so to this day through capitalist society.*

The Myth of Woman's Inferiority

It has often been stated that women are predestined by their biological make-up to center their lives around child rearing and the home. Biology equals destiny. This view holds that both woman's intellect and psychology are affected and conditioned by her maternal role. "Women are not necessarily inferior to men. They are just different." This view maintains that the beautiful qualities of femininity, "receiving, keeping and nourishing" are contained only in woman and must not be sacrificed by woman taking on other roles. Woman is presented as a unique and mysterious creature. This is a most beguiling presentation of the myth of feminine inferiority, one that at the same time enshrines and debases her. This view argues that woman not be legally discriminated against, only condemned forever to her special role. These concepts are nothing but a rationalization of the situation that now prevails — and there is no truth in them. We reject these pronouncements based on some timeless concept of the essential "nature" of man and woman. It is not woman's "nature" that has placed man at the pivotal position in present day society.

There was an extensive period in human history of far greater duration than what is known as western civilization when society revolved around woman, not man. We are led to accept the idea that woman has always been the "second sex." The role of woman in primitive times has been hidden from us. This is the period in social and productive relations known as the matriarchy. It was woman who invented agriculture, toolmaking and architecture, who first domesticated animals, while primitive man, who spent prolonged periods on the hunt, was isolated from the community. This period, which stretched over hundreds of thousands of years, came to an end, not due to any belated resurgence of an essential "nature" of woman but due to the development of class society.

What Determines Woman's Status?

It was only with vast changes in social productive relations that woman's role in society changed. An examination of the varied role woman has played in history shows that it is the social productive relations and her relation to them that determined woman's social role and position. From the matriarchy — the social relations of primitive communist society — has evolved what we know today as capitalism. Here too the social forces determine woman's role. The main feature of this society is the private ownership of the means of production and their utilization solely for the profit of those owning them. An appreciation of this is vitally important to the understanding of the present situation of woman.

Woman has been relegated to the role of raising and training the next generation of workers, and on occasion, when required, has been thrust directly into the work force herself. Woman has been shunted on and off the labor market to meet the needs of an unplanned and profit motivated economy.

During World War II women's services were required to keep up war time production. The way was opened for them to enter the work force. Nursery schools and day care centers were built. All the traditional myths and concepts about the duties of woman were shoved aside. The first responsibility of woman was to leave the home, put children aside, and assume the role that heretofore had

been declared the domain of man. A new atmosphere was created which showed itself everywhere in popular magazines and advertisements. These featured spirited and independent women with different dress, different hairstyles, and a different psychology. This process came to an abrupt halt with the close of the war when her services were no longer required and an atmosphere was generated to reverse it.

Capitalism the Source of Inequality

This incredible reversal within a decade shows that woman's role in this society — capitalist society — is determined by the needs of this society, i.e., the interests of the dominant class in this society, the capitalists, and not the interests of the great majority, the working class, both male and female.

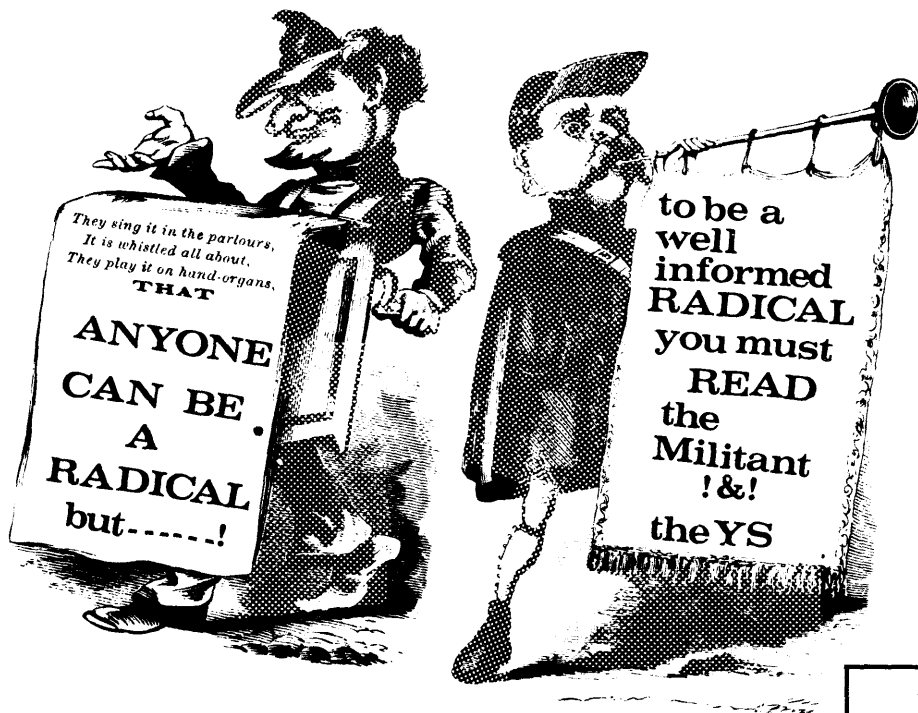
The implementation of the propositions advanced in the first part of our presentation —
 — complete freedom for a woman to decide whether or not to bear a child;
 — wages for homemakers;
 — community responsibility for children, etc.
 — these would vastly improve woman's position in present day Canadian society. But their chief significance lies not in the establishment of this or that individual right. At best they lay the foundations from which the whole struggle to free womankind can move forward.

We have referred to the experience of the World War II and post-World War II years in Canada. The experience of German women — under the post-World War I regime where they made great gains only to have them brutally wiped out overnight under the fascist dictatorship of Hitler with its "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" — is also worth noting.

Full Partnership — Under Socialism

As long as capitalist society prevails whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy. The implementation of these proposals would represent a marked advance towards removing capitalism, the social and productive basis of woman's subjugation: and at the same time take us forward to the establishment of a new society — socialism.

Woman is victimized both on account of her sex and her state as a worker. Hence she is doubly oppressed. Woman must seek a society that knows no inequalities of sex, race, or class. Equality for woman — free partnership with man — cannot be found in an unjust and exploitative society. It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full disposal of humanity, where the economy is planned to meet human need and where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society.



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DELLINGER

Dave Dellinger Joins the Bodysnatchers

"After the death of great revolutionaries, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons . . . while at the same time emasculating the revolutionary doctrine of its content, vulgarizing it and blunting its revolutionary edge."

— Lenin

"None of your tricks!"

Says a firefly

And

Darts off.

— Issa

It has become fashionable of late in certain circles on the left, particularly what remains of SDS, to determine the correctness of political ideas by the volume and muscle of their proponents. Objectivity, historical accuracy, honesty and truth are the casualties of this approach.

A more sophisticated method is one which, while appearing to be straightforward and plausible, distorts reality for factional purposes. Such is the method of an article entitled "Marxism and Nonviolence" which appeared in the July 1969 issue of *Liberation*. As we shall see, this "nonviolent" method, too, has its casualties.

"Marxism and Nonviolence" is *Liberation's* printed portion of a transcribed discussion held in 1966 between Dave Dellinger, the late Isaac Deutscher, the late A.J. Muste and Hans Konigsberger (no remarks by Konigsberger are included in the article, perhaps because, as the introduction explains, only a portion of the tape was audible).

The introduction appears over the name of Dave Dellinger. It is not easy

to find anywhere paragraphs more erroneous and misleading than these.

In May 1966, Dellinger begins, Isaac Deutscher spoke at a Berkeley teach-in sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee, as indeed he also had the previous year. The 1965 Vietnam Day had made a big impact nationally by drawing "more than 10,000 students" and with "a broad range of viewpoints represented on the sponsoring committee and on the speakers' platform." The 1966 Vietnam Day, in contrast, "with the sponsoring committee clearly in the hands of the Young Socialist Alliance," was a "pale shadow" and drew only a "handful" of students. A Los Angeles antiwar rally "also turned out to be Trotskyist dominated and sparsely attended."

Deutscher, Dellinger reports, was "furious" and felt that he had been brought to these events "under false pretenses." Either this "fact" or, Dellinger modestly surmises, "the experience of traveling together and listening to each others' speeches three days in a row" produced "an unusually frank and probing discussion of Trotskyism, Marxism, pacifism and the anti-war movement." So much for the fairy tale. Briefly, what are the facts?

On May 21, 1965, the VDC held a big teach-in in Berkeley. By fall of 1965 a crisis had developed inside the committee over whether to continue its independent political activity or to abandon it. In February 1966 the committee called on students to boycott classes and participate in discussions on the war. This action failed to mobilize large numbers. From that point on, the VDC went into a decline.

The root reason for the decline of the committee is well-known—probably even to Dellinger. It cannot be attributed to the committee being "clearly [as opposed to "unclearly" ?] in the hands

of the Young Socialist Alliance." The real reason is that various leaders of the committee, like Jerry Rubin and Bob Avakian, had abandoned it to work for the reformist election campaign of Robert Scheer in the Democratic Party. This decision to work in the Democratic Party led to a split in the VDC.

The YSA led the opposition to this tendency, but the pro-Democratic Party position won by a majority vote. A majority of the leaders of the VDC, and many of its members, stopped coming to meetings. Organization of mass, independent political opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam was being sacrificed to capitalist politics.

This phenomenon was not restricted to Berkeley. In several other areas as well the Communist Party and other assorted reformists were trying to take the growing antiwar movement off the streets and drown it in the ballot boxes of the Democratic Party.

In Berkeley, as elsewhere, the YSA fought to retain the independent, mass character of the antiwar movement and prevent it from being swallowed up in the miasma of capitalist politics. This was accomplished by the YSA, together with various Berkeley independents like Mike Delacour and Bill Miller, who understood the need for an antiwar movement, and anti-Democratic Party groups like the Independent Socialist Clubs, reorganizing the VDC.

The meeting Dellinger refers to was held on the anniversary of the first big VDC action. It was sponsored by the reorganized VDC. Deutscher was invited to address this teach-in because he was the hero of the preceding year's Vietnam Day. The political situation reflected by the flight of liberals and reformists from the antiwar movement led the activists who built the 1966 Vietnam Day to anticipate that it would be smaller than

By David Thorstad



DEUTSCHER

the one in 1965. And indeed it was. (Yet, to Dave Dellinger the 2,500 who turned out despite a drizzle and thereby dissociated themselves from the stampede of the reformists back into capitalist politics were a mere "handful." Only Trotskyists, apparently, feel at ease with "pale shadows" and small "handfuls." Certainly not Dellinger. Unfortunately, he neglects to mention that he has gained a reputation in antiwar coalitions not as an advocate of mass action but of small, confrontation-type acts of pacifist civil disobedience.)

While those radicals involved in the Scheer campaign disappeared from antiwar activity for more than one year, the activists who built the 1966 Vietnam Day went on to organize an antiwar coalition called the United Committee. This group saved the Berkeley antiwar movement from collapse by organizing a Hiroshima Day demonstration of 15,000 people, till then the largest antiwar action. This coalition then went on to build the west coast antiwar march in April 1967 which drew 70,000 people.

So much for the facts.

The YSA's non-exclusionary approach toward building the antiwar movement is well-known. Dellinger's portrayal of the YSA suggests a power-hungry, violent group whose policies have tended to strangle antiwar committees by getting hold of them and driving other groups out. To anyone familiar with the history of the antiwar movement (and there is no reason why Dellinger should not be included in this category), this portrait of the YSA will be unrecognizable.

Because it is a revolutionary Marxist organization, the YSA has consistently attempted to mobilize the broadest possible numbers of people in militant, independent street demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. To accomplish this

objective, we have sought to unite all groups and individuals opposed to the war into broad non-exclusionary coalitions for building mass mobilizations. No other group, except the Socialist Workers Party, has as proud a record in this regard. Dellinger's insinuations to the contrary constitute a slander which common knowledge itself refutes.

For Dave Dellinger the YSA—and indeed Marxism itself—is part of the problem, not the solution. So what he tries to do in his introduction is to invoke what he claims to be the thoughts of a very prestigious revolutionary Marxist—Isaac Deutscher—to discredit revolutionary Marxism in the United States. A good trick if he can get away with it. But, does he?

Deutscher, Dellinger asserts, was "struggling" with an "acute consciousness of the decline in revolutionary morality on the left." Just what, if any, connection there is between this "struggle" and the "Trotskyist dominated" California antiwar movement is not clear. Nor is it clear whether Dellinger is engaging in self-criticism by calling attention at this point to the absence of any sign of "revolutionary morality" in the preceding paragraph of his introduction.

What becomes clear, however, is that Dellinger is joining the proverbial body-snatchers who, once a revolutionary titan is safely dead, claim he actually embraced ideas he had always fought against. In Deutscher's case, as with that of Malcolm X, the assertion is that he was becoming a pacifist: "A lifetime of thought and analysis predisposed him against nonviolence as a moralistic evasion of the hard realities of revolutionary struggle, but particularly in the protected isolation of our plane trip to New York, he questioned and probed, weighed and analyzed the idea that nonviolence might be a potentially revolutionary method

of struggle—one that had never been developed into a satisfactory form but conceivably could be." Dellinger entertains the notion that if Deutscher "yearned for the movement to reestablish an identity between revolutionary goals and methods," then it was his brand of pacifism that could provide the necessary cement.

The suggestion that Deutscher was moving away from Marxism toward nonviolence contains one important hitch—it's false. In the isolation of a plane trip the idea may have appeared plausible to Dellinger, and may have thus prompted him to invite Deutscher to put his thoughts on tape. Yet, if one thing stands out in the printed transcript itself, it is the unambiguous terms in which Deutscher lays to rest any such idea.

The introduction ends by reminding the reader that Deutscher's death (in 1967, not "last year," as Dellinger mistakenly believes) made any revisions he might have desired in the transcript impossible. One wonders if Deutscher would not have preferred to begin by revising the introduction. For his method was not to do violence to facts in order to make them fit a theory. He was a Marxist, and for Marxists facts are an essential starting point for understanding reality.

The transcript itself contains a discussion of revolutionary violence and nonviolence, Marxism and pacifism. Not even a hint, however, of the "frank and probing discussion" of Trotskyism and the antiwar movement referred to in the introduction. Whether Deutscher's thoughts on these two subjects too much resembled those of revolutionary Marxists for them to serve as useful ammunition in a pacifist attack on revolutionary Marxism only Dellinger can say.

One suspects, however, that Deutscher kept the 1966 Berkeley Vietnam Day and

the conjunctural stage it represented in the development of the antiwar movement in a more proportioned perspective than Dellinger's remarks might suggest. On May 24, 1966, a mere three days after the second Vietnam Day, Deutscher was interviewed by the *Young Socialist* (Aug.—Sept. 1966 issue). He speaks of the impact the American mass antiwar protests have had on political people abroad. And while correctly noting that the antiwar movement had weaknesses stemming from its lack of a working-class base, he also considered it to be "a tremendous historic event," possibly "the most hopeful development in the American class struggle since the movement for the abolition of slavery."

There were several points on which American Trotskyists thought Deutscher had incorrect positions. He did not agree with the decision to launch the Fourth International in 1938 and the attempt to build mass Trotskyist parties, for example. He tended to think that the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could reform themselves out of existence and that a mobilization of the masses to overthrow them was not necessary. These and other differences, however, neither prevented him from playing a valuable role in popularizing the ideas of Trotskyism nor from collaborating on many occasions with the world Trotskyist movement. While Deutscher did make a few mistakes, flirting with pacifism was hardly one of them.

So eloquent is Deutscher's defense in this article of revolutionary violence and his description of the contradictions and superficiality of pacifism (including what he terms Dellinger's "creatively inconsistent" variety, which actually supports an armed national liberation movement in Vietnam), that one can only respond to the vague intimations and misleading affirmations of the introduction with amazement.

There is no reason to summarize the article itself. Deutscher—whose comments make up the bulk of the article and provide its one redeeming quality—is brilliant, as usual; Muste is brief and to the point; and Dellinger is naive ("In this respect I like to think in terms of the dialectic, at least my limited understanding of it") and rather confused—especially when talking about "the dialectic" (Thesis—passive resistance; Antithesis—Vietnamese, Cuban revolu-

tions; Synthesis — 1) Humanism, 2) Identification with the population of a country involved in resistance).

Near the end, Muste asks a very good, but obvious question, one which only a pacifist would consider original: "I am constantly frustrated in trying to know what we should think when we think about nonviolent revolution. What do we do if concretely we are in Vietnam. Are there concrete ways of struggle other than those used by the Vietnamese?"

Deutscher attempts to answer this question by posing a more relevant corollary: What do you do if you are in the United States? How is the social order in *this* country to be changed? "How is it going to be changed by nonviolent methods when those who refuse to move an inch in Vietnam to their class enemies—will they yield the territory of the United States to socialism without defending the status quo? Can you imagine this? I can but only under one condition. That is when you have the overwhelming number of Americans ready to use violence in order to bring about socialism, only then may socialism conquer the U. S. without the use of violence."

The question remains: Why should Dellinger decide to print this article now, more than three years after it was taped "for possible use in *Liberation*?" And perhaps even more puzzling: Why attach to it such an introduction? The answer goes deeper than a mere dislike for the YSA.

Dellinger is anti-Marxist, anti-materialist. We have already seen this in the cavalier treatment of facts which is part of his anti-historical method.

The subjectivist, idealist nature of his method saturates his contribution to the round-table discussion. For him the point of departure for understanding reality is the ideas in his own head, not the material conditions of the real world. Thus, for example, it is sufficient for him to *think* that nonviolence can provide a "serious alternative to the present wars of liberation" for it to be so: "I think that the absolute need now, and the trend of historical development . . . is of nonviolence trying to present an alternative method of liberation for all oppressed peoples." Is that so? Where are the signs that this is the case? In Vietnam? Where have the oppressors of this world indicated that they can be defeated by peaceful means? On this, not a word from Dellinger.

The trend among radicalizing youth today is *away* from pacifism and toward Marxism. That alone, if you are a pacifist, is adequate grounds for seeing an "absolute need" for a pacifist alternative to Marxism. Fortunately, however, pacifism is on its way out as an important force on the left. While its specific weight in the movement has declined rapidly, that of Marxism has increased. And while there may be those who will weep at this fact, they will probably not be many.

Just as socialism "has been going through a gradual sophistication and process of maturation," explains Dellinger, so "the same thing has to happen in relation to nonviolence." If this has not yet happened, then the fault lies with revolutionary Marxists "who have had a tendency to discard nonviolence as a revolutionary weapon based on its earliest and most primitive formulations."

Revolutionary Marxists have, perhaps, been hastening the process of making socialism more "sophisticated" and "mature." But if pacifists have not been able to do the same thing for nonviolence, that is their problem. Revolutionary Marxists can hardly be blamed for that. The fact is that nonviolence is dying not for lack of sophistication, but for lack of relevance to the struggles against history's most powerful, mercilessly violent system, which is capitalism.

In an era of revolutions against the brutality of capitalist oppression, pacifism represents an ideological concession to the ruling class. Marxists will not give an inch to the violence of this system, neither by preaching nonviolence to the oppressed, nor even by hesitating to advocate that the masses use violence to defend their interests against the violence of the ruling class. For Marxists, who base their strategy on concrete realities, not on wishes, this approach is the only one that will bring mankind out of the nightmares of capitalism and make possible a new birth of civilization under socialism. Moreover, it is thus far the only approach that has worked.

Whatever else might be said for "Marxism and Nonviolence," it does confirm one rumor: There is hardly an ailment from which Dave Dellinger suffers that could not be cured by a heavy dose of Marxism. It also suggests that should he ever decide to undergo the cure, it will be a long one.

“The most important lesson women today can learn from this history is that their inferior status, which, we are told, is rooted in their peculiar ‘nature,’ is not a function of their child-bearing capacities, but is rather a social consequence of the rise of class society.”

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION, by Evelyn Reed. Merit Publishers. New York. 1969. \$.95.

"Man has no nature, what he has is history." — Ortega y Gasset.

Or, to put it another way, woman has no nature, what she has is history. And that's what the pamphlet *Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach* is all about.

The first two essays in this pamphlet deal with the role of women in pre-history, during the long period of primitive communism. They document the contributions which women made to this form of society (the discovery of pottery, cooking, tanning, weaving, domestication of animals, and agriculture), thus making the technological advances which provided the material basis for the rise of class society. The most important lesson women today can learn from this history is that their inferior status, which, we are told, is rooted in their peculiar "nature," is not a function of their child-bearing capacities, but is rather a social consequence of the rise of class society.

Moreover, understanding this fact is a prerequisite to understanding what must be done to free women from the social, political and economic discrimination which they have suffered for

so long and which they suffer today. What happened 10,000 years ago when the matriarchal system of primitive communism gave way to patriarchal class society is more than a question of historical interest. Women who fail to understand the basic tie between the rise of class society and their oppression as a sex today will be unable to project a course of struggle that will ultimately lead to success.

Reed's review of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* makes this point clear. Friedan's analysis of the "WAM" (Wife and Mother) syndrome is penetrating and accurate. Alienation, boredom, neurosis (if not psychosis) and the destruction of vast creative human potential are the results of the role which women in American society are forced to play. Although Friedan's scope is limited to women in the upper-middle income strata, many of her observations are also valid for working-class women, who bear the additional burden of a debasing and low-paying job.

But what is Friedan's remedy? Unfortunately, it is not on a par with her observations. In fact, it is rather like prescribing tomato juice as a cure for cancer. Why, after 400 pages of thorough documentation on the status of women today, can she come up with nothing more than education and interesting jobs as the solution? Because she does not understand that the oppression of women is fundamentally rooted in the

class nature of capitalist society and therefore the problems of women will never be solved until capitalist society itself is replaced. It is interesting, but in the end pointless, to be able to define the symptoms of a social disease without diagnosing its cause.

The third essay in the pamphlet, "Sex Against Sex — Or Class Against Class?", deals with one question which many women's liberation groups today are coming to grips with: are *all* women bound together by a common oppression, or are there further social distinctions which must be made? The answer to this question is fundamental to the formulation of an effective strategy for struggle through which women can be freed.

There is a certain conception among most liberals — and some radicals — that racial oppression is caused by "racism," i.e., racist ideas in the minds of white people. What follows from this analysis is that the solution to racial oppression lies in changing the "minds" of certain white people, notably white capitalist bosses and politicians. This, it follows, will enable black people to have equal access to education, jobs, housing, and so on.

The Afro-American struggle itself has revealed the bankruptcy of this theory: Racism is in reality one aspect of the ideology of the capitalist class which enables it to maintain its system of racial oppression. The deep-going racist sentiments of many white people are

By Susan LaMont

the product of hundreds of years of deliberate and conscious propaganda and miseducation by the ruling class. And as the Afro-American struggle deepens, and support for it grows among wide layers of young people, black and white, this racist ideology is being undermined and the real source of the problem—capitalist society—is being exposed.

The analogy between this approach and one which puts male chauvinist ideas at the root of women's problems is clear and equally incorrect. Women are not oppressed because men think that they are inferior, although these ideas are certainly widespread. Women continue to be oppressed because it is in the interests of the capitalist class for them to be. And to make it easier, the centuries-old myths about women's "nature" are carefully maintained and amplified.

The conflict is therefore basically a class conflict. And in this struggle the class interests of bourgeois women are considerably more fundamental than their interests as women.

The participation of bourgeois women in the fight for certain reforms, such as birth control, may at times be useful. But their participation is circumscribed by their interest in maintaining the capitalist system and will be withdrawn as the dynamic of the movement for women's liberation closes in on those who are the real oppressors—the capitalist class.

Problems of Women's Liberation is a valuable contribution to the supply of Marxist literature on this subject, a supply which unfortunately is still too small. It is not a handbook or program for women's liberation, but rather an analysis of several fundamental questions facing the movement today: how did women come to be oppressed and who is responsible for maintaining this oppression today?

“The IWW was the most advanced organization in its day, one that demonstrated the highest level of class consciousness, a fidelity to revolutionary struggle and a record of militant actions that produced scores of dedicated cadres.”

THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE IWW. Proceedings. Stenographically Reported. Officially Approved. Merit Publishers. New York, 1969. \$15.

Students of the history of American radicalism will discover in *The Founding Convention of the IWW*, recently made available by Merit Publishers, an invaluable document that brings to life the forces and personalities of the labor movement in its infancy.

The first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was held in Chicago, June 27 to July 8, 1905 during the period of the revolutionary upsurge in tsarist Russia. Pat O'Neil, a delegate from Neilly, Arkansas, spoke for all assembled there when he said, "I thanked my Maker when I read in the paper this morning that the revolution had started in Russia. Why? Not that I want to see bloodshed, not that I want to see crime, but I do want to see better conditions for this child of mine that is coming after me." The convention was to set up a revolutionary industrial union which, according to the manifesto proposed, would wage a struggle "until all the toilers came together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor."

The figures at the convention, who spoke for significant constituencies and who held political opinions more or less at odds with one another, were the following: Big Bill Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, who believed in the primacy of revolutionary economic action through one big union;

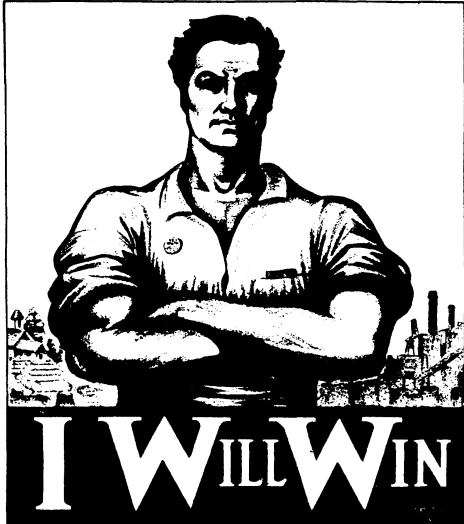
T. J. Hagerty, a priest, and W. E. Trautmann, of the Brewery-Workers Union, who were inclined toward anarchism; Eugene V. Debs, a Socialist, and leader of the railroad workers; Charles H. Moyer, also of the Western Federation of Miners, who was a moderate, that is, a believer in militant trade-unionism pure and simple; and, Daniel De Leon, leader of the waning Socialist Labor Party, who sought in the nascent IWW an organizational base for his own ideology.

The grounds for agreement overrode the political differences, however, and the convention proceeded to its central task—replacing the ossified and outdated American Federation of Labor with a union that would organize workers along industrial rather than craft lines.

The IWW never became a mass organization. It failed because it tried to serve two contradictory purposes—that of a mass industrial union and that of a revolutionary cadre organization. Furthermore, it failed to absorb the lessons of the Russian Revolution of 1917, which pointed the way to a superior form of organization—the Leninist combat party.

Nevertheless, as the proceedings reflect, the IWW was the most advanced organization in its day, one that demonstrated the highest level of class consciousness, a fidelity to revolutionary struggle and a record of militant actions that produced scores of dedicated cadres. Some of them went on to become pioneers of communism. One of them, James P. Cannon, later became a founder of the American Trotskyist movement.

—LOUIS PROYECT



Solidarity, August 4, 1917.

BIG BUSINESS (to Labor, generously): "My good fellow, you'll be well paid for your patriotic action in 'tending this glorious plant; you shall have all the fruit above the ground—I'll take **ONLY** the roots!"

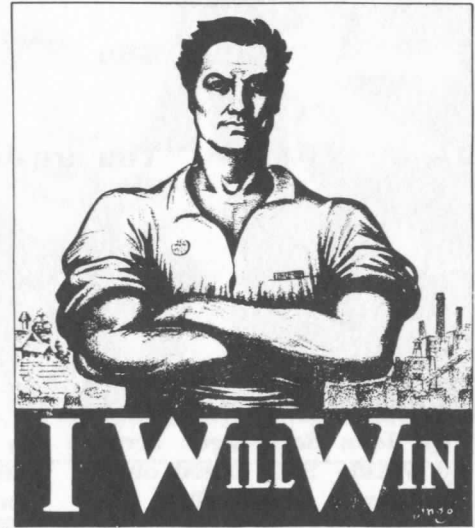
WHICH PAPER DO YOU SUPPORT?

Industrial Worker, July 23, 1910.





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Industrial Worker, July 23, 1910.



"You are Joe Buck, the Midnight Cowboy. . ."

"THE MIDNIGHT COWBOY." Directed by John Schlesinger. Screenplay by Waldo Salt, based on the novel by James Leo Herlihy. Starring Jon Voight as Joe Buck and Dustin Hoffman as Ratzo Rizzo. United Artists.

You are the blond, blue-eyed cowboy embodiment of the white American masculine fantasy. You decide that your lot is not dishwashing, and that it behooves your patriotic spirit as a free-born American (white, that is) to strike it rich. You leave Texas and decide you'll be a hustler selling your sex to "all those rich New York women and them tutti-frutties up there." Instead of "scoring" big in the New York of rich women, big cars, and easy money that all Americans expect, you find yourself in the New York of the derelicts, the abandoned buildings, and the homosexuals and prostitutes who swarm through the capital of the Free World. Instead of hustling, you get taken for twenty bucks by the first woman you try to hustle, taken for twenty more by Ratzo Rizzo, who is going to set you up in a stud service, and taken by a sixteen-year-old homosexual who promises you money for your services and gives you nothing.

You find that "Cowboys are strictly for fags" and in general that you're

too dumb and generally all-American to make it in Fun City. Finally, you do score at an Andy Warhol gay party, with a woman of all things, but when you get the money you find your partner Ratzo has to get to Florida or die. The only thing you can do is pick up a balding homosexual in town for a business convention and then mug him and get his money and set off with Ratzo for Florida with your victim's blood on your sleeve.

You finally figure out just as you near Miami that you aren't a hustler and that maybe you ought to get a job like everybody else. You even throw away your cowboy outfit, focal point of your white American male hustling identity. But it's too late. Your partner's dead, and the movie's over.

The Midnight Cowboy is not a revolutionary movie, though it is a skillful and interesting piece of social criticism. It attempts to tell part of what life is like in America. How it is impossible for individuals to escape the run-of-the-mill necessities of the system, like getting a job and keeping it. It shows the bankruptcy of the illusions that come with the American Dream.

Joe Buck, All-American Cowboy—from Texas at that—comes to New York to make the grade in the skill through which Americans seek their identity—sex—and finds out that he definitely can't make it. The All-American Cowboy image is too hokey. Only homosexuals dig it. When Buck's "manager," Ratzo Rizzo, a man definitely without any

illusions, sets him up with a perfect "score," Buck's self-image of himself as a great lover, not a businessman for hire, leads him to failure.

The film also gives a graphic picture of the decadence and degradation that is New York, CAPITAL OF THE FREE WORLD. People living in abandoned buildings, the thousands of homosexuals (rich and poor), and the prostitutes—all are part of the world of Joe Buck. Very few movies have ever communicated the side of New York where thousands of people sleep in parks and old buildings. Very few movies have depicted the contrasts between these derelicts and the wealthy, effete degenerates of the Andy Warhol crowd. *The Midnight Cowboy* does.

Many people will say that this is a picture about "the common people." This is not true. *The Midnight Cowboy* is about an atypical type: the hustler, rounder, get-rich-quick man who is trying an easy individual escape from the life of normal people in this society—workers. The picture shows that this is completely impossible and that there's no way out. Especially if you're an all-American, true blue sucker like the Midnight Cowboy.

Enhancing the film's treatment of social themes is the relationship between Rizzo and Buck. Rizzo is the calloused, illusion-free veteran of the hustler's trade—a true professional. On the other hand, Joe Buck is a young, illusion-filled, inexperienced person who is totally impotent in Ratzo Rizzo's world. A dependency develops (Rizzo is

By Tony Thomas

lonely—he needs company). At first Buck feels that he—the strong, Anglo-Saxon, flaxen cowboy—is too good for Rizzo, but later on he finds that he needs Rizzo's guidance and protection to survive. Eventually, they develop a warm personal relationship.

The contrast between their reactions to reality and the ups and downs of their personal relationship makes the film quite interesting—more than a grim, pseudo-documentary depiction of social realities. It is a warm, and at times pleasant story of real people in the real world.

The Midnight Cowboy has received a favorable reaction in the radical movement. Some have even given it the designation "revolutionary," though it certainly is not. The film provides no analysis or solutions, and only presents a picture of a part of reality. If you are a revolutionist, you will attach to the film the revolutionary solutions you already have. If you're not, you won't.



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