

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

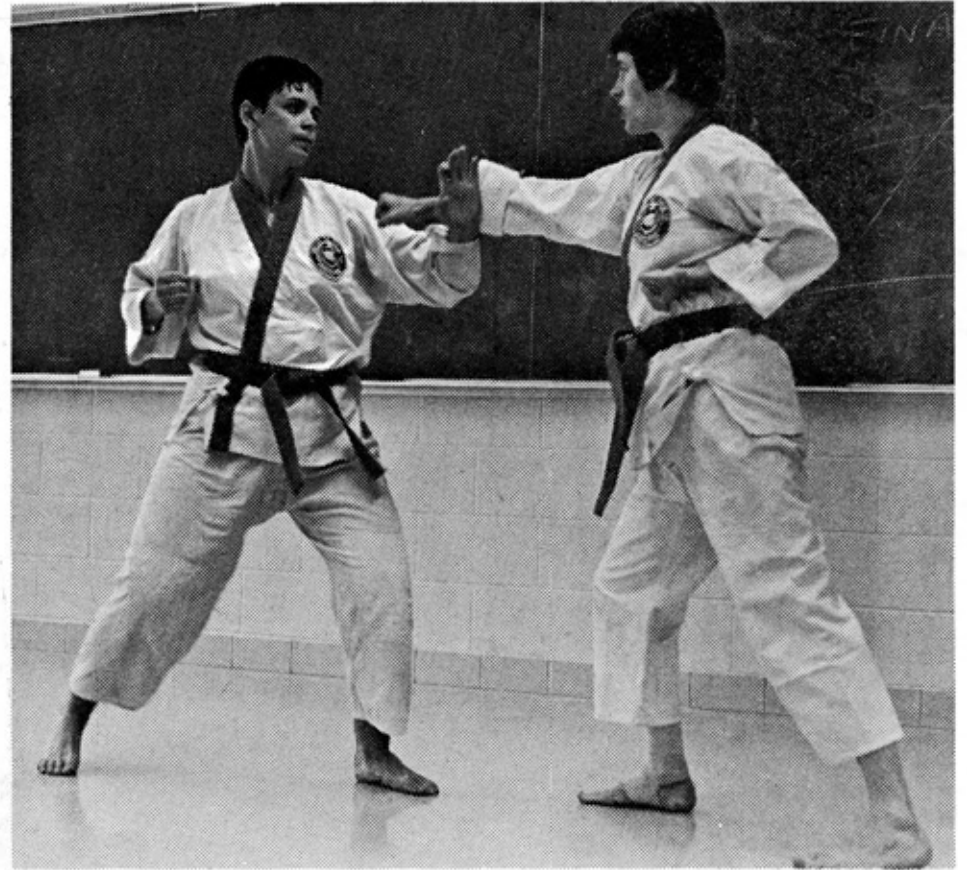
Vol. 34 No. 44

Friday, Nov. 27, 1970

Price 15c

**A SPECIAL INTERVIEW:**

## ***Female liberation and socialism***



**ALL-ROUND APPROACH**—Delfine Welch (l.) and Pat Galligan of Boston Female Liberation in Korean karate exhibition. They see mass action and socialist goal as decisive to full emancipation of women. In a special interview, they, Jeanne Lafferty and Evelyn Clark explain why. Interview begins on page 9.

# **The Houston Police and the Ku Klux Klan**



**Oct. 10 Klan rally near Houston heard boasts of influence among Houston cops. Story p. 3.**

Photo courtesy Space City/Houston



# SWP and Raza Unida: competing slates?

## Reader seeks clarification

New York, N. Y.  
*The Militant* (Oct. 30) in listing candidates from both the Raza Unida Party and the Socialist Workers Party in Colorado was ambiguous about which candidates voters should cast their ballots for. For governor, lieutenant governor and the University of Colorado board of regents, both parties ran candidates. Perhaps you could clarify your position.

A. J.

[We welcome the emergence of the Raza Unida Party in Colorado and Texas and its participation in the elections as a significant step by the Chicano community toward breaking with capitalist candidates and parties and advancing the struggle for Chicano liberation.

[The Socialist Workers Party candidates in these states helped publicize and promote the Raza Unida campaigns and supported them as excellent examples of the road other oppressed nationalities and the labor movement should take.

[In Colorado, where the Raza Unida Party and the SWP both ran candidates for governor, lieutenant governor and University of Colorado board of regents, the SWP did not feel that it was running in competition with the Raza Unida Party.

## Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

[It was recognized all around that neither party had any chance of winning election to these offices this year and that both campaigns were primarily educational. The election offered both parties free television and radio time afforded to candidates, thus giving both an opportunity to spread their ideas. In these races the SWP naturally recommended a vote for its own socialist candidates. However, for those who felt they didn't want to vote for socialist candidates but agreed with the Raza Unida candidates, the SWP encouraged them to vote accordingly.

[In other races in Colorado and Texas where there were Raza Unida candidates on the ballot and no SWP candidates, the SWP urged a vote for the Raza Unida candidates. — Editor]

## A suggestion

Garden City, Mich.

I have been a regular reader of *The Militant* for about three months. During that time I have been very impressed with the depth and scope of your news coverage. It is by far the best of the radical press.

There is, however, one area where I feel there could be improvement. *The Militant* should print brief analytical articles to explain the forces that control capitalist society. I'm referring particularly to the roles of the police and the army.

I feel that *The Militant* is missing a critical opportunity to broaden young radicals into true revolutionaries. One method of achieving this transition could be follow-up, in-depth articles in the *International Socialist Review* after the reader's appetite has been whetted by the short *Militant* article.

Ken Spears

## Sub renewal

Binghamton, N. Y.

I am renewing my subscription gladly. I find *The Militant* to be one of the most enlightening and comprehensive newspapers of today. Keep up the good work.

J. G.

## Red Cloud

Detroit, Mich.

Many good books have been published in the last ten years about the American Indian, a sign of the revival of the Indian's struggle to reclaim his lost inheritance.

Some authors, like Stanley Vestal, Alvin M. Josephy, Ralph D. Forbes and George Bird Grinnell were raised among Indians of the West. Their stories have a true and sympathetic ring. What they relate of the Indians' resistance to the Anglo invaders in the

nineteenth century confirms in almost every respect what George Novack has to say in his pamphlet *Genocide Against the Indians*.

Novack wrote this as a series of articles in 1949. They are a work of scholarship that gets to the core of the issues between Native Americans and American capitalism in its westward march across the continent. Novack makes all the new writing understandable.

But the picture of Red Cloud on the front cover of the pamphlet is a disservice to Novack's efforts. Red Cloud betrayed the cause of Indian freedom. The real heroes of the Indian's last stand were the Sioux chiefs Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse.

The Sioux federation stood in the way of the westward routes the railroad interests had mapped out at the end of the Civil War. It is true that Red Cloud inflicted a humiliating defeat on the American Army at Ft. Phil Kearny in 1866. But two years later he made a deal on the land question. The Sioux reservation was even named "Red Cloud Agency" in his honor!

It was all downhill for the Sioux, thanks in large part to Red Cloud's apostasy. Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse were murdered by their enemies. Red Cloud himself presided at the assassination of Crazy Horse with the cry, "Shoot in the middle. Shoot to kill!" (Alvin Josephy, *The Patriot Chiefs*, p. 308)

Excellent photographs of Chief Sitting Bull exist. Other photographs that would do equal justice to *Genocide Against the Indians* are those of Old Nana, the octogenarian who fought in one of the last campaigns of the Apaches, or Chief Joseph of the Wallamwatin Nez Perce, one of the most heroic figures in the Native American's final struggle for freedom.

Henry Austin

[Editors at Pathfinder Press agree with Henry Austin on this and report that the pamphlet, which will soon be reprinted, will have a different cover — Editor]

## Says Militant too critical of other radical forces

New York, N. Y.

*The Militant* is an interesting news-weekly that provides full coverage of radical news. Its effort to build a strong antiwar movement is unsurpassed.

It seems to go out of its way, however, to criticize every white person, party or grouping on the left. This policy must be reassessed. A united front is essential in these perilous times. While you may differ with the Communist Party, the *Guardian*, Dave Dellinger, etc., it is not necessary to impugn their motives. They are not the enemy!

At this point in the struggle, all progressive forces must make every effort to work together against racism, U. S. imperialism and the exploitation at home by the ruling class.

S. D.

[*The Militant* expresses its political disagreements with the politics of other left-wing forces but we have never deliberately impugned the personal motives of anyone in the radical movement. We believe that discussion of political differences is essential for the education and growth of a healthy revolutionary movement. We feel it is the only way to work out correct strategy and tactics.

[*The Militant* has consistently advocated that despite the disagreements that exist within the movement, there should be united-front campaigns encompassing all who agree on a specific, concrete issue of struggle. — Editor]

## THE MILITANT

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Volume 34

Number 44

Friday, Nov. 27, 1970

Closing news date — Nov. 16

## Farmingdale rally of 500 protests Kent indictments

Farmingdale, N. Y.

In the Nov. 6 issue of *The Militant* you had an article entitled "Demonstrations for Kent 25" which listed various rallies held to protest the Kent indictments. You seem to have overlooked the State University of New York at Farmingdale, where we held a rally which attracted 500 people out of a student body of only 5,000.

Our main speaker was Hedda Garza, who was running for Nassau County Executive on the SWP ticket. We also had a march into the town of Farmingdale which came off very successfully.

During the Oct. 15 National Strike for Peace, our college, to the surprise of the administration, voted overwhelmingly to strike. We also led the Long Island colleges in the antiwar march held in New York City Oct. 31 because we had the greatest number of people represented. We and our sister school, Nassau Community College, seem to be the only Long Island campuses continuing the movement on a large scale since the strike last May.

R. B.

M. K.

[We did not receive reports on Kent defense actions from several places in time for publication. We're sorry Farmingdale was not included. — Editor.]

## Organized workers key to social change

Santa Cruz, Calif.

There is much talk about change, socialism and fascism but what's needed is a picture in words of large print showing the waste of time and energy in competition for profit and how all this could be changed by one courageous blow by organized workers.

The working class built everything on earth. They are just beginning to organize to take over that which was stolen "legally" from them through low wages, rents, billions in interest and wars.

I see Santa Cruz on the subscription scoreboard. I'd like to know who won that honor. I'm retired at 84 but I'd like to help.

H. B.

## "Firebrand of a book."

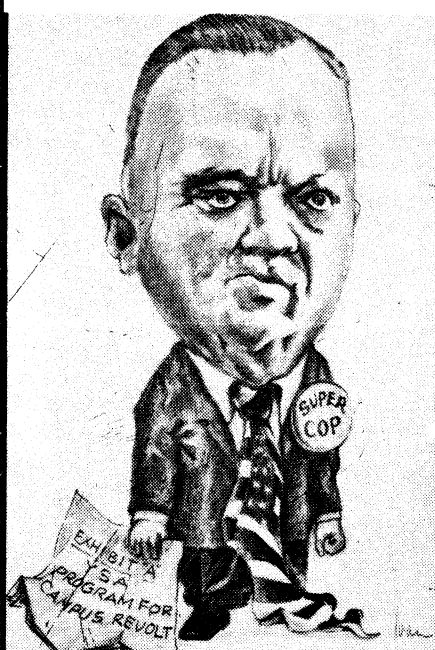
Publishers' Weekly

## Black Nationalism And The Revolution In Music by Frank Kofsky

280 pp. 20 pp. of photos, discography  
 cloth \$7.95 paper \$2.75

PATHFINDER PRESS  
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J. Edgar Hoover claims the YSA "is today the largest and best organized youth group in leftwing radicalism."



For once he's right.

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# Antiwar movement attacks links of Houston police to Ku Klux Klan

By DAVID BLISS

HOUSTON—Facts have been gathered here proving collusion between the police and the Ku Klux Klan in violent attacks on the antiwar and radical movement in this area over the past two years.

At a news conference called Nov. 2 by the Houston Committee to End the War, representatives from a number of organizations demanded a full disclosure of all ties between the Houston Police Department, or its members, and the KKK.

Groups represented at the news conference included the New Party, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Women's Liberation Front, the Young Democrats, the Socialist Workers Party and the Hope Development Corporation.

The news conference, which was given wide media coverage, reflected the growing public reaction against the right-wing attacks that have been plaguing this area. It was prompted by the latest of a series of violent incidents involving the KKK.

On Oct. 29, local radio station KNUZ received a bomb threat over the telephone. The police were called to the scene, where they arrested two men generally assumed to be members of the Ku Klux Klan, Jimmy Hutto and Louis Beam. The two, who were driving around before dawn with their car lights off, had in their possession three semiautomatic rifles with ammunition, a walkie-talkie, some flammable liquid, and KKK literature. They were arrested just a few blocks from the headquarters of *Space City!*, a local underground newspaper which has repeatedly been the victim of violent attacks.

Within a few hours of their arrest, however, both men were released by police without charges. This was, moreover, not the first time they had received such benign treatment from the police.

Participants in the Nov. 2 news conference charged in a statement that "The release of Hutto and Beam . . .

by the Houston police after they were picked up in such compromising circumstances is one more item in the mounting evidence pointing to an adulterous relationship between the Klan and the Houston police department."

Hutto and Beam have a long record of harassment against the antiwar, liberal and radical movements.

In 1968, Hutto infiltrated the Houston Committee to End the War. He entered the home of Fred Brode, the committee's chairman, on one occasion. Subsequently, Brode's house became the target of vicious attacks by night raiders. In a period of five months, more than 20 bullets were fired into his house. A fire was also set under it which the Fire Department called a clear case of arson.

Hutto then infiltrated the Houston SDS in 1969. For three months he lived together with SDSers. Once when the SDSers were away at a national convention, their house was ransacked and robbed of all the office equipment and papers. Two weeks later, some of the stolen literature was left in the driveway with a sticker attached. It read: "The Knights of the Klan is watching you."

On Oct. 2, 1969, Beam was one of eight men who attempted to enter the Pacifica office. They were turned away by the landlord. As they were leaving, one threw a brick through the front window. The landlord hailed a passing police car, which chased two of the men at high speeds through stop signs in the Montrose area.

The police returned shortly with two men in custody, one of whom was Beam. The arresting officers assured the landlord that the men would be booked and charged. The next morning the landlord learned that they had been released without charges.

On March 15, 1970, Hutto and Beam were among a group that broke up an antiwar rally by physically attacking one of the participants. Beam was captured by monitors from the Houston Peace Coalition and turned

over to the police. Rather than book him, the police held him for a short time and then released him. A member of the Houston Peace Coalition who attempted to press charges against Beam was told that it was too late.

Recently, Hutto and Beam were seen at the embarkation point for the buses leaving from Houston for the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstration in Austin. Hutto and a friend were also seen recently taking notes outside a meeting of the University of Houston Young Socialist Alliance.

The KKK has been given such favorable treatment by the Houston police that it has begun to function more and more openly. On Oct. 10, the KKK held a rally near Crosby, Texas, a small town on the outskirts of Houston. More than 400 persons attended the nighttime rally, the first to be held in Harris County in more than three years.

Reverend Kitt, a right-wing fundamentalist preacher who is head of the Louisiana Klan, gave his, and presumably God's, blessings to the hooded gathering. The crowd met along the side of a long, flatbed truck decked out with Klan flags, crosses and secret insignia. Around the podium stood a dozen uniformed, hooded bodyguards.

The featured speaker was Robert Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, the largest Klan organization today. His speech dealt with the evils of the educational system, to which he added his usual lurid racist demagoguery. He rarely touched on the specific ways they hoped to accomplish their goal.

Frank Converse, the Grand Dragon of the Texas Klan, was much more to the point. For a week prior to the rally, Converse had been given radio and television news time to say that he would "expose" Houston City Hall at his rally Oct. 10. During the course of his "expose" at the rally, he boasted about the growth of the Klan in Houston. "We have them /members/ in the Police Department, in the Sheriff's Department and up in City Hall," he stated, "and these people are working to build up the United Klan!" Converse also reportedly praised the work of Houston police chief Herman Short and Harris County sheriff Buster Kern.

Following the speeches, a cross-burning was held in a nearby field. About two dozen silk-sheeted Klansmen with torches slowly circled the gasoline-soaked cross until one of them lit it. Meanwhile, an electric organ was blaring "The Old Rugged Cross" over the loudspeakers. The crowd watched until the fire died out and the music stopped.

Following the rally, Robert Shelton was asked what the main objective of the Klan was. "We aren't worried about the niggers any more," he replied. "It's the communists we're after."

Reporters from *Space City!* and Pacifica radio station KPFT followed up the rally with an interview with Frank Converse, who owns a gun store in Houston. They asked what motivated him to join the Klan. "Well, you know," he said, "you seek out every organization in the United States that I thought was fighting communism, and the Klan was the only one that was really fighting."

Converse also informed them that all members of the Texas Klan, including those in the Police Department and City Hall, keep their identity a secret. He did not explain the behavior of Hutto and Beam. About the recent violent attacks in Houston, including

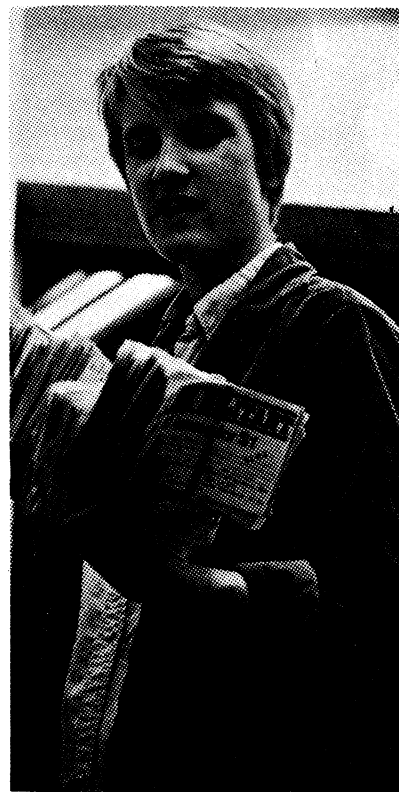


Photo by Randy Furst

**STILL COUNTING.** Militant business manager Flax Hermes and the results of a recent morning's mail on our subscription drive. The drive for 15,000 new readers officially ended Nov. 15 but with a Nov. 17 scoreboard deadline for *The Militant* and with the mail service the way it is, we will be publishing the final report and scoreboard of the drive in our next issue.

shooting incidents and the bombing of Pacifica, he stated: "We are opposed, and any member that would be caught doing this would certainly be thrown out." The Klan has never been caught or had charges filed against it, he claimed. He did not say that one reason for this is the fact that the police have simply been looking the other way.

And the police will undoubtedly continue looking the other way unless public pressure is brought to bear on them. With the Nov. 2 news conference, an effective groundwork was laid for mounting the kind of pressure that will be able to eliminate such right-wing harassment and establish a new atmosphere of freedom of expression in Houston.

## Amherst holds first socialist weekend parley

By TOM BIAS

AMHERST, Mass.—The first Western New England Socialist Educational Conference was held here Nov. 6-8 at the U of Massachusetts. Seventy-three people registered for the affair.

Dick Roberts of *The Militant* spoke on Marxist economic theory. Peter Camejo, recent Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. senator from Massachusetts, addressed himself to "The Second American Revolution: the Civil War, Reconstruction, and after."

"The Revolutionary Dynamics of the Women's Liberation Movement" was the subject of a talk by Cindy Jaquith, New York YSA feminist activist.

The final talk of the conference was given by Joe Miles, recent SWP candidate for Congress from the 9th district and organizer of GLS United Against the War in Vietnam at Fort Jackson, S. C. "Third World Liberation and Socialism" was his subject.

Amherst YSA also sponsors a weekly Militant Forum, with lectures and discussions on different aspects of the socialist revolution, past and present. It meets on Monday evenings at the University of Massachusetts.



Space City photo

Imperial Wizard of United Klans of America Robert Shelton (at microphone) and Frank Converse, Grand Dragon of Texas Klan, at recent KKK rally in Houston.



## YSA in Tampa slates a 2-day education meet

TAMPA, Fla. — The Tampa Young Socialist Alliance announced plans for a two-day socialist educational conference to be held at University Center, University of South Florida, Nov. 28-29. Featured speakers at the Tampa conference will include Peter Buch, nationally known speaker and writer on the Mideast crisis, and Mariana Hernandez, 1970 Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate from Texas. For information on schedule and registration call (813) 238-1967.

## CALENDAR

### ATLANTA

**THE ATLANTA HOUSING CRISIS.** Speakers: John Shabazz of Tenants United for Fairness and Dennis Edge, city planner and member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 27, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree. Donation \$1. For further information call 876-2230.

### BOSTON

**MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR:** A socialist perspective on current issues. Tuesdays, 6 to 7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1; Sundays, 7 to 8 p.m. WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., Nov. 24 and Sun. Nov. 29: The Influence of Malcolm X on the Black Struggle (with tapes of Malcolm X). Tues., Dec. 1 and Sun., Dec. 6: Revolutionary Politics vs. Terrorism. Discussion with Joe Miles. For more information call 536-6981.

### DENVER

**ROCKY MOUNTAIN SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEK-END.** Nov. 27-29. Schedule: Fri., Nov. 27, 7 p.m.: Phil Courneyour, activist in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, on the struggle for the liberation of Quebec. Sat., Nov. 28, 10 a.m.: La Raza Unida Party After the Election. Speakers: a panel of leading Chicano militants. 1 p.m.: Socialists in the Struggle Against the War. 4 p.m.: Dynamics of Women's Liberation. 7 p.m.: The Student Movement After the May Events. Speaker: Frank Boehm of the Young Socialist Alliance national office. Sun., Nov. 29, 10 a.m.: The Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership. Speaker: James Lauderdale, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado. Followed by 1 p.m. regional meeting of the YSA, open to observers. Admission: \$3 for the whole conference or 50c for each session. Place: 607 E. 13th Ave., Aup. Denver SWP and YSA.

### LOS ANGELES

**SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE AND BANQUET.** Nov. 27-28. Schedule: Fri., Nov. 27, 8:30 p.m.: Morris Starsky on The Student Movement and Social Revolution. Sat., Nov. 28, 10 a.m.: What is the Red University? A panel of activists including Woody Diaz, Ronces Silao and Andrew Pulley. 1 p.m.: Strategy and Tactics on the Campus: Anarchism, Terrorism or Mass Action. Speaker: Carol Lipman. Saturday night: Militant Banquet. 6 p.m.: refreshments, 7 p.m.: dinner, 8:30 p.m.: program. Guest speaker: Paul Boutelle on How to Make a Revolution in the U.S. Donation: Conference \$2.50, Banquet \$5. Students \$3.50, or conference and banquet \$5. Conference to be held at 1702 E 4th St., L.A. For more information or to make reservations for the banquet call 269-4953 or 263-4798. Sponsors: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party.

### PHILADELPHIA

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Nov. 27-28. Fri., Nov. 27, 8 p.m.: National Liberation Struggles in the United States. Panel of speakers including Mirta Vidal, head of New York SMC Third World Task Force; Pamela Newman, Black women's liberation activist. Sat., Nov. 28, 10:30 a.m.: Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation. Speaker: Paula Reimers, activist in Philadelphia Women's Liberation Center. 2 p.m.: The Antiwar Movement and the Struggle for Socialism. Speaker: Jay Ressler, former SMC regional coordinator. 4 p.m.: In Defense of the Arab Revolution. Speaker: David Oden, member Palestinian Solidarity Committee. 8 p.m.: Eyewitness Report of the Struggle for Civil Liberties in Quebec. Speaker: Larry Seigle, editor of International Socialist Review and recently returned from Quebec. Followed by party. Price for entire weekend \$3; \$1 for single evening sessions, 50c for single daytime sessions. Place: Militant Labor Forum, 686 N. Broad St. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance. For further information call CE6-6998.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SOCIALIST DISCUSSION CLASSES.** Wed., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m.: Marxism vs. Terrorism. Wed., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m.: Where is Cuba Going? 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

## AN EDITORIAL

# The Guardian, Oct. 31 and NPAC



Kent State SMC contingent at Oct. 31 Ohio NPAC rally

Photo by Herman Kirsch

In our issue of Nov. 13, we offered an editorial estimate of the Oct. 31 demonstrations against the Vietnam war organized by the National Peace Action Coalition. We concluded that when measured in the context of the difficulties confronting the organizers, the demonstrations could be characterized as a heartening success.

Among the obstacles cited was the opposition by those within the radical movement who are against mass, single-issue antiwar demonstrations, and devote their energies to preventing them from happening. These included the forces which, in the recent past, took control of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. By their opposition to mass action against the war, they succeeded in reducing the Mobe from an effective antiwar coalition to an unrepresentative, impotent, "multi-issue" sectarian formation.

It was the disintegration of the Mobe that led to the formation of a new coalition to continue organizing mass opposition to the war. NPAC became that new coalition.

Not content with refusing to build or help build such antiwar actions themselves, the groups and individuals in control of the Mobe devoted their energies to organizing a campaign of red-baiting against the newly launched coalition, hoping to isolate it and render it ineffective by branding it a front of the Trotskyist movement.

In the course of the development of NPAC and the organization of the Oct. 31 action, some of those who had been associated with the Mobe did give their support to the action and in some cases joined the NPAC coalition. This was certainly a good development and one that was welcomed by this publication.

However, in some cases the endorsement given the Oct. 31 action was, as we stated in our editorial appraisal, "more formal than real." We said that in our view, this applied to the endorsement of Oct. 31 by the weekly *Guardian*.

In a Nov. 14 editorial, the *Guardian* offered an angry rebuttal to this, asserting that the paper had in fact given "all-out support to the Oct. 31 demonstrations."

We are not persuaded.

It is perfectly true that several members of the *Guardian* staff, particularly Carl Davidson and Renee Blakkan, wrote several good news accounts of the founding of NPAC

and the Oct. 31 action. And it is true that in editorials the week prior to the action and the week of the action, the *Guardian* argued editorially against those who refused to support the action on the grounds that demonstrations against the war served no useful purpose and/or because NPAC was "Trotskyist dominated."

But it is equally true that from the outset the weight of *Guardian* editorial opinion (again, here we are referring specifically to editorial opinion, not views indicated by staff writers) was thrown in favor of the Mobe, its multi-issue approach, and its efforts to pluck out of the air a new multi-issue coalition, the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression.

For example, a July 4 editorial characterized NPAC as "under the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party," and asserted that "the political influence of the SWP's 'single-issue' orientation and tactical inflexibility inhibit possibilities for expansion."

By way of contrast, the same editorial offered this glowing appraisal of the then already virtually defunct Mobe:

"The New Mobe, with hundreds of constituent groups associated in a mass coalition from moderate center to radical left, is still by far the largest and most important coalition. . . ."

While events did not permit the *Guardian* to continue to present this highly imaginative description of the alleged breadth of the Mobe, it did continue, persistently, in each editorial to drag in the alleged domination of NPAC by the SWP. It was not until after Oct. 31 in an editorial congratulating NPAC on a job well done, that the *Guardian* suggested that there might have been significant other forces involved. (This editorial was published along with the one responding to *The Militant*.)

The SWP has not concealed, and indeed has no reason to conceal, its full, energetic support for and participation in NPAC. But it is false and it is red-baiting to persistently suggest that NPAC is an SWP front.

It is also true, unfortunately, that the SWP is the only major left-wing group giving active support to NPAC. But this is not, as the *Guardian* gratuitously suggests in its Nov. 14 editorial, because the SWP has an interest in excluding others. It

is because these other groupings have stubbornly and wrongly insisted on staying out of NPAC. From the outset NPAC has been committed to the principle of non-exclusion, in deeds as well as words.

But, someone might argue, in pointing to the SWP role in NPAC, the *Guardian* is merely reporting news. That's like arguing that the *New York Times* is merely reporting news when in virtually every article about Angela Davis it refers to her as "the militant Black Marxist." The intent is to convey an unfavorable image.

And if it were simply a matter of news, one might inquire why the *Guardian* has never felt similarly moved to report the news of the not insignificant influence of the Communist Party and so-called radical pacifists in the remnants of the Mobe and in the efforts to put together the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression.

The only logical explanation that we can offer is that while the *Guardian* editors apparently do feel that the Mobe-NCAWRR has incorrectly underplayed antiwar activity, it is in essential agreement with the political approach of that tendency to try to build a programmatically amorphous multi-issue coalition as opposed to an antiwar coalition.

We believe that it is because of that political difference that the *Guardian* did not really utilize its resources to campaign consistently and effectively for an all-out turnout Oct. 31.

On the eve of the Oct. 31 demonstrations, an Oct. 24 *Guardian* editorial argued against those in the movement who refused to join in because "the Trotskyist movement is leading the action."

It was good that the *Guardian* did argue against such a damagingly factional and sectarian attitude. It would have been better if the *Guardian* had not contributed toward creating it.

A final point. All of those who feel, as the *Guardian* now declares it does, that NPAC did a worthwhile job of mobilizing antiwar sentiment in the streets Oct. 31, should agree that a similar, more massive action in the spring is essential. To map plans for such an action, NPAC has called a movement antiwar conference for Dec. 4-6 in Chicago. It would be good if the *Guardian* took note of that gathering and lent its voice to achieving a large, representative attendance there.



# New York women set march for Dec. 12th

NEW YORK — The New York Women's Strike Coalition, representing some 30 feminist organizations, held a news conference Nov. 12 to announce a massive march of women and children on Mayor Lindsay's home Dec. 12. The women will demand that the city provide free, community-controlled public abortion clinics and 24-hour child-care centers.

Through mobilizing masses of women, the coalition hopes to expose and protest the fact that despite the liberalized abortion law in New York abortions are still not available to women who need them. In addition to the restriction contained in the state law that abortions must be performed by a doctor, further restrictions have been added through the City Health Code and the State Hospital Code. The new restrictions say that abortions must

be done in hospitals or in clinics with hospital facilities and that hospitals are not required to take abortion cases.

Because of all these infringements on the right of women to get an abortion if they desire, women still have to resort to illegal butcher abortionists. Hospitals have backlogs of six to eight weeks and longer, with each week of delay making the abortion more hazardous and more expensive for the woman. While illegal abortions cost \$200 and up, hospitals are now charging from \$400 to as much as \$1,000.

In a statement released at the press conference, Lucinda Cisler, president of New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, noted that private companies were planning to set up abortion centers around the state which would charge between \$300 and \$400. By not providing safe public abortion clinics, the city is thus making it possible for private businesses to cash in on the misery of women with unwanted pregnancies.

Furthermore, child-care centers in New York City have space for only 7,000 children, while more than 500,000 children are in need of child care.

Other women participating in the press conference included Deloris Alexander from the National Organization for Women, Nancy Fried from Barnard College Women's Liberation, writer Betty Friedan, Michele Berry from the Phoenix Organization of Women, and Ruthann Miller from the Socialist Workers Party.

Women's liberation groups from eight colleges and universities in the city issued a statement endorsing the Dec. 12 demonstration calling on campus women's liberation groups throughout the city to organize several days of feminist activities during the week prior to Dec. 12 in order to help build support for the demonstration.

The Women's Strike Coalition in New York is even broader now than at the time of the August 26 demonstration, with support from such groups as Church Women United, the National Council of Women, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Governor Rockefeller's Women's Unit, McGraw Hill Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and congresswoman Shirley Chisholm.



Photo by Caroline Lund

Michele Berry of Phoenix Organization of Women speaks at press conference of New York Women's Strike Coalition Nov. 12.

## SWP vote in Wash., R.I.

The following, according to official, incomplete returns, are the votes credited to the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the state of Washington. While modest, the returns are significant for a revolutionary-socialist ticket without equal access to the general media. The statewide vote for senatorial candidate Bill Massey of 8,386 compares with a combined statewide total of 2,744 cast for the presidential candidates of four radical parties (SWP, Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and Peace and Freedom Party) on the ballot in 1968.

Office	Candidate	Vote	Percentage of vote
U.S. Senate	Bill Massey	8,386	.82
Congress (1st c.d.)	Stephanie Coontz	4,097	2.5
Congress (6th c.d.)	Rick Congress	1,136	.84
Congress (7th c.d.)	Russell Block	2,240	1.5
State senator (32-A)	Harriet Ashton	507	3.1
State rep. (32-B)	Susan Shinn	291	4.1

The vote reported for the SWP candidates in Rhode Island was: Daniel Fein for U.S. Senate-1,258 (.37 percent); John Powers for governor-1,348 (.39); and Joseph Traugott for lieutenant governor-2,053 (.65 percent). These 1970 statewide totals compare with a Rhode Island vote for the SWP presidential ticket in 1968 of 383 with no other radical candidates on the ballot.

Returns from other areas will be reported as they become available.

## Come to the YSA Convention

# Organize the socialist revolution



ATTEND THE YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION  
NEW YORK CITY DECEMBER 27-31, 1970

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☐ Please send me information on the convention.  
☐ I want to join the YSA.  
☐ Enclosed is \$1.25 for the convention resolutions. Clip and Send to YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Sta., N.Y., N.Y. 10003

## Building a Black party: goal of N.Y. convention

By CLIFTON DeBERRY

NEW YORK — A promising step forward was taken when the first meeting of a Black political convention was convened here Nov. 7. The purpose of the gathering, attended by over 300 people, was to "attempt to structure a party to work for the uplifting of Black people . . . short range and long range."

Held at the East, a Brooklyn cultural and educational center for people of African descent, the convention went on record in support of the formation of a Black political party. A steering committee of about 30 was named by the convention. Its purpose is to develop structure and organization over the next four months.

The convention was a very lively affair. Don Blackman, the chairman, set the tone by stating, "It is time to call a halt to rhetoric, time for acting and acting decisively. Black people must take control over their lives."

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Harlem in the last election, gave the keynote address. He spoke about the world revolution and its focal point, Vietnam. He related the struggle for self-determination in Vietnam, Cambodia, the Mideast, Haiti, and Trinidad and in the Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola to the North American struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans.

After pointing out how all these struggles were against the same en-

emy, U.S. imperialism, Boutelle outlined the past 10 years of struggle by Afro-Americans. He dealt with the deadend of reformism and the costly mistakes of ultraleftism and related the struggles for community control to the perspective for an independent mass Black political party. A half-hour question-and-answer period followed his delivery.

Leslie Campbell, one of the key leaders in the 1968 Oceanhill-Brownsville struggle for Black community control of the schools, spoke on the background and purpose of the convention. "I hope people have gone through enough awakening," he said, "to come to the point of forming a Black political party to move the masses of Black people. Although we have religious differences, ideological differences, the situation dictates that we come together to form one united Black political party."

Fania Jordan, sister of Angela Davis, was also given the floor. She urged the audience to participate in a mass demonstration on behalf of Angela Davis at the Foley Square federal courthouse on Nov. 20.

The plenary divided into four committees: party organization; drafting of a party constitution; drafting of a platform; and establishment of a party administrative staff.

The breadth of participation in the convention was indicated by the fact that older people participated actively along with youth. A majority of the newly constituted steering committee are in their late 20s and mid-30s.

## The Black Panthers, an assessment (I)

# The need to build a Panther defense

By DERRICK MORRISON  
(First of a series)

The Black Panther Party held mass plenary sessions in Philadelphia Sept. 5-7 in preparation for a Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention.

A variety of workshop proposals were submitted and passed. Approved were proposals calling for community control, women's liberation, a people's militia, nationalization of the means of production, decentralization of government, etc.

These proposals stemmed from the belief that some type of socialist society is needed. And it is with this in mind that the Panther Party wants to write a new constitution to be submitted to a public convention Nov. 27-29 in Washington, D. C.

An important lack in the Philadelphia gathering was that it failed to deal with one of the most urgent issues of the day: mobilizing wide-scale defense of the Black Panther Party against the government plot to destroy it. There was no workshop on the legal defense of the mounting number of Panther political prisoners. Despite the plenary attendance of close to 10,000 youths, 70 percent of whom were Black, no plan for the building of a nationwide defense campaign was laid out.

The problem of defending the Panther Party is not just a "Panther" matter but a matter of concern for all of those fighting for change.

If the government is able to destroy the Panther Party, then the existence of all organizations and individual civil liberties will be placed in doubt.

It was this basic idea that prompted broad segments of the people to respond in the week prior to the Philadelphia plenary. This was in the wake of assaults by the Philadelphia police on three local offices of the Panther Party, the subsequent incarceration of 14 Panthers on bail of \$100,000, and racist statements by police chief Frank Rizzo that some type of martial law was needed in the city.

These measures created a sense of outrage in the Black community. Blacks who had never related to the Panthers before volunteered to prepare food and provide housing for plenary participants. Thousands of Black adults and youth came down to McGonigle Hall (location of the plenary at Temple University) as a gesture of solidarity.

In the white community, a group of businessmen put an ad in the papers declaring their support for the constitutional right of the Black Panther Party to peacefully assemble.

This reaction of the people prompted the government to lower the bail on the 14 Panthers to amounts of \$5,000 and \$100. And a federal judge, in response to a Panther suit, issued an order restraining the police from any attacks on the plenary that weekend.

The dynamic operating here was not whether the Panther Party had a bigger military arsenal than the Philadelphia Police Department. They obviously didn't and still don't. The dynamic resided in the political consciousness and radicalization going on amongst the people.

The nationalist awakening in the Black community brought on instant

solidarity. The mass demonstrations against the Vietnam war have paved the way for many youth to come out in defense of the Panther Party. And in addition, the majority of the people in this country assume that anyone has the constitutional right to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. The government has made serious inroads on these rights, but—contrary to the thinking of some in the radical movement—it has not been able to wipe out these rights.

All of this gives the Panthers a good opportunity to mobilize big forces in their defense. But to do that a conscious understanding is needed of both the necessity and the opportunity.

Back in 1968, the Panthers launched a "Free Huey" movement in defense of Newton. They were willing to unite with any and everybody in that campaign. This broadly organized effort was probably no small factor in saving Newton from the gas chamber.

And when Eldridge Cleaver was rejailed out of a police ambush on April 6, 1968, the Panthers organized an international defense committee for his release.

In enlisting support, both of these defense efforts did not require any agreement with the program of the Black Panther Party.

But today, after outright police attacks, directed by the federal government, in such places as Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Toledo, New Orleans, Milwaukee, and other cities, no concerted defense campaign has been set into motion. The recent police assault on a Panther headquarters in Detroit suggests an escalation in these attacks. In that Oct. 24 raid Detroit police cordoned off the surrounding community and brought in tanks.

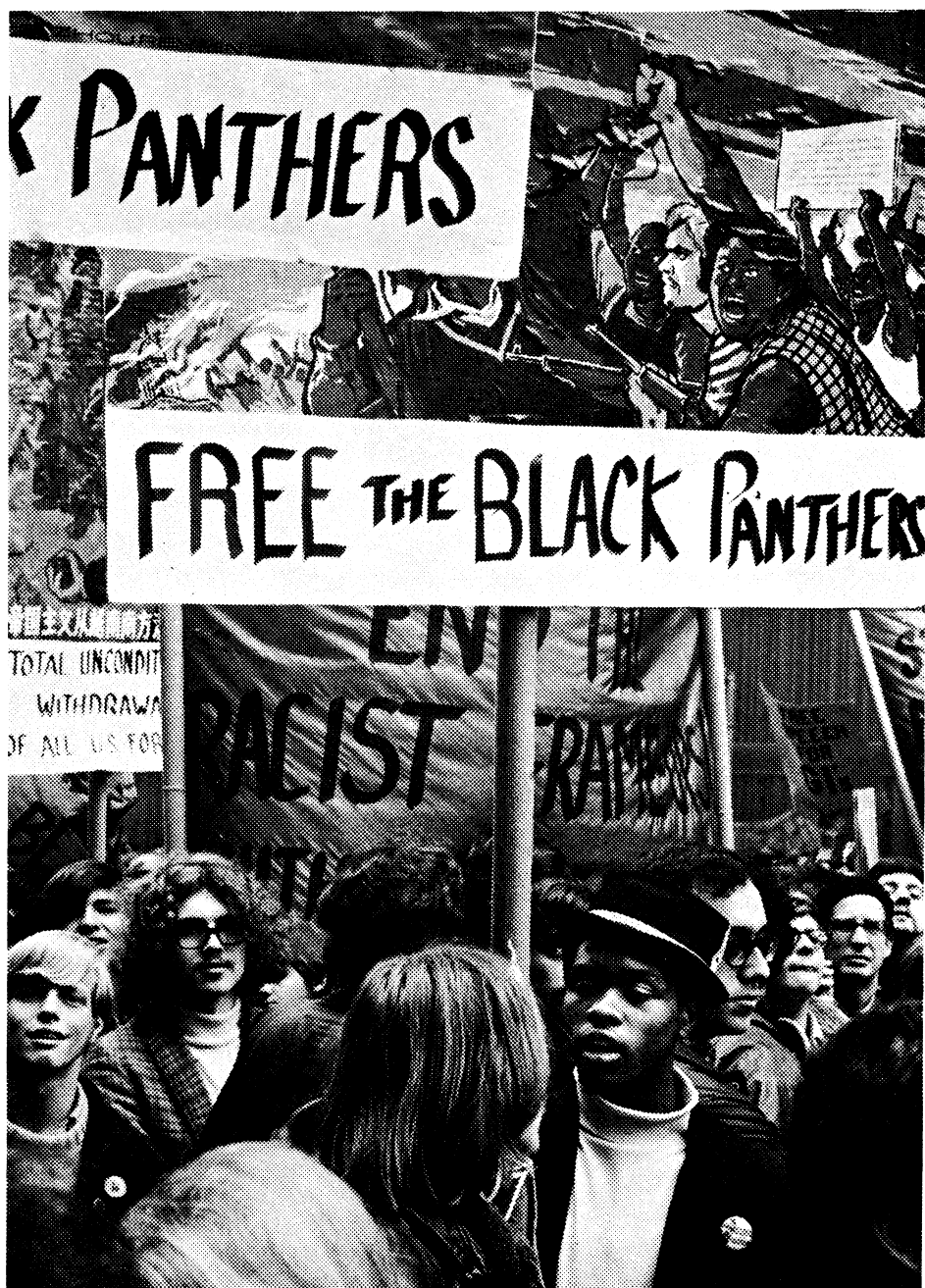
These attacks result in an increasing number of Panther political prisoners. Yet the only action proposal at the Philadelphia plenary was that of "picking up the gun." The frustrated and desperate action of Jonathan P. Jackson at San Rafael was used as an example of action in the courts.

This points up the fact that the Panthers do not conceive of "picking up the gun" as part and parcel of a mass-action program. Self-defense as part of a movement of organizing the Black masses is valid and necessary. This is the type of movement developed by Robert F. Williams during the late '50s and early '60s in Monroe, North Carolina. His experience is recorded in the book *Negroes With Guns*. Along the same vein, Malcolm X tried to integrate self-defense into a movement for Black control of the Black community. That experience is recorded in the book *By Any Means Necessary*.

Both these brothers moved to develop self-defense movements before the ghetto rebellions and the subsequent nationalist awakening in the Black community. Any attempt to develop such a movement today would meet with considerably fewer obstacles.

But in the case of the Panther Party, rhetoric about "picking up the gun" reflects an attempt to escape and evade the reality of mass struggle in the United States, 1970.

The way they raise it, "picking up the gun" is not a program for mass action. It is a program for individual action, for action by the few. It is



a retreat from mass action.

Back in the period 1967-68, the Panther Party was involved in the struggle for Black control of the Black community. The party focused upon educating and organizing the community around the issue of self-defense. And during the rise of the Black student movement in the high schools and on the campuses, the Panther Party fought for hegemony of the movement with a program.

Out of this involvement in mass motion, it was natural for the Panther Party to organize the way it did in defense of Newton and Cleaver.

But since the end of 1968, the Panthers have, to a large degree, withdrawn from the mass struggle for Black control. And as a consequence, their defense efforts have lacked the necessary broad-scale organization and education.

(To be continued)

## Electrical workers strike Whirlpool Indiana plant

By TOM FIDDICK

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — More than 5,000 members of Local 808 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, have been on the picket line since Oct. 18, when they met here in a football stadium and voted overwhelmingly to strike Whirlpool Corporation, the largest single employer in southwest Indiana. Only four voted against the strike.

The strike is a determined effort by Local 808 members to prevent Whirlpool management from dictating wages and conditions of work. Morale is high, as scores of strikers maintain the picket lines seven days a week.

"In the past, union leaders always gave in to the company's terms," one picket told *The Militant*. "But now, with new officers we just elected, we have someone who will really fight for the union." Local 808 also has an elected strike committee empowered to negotiate a new contract.

The central issue is wages. The union is asking for a modest \$1.81 cents per hour increase over a three-year period. Whirlpool management refused to negotiate this offer and finally made its counteroffer of 66 cents just two days before the contract deadline. The meager Whirlpool offer is not even enough to cover the added

costs of living over the next three years.

In addition, Whirlpool is trying to rob its workers of rights already won. The new contract offered by management contains a clause which, in effect, deprives many workers of their right to a paid vacation. Now, anyone who has worked a full year receives a one-week vacation. After 10 years of service, a worker has a three-week vacation.

Through a new method of measuring length of service, the corporation is hoping to rob all new workers hired this year of their right to a paid vacation next year. The new contract management is trying to force on the union provides that any worker who has not completed one full year of service by January 1971 cannot expect a vacation next year. (Formerly, the eligibility date was July 1, the end of the fiscal year.)

This attempt to steal a week's pay from new workers will also adversely affect many older workers. One worker told this reporter that the three-weeks vacation he expects next year, after 10 years service, will have to be postponed until 1972 if management gets it way with its underhanded method of measuring seniority.

These strikers deserve the sympathy and support of all other workers in this area where the antilabor tactics of Whirlpool need to be publicized.



# GM Settlement: below workers' expectations

By FRANK LOVELL

NOV. 22—The basic draft of a new three-year contract for the U.S. auto industry was accepted by officials of the United Auto Workers Nov. 12 and submitted for ratification to the 400,000 General Motors strikers, who had been out for 58 days. Deadline for the membership ratification vote was set for Nov. 20, when a majority of the 155 UAW-GM locals were expected to announce the results. Top union officials expressed confidence that the GM pact would be approved.

The UAW's 350-member GM Council, comprised of representatives from all GM locals of the union, recommended acceptance by a 4-to-1 margin.

[The Canadian section of the UAW had not yet reached agreement with GM when the vote to end the strike was being taken in this country. Dennis McDermott, a UAW vice-president and director of the Canadian region, said that important differences over wages and working conditions remained to be settled.]

The wage gains are far short of what the striking GM workers had expected. In the first year they will get a raise of 49 to 61 cents per hour, with the average production worker getting 50 cents. That includes the previously agreed-on 26 cents catch-up money owed under the limited cost-of-living clause of the previous contract.

The only substantial protection afforded under the new contract is the restoration of the full cost-of-living allowance, which adjusts wages to rising prices; but this does not become effective until Dec. 6, 1971, one full year after ratification of the present contract.

Under this clause, wages will rise 1 cent per hour for each 0.4 change in the Consumer Price Index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Wages will be adjusted quarterly and the cost-of-living allowance will be paid each week in the regular pay check.

Anticipating continuing price rises, the UAW issued the following explanation: "If the Consumer Price Index

should rise at a rate of 4 percent a year during the life of the new contract (which is less than it actually rose under the 1967 contract), the increase in the cost-of-living allowance would amount to 35 cents per hour by the time the last adjustment under the new contract is made in June 1973. Such an increase in cost-of-living allowance, of course, would not increase the buying power of wages but merely help to protect buying power. The figure does illustrate, however, how important the cost-of-living provisions of the new contract can be."

During the second and third years of the contract the increase in base wages will be 3 percent, in accordance with the estimated annual increase in productivity. These raises will amount to an average 13 cents per hour in each of the two years.

The total three-year wage package, discounting the 26 cents owing from the rise in cost of living during the life of the previous contract, is only 50 cents per hour, or 76 cents if the catch-up money is added. This 76-cent figure is used by UAW officials anxious to make the contract look as good as possible. They say average-income workers "are assured of increases in their wages under the new contract amounting to 76 cents per hour plus whatever additional amounts result from its cost-of-living allowances."

This is a good distance from the 91 cent first-year raise the UAW was asking when negotiations began last July, and considerably reduced from the 61.5 cents demanded when the strike was called Sept. 14.

Strikers at GM compare their wage gains with the \$1.65 won by the Teamsters union earlier this year after key locals turned down a smaller settlement.

Some local UAW officials charge that real gains are even less than UAW president Leonard Woodcock and his top negotiators claim. At Detroit-area Local 160, a union spokesman explained that cost-of-living catch-up money, if calculated according to jumps in the Consumer Price Index,



Women's Graphics Collective/LNS

Workers leaving the Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit. Settlement at GM establishes industry-wide pattern.

amounts to 36 cents, not 26. The 26 cents was due in March, another five cents in June, and five cents more for the most recent three-month period. Consequently, the real first-year gain is only 15 cents, slightly above the three percent annual productivity increase.

Dissatisfaction with the new contract also centers on the pension plan. The UAW demanded a \$500 monthly pension for all workers after 30 years' service, regardless of age. The settlement offers the pension at age 58, reduced to 56 on Oct. 1, 1972. Workers with 30 years in the plants who retire early lose 8 percent of their pension for every year below the age level. Thus a worker who started at 18 can retire at 48, but gets only \$100 a month pension.

The Supplemental Unemployment Benefit plan (SUB) was retained, and GM will increase its payments from 5 to 10 cents an hour per worker. Benefits remain the same, but increased unemployment has depleted the fund.

The overall cost of the settlement is very close to the original estimate projected by GM cost accountants. With cost-of-living estimates included, the new contract is expected to increase dollar labor costs by no more than 10 percent per year, 30 percent over three years.

This compares with a 36 percent wage increase for railroad workers proposed by a presidential fact-finding committee, a 41.6 percent raise for printers in New York, and a 45 percent increase in the construction trades.

Earl Bramblett, GM's chief negotiator, loudly deplores the "inflationary" cost of the settlement, claiming GM labor costs will go up from \$5.76 to \$7.50 an hour, for a total of \$2.4-billion over the next three years.

This sounds to the GM strikers like part of the ballyhoo to put over the contract and prepare the ground for another hike in car prices.

From the beginning of negotiations in mid-July, GM strategists have been in command, dictating the ground-rules of negotiations and prescribing the limits of the UAW strike strategy.

The cost-of-living escalator clause was the only issue over which GM negotiators balked, but they found a

way to include this within the limits of their basic wage pattern when it became clear that a timely settlement might be reached in this way.

Negotiations in the auto industry proceed on the firm understanding that wages can rise in accordance with increased productivity, that corporate profits cannot be infringed, that amicable partnership relations must be maintained between management and the union bureaucracy, and that a strategy to "discipline" the volatile assembly-line work force is essential to the smooth operation of the industry.

It is now recognized on all sides, and especially by the GM strikers, that the new GM contract would never be accepted if the workers had not already been out the two months and faced the threat of union strike benefits being cut off if the strike continued.

Once the wage pattern is set at GM, there is little likelihood that it will be significantly altered by the negotiations at Ford or Chrysler. The UAW leadership had neither the foresight nor the inclination to stipulate in the GM settlement that any gains made in other sectors of the industry shall automatically apply in the GM settlement.

This would be considered "unrealistic." They know from long experience that GM dictates wage settlements in the auto industry, just as it dictates uniform prices of cars.

Henry Ford II announced soon after terms of the GM settlement were made public that the Ford Motor Company is prepared to accept the main terms of the new contract.

What remains is to get the auto workers to accept it.

The sections of the settlement dealing with working conditions appear to be little changed, and what changes have been introduced in the UAW contract will not be known by the GM strikers until plant management around the country begins to quote the new contract.

The one feature of the new contract that will prove beneficial is the removal of the previous contractual ceiling on the cost-of-living clause. This will serve as a model for other unions such as the Steelworkers which are badly in need of this protection.

## Chicano school boycott successful in Phoenix

By JOHN BEADLE

PHOENIX—The Chicano boycott of Phoenix Union High School has ended after three weeks, leaving in its wake a new feeling of militancy and *carnalismo* [brotherhood] on the part of the barrio community.

The end of the boycott was announced Nov. 1 by Joe Eddie Lopez, head of the parents' boycott committee which called the boycott on Oct. 9 in response to attacks on Chicano students at the school. The boycott has resulted in a \$100,000 loss in school subsidies by the Phoenix Union High School district.

Among the concessions won by the boycotters were:

1) Total amnesty of all students involved in the boycott and the readmittance of 260 students suspended from school for their part in the boycott.

2) An increased community voice in the hiring of minority personnel at the school and the addition of a Chicano liaison staff member.

3) An investigation of administrative procedures at the school.

The three basic demands of the boycotters were the removal of Principal Robert Dye and his replacement with a Chicano, improved security to protect Chicano students, and educational reform.

"The boycott has created a tremendous awareness in the community about the problems of education," Joe Lopez told *The Militant*. "It helped to create the feeling of *familia* in the community we are trying to build."

Lopez and the community are prepared to strike again if their long-range demands are not met. These include educational reform and community control of the schools. Lopez feels that another boycott would be equally as successful as the first one and would expand into other high schools in the Phoenix area. This already occurred to a small degree at South Mountain and Carl Hayden high schools, which reported an absentee rate of 300 students over the normal rate on two days of the boycott.

The boycott has also affected politics in Arizona. The basic character of the Democratic and Republican parties was clearly illustrated during the election when Raul Castro, Democratic candidate for governor, bewailed the boycott. Castro, a strong law-and-order man and a former U.S. ambassador to Latin America, plainly felt that his standing as a candidate was more important than the fight for self-determination by the Chicano community.

## NPAC coordinator Gordon outlines tasks

# Dove politicians on own moratorium; the movement has to get the job done

The National Peace Action Coalition, which organized the Oct. 31 demonstrations against the Vietnam war, has slated a national conference to be held in the Packinghouse Labor Center in Chicago Dec. 4-6. NPAC has, from its inception last June, rejected the false notion that the Nixon administration is in fact winding up the Vietnam war.

To the contrary, NPAC has insisted it is more urgent than ever to resist this notion designed to gull and disarm both the Vietnamese resistance and the U.S. antiwar movement. Proceeding from this, the NPAC conference will have before it proposals for a massive national spring action against the war.

Reflective of the thinking in key constituencies of the forces comprising NPAC was the speech delivered at the Oct. 31 NPAC rally at the Ohio state capitol in Columbus by attorney Jerry

Gordon, a founder and national coordinator of NPAC. The following are extracts from his speech.

\* \* \*

Nixon has deep problems, and they include the corruption of the air, pollution, poverty and racism. So he's on the defensive. What makes the problem more serious is that the labor movement finally is beginning to move toward the antiwar movement and beginning to relate the problems of recession, of unemployment, of skyrocketing prices, of unchecked inflation, to relate all of those economic problems to the war.

And union after union (either by convention or by stated position of their leadership) has come out against the war in the last months. These include the UAW, the Teamsters, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, the Central Labor

Council of Alameda County, the Meat Cutters Union, the Longshoremen and Warehousemen, District 65 of the Wholesale, Retail and Office Workers, the Oil and Chemical Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the American Newspaper Guild, the Musicians Union, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, the Textile Union, and *Labor*, a paper which speaks for 21 railroad unions. These have all said the war must be ended.

So what's in the offing now is a great alliance (which we've talked about for years and we're just beginning now to consolidate) of workers and students, together with women and GIs and Blacks and all others. (Applause) So Nixon and his backers, in true Machiavellian tradition — because he is on the defensive on all of the real issues which confront the American people — has to find a way to take the offensive, and the issue that he's using is law and order and the scapegoats are the students. They are the scapegoats for a bankrupt foreign policy and they are the scapegoats for a bankrupt domestic policy.

But we're not taking it! We're going to fight back and expose Nixon. And when Nixon says that the time has come in America to draw lines, well, we say that the antiwar movement has already drawn the line between Nixon and the majority of the American people. . . .

You know, this demonstration and others like it across the country are being sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition, which is the broadest antiwar coalition ever established, joining labor and students and GIs and all others who oppose the war.

Our national office received a call last week. It was from ABC, and they said, "Well, are you going to go ahead and have your thing this weekend?" And we said, "Yes, we're going to go ahead and have our thing."

And they said, "What we're wondering about is that we don't see the names of well-known persons as speakers." Well, that part is true because those of us up here are just rank-and-file peaceniks. So we said, "Who are you talking about, the dove senators?" And they said, "Yes, we know they were making speeches last year on the platform. What about them this year?"

So we had to explain to them that the dove senators are on a moratorium. When Nixon came out on Oct. 7 with that phony peace package, a "peace" package which did not set a date for withdrawal, a "peace" package which did not terminate support for Thieu and Ky, a "peace" package which did not end U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Indochinese, a "peace" package which had nothing new, why, these doves, who only a few weeks before were saying we've got to have a date set for withdrawal — you know, that was the McGovern-Hatfield bill — all of a sudden, because of the pressures of Agnew, they simply capitulated and they said we endorse the plan. The Senate passed unanimously a resolution endorsing it. And the dove senators said we're going on a moratorium. No more dissent against the war.

The National Peace Action Coalition said right away that the dove senators can take all the moratoriums they want but the killings are going on in Vietnam, the bombings are going on, GIs continue to be sent over



Jerry Gordon

to die, the draft goes on, and workers continue to have their living standards destroyed by the war.

The war is going on, and as long as that's true, as far as we're concerned there will be no moratorium on dissent.

So you can take the politicians temporarily and put them on Nixon's side, just put the people on our side! And as the movement against the war continues to grow and as the illusions in Nixon are dispelled, the dove politicians will be back. And because the antiwar movement is nonexclusionary, the door will be open to them. But the politicians don't lead this movement. This is not a politicians' movement based upon opportunism. This is a people's movement based upon principles; and the principal principle is get the U.S. out of Indochina Now! (Applause)

## How did Stalin come to power in the USSR?

The Nov. 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press* contains an article by Leon Trotsky that has not been previously published in English.

Entitled "How Did Stalin Defeat the Opposition?", it was written in 1935 in response to questions from members of the left wing of the French Socialist Party. In it, Trotsky discussed not only Stalin's leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy but also the tactics and strategy of the Left Opposition during the struggle within the Bolshevik Party.

Other questions dealt with in the article include the effect of Lenin's death on the outcome of the struggle and whether Stalin's victory was inevitable.

The same issue of *Intercontinental Press* also contains a three-page interview of particular timeliness. Abu Samer, a representative of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, discusses the death of Nasser, the new regime in Egypt, the Irbid "soviet" set up during the Jordanian civil war, and the relationship between the Palestinian liberation movement and revolution in the other Arab countries.

Two other articles of special interest analyze China's recent gains in displacing Chiang's puppet government on the diplomatic front and the Chilean government's decision to resume diplomatic relations with Havana.

The Nov. 23 issue may be obtained by sending 50 cents to *Intercontinental Press*, Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010.

## Atlanta radio audience hears Quebec socialist

By JOHN VOTAVA

ATLANTA—Atlanta's Black radio station WAOK broadcast an unusual panel discussion Nov. 8 featuring representatives of the Black political community and a speaker from Quebec. Participants in the discussion included Julian Bond, a Black Democratic state congressman; D.F. Glover, 1970 Black Democratic Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Georgia; Dr. Otis Smith of the Summit Leadership Conference; and Phil Courneyeur from Montreal.

The appearance by Courneyeur was part of a speaking tour he is making to explain what happened in Quebec and the attempt of Trudeau's government to crush the independence movement and suppress civil liberties. Atlanta was the first stop on Courneyeur's tour, which will take him through several southern, southwestern, Rocky Mountain and West Coast states.

The radio discussion began with a description by Courneyeur of the sequence of events that led to the army occupation of Montreal and the imposition of the war measures act. He also explained the background of social and national oppression suffered by the Quebecois. He compared the Quebecois struggle for self-determination and independence to the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano self-determination, but also noted the difference between the struggles in the fact that the Quebecois already have a well-defined national territory and

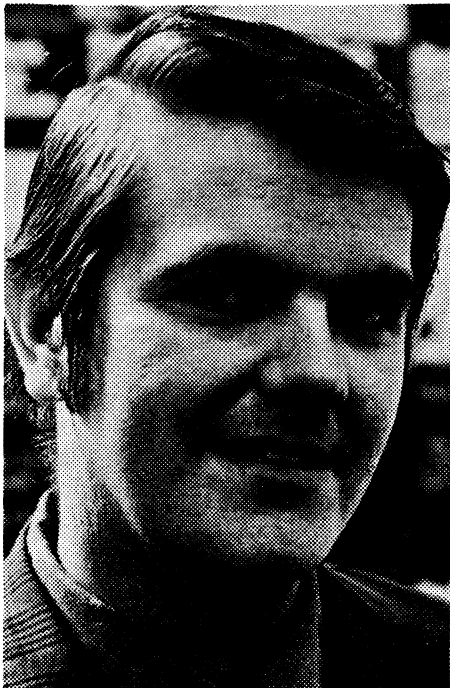


Photo by Flax Hermes

Phil Courneyeur

their own language and cultural background.

The last part of the panel — unfortunately after Bond had left — turned to the topic of independent political action by oppressed nations. Courneyeur asked why Black people had not formed an independent Black political party outside the Democratic Party. Both Glover and Smith replied that they felt such a party was needed but that it would take years to get there.

Courneyeur related the experience of the Quebecois, who are now moving toward independent labor political action. He described the FRAP, the municipal labor party in Montreal, as an important step in this direction.

With only two day's notice to build the tour, it was possible to arrange interviews for Courneyeur with all three TV stations and five of the seven radio stations in Atlanta, in addition to an interview in the *Atlanta Constitution*. The *Great Speckled Bird*, an underground paper with a circulation of 15,000, will also feature a story by Courneyeur on the Quebec situation as part of a four-week series they have been running.

Courneyeur is a contributor to *La Lutte Ouvriere*, a revolutionary-socialist French-language newspaper.

In recent issues we reported that the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party, the New York YSA and the Militant Labor Forum and bookstore have moved to a new address, 706 Broadway. HOWEVER, The Militant, the SWP national office and the YSA national office are still at their present addresses. The Militant and the SWP national office are at 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, and the YSA national office address remains P.O. Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.



**Interview with Boston women activists**

# Female liberation and socialism

By CAROLINE LUND

BOSTON—One important question that is often discussed within the women's liberation movement is the relationship between female liberation and socialism. This question and others are discussed in the following interview with four members of Female Liberation in Boston: Jeanne Lafferty, Delfine Welch, Pat Galligan and Evelyn Clark.

All four first began to fight against women's oppression, as members of Female Liberation. One of their main interests is self-defense for women as a step toward changing women's state of vulnerability, both physically and psychologically. Both Pat Galligan and Delfine Welch are Blue Belt Tae Kwon Do (Korean karate) students, and Evelyn Clark and Jeanne Lafferty are green belts.

Last spring the four joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

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**Militant:** Would you describe something of what it was like in the early days of the women's movement in Boston?

**Lafferty:** Back in the summer of '68, when we first started here, it was a pretty terrifying thing to be involved in the female liberation movement because that consisted of only about 10 people in the whole New England area. At that time we were called "Cell-16."

We had absolutely no allies, especially among the left. In fact, much of the left considered us to be their competitors, and something that was going to disrupt the growth of the new left radical movement. I'm talking primarily about the Students for a Democratic Society of those days. They went so far as to issue leaflets warning young people against the development of the women's movement.

We were outraged at this, and it made us very skeptical about winning allies for our struggle.

**Galligan:** I was a member of SDS before I joined Female Liberation. I became terribly disenchanted with SDS for reasons which I could never put my finger on at the time. I just felt very alienated and didn't exactly know why.

When I first heard members of Female Liberation talk about the family and the oppression of females, it was a revelation; all of a sudden things just fell into place and I knew that the women's movement was what I had been looking for.

When I would go out in the streets selling women's liberation literature I was often confronted by people I knew from SDS. And they would attack me for joining the women's movement, tell me that I was deserting the revolutionary struggle, that the women's movement would divide the working class. So I learned to deal with all those arguments, just by being badgered often enough.

**Clark:** I first learned about Female Liberation by picking up a copy of the group's magazine, *A Journal of Female Liberation* [originally called *No More Fun and Games*]. Then I went to a meeting where they had a karate demonstration, and that blew my mind. I started studying Tae Kwon Do and that's where I met people from Female Liberation and became involved in the group.

**Welch:** Learning about the family as an institution was what first led me to see and understand women's oppression. It was through my sociology and anthropology courses that I first started thinking about the family. I joined Female Liberation mainly because of its analysis of what the family structure was, that it is just a form of



A new determination—scene at a New York women's demonstration

social organization, nothing "natural" or eternal.

When I joined Female Liberation, I was just beginning to become radical. I came to the women's movement first, and then through that, through the Marxist study groups we set up in Female Liberation, I started learning more and more about socialism and general radicalism.

**Militant:** What do you think was the most important contribution that Female Liberation was able to make in those early days of the movement?

**Lafferty:** I think the one important contribution that we in Female Liberation and other feminist groups made was to give women a sense of the legitimacy of the feminist struggle. We weren't worried or defensive anymore about not including all kinds of other issues in our movement. We understood for the first time in our lives that it was time for women to go for women completely, and nothing was going to stand in our way; we were going all the way to achieve liberation.

Even though we were not interested in defending an entire socialist analysis at that time, we knew that the dynamic of feminism was revolutionary. We were interested in what was going to help women get out of the horrible, degrading, demoralizing, humiliating situation that they were in.

This led us to pursue those goals that would be helpful to women, not with the perspective of stopping with certain reforms, but going all the way. I think this is the main contribution that feminist groups like Female Liberation have to make to the radical movement as a whole.

**Galligan:** I think that a major contribution of Female Liberation was its analysis of the family. For many women, challenging the concept of the family was just too radical—something that people felt they couldn't come to grips with. Now the women's movement talks about the family to a much greater extent, but in this part of the country, Female Liberation was the first group to really attack that structure and lay bare the basis of the family in economics.

**Lafferty:** Not being afraid to ques-

tion everything. That was the main thing. We felt that there was nothing that we were not going to look at squarely, and that's what led us to begin talking with women about the family and such basic questions as what constitutes a female human being. And, of course, some of the "left" groups considered these things very apolitical.

**Galligan:** Another contribution we made was in raising the idea of self-defense for women. Women in Female Liberation started studying Tae Kwon Do about two years ago, and we made a political analysis of the crimes against women, not only the most brutal forms like rape but the lesser forms of harassment like pinching, showing how they fit into the general sexist structure of society. Women can really understand and identify with this analysis.

**Militant:** What is the strategy of Female Liberation for changing the situation of women and in what ways has its strategy changed through its experiences over the past two years?

**Welch:** At first, we saw ourselves as a small, cadre-type organization. We set ourselves the goal of learning all we could and then going out and teaching what we knew to other women.

**Galligan:** Yes, we believed that there would grow up a whole network of small groups of women who understood their oppression, but we didn't think any further than that, to getting all these small groups together to actually do something.

**Lafferty:** This was a pretty demoralizing perspective after awhile. We would convince a small number of women, who would become superconscious and superrevolutionary. But we were convincing only about three or four people per year, and this didn't give us an optimistic outlook about women becoming a revolutionary force in society.

Then we began to learn that women's consciousness is not only going to develop in that way—that is, in small group discussions and studying

—that there are times of great upsurge when people become involved in struggles to certain degrees and they learn through their involvement. I think the August 26th demonstrations were a perfect example of that.

We saw the kind of unity it is possible to build among women and how many new women have come into the movement through this period of upsurge in the women's movement.

We don't have to go around and knock on people's doors and sit with them for many months to revolutionize their consciousness; they can learn through their involvement in the struggle. And this way we can reach many, many more people.

**Clark:** It was difficult for new women to join Female Liberation when it had the perspective of being a small cadre group. I was easily accepted into the ranks of the group because I was taking Tae Kwon Do lessons. But many women who came around in the early period just stayed on the outskirts of the movement because they did not see a real role for themselves.

Since Female Liberation has recently changed its perspective to being an open, public group, many of these women are coming around again and are getting involved. We've been overwhelmed at the response.

**Militant:** What relationship does Female Liberation have with other women's organizations?

**Lafferty:** Now, especially after the August 26 demonstrations, we have a very deep concern with forming coalitions around actions.

**Clark:** When the coalition in Boston first began planning for Aug. 26, the projected number of people we thought would come out was 400, and then 1,000. When those 7,000 women turned out we were all completely ecstatic. And we all knew, every group knew, that that demonstration couldn't have happened if only one group had built it.

**Welch:** There are differences between the groups, though. Female Liberation is a nonexclusionary group that wants

(Continued on page 10)

# ... female liberation

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to build a mass, independent women's movement. It is for the total liberation of women, whereas some groups think more in terms of women's rights only. And other groups stipulate that you have to be a socialist before you can join.

But despite the differences that do exist, we should be able to unite to act first on the issues that we do agree on.

**Militant:** How did the four of you develop from feminists into socialists as well?

**Lafferty:** The first contact we had with an organized left tendency was at a series of meetings sponsored by Female Liberation two years ago. Progressive Labor Party and SDS came to these meetings and presented their ideas, which were basically that women should drop their struggle and fight for socialism first. At that time I had been studying Marxism and was very interested in it as a tool of analysis, but these people claiming to be Marxists really turned me off.

We had developed an understanding and we had learned from our history that we don't drop our struggle for anything. Fortunately many women are not completely turned off by nonrevolutionaries like PL who claim to be Marxists, and are able to keep searching and looking for what socialism is and what relationship it has to feminism.

**Galligan:** I had read some things by Marx, so I was convinced that Progressive Labor had nothing to do with Marxism when they would refer to the family as a revolutionary institution and say that the family will be a fighting unit for the revolution.

One thing that became clear to us was that it was YSA women who were the only people we could agree with about the character of the women's movement. YSA women were always for building an independent women's liberation movement. Then, as I went to YSA classes the things that were said there seemed to concretize things that I only had vague notions of before, about the nature of making a revolution. The YSA contrasted the perspective of having a small group that is going to go out and "pick up the gun" with the perspective of convincing and mobilizing the masses of the American people. I found that concept very exciting.

**Welch:** I never would have joined the YSA if it didn't have a correct conception of the women's movement, but that's not the only reason I joined. I wanted to be part of a revolutionary-socialist organization. What im-

pressed me was that the YSA saw it had to be the majority of the people who were going to make the revolution, and everything that flows from that is the YSA position.

**Lafferty:** Yes, I first started looking to the YSA because of their position on the women's movement, and then through coming to classes I learned what a total revolutionary analysis of society is. These ideas help us now in building the women's movement.

The YSA helped me understand for the first time exactly why feminism is a revolutionary force in society. I began to appreciate much more what kind of a powerful movement we are involved in. I was woken up even more to the feminist movement, as well as to the YSA; it works back and forth.

**Clark:** The thing that impressed me the most about the YSA was that I learned how the revolution was going to happen, and that it was going to happen, and that these people in the YSA were helping to make it happen. That was just what I needed, because before, I was for a socialist revolution but nobody could tell me how it could actually happen.

And another thing that attracted us to the YSA, especially those of us who have been studying Tae Kwon Do, is the discipline in the YSA. In Female Liberation we made a lot of mistakes and we were inexperienced organizationally, but we were always serious, we were never playing games. And when we understood how the YSA worked—the seriousness and commitment involved—we really liked it.

**Welch:** One of the reasons I joined was that I knew we needed a different society in an overall way; I knew that it wasn't just women that we wanted liberated. My concept before I joined the YSA was that all the various struggles going on would be fought separately, and then when it came time for the revolution, we would all somehow get together and make the revolution. But this did not seem sufficient.

**Lafferty:** Yes, I thought about the Black liberation struggle, and I thought, Black people are not all going to join Female Liberation to work toward a revolution, and neither are we women going to all join the Black Panther Party or some other Black organization. You have to build something qualitatively different from all these particular, independent movements. You have to build a unified revolutionary organization that fights the source of all the different forms of oppression and for the complete transformation of this system.

**Militant:** How do you answer women who say, isn't it self-defeating for a feminist to join an organization with men in it? How can such an organization support feminism?

**Lafferty:** A lot of women have asked me whether women have a caucus inside the YSA. The first thing I tell them is that if we joined just to build a caucus within the YSA, why join? That's why I join and build an independent women's movement. I want to build an organization of women, who can lead their own struggle, and make their own decisions. But the YSA is a different type of organization. It is an organization that draws together and coordinates struggles of all oppressed people, not as a federation of separate struggles but a united, cohesive group with the common aim of helping to lead a socialist revolution.

Many women we work with predicted that we wouldn't stay long in the YSA and that we would learn that it wasn't possible to work in an or-



New York, Aug. 26, 1970

ganization with men. But I think that far from being disillusioned with the YSA, our original view has been confirmed. Because of how the YSA works, it's not only the women, but the whole YSA which supports and defends the women's movement. The whole weight of the organization is behind feminist ideas, just as the whole organization supports Black nationalism, not only the Black members. There is no way that a revolutionary-socialist organization could contradict the interests of women or the goals of feminism because the whole purpose of the organization is to promote and build all revolutionary developments. If a person is a revolutionary, they will support feminism, because it's revolutionary.

In fact, a revolutionary-socialist organization has the most complete and most uncompromising program for female liberation: the complete reorganization of this society on a socialist basis. In the long run that is what's necessary for taking the radical steps needed to win complete freedom for women.

**Welch:** I think what convinced me most was the conference of the Socialist Workers Party and the YSA last summer, where women's liberation was explained in all the talks as an integral part of the revolutionary process. Actually, it was explained there why the four of us joined the YSA—that if you are a consistent and uncompromising feminist, willing to go all the way, by any means necessary to achieve female liberation, you will be drawn in the direction of revolutionary socialism.

**Lafferty:** Yes, and at that same conference, in one of the major speeches, it was said that if anyone who claims to

be a revolutionary tells you that you are "too feminist," don't listen to that person, because he or she doesn't recognize something that's revolutionary when they see it.

**Militant:** What do you see as the relationship between feminism and a socialist revolution?

**Lafferty:** A socialist revolution will clear the way for establishing completely new institutions not based on the oppression of women. But it is necessary for us to have an independent women's movement to fight all the way through. The independent women's movement that has emerged today, under capitalism, should continue to exist and fight right through and after the socialist revolution. This is the only real security women will have that their needs will be satisfied.

We must continue to build our own independent power until our oppression is completely ended. It's paternalism when so-called radicals say that we don't have to build our own movement because socialism will automatically give us our freedom.

**Welch:** Many women are concerned about the fact that women are not yet liberated in the countries which have had socialist revolutions. An important fact about our movement today is that we have a strong women's movement emerging before the revolution.

**Galligan:** Yes, this means that women will be much more a part of the revolution; they will be more political. So there's going to be no way that the society can get away with not granting women what we've been fighting for. Women will be an organized force, and I think we are

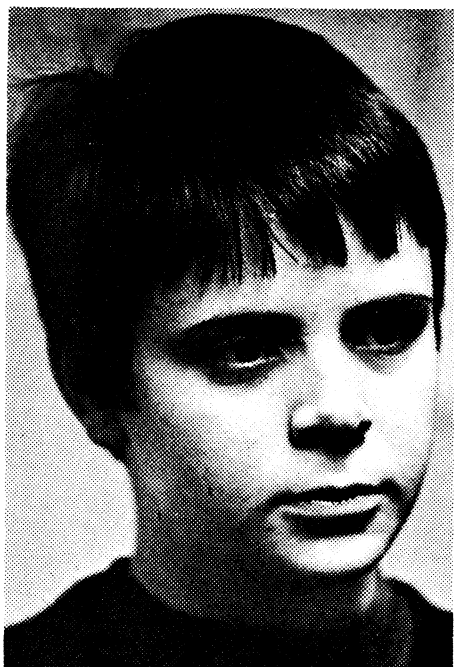


Photo by David Wulp

Delfine Welch



going to be able to win certain things even before the revolution.

**Militant:** What do you think are the prospects for building a mass feminist movement today?

**Galligan:** I feel optimistic because I think on Aug. 26 we got an idea of the mechanism through which a mass movement can be built. We have a concept of building a movement of women around feminist issues and being able to unite with other groups that may have differing political analyses. Basically, that women from all layers of the population, from all walks of life, can unite around feminism, and can have an impact as a real social force.

**Lafferty:** The diversity of the movement is really amazing. It's a misconception that the movement is only made up of young, college-educated women. A lot of the women who come through the door of the Female Liberation office look more like my mother than like me, and yet we have the common bond of our oppression as women; we can communicate with each other.

There are differences among women, differences that society creates and that will not be erased in one day, and that we cannot ignore. But at the same time we can still unite to fight sexism, and that's just what's happening. Women from all different backgrounds can get together to fight their oppression, while not altogether eradicating the barriers that divide them.

**Militant:** How has the feminist movement and the socialist movement changed your personal lives?

**Lafferty:** I used to be a "typical housewife" and it's been a total change for me. The first thing is that it takes all your time; you want to devote all your life to the movement, and that's good.

What housewives do in the suburbs is to try to find something that will take up all their time, fill their lives. So you do things like take sketching courses down at the nearest high school in the evenings. And you try to make that take all your time, but it never does. What all your time is taken up with is your misery, primarily. And you can feed on this for years; I know, I did. And some women get very fat, very lazy, very demoralized, and you see no way out.

For so many women, when they first come into the women's movement, they want to do so much, they want to become totally involved, and for the first time in their lives, they do become totally involved and fulfill themselves. Women become happy for the first time in their lives, whatever happy means. You feel that you are not only working for yourself, but for every other woman, and it's a total revolution in your life. It's the most exhilarating way of living.

We're taught about how you're supposed to get fulfillment from glamorous types of jobs, like movie stars, or things like that, but the real ful-

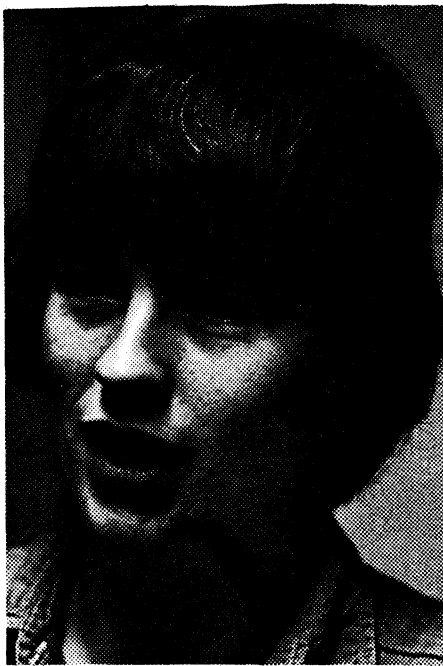


Photo by David Wulp

### Pat Galligan

fillment you can get in life in this society is an understanding of your historical role, the role of all the people that are working to change this rotten society. What we're doing is making history. And we begin to feel the weight and seriousness of the responsibility that falls on us.

**Clark:** What I felt when I first came around the feminist movement was that a tremendous burden was lifted off of me, because I understood that there was a reason behind all the things that had been happening to me all my life that I never understood and was identifying as personal weaknesses.

I always used to have these fads — things that for a while I would really want to do and be good at, and then somehow in the middle of it I would just lose my motivation. In the feminist movement I finally found something that I know I will never lose my motivation for. It was so meaningful to me that there was no question about what I would be doing for the rest of my life.

**Welch:** I think that being in the women's movement gives you such a tremendous feeling of your own strength and of independence and control over your own life. And you are also working for other women, so that each woman can have control over her own life. You realize the importance of being strong and self-reliant, with the perspective that your life is your own.

**Clark:** Another thing is, when you get to be a certain age you come to feel that you are familiar with all the different relationships that you can experience in your life, but in this movement there's a new relationship that you experience, and that is with other women in the movement. That is a totally unique relationship. Generally women don't even get to know each other in this society because we can only see each other as competitors in trying to win approval from men.

This new relationship grows out of the consciousness that women have of their common position, the sisterhood that binds them together. It's something very special and never existed in my life before.

**Welch:** The female liberation movement, I think, has made us want to have the very best personal relationships that are possible, both with men and with women. You want to be able to treat each other as human beings and will tolerate nothing less than that. You don't tolerate sexist attitudes between people, as much as you can control that.

**Lafferty:** I have this vision of the women's movement as sort of crashing headlong into the gears of history and sort of messing up the whole thing we live with now, affecting everything. I think this is really what we're aiming for.

Delpine was talking about personal relationships — well, I think there's no way we're going to be able to have any kind of ideal relationships with men in this society, or even with women, because those divisions and prejudices are going to continue to exist

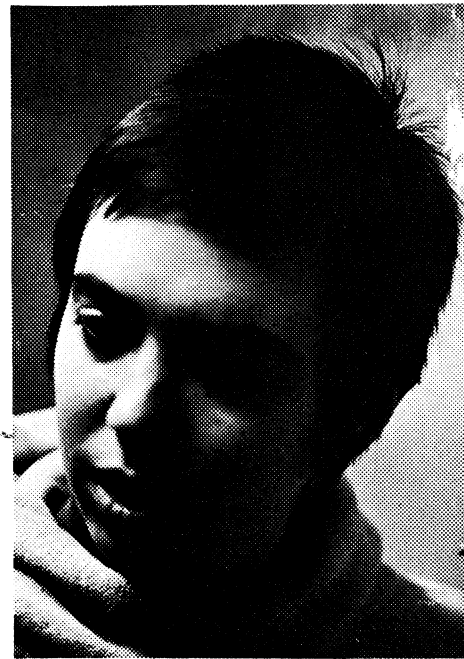


Photo by David Wulp

### Evelyn Clark

for some time. But our whole movement is sort of on the rampage, challenging all oppressive aspects of personal relationships. And it's slowly having a certain effect. That's the kind of power this movement has.

When women first become involved in the movement, sometimes it's a really hard few months for them, because the ideas are so overwhelming, a total change. It's like a brain explosion.

**Galligan:** Our lives have been turned upside down. There is no way you can live in this society the way you used to, the way you conceived of yourself, the way you conceived of society. That's all changed. The women's movement and the larger movement for social change is your world. There's no going back, or "fitting in" again.

**Clark:** What happens to women when they join the movement is the true meaning of the term "radicalization." You see things differently and you can never go back to the way you saw them before. It's an ongoing process.

## Female liberation and the antiwar mov't

In various parts of the country women's liberation activists and women's contingents participated in the national antiwar demonstrations and rallies held on Oct. 31. The following are excerpts from the speech made by Nancy Williamson, a member of Boston Female Liberation, at the antiwar rally on the Boston Common Oct. 31, sponsored by the Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition.

It is imperative that we understand that the struggles of all oppressed peoples are intertwined. The goals of the Black movement, the Third World movement, and the women's movement are *absolutely contingent* on the success of the antiwar movement. All of us together can end this war.

Now the female liberation movement, the fastest growing movement to come out of the current American radicalization, unlike other mass movements, is a multi-issue movement. The women's movement questions every aspect of the present social, cultural, and political structure. The women's movement carries within itself the potential for effecting revolutionary social change.

But the women's movement, like the other movements, cannot achieve its goals until this war is ended. Thus, it is essential that the women's movement, part of which had its beginnings in the antiwar movement, support the antiwar movement in the struggle to end the war.

Frequently over the past three years we've heard the question, What do you women want?

What women want is a society that

is life-protecting rather than life-destroying. What women want is an end to the military machine that controls our lives. What women want is an end to the death and dehumanization of husbands, brothers, sons and lovers by this war. What women want is an end to the mutilation and murder of our sisters and our sisters' children in Vietnam.

What women want is to have the \$100-billion dollars that is spent each year in Vietnam spent in America to create an environment that is conducive to human life. We live in a society where 30 to 50 million people exist at poverty level (and that's poverty by government standards). We live in a society where one million children are left uncared for while their mothers work because there are no child-care facilities. . . .

We live in a society where 7,000 women die from illegal abortions every year and thousands of unwanted children are born every year, a society whose government kills and mutilates women and children in one country while it tells women in another country that a fetus is sacred and that *abortion equals murder*. . . .

We live in a country where domestic pets are better nourished and better cared for than ourselves and our children.

What do women want? Women want a society that is life-protecting rather than life-destroying.

And the point is that *women have power*. Women are 53 percent of the population. Women working outside the home are 40 percent of the work

force. That 40 percent plus the women working as unpaid domestic slaves in the homes keep this economy running.

But women have to learn to use that power. Women have been forced to react rather than to act, to be rather than to do, to be passive rather than to be active.

Women have power. But women must learn to use that power. How many factories would open tomorrow if women went on strike? How long would this government last if housewives and female workers went on strike? How would this economy react if women ceased to buy anything but the necessities of food and clothing?

This government, this society, is economically dependent on the division of labor that exists within the family situation. This government, this society, is dependent on women doing two jobs and getting paid for one. This government, THIS WAR, is dependent of 53 percent of the population *not* acting. When women decide this war should end, *this war will end*.

Therefore, it is imperative that the female liberation movement as well as all the movements of other oppressed peoples support the antiwar movement in its efforts to stop this war. It is essential that women mobilize to stop this death-machine, our government.

It is essential that we refuse to take gradually as an answer. It is essential that the antiwar movement, the only effective tool for ending the war in Vietnam, live and live in unity.



Photo by David Wulp

### Jeanne Lafferty

# Female Liberation holds 2nd Boston conference

By CINDY JAQUITH

BOSTON—Between 300 and 400 women gathered at Boston University Nov. 13-14 for the second conference of Female Liberation, a Boston women's liberation organization.

Friday evening the women listened to speeches by activists in the Boston and New York feminist movements. Dana Densmore, a member of Female Liberation and author of many articles in the group's magazine *A Journal of Female Liberation*, began the evening with a talk on unity in the women's movement. She stressed the importance of women building their own independent struggle and uniting around their common oppression, rather than concentrating on differences among themselves.

Speaking to the argument that women are "too divided to unite," she pointed out that the oppression of women affects all women, including white and Third World women workers.

Densmore also answered the charge that the women's movement is unimportant compared to other social struggles. She pointed out that "If women don't fight for their interests, no one else will." She strongly opposed the concept that any one struggle should take precedence over another.

Maxine Williams, a member of the Third World Women's Alliance in New York and the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke on the role Third World women play in the women's liberation movement.

In dealing with the argument that feminism is a "white women's movement," she explained how Third World women are triply oppressed: as women, as Third World people, and as workers. Their oppression as women, she pointed out, is exacerbated by the oppression they suffer as part of an oppressed nation and as workers.

Williams stressed that there is no contradiction between the nationalist struggle of oppressed peoples and the struggle of Third World women as women. Feminism and nationalism, she said, will both be strengthened by supporting each other's goals.

In answer to the notion that the women's movement must be "anti-imperialist" or "anticapitalist" in program if Third World women are to join, Williams pointed out that the Black struggle did not begin as a consciously anticapitalist struggle, but rather as a struggle around the concrete forms of oppression Black people suffer.

It was through the struggle for the

demands of Black people that more and more Black nationalists have seen that the capitalist system itself is the cause of their oppression. She predicted the same would be true for the feminist movement.

Williams enumerated a series of struggles Third World women have engaged in, including the fight of welfare mothers and the fight for child-care facilities in the Black community. Third World women, she said, will organize their own groups independently of other women, since Third World women experience a different form of oppression. At the same time, Third World women will continue to unite with all women around demands that relate to their common oppression.

Barbara Zilber, National Organization for Women publicity director for the Aug. 26 action in Boston, concentrated on the importance of action coalitions uniting all women in or-

der to win their demands.

She explained how Aug. 26 was a success only because women from the entire spectrum of the women's movement came together for common action. No one group, she said, could have organized Aug. 26 alone—it was necessary to have the support of as many different groups and individuals as possible. She stressed that it was not enough for women to understand their oppression; they also had to translate this understanding into action.

Jeanne Lafferty, a leader of Female Liberation, closed the evening with remarks on the nature of the group and on the lessons of Aug. 26. She invited all women to join Female Liberation, explaining that the group was open to every woman interested in women's liberation. Campus chapters already exist at Northeastern University and Boston University.

Saturday was devoted to workshops on a range of topics, including the organization of women's groups on the high school and college campuses, abortion and child-care struggles, rock culture and sexism, Third World women's liberation, the revolutionary nature of feminism, and the position of women in postcapitalist countries. The high school workshop voted to



Maxine Williams

form a city-wide high school women's group.

The conference ended with a karate demonstration and films. The address of Female Liberation is: 1126 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 02115.

## Women's liberation notes

In Minnesota, abortions may be performed legally only when the mother's life is in serious danger. Last April, Dr. Jane Hodgson, a St. Paul gynecologist and obstetrician, performed an abortion on a 24-year-old woman who had contracted German measles early in her pregnancy. After the operation, Dr. Hodgson called the police, told them she had just performed an illegal abortion, and urged them to come arrest her. They did, and she is currently on trial.

"It is a trial in which the defense is more eager for a conviction than the prosecution," Dr. Hodgson told the *New York Times* Nov. 15. That is, her trial is a test of the restrictive Minnesota abortion laws. Referring to the countless number of pregnant women who come to her seeking abortions but who the law prohibits her from helping, Hodgson said she "was beginning to feel like a criminal anyway. It's the ones I've refused to perform that haunt me."

Although this is the first direct test of the abortion law to go to court, there are at least 70 other challenges pending. Last year, the abortion com-

mittee of the Minnesota Medical Society, of which Dr. Hodgson is a member, recommended repeal of all abortion laws. But the state legislature refused to vote on it. It was this foot-dragging that propelled Dr. Hodgson to take this step that will cause her to lose her license to practice if she is convicted.

In its story on the trial, the *New York Times* deemed it newsworthy to describe Dr. Hodgson as "a striking blonde whose figure and coloring belie her age (55 years)." If Dr. Hodgson had been a male, do you think the *Times* would have felt a need to embellish the article with trivia on how his flat stomach and full head of hair belied his age?

About 1,000 women and men attended a forum on sexual liberation held at Columbia University Nov. 12. Cosponsored by Gay People at Columbia and Columbia Women's Liberation, the panel focused largely on the relation between these two movements.

Panelist Sidney Abbott of the Gay Liberation Front said she has been active in both the feminist and homosexual movements, yet does not feel comfortable in either. She cited the blatant chauvinism of some homosexual men, as well as the nervousness many "straight" feminists feel about having the women's liberation movement associated with lesbianism.

In the discussion period, most of those present agreed that lesbians should be a part of the women's liberation struggle. There was also a lively discussion on the relationship between Marxism and the sexual revolution.

Other panelists included Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics*, Ann Harris of Columbia Women's Liberation, and Arthur Evans of Gay Activists Alliance.

Rose Compton, a Black worker in the Chevrolet sewing division and participant in the UAW strike, was recently interviewed in the *Indianapolis Free Press*. The following are the comments she made on the treatment of women in the auto industry.

"Well, we have all men foremen. It

is not a good situation. Men really don't understand women workers. They don't understand how we feel or the things we must do. For example, they don't realize we have children who have emergencies that must be taken care of and that we, as women, have the sole responsibility for doing this.

"Other men workers in the plant also present problems. We must walk through the plant to get to our department. This can really be awful, especially the late shift. Men are sitting around watching you. They say unnecessary things to you that make a woman feel very uncomfortable. It's very unpleasant."

Two female AP reporters have just put out what may well be the fastest-selling women's liberation item to date — "The Liberated Women's Appointment Calendar and Survival Handbook 1971." It is a potpourri of dates in feminist history (and women have done enough to fill almost every day of the year), photographs of women throughout history, and quotes from both feminists and misogynists. *Time* magazine reports that 75,000 copies at \$2.95 each have already been sold. Although it is an invaluable calendar for feminists to have in terms of keeping track of the birth dates of suffragists and other anniversaries in our history and timing demonstrations and meetings around them, this calendar is a clear example of the flexibility of capitalists in their search for profits. The publishers, Universe Books, are also notorious for their pin-up calendars.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

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Ad for National Airlines is typical of the way airlines exploit women as sexual objects in order to increase profits.

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## A penetrating Brecht parable

# Good Woman of Setzuan

*THE GOOD WOMAN OF SETZUAN. By Bertolt Brecht, in a new translation by Ralph Manheim. Directed by Robert Symonds. Music by Herbert Pilhofer. Songs by Herbert Pilhofer and John Lewin.*

*The Good Woman of Setzuan*, which the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater has chosen to open its sixth season at the Vivian Beaumont Theater, is a parable about the way human goodness is distorted by a society in which money is a necessity for survival. Its purpose is not to bemoan this fact but to persuade the audience of the need to change society.

Setzuan, a half-European town, stands for all places where man is exploited by man. Three gods—a delightful parody combining elements of the Trinity and the Magi—come to Setzuan in search of someone good (i.e., who practices their moral precepts). They can find only one—the prostitute Shen Teh.

Unlike gods, human beings need money to live. In such a world, even to the good the gods' precepts appear inappropriate, even harsh. "How can I be good when everything is so expensive?" asks Shen Teh.

Shen Teh's goodness is given a cash value by the gods who, not understanding anything about the problems of mankind ("We can't meddle in questions of economics"), give her 1,000 silver dollars. With this she purchases a tobacco shop, hoping to become a respectable businesswoman.

Besieged by sponging townspeople who take advantage of her generosity, she discovers that philanthropy and profitability cannot go together. Caught between her good intentions and the need to survive, she is forced to create a cousin, Shui Tah, who possesses the virtues necessary for survival: ruthlessness, practicality and a good business head.

Whenever her inability to say no brings her to the brink of financial ruin, she dresses up as Shui Tah. The periods she must rely on him grow longer and longer, until he replaces her altogether.

Shui Tah sets up a tobacco factory and becomes a hated exploiter of the townspeople. Yet, he does this not out of a moral perversion but out of a desire to help Shen Teh's unborn son escape the dehumanization of "honorable work."

Shui Tah is eventually brought to trial (with the three gods as judges) on charges of having done away with Shen Teh. Shen Teh sheds her disguise, tells the gods "There's something wrong with your world," and explains that she was forced to become Shui Tah because "I couldn't be good to others and to myself."

The gods refuse to believe their eyes and, ignoring her pleas for help, are carried off, smiling and waving, in a cloud. "Just be good," they advise, "and everything will turn out all right."

No clouds come to carry away the people of Setzuan, of course. Although they are simple people with simple dreams (Shen Teh's unemployed aviator-lover, Yang Sun, wants merely to fly again), their dreams end in failure for lack of money. Only one thing can save them: a change in the conditions that frustrate their hopes. Just how this is to be accomplished is something Brecht leaves up to the audience to work out after it has left the theater.

\*

*The Good Woman of Setzuan* is perhaps Brecht's most successful use of his concept of dialectical theater, whose

essential, didactic aim is to demonstrate the possibility and the necessity of changing society.

Although it deals with the moral problem of good and evil, it does so not as an abstract or personal affair but by defining morality as a product of social forces. The audience is obliged to relate more to the forces that compel Shen Teh to be evil than to her as a person. Brecht wants the audience to go home with new insight into the evils of capitalism and, presumably, a determination to do something about it. And, while this often is expecting too much (at least, alas, from those who stepped out of the Vivian Beaumont into their chauffeured Cadillacs), it is good theater.

\*

Colleen Dewhurst, who handles well the dual role of Shen Teh/Shui Tah, is especially good in the scene where Shen Teh changes into the clothes and character of Shui Tah, singing a complaint about her dilemma that becomes more bitter with each stanza.

The songs are for the most part sung — as intended — by untrained voices. Unfortunately, David Birney does Yang Sun's one song in a full-throated vibrato, which is altogether inappropriate.

None of the players is more striking than Lou Gilbert as Wang, the water seller and narrator. Finding himself in the improbable role of messenger between the gods and the audience, he plays it with just the right lightness and sparkle.

The innovations in this production are good. Herbert Pilhofer's music, for instance, which is played on an

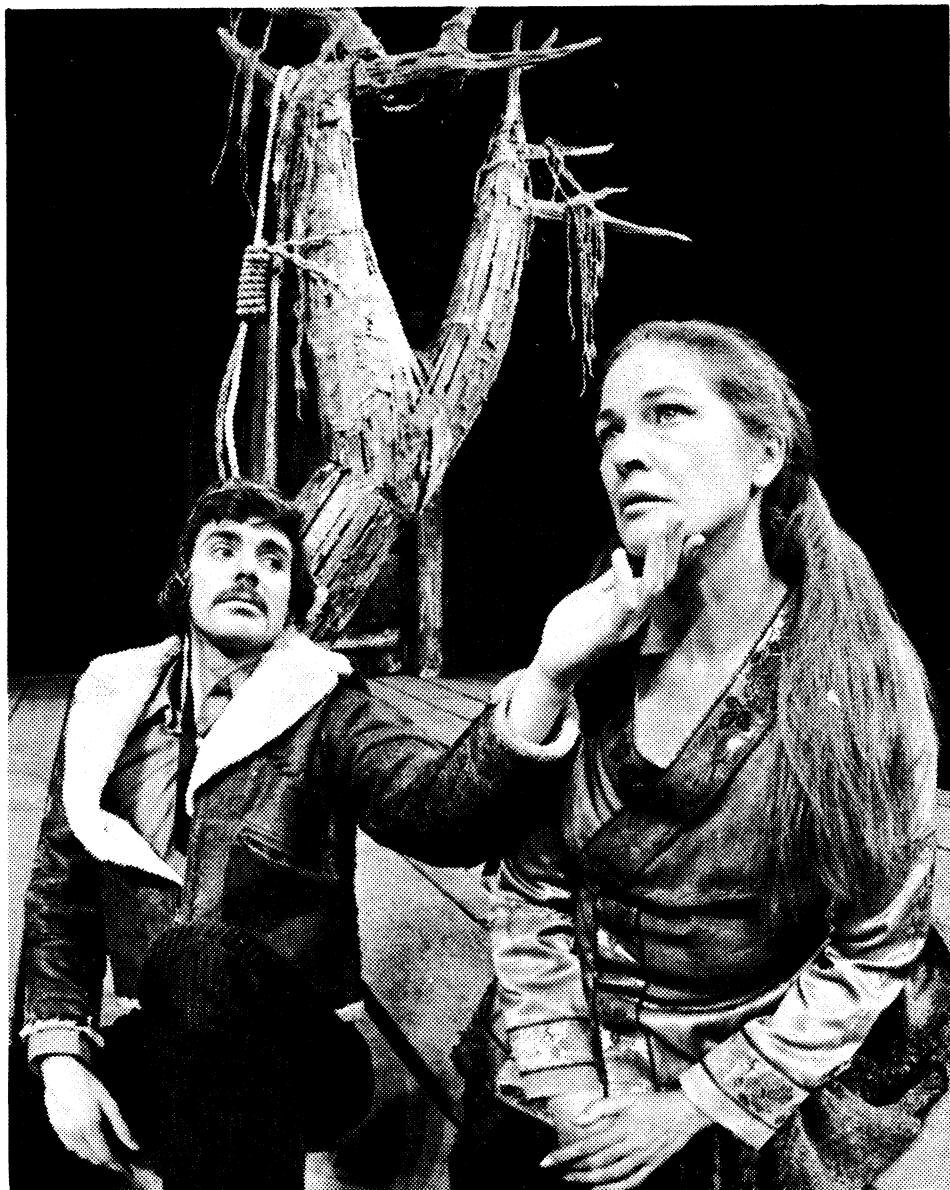


Photo by Martha Swope

Colleen Dewhurst as the prostitute Shen Teh and David Birney as Yang Sun, an unemployed flyer, in New York production of Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan*.

electronic synthesizer, avoids the error of attempting to suggest a music thematically related to the play's setting. His music is vaguely baroque, brilliantly contrapuntal, and, fortunately, not Chinese-like.

In a few scenes, which would have benefited from being played more simply, the acting is too consciously realistic. But this is a relatively minor flaw in an otherwise fine production.

—DAVID THORSTAD

## National picket line

# Mine owners like Nixon choice

The Bureau of Mines has a new head—Dr. Elbert F. Osborn, whom the mining industry is reportedly pleased with because he comes out of what they call "the ranks of the mining industry's own scientific community." Dr. Osborn is former vice-president for research of Pennsylvania State University.

The former Bureau head, John F. O'Leary, was fired by Nixon after the industry objected to O'Leary's outspoken approval of the new Mine Safety Act, which became effective April 1.

Dr. Osborn is reported to be beginning the hiring and training of enough men to bring the Bureau's number of inspectors up to 1,000. The *New York Times* also reports he is planning to "enforce complete compliance [with the Safety Act] within a year and three months of its effective date."

Why then is the industry so pleased with his appointment?

He is *against* the conservationists' demands for federal regulation on surface or strip mining. The new director is reported to support mine owners in their contention that this type of mining should remain under state control.

Strip mining is a destructive surface removal of whole mountain and hill tops. After the steamshovels have completed their job, the scene is one of utter chaos. But more than that, the debris left behind—torn up trees and stumps, uprooted bushes and rocks—form a source of danger to people living on the hardscrabble farms in the valleys. The watershed, once provided by the destroyed vegetation, is gone and flash floods rushing down

the torn-up mountains, carry everything before them: homes, farm buildings, cattle, crops and even human beings who do not have time to get away.

Several of the Appalachian states have passed laws making it mandatory for the mining corporations to clean up their messes and relandscape the wounded mountain tops. But when one farmer sued a mining corporation after his farm was destroyed by such a flood, the court ruled that the farmer's loss was caused by "an act of God."

\* \* \*

The capitalists' claim that a shorter workweek "would leave workers with too much time on their hands, time they would not know what to do with." This phony argument was effectively scotched the other evening in an "in-depth" study on NBC television. A small pharmaceutical company in a midwest town responded to its workers' demands for a shorter workweek by instituting a 10-hour day, four days a week.

The network interviewed several workers and the boss after the four-day week had been tried for some time. Here are a sample of a few of the responses:

A young woman said the extra day meant spending less money for the clothing she was expected to wear in the office—four outfits instead of five. (Office workers are expected to dress up to their white collar "positions" and if they don't they are either warned or fired.) She also said it gave her time with her children, to play with them and to take them to the dentist or doctor. She liked it.

A young father said he was using his extra weekend time to paint his house, play with his kids, get acquainted with his wife and even play an occasional round of golf.

A worker-student said it gave him more study time.

The boss said it had raised production!

We have long advocated the shorter workweek with no reduction in take-home pay. But the employers fight this demand—too much free time isn't good for the working class!

The truth is they want all of the benefits of increasing automation to bring them higher profits and a reservoir of unemployed which they can use as a lever for depressing wages.

\* \* \*

Mrs. Michael Quill, widow of the late head of the New York Transport Workers Union who died shortly after the 1966 subway strike of a heart attack, has won her fight for a workers' compensation settlement and pension. The Workmen's Compensation Board had ordered the Hartford Accident and Indemnity Company (which carried the insurance for the Transport Workers Union) to pay Mrs. Quill \$5,500 in a lump sum and \$36 a week for the rest of her life. The insurance company appealed the decision on the grounds that the subway strike was illegal and that Quill's death resulted from an illegal act.

Michael Quill spent part of the 12-day 1966 subway strike in jail for contempt of a court injunction. He died of a heart attack after attorneys informed him the union faced \$50-million in damages.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

## Roots of Mideast conflict (IV)

# Israel: Opponent of Arab revolution

By GUS HOROWITZ  
and BARRY SHEPPARD  
(Fourth of a series)

The idyllic image of the future Jewish state outlined in early Zionist writings has been vitiated in real life.

Supporters of the Israeli state claim Israel is a model of democracy. But in the most fundamental meaning of the term, Israel is not a democracy at all. It has deprived the majority of the people of Palestine—the Palestinian Arabs—of all national and political rights. The highly touted bourgeois democracy of Israel is restricted at the outset to an exclusive sector of the population.

Moreover, the Arabs who live in Israel suffer economic discrimination, as do the Jews who came to Israel from the Arab countries.

Since the founding of Israel, the Palestinian Arabs have been forced to live under military administration, with restrictions put on their freedom of movement in the country and on political rights in general. Second-class housing and second-class jobs are the norm. Laws left over from the British colonial administration, vehemently denounced by Zionists during the period of the British mandate, are still in effect. They enable the military to expel any citizen from his home, to confiscate land, and to imprison by administrative order. In practice, these laws are directed against Arabs.

Yosef Vaszitz, writing in a 1962 publication of the left Zionist organization Hashomer Hatzair, described the conditions of the Arabs in Israel: "Tens of thousands of Arabs, most of them young people, leave their villages in order to seek employment in the towns. . . . They remain mostly in the unskilled and semiskilled categories. . . . They are unorganized for the most part. Their living conditions are very bad, especially when compared with those of the average Jewish worker, and they feel very strongly their 'relative deprivation' in comparison with the luxuries which they see before them. . . ." (*Israel and the Arabs*, Hashomer Hatzair English Speaking Department, Israel, 1962)

Since the 1967 war, the attention of the world has focused on Israeli treatment of Arabs in the newly occupied territories. The Israeli jails are filling up with Arab political prisoners. The torture of prisoners has been brought to light. Under the barbaric principle of collective responsibility, Arabs suspected of aiding the resistance or who refuse to collaborate with the police can be arrested and their homes can be dynamited. If a village mounts resistance, all its in-

habitants are liable to Israeli strong-arm repressive measures—the same policy the U.S. employs in Vietnam.

As the Palestinian liberation struggle has intensified, the Israeli state has instituted increasingly repressive measures not only against the Arabs but also against those Jews who break with Zionist chauvinism. The logic of Israel's position in the Mideast is towards the whittling away of its limited bourgeois democracy. It can only lead to greater repression, increased discrimination against Arabs, and growing racism.

Many Jews in Israel are also victims of racist discrimination in the settler state. In 1963 Meir Ya'ari, leader of the Mapam Party in Israel, called attention to "the growing social differentiation and the rise of parasitic elements in our economy and society." The evolution of Israel, he charged, was leading to a society characterized by "the parasitic existence of a small minority at the expense of the great exploited majority."

"Most production workers," he said, "now belong to the Oriental communities [Jews from Arab countries]. To be quite frank, we are concerned not only about freezing wages but with deepening ethnic differences in the country. This social exploitation helps hold the Oriental communities, one-half of the population, in their present state of economic, social and cultural discrimination. . . ."

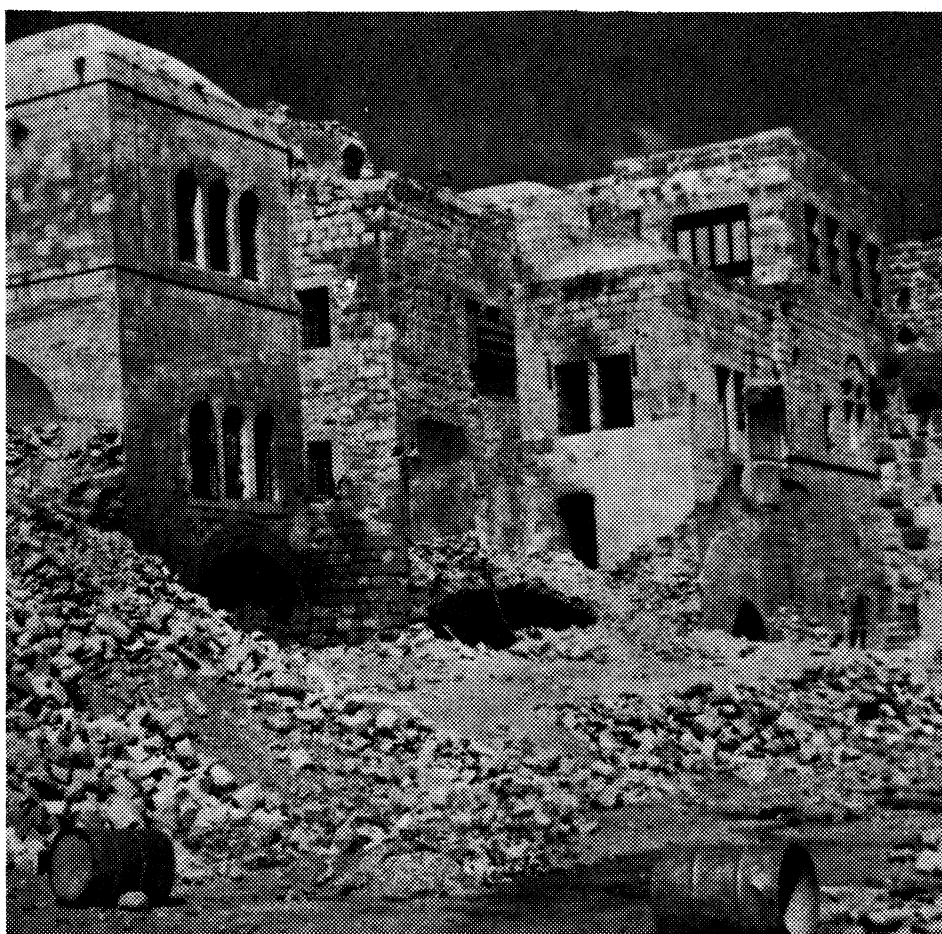
The discrimination against the Oriental Jews parallels that against the Arabs in Israel in terms of housing and jobs. "The common denominator of the two problems is that the Arab workers must live in a hut or hovel on the outskirts of Jewish towns . . . and the worker of the Sephardic [Oriental Jewish] community is packed into a crowded slum." (*Preparatory Theses for the Fourth Mapam Party Congress*, April 17-20, 1963)

Israel's vaunted democracy is further compromised by the fact that it is one of the few clerical states in the world. The reactionary nature of clericalism is shown by the history of the Jews, who have always had to fight against the religious restrictions on civil liberties in those clerical states in which they formed a minority.

Israel's capitalist economy is not viable. It depends upon imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism. Far from being an economic miracle, as the Zionists contend, the Israeli economy requires a tremendous influx of financial aid from abroad, in addition to massive amounts of military equipment.

The Histadrut, portrayed by the Zionists as a model trade union federation, has been subordinated more and more to the capitalist state; it is the biggest employer in the country, the bitter opponent of strikes and independent labor organization. The kibbutzim, pictured by some Zionists as model socialist collectives, have been forced by economic necessity to employ wage labor, frequently Arab labor at low wages. Moreover, the kibbutzim have been the advance guards for settling newly conquered territories.

The early Zionist dream of a society of peace and harmony has been re-



Israeli authorities destroyed Arab dwellings in Jerusalem. Arabs had lived in these homes continuously for hundreds of years.

placed by a state that in real life thrives on militarism and chauvinism, that justifies itself by a propaganda that stresses fear of a perpetually threatening catastrophe.

The reactionary character of the Israeli state can be most clearly seen in its foreign policy and its general role in the Middle East. To exist, the settler-state must be dependent on imperialism and must be hostile to the anti-imperialist Arab revolution.

Israel supported French imperialism during the Algerian revolution, the U.S. troop landings in Lebanon in 1958, Mobutu against Lumumba in the Congo, and the U.S. in the Korean war and in the Vietnam war. Israel has offered U.S. imperialism the rights to military bases, ports and air facilities if it so needed them for its imperialist goals in the Middle East.

In Israel's first 20 years, it has launched two major wars against neighboring Arab states, in 1956 and 1967, not counting the 1948-49 war that established Israel. The threat of its launching new wars is ever present, as in 1970 during the Jordanian civil war. These wars have the potential of embroiling the entire world in a nuclear catastrophe.

In 1956 Israel spearheaded an Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt, conquering the Sinai Peninsula all the way to the Suez Canal. The joint military invasion was directed against the rising Arab revolution.

Prior to the 1956 war, the rising militancy of the Arab masses had forced governmental changes in Syria and Jordan and rejection of the U.S.-organized Baghdad Pact by a number of Arab states. The imperialists were particularly concerned with the growth of the nationalist movement in Egypt and that country's moving away from the norms of cold-war diplomacy. Finally, after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal, Israel and the British and French imperialists decided to attack. The threat of Soviet retaliation was an important factor in forcing them to back down, as was U.S. opposition to what was regarded as an independent British and French reassertion of power in the new U.S. sphere of influence.

Israel's role in 1956 clearly indicated its function in the military sense as well. It furnished the bulk of the troops, while French planes furnished air cover and supplies for the Israeli advance. Only small numbers of British and French paratroops were required (under the guise of neutral interest in protecting the Suez Canal).

More valuable to the imperialists than bases, the Israeli state is a powerful military factor in its own right which can be counted on to be totally loyal to imperialism in a pinch. And while Israel is openly aggressive, imperialist diplomacy can hope to portray itself as more neutral.

In 1967 Israel launched a new war against Egypt, Jordan and Syria with the intention of conquering new territory, opening up the straits of Tiran, dealing a blow to the growing Palestinian resistance, hoping to unseat Nasser, and forcing some kind of formal recognition of its existence by the Arab states. Israel's blitzkrieg attack, which included assaults on Palestinian refugee camps, created hundreds of thousands of new refugees, including many forcibly driven across to the East bank of the Jordan.

While not accomplishing all its objectives, Israel has made clear its intention of holding on to considerable portions of the newly conquered territory, and there is strong sentiment in the Israeli government to hold on to all of it. New military kibbutzim and other settlements have been set up in strategic areas for this purpose.

The present policies of the Israeli state flow from its basically anti-Arab role in the Mideast. The Israeli state was created in alliance with the enemies of the Arab people—first British, then American imperialism. Israel is supported by imperialism—militarily, economically and politically. For its part, the Israeli state acts as a military and political agent for imperialism in the Mideast. That is the reason for its role in the recent wars and the latest events in Jordan.

The Arab liberation struggle is part of the worldwide struggle for the liberation of all oppressed peoples from imperialist domination. Irrespective of the present strengths or inadequacies of the leaderships of the various Arab states or national liberation movements, their resistance to imperialism and the Israeli state is a progressive struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors. Revolutionary socialists support this struggle without placing any prior conditions on the leadership of it.

The national liberation movement in the Mideast, and the Palestinian liberation struggle in particular, will be successful only if it is carried out in a consistently revolutionary manner. This will result in a revolutionary re-creation of Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews will enjoy full democratic rights.

(To be continued)

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# Congress rams through Nixon 'anticrime' bills

By DAVID THORSTAD

In the final weeks before the Nov. 3 elections, a flurry swept through Congress resulting in the adoption of a number of "anticrime" bills. Although their ostensible target is organized crime, they are in fact—and in some cases specifically—aimed at the radical movement.

Within one week alone, three major pieces of legislation were adopted. The haste and the wide margins by which this was accomplished were designed to counter charges by the Nixon administration that the Democratic-controlled Congress was "soft on crime."

On Oct. 7, the Senate adopted the Control Dangerous Substances Act (Drug Control) by a vote of 54-9. Already passed by the House a week earlier, it contained a "no-knock" provision which would allow federal agents anywhere in the country to break into homes or offices without warning if they think a danger exists that evidence might be destroyed.

The same day, the House voted 341-26, with the support of most "liberals," to adopt the Nixon administration's Organized Crime Control Act after adding several controversial provisions to the Senate version it had received last January. Five days later, on Oct. 12, the Senate voted 73-1 to accept the House version rather than delay it by sending it into a House-Senate conference committee. Nixon signed this bill into law on Oct. 15.

On Oct. 8, meeting into the night, the Senate voted unanimously to extend for three years the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. It also added as amendments four other bills designed to protect the president's residence; making it a federal offense to kidnap, assault or assassinate a representative or a senator; providing increased aid to law enforcement agencies; and giving the police and the government tougher means for dealing with bombings, including the use of the death penalty. All four of these bills were appended without one dissenting vote.

There is some overlapping in this legislation, but that did not deter Congress from acting. Smoothing the edges would have taken time, and might even have blunted the provisions.

While passage is one thing and implementation (on which we will have more to say) another, the repressive and regressive nature of this legislation represents a danger for all movements and individuals struggling to bring about a better world. Even a cursory glance at the main bill, the Organized Crime Control Act, will bear this out.

This law contains, among others, the following controversial and in most cases unconstitutional provisions:

- It permits the death penalty for

arson or bombing resulting—even accidentally—in a fatality;

- It authorizes the FBI to investigate at will campuses where bombing or arson has occurred;

- It replaces some 50 federal immunity statutes now in use with one provision which, while barring use of a compelled witness' testimony in a subsequent prosecution for past offenses, will not bar prosecution itself. Thus, the defendant will be compelled to contribute to his own prosecution in direct violation of the Fifth Amendment;

- It permits federal judges to add up to 25 years to the sentence of any convicted person they consider a "dangerous special offender." This would be done on the mere basis of a hearing, not a jury trial. This new category of offender would apply to someone who has been previously convicted of two felonies, or someone the judge believes either to have a "pattern of criminal conduct" or to be part of a "conspiracy to engage in a pattern of criminal conduct." This provision is broad enough, said a report in the Oct. 8 *New York Times*, to be used against "even college students convicted more than once of peddling marijuana cigarettes."

- It weakens safeguards against illegally obtained evidence through listening devices, etc.;

- It permits preventive detention of a witness without bail up to 18 months if he refuses to testify;

- It establishes special grand juries which would issue reports (as opposed to indictments) on "noncriminal misconduct" of appointed public officials. It does not define such conduct. The accused has no right to cross-examine or even learn the identity of his accusers. A report by Democratic congressmen John Conyers (Mich.), Abner Mikva (Ill.), and William Ryan (N. Y.) states that evidence in these reports could consist of "hearsay, unconstitutionally obtained evidence, opinions, unsubstantiated slander, and prejudicial casuistry."

The only person to question the constitutionality of this bill during Senate "debate" was John Sherman Cooper—and he did so, in his own words, in a "very slender and incomplete way."

Sen. John McClellan, whose efforts helped rush the bill through, had apparently not expected any questions at all. The Oct. 13 *New York Times* reported that he had to frequently consult with an aide in order to reply to Cooper's remarks.

In House debate on the bill, Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee (which drew up the bill, adding some provisions at Nixon's request), had urged its adoption in spite of its defects. "We are only human, and it is human to err," he said. "The bill is sound despite some of the

irregularities. . . ." The House obliged by passing it without changing a comma in the committee's draft.

After signing this unconstitutional bill into law, Nixon turned to Attorney General John Mitchell and J. Edgar Hoover and purred, "Gentlemen, I give you the tools. You do the job."

But which job? Organized crime or radical dissenters?

"The bill may catch some little minnows, but I doubt that it will catch many big fish," Mikva told the House. He called the bill "deceitful" for giving the American people the impression it would deal adequately with crime.

Even the "little minnows," however, are more apt to be radicals than anyone else, if the preelection haste with which this legislation was passed and the demagogic, self-congratulatory tone of congressional debate on it are any indication.

The number one concern of the congressmen facing another election was not organized crime (which is hardly a phenomenon about which they are only now being made aware and with which they have even been known to fruitfully coexist). Rather, it was to show the Nixon administration that Congress was just as "tough" on students and Blacks as anybody.

Sen. Paul Fannin's plea for Congress to "get tough with these terrorists" was not atypical. "We cannot be too harsh in dealing with this type of crime," he intoned. "There is no greater criminal than the person who destroys property and kills innocent people in trying to overthrow our government."

Nixon did not attempt to conceal his joy at the passage of his "anticrime" legislation. "Now with the crime bill signed, we ought to take off jet-propelled," he said on Oct. 15.

This, however, may not be so easy. Nixon will almost certainly discover that implementation of this repressive package is more difficult than getting it adopted. First, the constitutionality of many of its provisions is bound to be challenged in the courts.

Second, we are in the 1970s, not the 1950s. Attempts to cow into submission movements like the antiwar movement and the struggle for Third World liberation cannot be accomplished during a period of increasing mass radicalization merely by persuading the U. S. Congress that opposition to legislation designed to do this is "unpatriotic." The response of the mass movements is an important factor to which the Congress appears to have given little or no attention. A key feature of the present radicalization is that, unlike the McCarthyite era, repressive moves tend to deepen the opposition, not disperse it.

Third, divisions exist within the U. S. ruling class itself and its spokesmen over what strategy should be employed in dealing with the innumerable

problems confronting it, particularly that posed by the continuing radicalization.

In a series of four editorials last April entitled "The Threat to Liberty," one of the most influential voices of the American ruling class, the *New York Times*, sharply differed with the Nixon administration over its approach to this question. "Under the guise of essential attacks on crime, police and investigatory powers are being sharpened for potential use against political offenders," it stated this past April 27.

The next day (five months before Nixon and Agnew launched their fist-thumping pre-election campaign) the *Times* found "terrifyingly new" the administration's "open exploitation of fear and discord." The paper accused the Nixon-Agnew team of "gutter fighting."

At the root of such concern is the fear that the administration's approach might not have the hoped-for effect. Rather than curb dissent, it might actually make it more difficult to deal with. "Those who try to divide in order to govern are running the risk of making a divided nation ungovernable," the *Times* warned.

The Nixon administration does not appear to have heeded the warning. Other "anticrime" and "antisubversive" measures are in the hopper. Attempts may even be made to hurry some through the current lame-duck session of Congress.

Whatever tempo the administration chooses, however, the antiwar and radical movements must respond in a militant, united way to frustrate and turn back these moves to stifle the mounting recognition of the need for social change.



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## Three prisoners in Mexico given harsh sentences

Three Mexican political prisoners were given savage prison sentences October 14. Angel Juan Heredia Espinosa and Antulio Fernández Maldonado, both students, were each sentenced to twelve years in prison and a fine of 65,000 pesos. [12.50 pesos equal US\$1.] Carlos Cabagne López Mendoza, a worker, was given fifteen years in prison and an 85,000-peso fine.

Failure to pay the fines will add six months to the prison sentences.

All three had been held in prison since the 1968 demonstrations of tens of thousands of students in Mexico City. Those demonstrations, demanding the release of political prisoners, were cut short on October 2, 1968, when the troops of President Díaz Ordaz attacked a peaceful protest in Tlatelolco Square, massacring 500 demonstrators.

Heredia, Fernández, and López were charged with criminal destruction of property and convicted even though no evidence was presented to show that a crime had been committed.

The three prisoners sentenced October 14 had been held more than two years without trial, in violation of the Mexican constitution, which says that all prisoners must be brought to trial within one year of their arrest.

There are still at least 150 other political prisoners in Mexican jails who have been held for a similar length of time. It is now expected that the government of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz may sentence these prisoners—with or without a trial—before Díaz's term as president ends on December 1.

Such a move would be intended to make it possible for Díaz's successor, Luis Echeverría Álvarez, to claim that there are no political prisoners in Mexico.

In view of the sentences given the two Guatemalan exiles and the three prisoners sentenced October 14, the danger to the remaining prisoners is great. Heredia, Fernández, and López were charged with only one offense. Some of the political prisoners still awaiting sentencing are accused of as many as ten crimes.

The prisoners still being held without trial represent the entire political spectrum of the left, as well as persons who belong to no political organization at all.

A campaign in defense of the victims of the repression has recently been launched in Mexico. It was begun at the request of a number of the prisoners, and has since been supported by nearly all of them.

The campaign has set a goal of collecting one million signatures on petitions asking amnesty for all the political prisoners. Groups supporting this effort include the Communist party and the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [GCI—International Communist Group, the Mexican Trotskyist organization.]

Solidarity actions are necessary in other countries immediately to convince the Mexican government that its actions are being watched by people all over the world. Protests demanding freedom for all the political prisoners should be delivered to Mexican embassies and consulates as soon as possible.

**A SUGGESTION.** If you're finished with it, why not pass this copy on to a friend?

## Cairo, Ill., NAACP backs self-defense effort

In Cairo, Ill., the Black community, led and organized by the United Front, is offering organized resistance to the systematic violence and repression of a racist white power structure intent on denying Black people their elementary rights. Reflective of the deep militancy and determination of Cairo's Black community is the statement adopted Nov. 8 by the Alexander County (where Cairo is located) NAACP. The statement, which is excerpted below represents a significant departure from the lack of militancy normally associated with the NAACP.

The boycott and the Black demands for employment and the use of courtesy by store operators is now an issue of low-level importance on the priority list of the Black community. The boycott may never end.

The reactivation of the White Hats [a white racist vigilante group] and the election of their supporter, Donald Turner, as sheriff of Alexander County in the Nov. 3 election, assures the Black community of continuing and deepening warlike attacks upon it. . . .

The boycott has created an economic disaster in the white business community from which some businesses have been forced to close their doors and numerous others stand on the threshold of being unable to make it into the new year.

The present struggle in Cairo is between the Blacks, with their minds on freedom and dignity at all cost, and whites who share a determination equal but opposite to that of the Blacks. Everyone has been forced by the fierce reality of a horrible situation to choose one of the two sides, one Black, one white. So intense is the fight for freedom by Blacks, and opposition by whites, that there is no room for a middle ground. In four years we have failed to find even one



Photo by Gil Sherman/United Church of Christ

**UNITY.** Rev. Charles Koen (center), director United Front of Cairo, meets with Fred Wall, editor Chicago Courier, and Charles Armstrong, editor South Suburban News, to map Black media support for Cairo.

white to stand up for justice and equality.

The future of race relations is dependent on a tremendous improvement in the administration of justice. It is at the top of the Black priority list. . . . All other issues are in great part irrelevant if justice remains absent. . . .

So long as state and federal agencies continue to lack the courage to move against the local law enforcement agencies and the vigilantes, the racial confrontation will keep moving toward the ultimate loss of hundreds of Black and white lives.

For this reason Blacks are now forced to increase their self-defense efforts. There is no one that they can turn to for a removal of the increasing threat to their physical safety. So

the situation is such that we are continuing to advise Blacks that they must act to defend themselves in a manner that is consistent with the demand of a given situation.

We also encourage Blacks to act in a lawful manner despite the fact that they are the victims of criminal activities by law enforcement groups and citizen vigilantes.

In the meantime, the NAACP will continue its efforts to motivate state and federal agencies to act toward the destruction of unlawful practices against the Black community even though they have been totally unresponsive to this date to pleas from Blacks to live up to their legal responsibilities.

### Third World liberation notes

## Deny suit in Orangeburg Massacre

On Nov. 13 in Columbia, S.C., an all-white jury cleared nine state policemen of any liability in a \$300,000 civil suit brought against them by the parents of three Black students killed in the 1968 Orangeburg Massacre. The federal judge who presided over the case, Donald Russell, was a former South Carolina governor and U.S. senator.

According to attorney Hemphill P. Pride, motions have been filed to have a new trial which will seek to overturn the verdict of the all-white jury. In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Pride said there were only nine Blacks in the panel from which the jury was picked. The prosecution blatantly used all nine of its options to strike these Blacks from the jury.

In the last edition of Third World Liberation Notes, there was a report about Black telephone operators in Detroit organizing to achieve representation in Local 4000 of the Communications Workers of America. To do this, the sisters put together an all-Black slate to contest the white officialdom.

Well, according to the *Michigan Chronicle*, the election is slated for Nov. 16, but union officials have given the Black candidates a hard time, asking some of them to withdraw. Julia Greer, spokeswoman for the slate, says "union officials who have done a good job shouldn't be afraid of competition." She charges that "whites have simply rotated offices among themselves for many years."

The fact behind the fear of union officials is that 1,500 of the 2,300 members are Black.

The Association of American Medical Colleges is beating its chest about the Third World composition of this fall's medical school freshman class as compared to last fall. The Nov. 2 *Los Angeles Times* reports the figure as 9.5 percent, in contrast to 6.9 percent last year. With respect to Third World people, the total enrollment and this fall's freshman enrollment in the 107 medical schools are as follows: Blacks: 1,509, 697; Chicanos: 148, 73; Puerto Ricans: 358, 113; Native Americans: 18, 11; Asian-Americans: 571, 190.

But by approximating official population figures of 11 percent Black, 5 percent Chicano, 1 percent Puerto Rican, .5 percent Native American and .25 percent Asian-American, we get 17.75 percent of the population that is Third World. And if we take into account official discrepancies in body count, which means doubling this figure to 35.50 percent, and add to this a compensation factor for generations of unpaid and underpaid Third World labor that went to make the U.S. the giant that it is today, then having Third World people as 6.9 percent or 9.5 percent of the freshman medical class is not even making a dent. To boast about it is an insult.

In the Nov. 14 *New York Times*,

an English-Canadian military officer lets it all hang out in respect to the national problem in Canada. He was in Canada's capital, Ottawa, which is 40 percent French-Canadian. He had just returned from Washington, D.C., which is over 60 percent Black. He is quoted by the *Times* as saying, "I find Washington much like Ottawa. Down there you have the niggers, up here we've got the French."

When the Black Panther Party held its plenary for the Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia Sept. 5-7, a federal judge issued a restraining order enjoining the police from "violating the constitutional rights of the citizens of Philadelphia." The court order was temporary, but hearings began on Nov. 2 to make it permanent. These hearings lasted about a week and are to continue on Dec. 1. Accounts of police brutality were given by 25 people, with 35 others waiting to testify when the hearings were adjourned. Organizations leading the effort include the Black Panther Party, Young Lords Party and the Coalition of Organizations for Philadelphia Police Accountability and Responsibility (COPPAR).

—DERRICK MORRISON

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## Alternative to two-party shell game

# Growing prospect for labor party

By FRANK LOVELL  
(Sixth in a series)

The emergence of a labor party based on the unions and with a class-struggle program has been much longer delayed than radical workers in the CIO prior to World War II had then thought possible. But all the conditions for the appearance of such a party are now developing.

The economic and social crisis of U. S. capitalism is deepening. The ruling class is sharply divided over how to cope with it. Political polarization has begun dividing those who demand reactionary reinforcement of the existing social order from the others who seek fundamental changes. The radicalization of broad strata of the population—including most young people, Blacks and other national minorities, many women, and some sectors of the white working class—is challenging the hallowed values of capitalist society. These developing pressures have resulted in a strengthening of the revolutionary working-class party—the Socialist Workers Party—and have produced a viable, significant revolutionary youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance.

In the arena of electoral politics the traditional two-party system is undergoing a shake-up. The vote-catching coalition around the Democratic Party is weakened.

The unions, long the mainstay of the labor-Democratic coalition, are no longer able to make satisfactory gains on the economic front. No help is, will be, or can be forthcoming from the Democratic Party to the unions in their present strikes and struggles to maintain the living standards of their members.

The union movement maintains strong separate political organizations developed in the service of the Democratic Party.

This combination of circumstances is bound to generate strong pressures within the union movement for an independent labor party. The unions will be forced to seek through their own independent political party what the present political system prevents them from winning by means of economic action alone.

How will a mass party of the working class develop? Who will organize it? By what path will it enter the electoral arena?

The answers to these questions are to be found in the presently unfolding political process.

The union movement is deeply involved in politics, even when it appears not to be. Strikes are working-class actions, limited to economic demands addressed to a sector of the employing class or to individual employers. But the industrial strike that can affect the national economy also

has a political character and raises political demands.

The strike against General Electric last winter and the recent strike against General Motors are examples.

The GE strikers were demanding higher wages. They were also demanding that General Electric respect the collective bargaining laws and successfully appealed to the courts on this issue (not that the court rulings helped much in their winning of the strike).

The auto workers' strike against GM had significant political overtones because the wage demands included an unlimited escalator clause to provide for automatic wage increases to follow rises in the cost of living. This demand is now adopted by the largest and most powerful unions and is opposed by the employing class, presently represented by the Nixon administration.

Other recent strikes have had a more openly political character from the outset. The postal strike last March was called to force Congress to raise wages of postal workers. It broke the "you-can't-strike-against-the-government" barrier and won its immediate objective.

Teachers' strikes during the past five years have been called in defiance of antistrike laws, and in some areas their demands more recently tend to stress improvement of the schools more than wages.

When a railroad strike is called for limited economic demands to raise wages and improve working conditions, it comes into direct conflict with the "awesome power of government" at the very outset, just as the postal strike did.

The ruling class is as unhappy with the present strike wave as it is with mass antiwar and social protest demonstrations. It has not yet raised the hue and cry against industrial strikers that it has sought to raise against demonstrators. They know the union ranks are better organized, there are more of them, and they have greater social weight.

The trade-union bureaucracy looks to the Democratic Party for political protection, fostering the illusion of separation and antagonism between the unions' economic and political actions.

On the political front the results have not been gratifying. Since World War II the basic labor-management legislation has been directed against unions, in particular the 1947 Taft-Hartley law and the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (Landrum-Griffin).

Under these laws the National Labor Relations Board has become increasingly employer-dominated. The U. S. Supreme Court has recently overruled the Norris-LaGuardia Act prohibition against issuance of injunctions in strikes.

This restrictive legislation and increased interference by government in union affairs on behalf of employers has developed over the past quarter century. For 15 of those 25 years a Democrat has lived in the White House, and for more than 20 years during the same period the Congress has been controlled by the Democratic Party.

In the 1970 election the unions again poured money into the Democratic Party campaigns, claiming that a defeat of the "pro-labor" candidates would be a defeat for the labor movement. But every election marks a defeat regardless of which set of candidates is elected. The cumulative result over the years since the rise of the CIO in the 1930s is that unions are politically weaker now than ever before.

The union bureaucrats, the most productive agents of the Democratic Party in the vote-catching race, are interested in this game only so long as they can back winners and collect a few political crumbs for themselves.

The Democratic Party brings in winners, however, only when it receives the solid support of the organized working class of which the national minorities, Blacks especially, are an increasingly influential and sizable part. So the emergence of the Chicano Raza Unida Party and some local all-Black parties is a present and potential threat to the winning chances of Democratic Party politicians at the polls. This dampens the enthusiasm of union bureaucrats for the Democratic Party. They go to the election races like horse races—to pick winners and collect the payoff.

This sporting attitude is not shared by rank-and-file union members, who expect politicians to deliver on their election promises. When the union finds itself at cross-purposes with Congress or with some local government, or when some judge elected as a "friend of labor" rules against strikers, union members are quick to tell their officials to change the brand of politics.

(To be continued)

## L.A. Gusanos win trial delay



Photo by John Gray

L.A. headquarters of SWP was hit by Cuban counterrevolutionary arson attack last May.

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—The trial of four Cuban counterrevolutionaries charged with arson attacks on The Haymarket, the Socialist Workers Party and the Ashgrove, scheduled to begin Nov. 12, has been postponed to Nov. 25 at the request of Randle Bate, attorney for one of the defendants, Orestes Hernandez.

Bate said he needed more time to get the names and addresses of witnesses against Hernandez. Joan Anderson, attorney for witnesses and victims of the attacks, protested revealing of addresses of witnesses in view of continued threats from Cuban exile terrorists.

Anderson advised the judge that a call had been received Oct. 18 at the SWP office threatening that "you people can expect to be exploded." The caller said he was from Alpha 66, a Cuban counterrevolutionary organization. Agreement was made that witnesses could be reached through their attorney.

Information available here shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that Cuban counterrevolutionaries were responsible for the series of armed arson attacks made last spring on three radical headquarters.

The July issue of *La Actualidad Politica*, a "Cuban anticommunist magazine," describes the attacks and boasts about "The Los Angeles Successes." Under a photograph of the Ashgrove, a radical coffeehouse attacked last June 7, the magazine false-

ly asserts that the coffeehouse is an SWP center, stating:

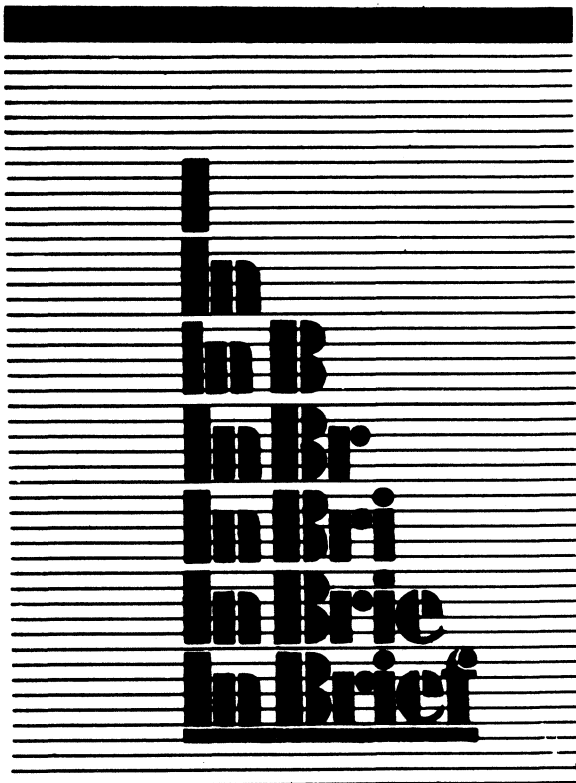
"This was the communist den of the 'Social Worker Party' [sic] (SWP) located at 8162 W. Melrose Ave., which was destroyed on the inside by fire, an act of which three fellow Cubans are accused.

"It was disguised as a bar or cabaret named Ash Grove, but it was actually the center of activities of the 'Young Socialist Alliance,' the faction of young radical communists in the SWP who are fanatics of the theories of Trotsky and who advocate violent means for the destruction of the democratic system in this country. And here is the amazing thing: THEY ARE ANTI-MOSCOW, ANTI-PEKING and PRO-CASTRO. . . . They are the leading agents of Fidel in the United States, and the most determined and dangerous enemies of the Cuban refugees."

Another article in this publication, headed "Cuban Commandos in L.A., Special Clandestine Report," says: "The history of a radical group of anticommunist citizens, known as Cuban Commandos, began in June 1967 in Los Angeles, with the slogan 'Against communist violence, democratic violence.'" The account outlines the attacks on The Haymarket, the SWP and the Ashgrove.

Leaders of the Cuban Youth of Los Angeles, according to the account in *La Actualidad Politica*, took the initiative in raising bail for the four Cubans accused of the attacks.





**ON STRIKE:** The demands in themselves were not so different from other striking workers. What made the strike for better working conditions, higher wages and the right to unionize so explosive was that it was taking place at California's Folsom Prison. Almost all of the 2,250 inmates have refused to go to work and says San Francisco Lawyer's Guild attorney David Sklare, who managed to briefly get inside the walls, "the prisoners are solidly behind the strike." With the strike now entering its third week, prison authorities have retaliated by shutting off the heat in the inmates' cells, reducing food allotments, and putting purported ringleaders in the hole. The prisoners named Black Panther attorney Charles Garry and Panther leader Huey Newton, among others, as their bargaining representatives, but the warden says he won't negotiate with them. The demands focus on wages that range from two to 16 cents an hour. "Part of the wage demand is that if paid a decent wage, the inmates could support their families instead of their families going on welfare," Sklare explains. The prisoners also want full constitutional rights at hearings where authorities determine whether a prisoner is to be sent to the hole. "The hearings are really a joke," says a Sacramento lawyer, Peter Schilla. The strikers have remained disciplined throughout the revolt. Not a single window has been broken nor has there been any destruction, Schilla said by telephone. He got into Folsom briefly last week. Meanwhile at Soledad Prison, some 50 inmates in the maximum-security wing staged a two-week hunger strike over abhorrent prison conditions. They managed to get a statement out to the press announcing solidarity with the brothers at Folsom and sympathy with Angela Davis, the imprisoned Black militant, and with the radical Latinos of Los Siete de La Raza on trial in San Francisco.

**NO WOMEN ALLOWED:** The National Press Club in Washington has voted to continue to exclude women from membership. A proposal to admit women failed to gain a two-thirds majority. The results: 522 affirmative votes and 243 negative. The club has 1,063 active members and so 709 favorable votes were needed. . . . **STUDENTS WANT CHINESE IN UN:** 83 percent of U.S. students think the UN should admit China to membership, a survey by the College Poll has found. The poll results were published in the New York Column Nov. 12. In the same survey in 1969, 71 percent favored admission. . . . **POLLUTION LEVEL:** Toxic pollutants are released into the atmosphere at the rate of 214 million tons a year—more than a ton for every American, says the National Air Pollution Control Administration (NAPCA). . . . **THANKS A LOT:** John T. Middleton, the commissioner of NAPCA advises individuals with heart or respiratory conditions to stay indoors during days in which air pollution levels are particularly high. . . . **PROFSFACE TRIAL:** The trial of 45 State University at Buffalo faculty members is scheduled to begin Dec. 19. The profs were arrested last March for staging a sit-in at the administration building to protest occupation of the campus by Buffalo police. They are accused of criminal contempt and criminal trespass. A contempt-of-court conviction was dismissed by a three-judge appeals panel Nov. 5.

**SUPERREAL** or at least closing in on reality are American comic books. In the current issue

of *Batgirl*, women's liberation activists storm a stage. In a *Superman* comic, *Daily Planet* reporter Lois Lane blasts editor Perry White for giving her a second-rate assignment "because I'm a woman." Robin, Batman's sidekick, rescues a youth from a freezing river, then looks at himself, covered with filth. "Yukk," he says, "Not only freezing, but polluted too! Look at all this crud on my uniform!"

**DIM VIEW OF DRAFT:** In May 1970, the Los Angeles Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station was programmed to take in 2,336 men but 976 failed to appear. Of those who did appear 18 percent flunked their final physical examination and 16 men refused induction, according to the Santa Monica, Calif., *Evening Outlook*. The biggest problem, says the paper, is not open draft resistance, but quiet refusal to participate. A total of 304 men refused induction in L.A. in all of 1969 but the "no-show rate" climbed steadily from about 24 percent at the end of 1968 to 39.7 percent in January 1970. Now, 30 percent of the staff time of the U.S. attorney's office in Los Angeles is reportedly spent on Selective Service problems. Their troubles are likely to continue. *Newsweek* observed Nov. 9 that an estimated 90 percent of the frontline troops in Vietnam are draftees.

**GROPPI APPEALS CONVICTION:** Militant civil rights priest, Rev. James Groppi, is appealing a sentence for contempt. His six-month imprisonment had been upheld last month by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit on charges of leading the takeover of the Wisconsin Legislative building to protest welfare cuts. Rev. Groppi tells this column the entire procedure from statute to arrest was unconstitutional. "They voted me into jail," he says. "I never had a chance to face my accusers." Groppi also faces a state disorderly conduct charge for the same demonstration. His lawyers are claiming double jeopardy. He said he hopes to get the legal cases over with so he can begin organizing again. Meanwhile, he is available to speak on campuses. For more information call (414) 342-5478. . . . **COLLINS APPEALS:** Black SCEF worker Walter Collins is appealing to the Supreme Court to have his conviction for refusal to accept induction reversed. He points to the fact that there are virtually no Blacks on local draft boards.

**JOB INJURIES:** A Labor Department study known as the Gordon Report, contains some incredible figures on on-the-job injuries. This column has obtained a copy of that report. Some of its findings: Each year 15,000 workers are killed and 2.2 million workers are injured on the job. Over half a million workers are disabled by occupational diseases from the effects of asbestos, beryllium, carbon monoxide, coal dust, cotton dust, cancer-causing chemicals, dyes, unusual fuels, pesticides, radiation, and other occupational hazards such as heat, noise, or vibration. Each working day, says the report, brings 55 dead, 8,500 disabled and 27,000 injured. "According to some analysts," says the report, "about 85 percent of the total labor force is currently exposed to the risk of incurring one or more disabling injuries during a working lifetime, and 3 to 5 percent of the current labor force will actually experience some form of seriously disabling work injury, including the possibility of loss of limb or life."

**CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT:** The correctional custody facility at Ft. Benning, Ga., is not called a stockade since the GIs imprisoned there for up to 30 days have been charged with only minor infractions of the Army code. "But the guys say it's so far worse than a stockade, it's unbelievable," says Don Duncan, the ex-Green Beret whose revelations about U.S. atrocities in Vietnam in 1966 caused a major furor. Duncan now works out of the GI Office in Washington, D. C., an activist group that presses GI grievances. His office investigated the facilities at the correctional facility, known as "Clark's Concentration Camp" by the GI prisoners in honor of Sgt. James Clark, who's in charge of it. The men charge they are worked 16 to 20 hours a day at hard labor. Eight GIs filed suit in U.S. district court in Columbus, Ga., charging cruel and unusual punishment and denial of due process and equal protection of the law. They want Clark's Concentration Camp shut down.

**SEALE TRIAL:** Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins are slated to go on trial this week on murder-kidnapping charges in New Haven, Conn. . . . **TEACHERS WANT OUT:** A YSA speaker polling a class of 70-80 elementary education and high school instructors in Illinois found 45 of

them in favor of immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. . . . **GI GETS DISCHARGE:** After a brief 11-month hitch, Al Greengold, a GI who took a leave from the YSA and SWP when he was inducted, has been discharged with no explanation except that it was "for the convenience of the Army." Greengold appears to have irked Army brass for some time. He spoke at the University of California in Berkeley last May at a rally of 7,000 protesting the Kent murders. Greengold said there that he was due to be shipped to Vietnam the following day, and so was going to help organize against the war there. Greengold showed up at the Oakland Army Base. His orders to Vietnam were withdrawn. He was shipped out to Ft. Hood instead. Greengold got a general discharge, which entitles him to all normal GI benefits, but he is applying for an honorable.

**CANADIAN ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS:** Here's a final tally on Canadian Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations. Figures come from Labor Challenge, a biweekly revolutionary-socialist Canadian paper: 1,200 demonstrators in Vancouver; 500 in Toronto; 300 in Saskatoon; 150 in Edmonton; 100 in Winnipeg; 75 in Hamilton; 40 in Ottawa. Actions were also held in London, Kitchener-Waterloo and Fredericton. Protests linked immediate withdrawal demand to a protest against the dictatorial war measures act. . . . **ROUNDUP IN BRAZIL:** 5,000 persons have been jailed in Brazil during the last two weeks, the Associated Press reported Nov. 6. *Le Monde* reported Nov. 4 that the roundup of "leftists" was described by authorities as a "training exercise." . . . **INTERNATIONAL CALLS FOR PROTESTS:** The Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, issued a statement Oct. 25 calling for demonstrations in as many countries as possible for the repeal of the Canadian war measures act and in solidarity with all political prisoners.

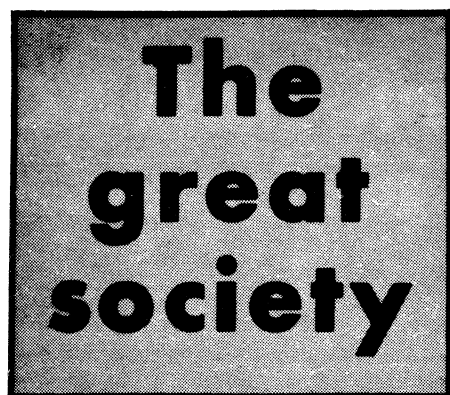
**MINNESOTA EIGHT:** Trial of two members of the Minnesota Eight has ended in conviction. Bill Tilton and Charles Turchick were found guilty Nov. 5 and face up to five years in jail and \$10,000 fine. They were arrested July 11 while breaking into three Minnesota draft boards. . . . **NEW FILM:** Have just seen *Going Down the Road*, a movie about the travails of two unskilled Canadian workers. It's worth standing in line to see. . . . **THE AMERICAN WAY:** It may have been the shortest term of office in history. Nine days after a hippie-radical was elected justice of the peace in Lawrence, Kansas, the state attorney general abolished the office. In fact, Philip Hill never got to serve. Hill's not an ordinary candidate. After he was elected, he announced he would conduct marriages for homosexuals but would do heterosexual marriages at an extra charge. He also said there would be civil court proceedings on environmental pollution and police harassment. Hill told this column that a group called the Kaw Valley Hemp Pickers helped him get elected. As a diversionary tactic, George Kimball, 26, ran a noisy campaign for "free everything for everybody" including quality marijuana and LSD, while Hill registered as a Democrat and ran unopposed, not telling anyone who he was. He got more than 6,000 votes. Hill doesn't think the abolition of his office will stand up in court. "We're going to the Supreme Court," he says. "We're pretty sure we can beat it."

Contributions to *In Brief* this week include: Mike Vezner, Minneapolis; Larry Owens, Austin; Don Sorsa, DeKalb; and Mike Smith, Detroit.

— RANDY FURST







**Not dulled by opiate** — A survey found atheists, on the average, earn more than believers.

**Unmotivated?** — A few thousand marched down Fifth Ave. in New York's annual Veteran's Day parade. For the first time the parade was without benefit of the music of an Army band. The First Army band was present when the parade formed, but it was raining and the musicians split. A member later explained: "The rain would have spoiled our instruments . . . and besides, we have a lot of other jobs, you know."

**Shopping tip** — The *New York Times* advises: "The man who yearns for a mink coat can hardly do better than Cardin's overcoat of dark, lush ranch mink with a calf-length hemline, a back pleat and roomy patch pockets for \$2,400."

**Safety note** — The next time you put a barbecue sandwich in the campus microwave oven, wear your lead drawers. The government finds one-third of them emit "excessive" radiation. Repairmen have suffered eye cataracts and burns, and sterility is reported in experimental animals. The government plans to issue stiffer safety standards next October.

**How esoteric can you get?** — Manila's regional police head ordered his officers to take a two-week course on "utmost courtesy and respect for civilians at all times."

**New crisis** — The world inflationary drive has doubled the cost of caviar in the past decade, pushing it up as high as \$72 for a 14-oz. "pound." Another problem is that the quality is deteriorating because the Russians are diverting water from the Volga river, causing a higher salt content in the Caspian Sea, a major source of caviar. Caviar buffs are studying proposals to divert some Arctic rivers to reduce the saltiness.

**Art dep't** — "Hand of God," a work by the late sculptor Carl Milles, is being erected outside Detroit's criminal court building and receiving a mixed critical reception. The work, which depicts the nude figure of a man twisted to gaze upward from the palm of a giant hand, was intended by the artist to symbolize the hand of god lifting man to behold the wonders of the universe. One defendant responded to the work with the comment: "Look at that man squirm — the law's got ahold of him."

**Chose your poison** — A team of California doctors said their studies show that a low saturated-fat diet cuts the death rate from heart disease in half but doubles the deaths from cancer.

**Let's put commerce back in Xmas** — Decca is promoting a socko hit for the holidays — "Jesus Christ, Superstar."

— HARRY RING

## Book review

# Jazz and the Black revolt

**BLACK NATIONALISM AND THE REVOLUTION IN MUSIC.** By Frank Kofsky. 280 pp. Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. \$2.75 (cloth \$7.95).

In class society, great artistic achievements almost invariably call into question the sacrosanctity of the status quo. Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* depicts a peasant woman of the fifteenth century as having all the grace and bearing associated with the aristocracy.

Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* attacks the notion that children are the property of their parents.

More contemporary examples abound: Picasso's *Guernica*, Brecht's *Mother Courage*, Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*, etc.

It is in the sphere of music that the essential truth of this proposition is hardest to comprehend, especially with regard to music unaccompanied by song, such as jazz.

In *The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach*, Ernst Fischer remarks that: "The problem of form and content in music — the most abstract and formal of all the arts — presents many difficulties. The content of music is conveyed in so many ways and the dividing line between content and form is so blurred that resistance against sociological interpretation has always been strongest in this sphere."

In *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, Frank Kofsky devotes himself to precisely this kind of sociological examination of jazz and the new developments within it.

Central to Kofsky's thesis is that jazz is the musical expression of the Black experience in America. In reply to those who hold the opposite view, that "anyone" can learn to play jazz, Kofsky argues:

"There is probably a certain amount

of truth in this — about as much truth as there is in the assertion that 'anyone' can daven in Yiddish as a cantor, can teach himself to become a flamenco singer in the style of cante hondo, can learn Indian ceremonial dances or Irish sea chanties or Japanese koto music, etc."

Kofsky points out that nearly all innovations in the music that have left a lasting imprint on the evolution of jazz have been the creations of Black musicians. As his example par excellence, Kofsky points to the magnificence of John Coltrane's achievement.

But what is the content that "the new Black music" has been trying to convey and how has it attempted to communicate this content? Kofsky points out that "there is an intense cross-pollination process that goes on between jazz and the Black community, the net effect of which is to guarantee that jazz — the music and the musicians — will either anticipate or reflect the mood, concerns, and aspirations of Afro-Americans. It is just this thesis that white jazz critics go out of their way to deny."

Increasingly, Black musicians have tried to convey through their music opposition to oppression and poverty, feelings of Black pride and self-assertion, impressions of group identity and purpose. Is this conscious on the part of Black musicians? To a very great degree it is, according to Kofsky.

Among the evidence that Kofsky presents is the following response to a question put to John Coltrane by Kofsky. The question was: Do you think that jazz is opposed to poverty, suffering and oppression and, if so, do you think that jazz is therefore opposed to U.S. involvement in Vietnam? Coltrane's answer is:

"In my opinion I would say yes,



John Coltrane

because jazz — if you want to call it that; we'll talk about that later — to me, it is an expression of music; and this music is an expression of higher ideals. To me. So therefore, brotherhood is there; and I believe with brotherhood, there would be no poverty. And also, with brotherhood, there would be no war."

Kofsky deals in great detail with the economics of jazz, especially in a chapter entitled "The 'Jazz Club': An Adventure in Cockroach Capitalism" and in the introduction. The essence of the whole setup is most succinctly summed up by Archie Shepp, a militant Black avant garde jazz artist: "You own the music and we make it."

— ARTHUR MAGLIN

## Local socialist directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 966-2416.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Hayward: YSA, Gary Sommer, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94542. Tel: (415) 537-3656.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.

Riverside: YSA c/o Woody Diaz, 6724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

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Photo by Howard Petrick

SMCers meet Ky at Kennedy airport

## Ky 'greeted' by SMC on visit to U.S.

NEW YORK, Nov. 18—The federal government went to considerable lengths last week to conceal the time and place of the arrival of its tinhorn Saigon vice-puppet Nguyen Cao Ky. Nevertheless, despite less than a day's notice and some last-minute official flight switching, the Student Mobilization Committee did have a delegation on hand at Kennedy Airport chanting "Ky Go Home" as the dictator arrived this past Sunday.

Ky held a record-breaking two-minute, no-questions "press conference" at the airport and then was spirited off by U.S. aides.

Despite official moves to give little or no advance notice of Ky's appearances during his slated two-and-a-half week U.S. visit, SMC chapters are already responding to a call by the organization's national office to organize demonstrations demanding withdrawal from Vietnam wherever possible on his itinerary.

"The American antiwar movement has only one thing to say to Ky," an SMC press statement declared, "Ky, go home!"

That was the message more than a hundred demonstrators brought to the general Nov. 17 when he showed up at the Rhode Island Naval Base. Ky reviewed some 700 Saigon sailors being trained by the U.S. Navy and again ducked the press.

That action was called by the University of Rhode Island Student Senate and backed by the URI SMC and the Brown University SMC and YSA.

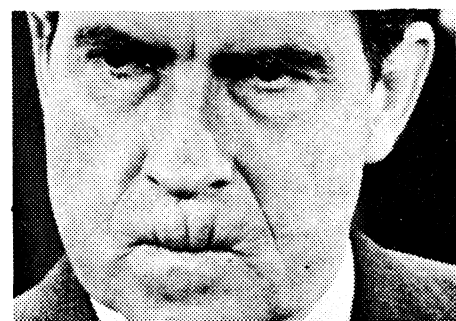
A demonstration is slated in Washington, D.C., Nov. 25 when Ky addresses the National Press Club. (The National Press Club, which recently voted to continue its ban on women members, did not say if it would permit Mrs. Ky to attend.)

Demonstration plans are also under way in San Francisco where Ky is slated to put in a Dec. 3 visit.

## Philadelphians picket Nixon

PHILADELPHIA — It's definitely possible to get an instant response to the president of the "free world." When the Philadelphia Student Mobilization Committee learned Nov. 16 that Nixon would be speaking at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in downtown Philadelphia the next day, they quickly distributed several thousand leaflets calling for a demonstration to protest his visit.

As a result, despite the brief notice, 400 turned out for a spirited demonstration. The protesters included a contingent of 80 who marched two-and-a-half miles from the U of Pennsylvania campus under the banner of the SMC.



## Seattle 8 face 'conspiracy' frame-up

By DOUG SWANSON

SEATTLE—The federal government was slated to begin prosecution Nov. 23 of the Seattle Eight on conspiracy charges in federal court in Tacoma, Wash.

The charges stem from a demonstra-

tion last February at the Seattle federal courthouse that was called to voice opposition to the Chicago Seven convictions.

The Seattle defendants are charged with conspiring to damage federal property and crossing state lines with

intent to incite riot. They are not charged with actual violence. They are not charged with rioting. Their "crimes" consist of thinking and of talking with others—the same type of actions necessary to organize any demonstration, march or rally.

If the Nixon-Mitchell forces are successful in convicting the Seattle Eight on the conspiracy charges, the ruling class will have gained a new powerful tool in their campaign to curb dissent.

On Nov. 13, the Seattle YSA and SWP sponsored a forum on the Seattle Eight conspiracy trial. Chip Marshall, one of the defendants, linked the trial to an emerging wave of repression. He said Seattle was picked as a testing ground because of the hostile local press and what he regarded as the conservative nature of the community. Stephanie Coontz of the SWP called for a broad defense coalition based on opposition to the conspiracy laws.

She said, "This is not a question of individual politics. This is an attempt to destroy the foundation of all mass movements. To deny us the right to organize and politicize large masses of people is to deny us access to the political system."

The Seattle SMC has formed a Conspiracy Law Task Force which is sponsoring a letter and newspaper ad to raise defense funds for the Seattle Eight. Jules Feiffer and a number of local trade unionists, professors and civil rights activists have signed the letter in support of the Seattle Eight.

We encourage others to hold forums and to raise money for the defense. For program information contact SMC Conspiracy Law Task Force, Box 111 HUB, U of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Make contributions payable to SMC Conspiracy Ad, in care of the above address.

To paraphrase an IWW slogan, an attack on one is an attack on all. We must stand together and defeat this threat to the movement.

## Angela Davis is indicted by California grand jury

On Nov. 10, a Marin County grand jury indicted Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee on charges of murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy.

The charges stem from the events

at the San Rafael courthouse on Aug. 7 of this year. In that incident, 17-year-old Jonathan P. Jackson attempted to free three prisoners, of whom one was Magee, scheduled for trial.

Seizing the judge and several jurors, Jackson and the prisoners escaped in a van.

But the effort failed when scores of state and local police leveled rifles and shotguns and shot up the van. Jackson, two of the prisoners, and the judge were killed.

Yet, the state of California is trying Magee for the murder of the judge. There was no shoot-out, as alleged by the police. Given the situation, everybody in the van could have been killed by police firepower. But then the police would have had no victims to make into the criminal.

Davis, a UCLA philosophy professor whom the Reagan administration has sought to red-hunt out of the educational system on the basis of her membership in the Communist Party has been included in the murder indictment on the basis of a state allegation that guns used in the events were registered in her name at the time of purchase.

With the indictment handed down, Davis' attorney in New York moved to postpone a slated Nov. 20 extradition hearing. The judge set a new date of Dec. 3.



Photo by Randy Furst