

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Step by step, lie by lie= the new escalation



"The only American activity in Cambodia after July 1 will be air missions to interdict the movement of enemy troops and materiel where I find that is necessary to protect the lives and security of our men in South Vietnam." — Richard Nixon, June 1970

JAN. 13, 1971 — A request by the Joint Chiefs of Staff that U.S. transport planes and helicopters be permitted to help ferry ammunition and South Vietnamese reinforcements operating in Cambodia has been rejected by the secretary of defense. . . . Laird turned down the request on the ground that it would violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the ban on U.S. troops in Cambodia. (*New York Times*)

JAN. 18 — The Defense Dept. said today that it would use the full range of its combat power throughout Cambodia against enemy troops and supplies that "ultimately" might threaten American military men in South Vietnam. . . . This included the use of American-flown helicopters to ferry South Vietnamese troops into combat. (*New York Times*)

PNOMPENH — American helicopter gunships flew at least three air strikes today in support of Cambodian troops trying to reopen the key overland supply route (Highway 4) to the sea. (*Associated Press*)

SAIGON — "There are no U.S. ground combat troops in Cambodia. There are no U.S. advisers in Cambodia," a U.S. press officer stated. But he was unable to say whether there might be "technicians" in the country. (*New York Times*)

SAIGON — The U.S. has put a freeze on further withdrawal of U.S. Air Force squadrons from the Indochina area. . . . Washington has apparently decided it needs to maintain this level of air power to back up the South Vietnamese, support Cambodia, keep up the current heavy bombing of Laos. In addition, there are expected to be more of the so-called "protective reaction" air strikes over North Vietnam. (*Christian Science Monitor*)

JAN. 19 — "The basic policy on Cambodia has not changed in relation to ground forces and in relation to U.S. air power. What has happened is that there is increased air activity and increased air authority which has been given in Cambodia to deal with the situation related to the dry season." — Ronald Ziegler, White House press secretary

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NATIVE AMERICANS ORGANIZE AGAINST WHITE VIGILANTES: Hank Adams, director of the Survival of American Indians Association in the state of Washington, was shot in the early morning hours of Jan. 19 while tending a fishing net in the Puyallup River during the special Puyallup Indian season for steelhead salmon. Adams was resting in his car when the incident occurred. Two white vigilantes opened the car door and one said, "You Indians think you own everything and have every right." One shoved a 22-caliber rifle into Adams' stomach and pulled the trigger. The terrorists fled as Adams fell back into the car. This attack was part of a continuing struggle for Native-American fishing rights. An 1854 treaty with the United States guaranteed the Indians unrestricted fishing rights in the accustomed fishing grounds of their ancestors. The state of Washington has repeatedly abridged those treaty rights and some of the state's white "sportsmen" have threatened Indian fishermen by cutting and destroying their nets. The day before the shooting, Adams had held a televised news conference to announce that the Indians would take protective action against the vigilantes' "program of terror." After being released from the hospital Jan. 21, Adams ruled out the use of arms at the present time, but he said that Native Americans would have to defend themselves. "This is not going to scare any Indians off the Puyallup River," he warned.

YPSL JOINS YAF FOR "COUNTERREVOLUTION": According to the Jan. 21 New York Times, the Young People's Socialist League, youth group of the moribund and reformist Socialist Party, has joined a Campus Coalition in Connecticut together with the Young Americans for Freedom, Young Democrats, Young Republicans and other groups. According to the Times, the purpose of the coalition, initiated by Grover J. Rees III, a 19-year-old student in New Haven, is to act "as a steering committee for counterrevolutionary efforts." When asked by The Militant if that was an accurate description of the group's goals, Rees replied, "I have a definition of counterrevolution which is consistent with our aims, but I wish they had used another word." Rees says the group intends to hold regular meetings of the leaders of the member organizations to "communicate the lessons from campuses which have had major disruptions to those which have not." Another activity will be "providing legal aid for individuals who are bullied and beat up" in the course of campus struggles. He says the coalition is planning to mail out this month a "kit containing information on how to deal with campus disruptions and those who cause them." Rees, who is chairman of the Connecticut Campus Coalition, confirmed YPSL's membership in the group.

HEARING FOR WHITE PANTHERS: The pretrial hearing in a Detroit federal court for three White Panthers charged with conspiracy to bomb an Ann Arbor CIA office ended after three days. If found guilty, defendants John Sinclair, Lawrence (Pun) Plamondon and John Forrest each face a maximum five-year prison term. Since Plamondon is also charged with the actual bombing, he would face an additional 10 years. During the hearing, defense attorneys William Kunstler, Hugh Davis, and Leonard Weinglass filed two motions. The main one is that the jury include persons of the age group between 18 and 29, since the defendants are all in their twenties. The second was that the defense be given transcripts of wiretaps on Plamondon's phone. A ruling on the motions is expected soon.

HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS HANDBOOK: The Student Rights Project of the New York Civil Liberties Union has just reissued its handbook detailing the rights of New York high school students on virtually every relevant subject. These include: suspensions, dress and hair, ceremonies, pregnancy, draft counseling, and political activities. The NYCLU has been accused by school officials of "fomenting student militancy" for publishing the booklet. Free single copies may be ordered from the NYCLU, 84 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10011. . . . **PROPOSED TEXAS SEX REFORM:** The Jan. 9-16 Advocate, a gay newspaper published in Los Angeles, reports that proposed changes in the Texas Penal Code would make it legal for a man to have sex with a dog but not with another man. Revisions in the law being proposed by the State Bar Association would eliminate as crimes bestiality in private, fornication, seduction on promise of marriage, "deviate" heterosexual conduct in private, and adultery—except as bigamy. Homosexual activity between consenting adults and rape would remain felonies.

CHICANOS SUE HOPS GROWERS: Closing arguments were heard Jan. 25 in Prosser, Wash., in countersuits between nine young Chicano organizers and two hops growers. The dispute stems from a strike in the Yakima Valley last September. When Chicano organizers went to Elie Patnode's ranch last Sept. 16 as authorized bargaining agents for hops pickers working at his ranch and that of Don Reil, they were met with guns. More than half the pickers had signed cards authorizing them to bargain. The organizers are suing on the grounds that Patnode and Reil interfered with their right to organize and bargain collectively. The two hops growers are countersuing, asking damages for hops destroyed by a wind storm while the pickers were on strike and charging the organizers with trespassing. During the proceedings, one grower testified that he hired "Mexicans, Negroes and Americans." Many Chicanos felt that this pretty well summed up the attitude of the growers. "We're Americans when it comes to dying in Vietnam," one said, "but we're just dirty Mexicans when it comes to getting a decent wage." . . . **L.A. CHICANOS PLAN PROTEST AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY:** Chicano Moratorium Committee leaders Rosalio Munoz and David Sanchez announced at a Jan. 15 news conference that the Chicano community will not be deterred from plans to hold a mass demonstration against police brutality Jan. 31 in Belvedere Park across from the East Los Angeles sheriff's station. With leaders of the Brown Berets, they denounced a red-baiting attack on the Chicano movement by L.A. police chief Edward Davis following a Jan. 9 demonstration against police brutality, which drew 1,500 Chicanos. "We don't discriminate in our demonstrations," they said.

PHILADELPHIA RALLY DEFENDS BERRIGANS: More than 700 persons in Philadelphia demonstrated in a snowstorm Jan. 24 to show support for the Harrisburg Six—Philip Berrigan and the five other individuals charged with conspiring to bomb a government heating system and kidnap a government official. The main theme of the action was the need to vigorously respond to this case as an attack on the entire antiwar movement. The demonstration was organized by a number of groups, including SANE, the War Tax Resisters League, the Regional Action Coalition, and the Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition. . . . **A HAIRY STORY:** Ozark Airlines has laid down a policy banning beards, goatees, handlebar mustaches, and mutton chop sideburns from the faces of its personnel. The Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association, which represents 450 of the airline's mechanics, is going into arbitration to protest the policy. "We intend to fight this all the way," said Ronald Wirts, president of the mechanics union. "Most of our members don't have long hair or beards, but we think that each man should have a choice."

MORE OFFICERS CALL FOR WAR CRIMES HEARINGS: On Jan. 20 four more young military officers called for an investigation into the responsibility of military leaders for U.S. war crimes in Indochina. At a Los Angeles news conference, the four cited Gen. William Westmoreland, Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, Gen. Creighton Abrams, and others as being worthy of such an investigation. Five other military officers, all members of the Concerned Officers Movement, announced Jan. 12 that they had made an official written request to the Secretaries of the Army and Navy that a court of inquiry be convened to investigate U.S. war crimes in Southeast Asia. . . . **ARMY TRYING TO DECIDE IF IT WANTS YOUNG SOCIALIST:** Atlanta YSA member William O'Kain was scheduled to be inducted into the Army Jan. 25. At a Jan. 20 news conference, he announced his intention to organize antiwar activities in the ranks if inducted. "I think it is better to spend two years in the Army organizing antiwar activity than running to Canada or spending time in jail," he is quoted as saying in the Atlanta Constitution Jan. 21. The next day, O'Kain received a letter from his induction center asking him not to show up for induction Jan. 25 so his case could be investigated further.

A NOTE TO READERS: Randy Furst, who joined our staff from the Guardian last April and who has been compiling this column, is now on his way to Minneapolis where he will be active in the SWP and YSA. We plan to continue In Brief. . . . Contributors to this week's column include Doug Swanson and Stephanie Coontz, Seattle; Lee Smith, New York; Della Rossa, Los Angeles; and Lew Pepper, Philadelphia.

—DAVID THORSTAD

Eduardo Creus released from prison; Lima threatens to restrict Hugo Blanco

The following statement was released Jan. 26 by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has confirmed through direct communication with the Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (CODDEH—Committee for the Defense of Human Rights) in Peru that Eduardo Creus, political prisoner held on the island prison of El Fronton, has been released by the Peruvian government and deported to his native Argentina. Reports from Argentina confirm that he has arrived safely.

Creus was released at 11:30 a.m. on Jan. 20, turned over to security police, and deported to Argentina that afternoon.

Peruvian President Velasco has also announced that 71 peasants, held for activities in defense of their rights, have been freed. Velasco said that there may be other political prisoners still in jail, but that all will soon be freed.

In December, Hugo Blanco, Hector

Bejar, and Ricardo Gadea, along with other political prisoners, were freed under an Amnesty and Pardon Decree-Law. Others, however, including Creus, remained behind bars. The prisoners who were released launched a campaign to free those still incarcerated (see *The Militant*, Jan. 29), and the USLA Justice Committee responded by organizing a supporting campaign in the United States. The newly announced amnesties represent a victory for this defense effort.

The USLA Justice Committee has also learned of an ominous development concerning the rights of Hugo Blanco. On Jan. 16, the Ministry of the Interior called Blanco in and forbade him to travel to the city of Cuzco. This city is in the region where Hugo Blanco led the organization of peasant unions, the work for which he was arrested in 1963. Blanco was also told that he is being watched, and that he must get permission from the Ministry of the Interior to travel outside of Lima. He had previously publicly announced his intention of visiting Cuzco, and told the ministry that "all

my actions are completely open and public."

Newspapers in Lima on Jan. 21 carried an interview with General Armando Artola of the Ministry of the Interior. The interviewer asked General Artola why Hugo Blanco could not go to Cuzco. He replied that Blanco could travel "anywhere," but "not if he is going to interfere with the agrarian reform." This refers to the fact that peasants in the Cuzco region are dissatisfied with aspects of the new agrarian reform law, which attempts to impose upon the peasants the necessity of paying for land they seized during the movement organized by Hugo Blanco.

The USLA Justice Committee urges that supporters of civil liberties wire the Peruvian government immediately, expressing concern about this attempt to intimidate Hugo Blanco, and requesting that the government place no restrictions on his movements.

Messages can be addressed to: Presidente de la Republica del Peru, Gral. Juan Velasco Alvarado, Palacio Gobierno, Lima, Peru.



Hugo Blanco

N.Y. women fight moves to roll back abortion law

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK — The Women's Strike Coalition, which has carried out two successful actions since the Aug. 26 women's demonstration in New York, has now set itself the task of responding to attempts to cut the heart out of the liberalized New York State abortion law passed last year. Bills have been introduced in the New York legislature (13 in all) which propose a multitude of restrictions to the law. Among the most dangerous is one which states that "an abortion may be obtained only to save the life of the mother."

The Women's Strike Coalition intends to respond to this blatant attempt to quietly abolish the gains

women have made in fighting for free, legal abortions in New York, by organizing a massive demonstration to take place at the legislature in Albany during the last weeks of March—to coincide with the legislature's debate on the abortion law.

This demonstration will be a vehicle through which women can express their opinions and feelings on the abortion question. It will show our determination not to allow the legislature to push back our fight for free, safe, legal, efficient abortions, not to allow them to control our lives.

The Coalition is also planning a city-wide Women's Liberation Conference at Barnard College on the weekend of March 6. Most of the work of organizing the conference is being done by Barnard and Columbia Women's Liberation groups, with the office of Barnard Women's Liberation serving as the organizing center for this Coalition activity.

The conference itself will be widely publicized on the campuses and high schools in the region and will aim to deal with a number of different areas of women's liberation work. Some of the workshops planned include child care, abortion and gynecological facilities and contraception, Third World women, and many others.

The Coalition hopes the conference will draw a sizable representation from New York's campus and high school women's liberation movement, and also that it will be the beginning of a dialogue between the campus and community women about areas where they can work together, such as the Albany demonstration in March. The conference will be open to all women.

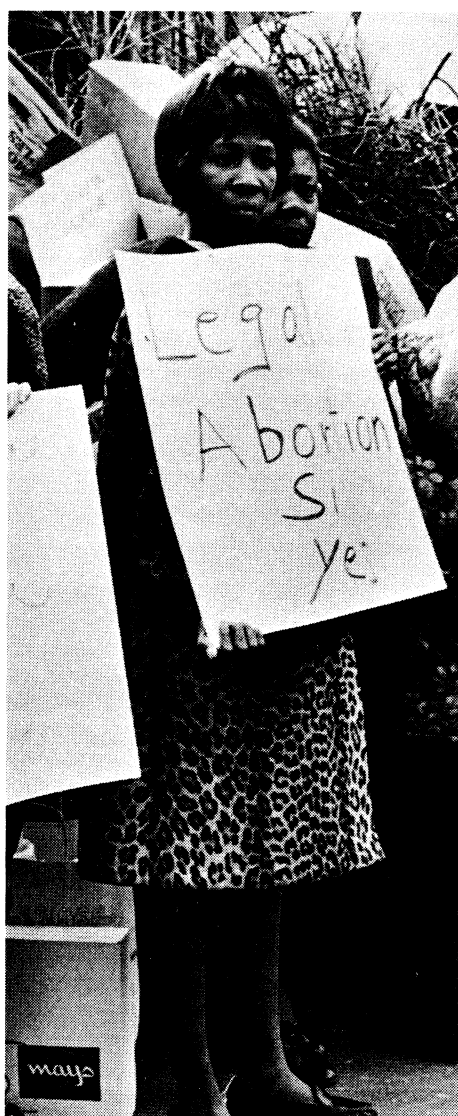
Third World women in the Coalition have formed a large, active Third World Women's Caucus which is directing itself to the issues and areas of particular concern to Third World women. This caucus is planning a rally at Harlem Hospital the second week in March demanding free abortion and community-controlled child-care facilities.

The rally will give Third World women an opportunity to speak for themselves on the question of abortion

and to propose their solution to the question of genocide: community-controlled abortion clinics. It will also provide a focus of activity for involving more Black, Puerto Rican, and

Latin women in the feminist movement.

For more information, contact: Women's Strike Coalition, 360 W. 28th St., tel: 989-0260 or 989-0261.



Help sell The Militant!

From Feb. 1 through March 15, *The Militant* will be conducting an intensive effort to win new readers. The goal of this "blitz" campaign is to introduce 7,500 people to the newspaper with a special 10-issue subscription for \$1.

The subscription drive, part of a long-range objective to transform *The Militant* into a mass-circulation socialist weekly, comes hard on the heels of a very successful fall subscription campaign that netted over 16,000 new readers. As in that effort, the current campaign will depend upon the readers of *The Militant*. You are the ones who will carry it out.

One of the central ideas of Marxism is that it is not enough to merely understand the world. You must also act upon that understanding to help change it. That's why *The Militant* works both to increase understanding of national and international events and to mobilize people in action to fight for a new world free of poverty, exploitation, racism, sexism, and war.

We appeal to you to join in this effort—to act upon your understanding of *The Militant's* importance—by helping us build the circulation of the revolutionary-socialist press. We ask you to take a quota in our new subscription drive—whatever you feel you can sell in the six weeks of the campaign—and send in the coupon below.

Clip and mail

I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this spring.

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☐ List the above quota in *The Militant's* weekly scoreboard.

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Camejo in Berkeley campaign



Antonio Camejo

Photo by John Gray

By FRED FELDMAN

BERKELEY—Antonio Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, launched his campaign at a news conference Jan. 21 by demanding the public seizure of Standard Oil stations and other property in California as part payment for the environmental damage caused by the recent oil slick in San Francisco Bay.

Camejo said that he and other SWP candidates would appear at a City Council meeting scheduled for Jan. 26 and demand that the meeting be turned into an open forum to discuss measures to meet the emergency and prevent recurrences.

Joining Camejo at the news conference were Andrea Land, Alan Wald, and Anita Bennett, candidates for City council, and Mary Lou Montauk, candidate for Berkeley Board of Education.

Camejo is an instructor in the Merritt College Chicano Studies Department. He was a leading activist in the 1969 struggle for a Third World college at the University of California. He has served on the Executive Council of American Federation of Teachers Local 1078 and has been a delegate to the Alameda County Central Labor Council. He is also an active participant in La Raza Unida Party in northern California.

Andrea Land is a leading women's liberation activist in the Bay Area. As a member of CORE, she helped organize the 1963 March on Washington.

Alan Wald has been an activist in the student movement at Antioch College and the University of California at Berkeley. He is a former organizer of the Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance and served on the strike coordinating committee during the May protests against the invasion of Cambodia.

Anita Bennett has been a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee in the Bay Area. In 1970, she was coordinator of Proposition J, the anti-war referendum in San Francisco which won a majority of votes.

Mary Lou Montauk, an activist in the socialist movement for more than 20 years, is a former social worker for the Alameda County welfare department and was SWP candidate for Oakland Board of Education in 1965.

The Socialist Workers Party ticket will be challenging both the Democratic organization candidate Wilmont Sweeney and the "reform" candidate Warren Widener. Widener is a member of the Central Committee of the Alameda County Democratic Party. Both are presently city councilmen. Widener is also a member of the Black Caucus, a community organization

which works to elect Black candidates in the Democratic Party.

The socialist ticket will also be challenging the candidates of the April Coalition, a reformist coalition of Democrats, liberals and radicals.

"We plan to carry the message to every corner of the campus and the community that there is an alternative to four more years of capitalist government," said Camejo. "We expect this to be the biggest campaign Berkeley has seen since 1912 when Berkeley had a socialist mayor."

Following the news conference, Anita Bennett spoke at a University of California rally protesting the irresponsibility of the Standard Oil Company for its role in the environmental disaster which occurred in San Francisco Bay.

4 SWPers nominated in Austin

AUSTIN—At a well-attended news conference held in the Texas state capitol Jan. 18, the Socialist Workers Party announced four candidates for the upcoming municipal elections.

Heading the ticket will be Mariana Hernandez, a long-time Chicano liberation activist who ran as the SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Texas in 1970. A six-year resident of Austin, she is challenging incumbent mayor Travis LaRue.

SWP candidates for Austin city council are Karin Salzman, Laura Maggi, and Mike Alewitz, all students at the University of Texas. Salzman and Maggi are active in the Austin women's liberation movement, and Alewitz was a major organizer of the Oct. 31 antiwar action in Austin last year.

Maggi and Alewitz, who are 20 years old, do not meet the 25-year minimum age for council candidates. "It's totally outrageous that people under 25 are not represented on the city council," Alewitz told reporters. "The thousands of students at the University of Texas are not considered part of the city," Maggi added. They cited a recent ruling by the Massachusetts attorney general that would give 18-year-olds the right to hold office.

Hernandez attacked "recent police tactics at the Booker T. Washington housing projects and against Chicano activists." Such incidents point to the need of Black and Chicano control of the police, she stated.

Maggi condemned the current city council's discriminatory policy on issuing parade permits for demonstrations. "As a student at UT, I have seen the city council consistently refuse student requests for parade permits," she said, "then paternalistically suggest that if students would stay in their



Mariana Hernandez

own 'areas' the permits would be approved. We students at UT consider all of Austin as our area, and we are interested in all facets of the city's work."

She urged support for the Jan. 30 demonstration and hearings against Texas' reactionary abortion laws.

Alewitz stated that if the SWP candidates are elected they would use city facilities for helping to mobilize the people of Austin to participate in the April 24 antiwar march in Washington, D. C.

Jenness begins a nat'l tour



Linda Jenness

Photo by Jon Britton

By ALEX HARTE

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia in 1970, began a nationwide speaking tour Jan. 30. From her first stop in Detroit, she will travel to at least 25 cities in the next three and one-half months. Her topics will be: "The 1970s: The New Crisis for American Capitalism and the Struggle for Socialism" and "Why Feminism is Revolutionary."

In an interview with *The Militant* before she left, Jenness stated, "I plan to speak on campuses from Tampa to Seattle with the purpose of winning young people to the ideas of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party."

"There are thousands of revolutionary students, feminists, Blacks and Chicanos who will join the socialist movement," she said, "if we can reach them with our ideas. My tour will help to do this."

She expects to receive honorariums for most of her campus meetings.

Jenness became one of the most prominent radical speakers in the South as a result of her campaigns for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970.

A few days before the mayoralty election in October 1969, Raleigh Bryans of the *Atlanta Journal* wrote: "Few persons crash the big city scene the way Linda Jenness did in Atlanta. She decided to run for Mayor. . . . Mrs. Jenness made her biggest splash by winning a court suit that compelled the city government to lower the entry fees it was charging candidates in the election."

When she announced her campaign for governor a few months later in the state capitol, the *Atlanta Journal* commented in an editorial, "The politics of Mrs. Jenness is way out by local standards, and no computer would predict victory for her right now. However, she has something to say which at least will be different, and therefore will attract interest to a mediocre group of potential runners. Furthermore, history is on the side of Mrs. Jenness."

She challenged the discriminatory state election laws in federal court, and her suit is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court.

She's debated many of Georgia's leading capitalist politicians including Atlanta's Mayor Sam Massell and Jimmy Carter, recently elected governor of Georgia. "But Lester Maddox publicly stated that he would not appear on the same platform with me," she said.

Jenness was a leader of the Atlanta Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam for nearly two years and an active member of the Emory University Women's Liberation group. She has spoken at many southern campuses on the importance of the women's liberation movement.

She visited Puerto Rico in 1968 as the national representative of the Young Socialist Alliance to the one-hundredth anniversary activities of Puerto Rico's independence movement.

In January 1969, she was part of a delegation from the United States that spent five weeks in Cuba attending the tenth anniversary celebrations there. On her return, she spoke to many audiences about her trip, and articles she wrote about Cuba are included in the pamphlet *Women in Cuba* (Pathfinder Press, 35 cents).

2 Blacks off ballot in Chicago

CHICAGO—H. Edward Stanbeck and Isiah Williams, Black candidates for Chicago's Board of Aldermen, have been disqualified from the ballot in the Feb. 23 election. Although both Stanbeck and Williams submitted the legally required number of signatures on their petitions, the Board of Elections ruled Stanbeck off because his petitions were not numbered and Williams was dropped because his petitions were joined together with a paper clip instead of a staple.

They have appealed these discriminatory decisions to the federal court of appeals and have requested that a three-judge panel be convened to decide upon the constitutionality of such trivial and arbitrary laws.

In a release issued on Jan. 15, Naomi Allen, SWP candidate for alderwoman in the 43rd Ward stated: "These unjust and unconstitutional acts by the Board of Elections are a clear attempt to discriminate against independent candidates and minority viewpoints. Other candidates should see this attack for what it is and give full support to Stanbeck and Williams, to defend the right of all candidates to express their views in the elections and come before the voters."

Stanbeck and Williams are candidates in Chicago's 9th and 34th Wards respectively.



Naomi Allen

New assault on Cairo Blacks by state police

By DALE GAREE

CHICAGO—In response to an attack by 175 Illinois state police on the Black community in Cairo, Illinois, the Rev. Charles Koen, executive-director of the Cairo United Front, announced plans for new mass mobilizations in defense of the Cairo Black community. The plans were made public at a press conference held at Malcolm X Community College Jan. 22.

The attack occurred Jan. 21 on four apartments in Pyramid Courts, a Black housing project. The raid came at 2 p.m., at a time when most of the Front staff and the residents were at work or away on other business. Four people were arrested: Frank Hollis, Elsa Lane, Rev. Walter Garrett, and Wallace Whitfield.

Rev. Garrett was the most severely beaten, and he is in the hospital at the present time. Lane, who is pregnant, was also beaten. She was transferred to a hospital from the jail this morning. Her condition is not known. Whitfield was clubbed as he tried to prevent the police from assaulting his mother, Mrs. Geneva Whitfield.

The four are being charged with assault and battery and resisting arrest. In addition, Hollis is being framed up on the charge of possessing weapons without a permit.

Rev. Koen stressed the political motivation behind the raids and charged the governor's office with complicity. Two weeks before, the Front had started a campaign to expose what was going on in Cairo and the governor's involvement in it. Rev. Koen also indicated that the economic boycott, in its twenty-second month, has taken its toll, with some businesses closing and



Pyramid Court housing project, scene of brutal police assault Jan. 21.

Photo by Derrick Morrison

others virtually bankrupt.

The Front plans mass mobilizations, beginning with a National Survival Day on Feb. 6. A meeting will take place at 11 a.m. in St. Columba Church in Cairo. The second mobilization will focus on a mass rally at Holy Angels Church in Chicago at 1 p.m. on Feb. 27. Rev. Horace Jones of the Peoria United Front will be heading up the organizing drive in Chicago for next month's actions. He emphasized the necessity for all those who wanted to defend Cairo to mobilize on these dates.

Money for bail and food and clothing for survival in Cairo can be sent to the United Front's special account at Independence National Bank, 7936 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, Ill.

Sheppard denounces police attack

The following statement was issued by Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago Jan. 22.

The attack yesterday by 200 state police and vigilantes on the Black community of Cairo is another in a long series of racist attacks on the residents of that community. . . .

As a candidate for mayor of Chicago, I express my outrage, and the outrage of the other candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for city office, at the silence and complicity of Chicago's public officials in the face of these attacks. Not once has Mayor Daley or any other politician of the Democratic and Republican machines in Chicago raised a voice in protest.

This alone shows their unfitness to speak for the city of Chicago—a city which is over 50 percent Third World. . . .

I will use my campaign to mobilize the people of Chicago, of Illinois, and of the country against this outrage.

I urge everyone to join the support rally for Cairo on Feb. 27.

Quebec nationalists fight against legal frame-up

By ROBERT DUMONT

The following article is reprinted from the January 18 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.

The legal frameup of radical Québec nationalists took a new turn January 8 when Michel Chartrand, leading Montréal trade unionist, was sentenced to a year in prison for contempt of court.

Chartrand, one of the five leading defendants accused of seditious conspiracy as well as membership in the outlawed Front de Libération du Québec [FLQ—Québec Liberation Front], had appeared before Mr. Justice Ouimet to submit a motion for quashing the charges. When Chartrand urged the judge to disqualify himself from the trials on the grounds of prejudicial statements he has made about the persons accused, the judge quickly slapped four convictions of contempt on Chartrand.

In a court appearance the previous day, the labor leader had protested the repeated postponements of his trial. With his trial date now set for February 1, he said, he will have spent almost four months in jail simply awaiting a show trial on illegal and unconstitutional charges.

"How would you like to spend (a further) three weeks in jail, without your wife, without the sun?" he asked. "Who will give me back all this time lost? Somebody will pay me back, I guarantee you that. And they wonder why some people want to blow everything up." (This last sentence was mistranslated in the English newspapers as "The sooner things will blow up, the better.")

Appearing after Chartrand, codefendant Robert Lemieux, the radical lawyer, sought to withdraw a bail application for himself, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon and instead present

it to another judge. Lemieux said Mr. Justice Ouimet had threatened him by telling him in private to think twice before defending some of the people accused under the "public order" act.

The trials of those accused of FLQ membership began January 11 and are expected to drag on for several months. The seditious conspiracy trials begin February 1, and the trials of those accused of murdering Pierre Laporte begin February 8. However, the judges are openly threatening to hold over many of the accused to the fall assizes on the grounds there are too many prisoners to deal with this spring. The government, anxious to sustain the atmosphere of crisis and insecurity provided by these serious charges, is clearly in no hurry to dispose of the trials. And as the vicious sentence against Chartrand indicates, it is prepared to throw the book at the political prisoners.

By keeping the repressive Public Or-

der Act on the books, the Ottawa and Québec governments aim to keep their hands free to continue their arrests and harassment of the Québec nationalist movement. Just before his departure for Singapore and the Commonwealth conference, Trudeau said he would not revoke the Act until the police give him "ironclad guarantees" of no further terrorism in Québec. And, for the first time, he clearly committed his government to introduce during this session permanent repressive legislation along the lines of the present "temporary" measures.

All of the leading prisoners have complained of prison conditions. Chartrand says he is detained "in a five-by-seven cell with no lights, no nothing." Charles Gagnon is reported to be very sick, complaining of stomach pains and eating very little. Some of the political prisoners are on a hunger strike to protest failure to obtain bail.

Lindsay suspends case workers for helping family

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—Mayor Lindsay had little to say this week about demands by thousands of New York City employees for substantial pay hikes. But he had plenty to say after a welfare family of five was—for once—given decent housing, even if only for two nights, in the Waldorf-Astoria. Lindsay was determined not to allow any such "extravagance" under his administration.

When informed of the situation, he promptly ordered all workers involved in the heinous crime suspended.

Welfare recipients who are unable to find apartments are normally given temporary housing in the most run-

down slum hotels in the city. Such "temporary" quarters, often without heat, cooking facilities, or adequate bathrooms, frequently become more or less permanent.

A case worker, a supervisor and a housing consultant at Brooklyn's DeKalb center were suspended without investigation or notification for their role in the humane treatment of the welfare family. The suspension triggered a walkout by the center's entire staff of 300 the next day, with the approval of the union, Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Local president Stanley Hill and director of AFSCME District 37, Victor

Gotbaum, issued immediate statements saying that "agency-wide action would be taken if the workers were not immediately reinstated."

Two of the three have been reinstated, and Local 371 has demanded immediate arbitration on the third, with an arbitrator selected by the union.

DeKalb workers have returned to their jobs, but the atmosphere in the department remains restive because of Lindsay's arbitrary action and the lack of progress in negotiations.

Case workers throughout the city have been on a low-key job action since the beginning of December, re-

fusing to provide any but emergency service to cases assigned to them beyond the contract maximum of 75. The average caseload is about 90.

The city is moving ahead with plans to close five welfare centers it claims it cannot afford. Case workers and clients have demonstrated in front of administration offices demanding that the centers remain open.

In trying to close welfare centers and giving wide publicity to its growing welfare budget the city is pitting welfare clients against employed workers on its payroll, saying it does not have money for everyone and they will have to fight each other to get anything for themselves.

Antiwar unity

Washington's current escalation of the Indochina war makes it imperative that there be a united spring offensive against the war. Specifically, this means building maximum unity in action between the National Peace Action Coalition and the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression.

NPAC has under way a spring antiwar program, with a national demonstration in Washington and San Francisco April 24 as a central focus. NCAWRR has projected a program focusing on activity in Washington and elsewhere the first week in May. Representatives of the two groupings have discussed the prospects for united action, and hopefully these discussions will continue.

If there is to be common action, it will necessarily be on the basis of a frank recognition of the differences of political approach that exist between the two groups and an objective determination of what specific actions and programs they can realistically work out in common.

In this regard, we would take issue with the report in the Jan. 21 issue of the *Guardian* on the NCAWRR conference in Chicago Jan. 8-10. *Guardian* reporter Carl Davidson was one of the few participants in that conference who spoke out clearly on the need to seek united action with NPAC. Yet his account of that conference, as it appears in the *Guardian*, is completely wide of the mark in reporting what the difficulties are.

The *Guardian* reports that the NCAWRR conference failed to resolve the problem of the split with NPAC and "the need for a united course of action for the projected spring offensive." But it then mistakenly asserts that "both groups are planning separate mass demonstrations in Washington less than two weeks apart." (Emphasis added.)

If both groups were in fact planning essentially similar actions—that is, mass demonstrations for immediate U.S. withdrawal—then agreement on a single demonstration could be quickly arrived at. But in reality there is only one mass antiwar demonstration being planned for Washington—the one being organized by NPAC for April 24.

As is clear from the *Guardian's* own account of the NCAWRR gathering, the only thing actually agreed on there was to hold some vaguely defined actions sometime during the first week in May in Washington and other cities, with civil disobedience as a central thrust.

The only Washington action already under way besides April 24, is the May 1 auto "stall-in" now being organized by Rennie Davis and other assorted ultralefts who consciously counterpose adventuristic "confrontations" to mass demonstrations.

The only specific demonstration date voted by NCAWRR was May 5, a Wednesday, with the provision that the action would include but not be limited to Washington and would have civil disobedience as its major attraction.

Entirely apart from its merits—and we consider it singularly devoid of merit—such an action cannot reasonably be portrayed as a national "mass demonstration." No one would seriously argue that significant numbers of unionists, GIs and students can be brought to Washington on a weekday for an action whose central feature is civil disobedience. If May 5 is to be a local action in Washington and other cities, then of course there would be no contradiction between it and April 24.

Despite the very real differences of approach, there can be a significant amount of common action by NPAC and NCAWRR this spring. Both are already agreed on building the April 2-4 actions marking the death of Martin Luther King. Both are agreed on supporting the May 16 demonstrations at military bases in solidarity with antiwar GIs. NPAC is planning campus and community actions May 5 commemorating the Cambodian invasion, and the Kent and Jackson murders.

Meanwhile, significant new forces are giving support to the April 24 demonstration. Those in NCAWRR seriously concerned with building a mass demonstration against the war need have no difficulty joining in.

The *Guardian* has declared editorially its commitment to mass demonstrations for U.S. withdrawal and to achieving maximum unity of antiwar forces. There is now every reasonable prospect for a common program of spring action, including united efforts by all who favor building April 24. Support for such a spring program by the *Guardian* and its readers could contribute substantially in advancing the cause of unity.

Letters

Eqbal Ahmad defense

Ahmad Eqbal of the Adlai Stevenson Institute of Foreign Affairs was one of six persons, including three priests and a nun, indicted Jan. 12 on charges of plotting to kidnap an adviser to President Nixon and to blow up the heating system of government buildings in Washington. Through the efforts of his many friends and associates, Dr. Ahmad was released on bail.

It is obvious that the antiwar activities of Dr. Ahmad and the codefendants constitute the impetus for the indictment. We are asking our colleagues, irrespective of political views, to make a financial contribution that will assist in obtaining the legal services needed to guarantee Dr. Ahmad a fair trial.

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod
Eqbal Ahmad Legal Defense Fund
P. O. Box 127
Wilmette, Ill. 60091

'Anti-Semitism'

For some time now, I have felt that our society has needed a drastic change to make America a better place to live. A few months ago, a representative from the YSA came to our history class to explain socialism to us. What he said was very logical, so I decided to study more on the subject. I bought a subscription to *The Militant*.

For the past seven weeks, I have read your continuing column on the Palestine liberation struggle. I find your views anti-Semitic. For example, why haven't you mentioned the persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union?

If you are anti-Semitic because Russia is against the Israeli cause, then you do not understand the basics of pure socialism. Instead you are following the words of Kosygin and Brezhnev, who advocate totalitarianism.

A prejudice against capitalism could not be your reason for anti-Semitism. Both Israel and the U. A. R. are capitalistic in their own ways. If you have studied Israel closely, you will realize that she possesses the only true socialist system in the world in her kibbutzim.

If these are not your reasons, then what are? Because of the views expressed in this letter, I cannot identify with socialism in your terms.

James Huysman
Exeter, N. H.

We oppose Israel because it is a colonial, settler state similar to South Africa and Rhodesia. By its very existence, it denies the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people, who have been driven from their homes and land by the creation of Israel and the Zionist policies of that state. The fact that Jews have been oppressed in other countries in no way justifies Israeli oppression of the Palestinians and other Arab people.

We support the demands of the Palestinian people for the creation of a Palestinian state in which all citizens, non-Jews and Jews alike, would enjoy full democratic rights. Such a state would replace the current state of Israel.

We totally and emphatically reject the false notion that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. On the contrary, we believe that Zionism is an enemy of the Jewish people. Instead of pointing to imperialism as the

main promoter of anti-Semitism today, instead of calling on Jews to combat anti-Semitism by joining hands with others who are oppressed and exploited by imperialism, Zionism pits Israeli Jews against their real allies, the Arab masses of the Middle East. Only when imperialism is destroyed will Arabs and Jews be free.

It is correct to identify Israel as a capitalist country. Moreover, it is totally dependent on stipends from Western imperialism and the Zionist movement. The kibbutzim play a minimal role in the Israeli economy and are, for the most part, capitalist enterprises, many of which exploit lower-paid Palestinians and Arab Jews. Kibbutzim do not prove Israel to be socialist any more than hippy communes prove that the U. S. is communist.

As for the anti-Semitism of the Soviet bureaucracy and the persecution of Jews and other national minorities in the U. S. S. R., see the article in the Jan. 15 *Militant* "Soviet hijack trial and anti-Semitism."

The Soviet bureaucracy has not opposed "the Israeli cause." In fact, they supported the creation of Israel, and today the main objective of the Soviet leaders is to persuade the Arab governments to reach a settlement which would deny the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people and recognize the continued existence of the state of Israel. —

Editor

N. Y. cops

An article concerning an unauthorized strike by New York City Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America appeared in the Jan. 15 *New York Times*. It read in part:

"After the strike ratification meeting, 1,000 of the strikers demonstrated behind barricades in front of the AT&T building at 195 Broadway at Fulton St. Six demonstrators were arrested in a scuffle there."

I want to know why those cops were down there breaking up a wildcat meeting and demonstration while their own cohorts were wildcatting themselves. Why couldn't they have pulled a work slow-down where it would have done workers some good?

N. S.
Pittsfield, Mass.

Military intelligence

Revelations about military spying at the University of Minnesota have created widespread concern and anger here. The revelations were made by two former military intelligence agents, Christopher Pyle and Richard Kasson, at a Jan. 15 meeting of 300 students sponsored by the Minnesota Student Association.

They told of spying on campus groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, interrogation of foreign students, and collaboration between Army intelligence and the university police.

One event selected for surveillance was the YSA convention held at the university in December 1969.

Kasson said that the Army's CONUS intelligence headquarters at Ft. Holabird, Md., had requested "four or five" agents to "infiltrate" the convention. He claimed to have opposed the plan and said the assignment was given to the University of Minnesota Police Department.

The university and the university

The Great Society

police chief have denied any collaboration with military intelligence. Yet Kasson produced photographs of political rallies and events which he had obtained from Army intelligence and which were clearly stamped "University of Minnesota Police Department" on the back.

Pyle, who worked at Ft. Holabird, said that the YSA is spied on "damn near everywhere" in the country. Army intelligence keeps records on many different groups and individuals, he said, including the NAACP and the Urban League.

David Keil
Minneapolis, Minn.

Double standard

There are several well-known facts about the railroad settlement imposed by Congress last year and one not so well known. This last is what interests me and most other railroad workers right now.

We went back to work Dec. 11—after being on strike less than one full day—when a federal district court issued an injunction and ordered fines of \$200,000 a day if we stayed out.

Congress had pushed through anti-strike legislation on Dec. 10 but had also ordered a 13.5 percent wage increase with retroactive pay.

This is all true. But the more important truth is that most of us have not yet—after six weeks of waiting—received any raise or any retroactive pay.

How is it that the edicts of Congress must be obeyed immediately by the workers and can be ignored forever by the carriers?

J. D.
St. Paul, Minn.

Hunting Defended

In her defense of Randy Furst's opinion that small and big game hunters are mentally ill, Nancy Uhl (*Militant*, Jan. 29) makes the pessimistic and un-Marxist statement that "man- and womankind . . . most likely never will" play a key role in "preserving the balance of nature."

Kendall Green's letter (*Militant*, 22), to which Uhl is replying, begs the question because it does not talk about hunting for sport but defends hunting on the basis that in a planned society, trained hunters who would have to pass stringent tests will help to protect the deer population from starvation.

Both Uhl and Green are wrong. Under socialism much better means than killing with rifles could and will be found for looking after deer and other wild species. At the same time, provision could be made for an animal population that would allow hunting if socialist men and women desired it. Whether they will or not, we can't tell. But under capitalism, the problem with hunting is not that you must be crazy to do it—it is a pleasurable sport—but that it has become so expensive you must be rich to do it.

L. S.
New York, N. Y.

The letters 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. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

New challenge to tax dodgers—Extending current taxation principles to their ultimate conclusion, a bill was introduced into the Rhode Island legislature to place a tax on sexual intercourse.

What more could you ask?—The National Association of Broadcasters voted to shave commercial time during prime evening hours from 10 minutes per hour to a mere 9.5 minutes. And, in keeping with their insistence on good taste, they continued the ban on hemorrhoid remedy commercials. Next thing, they might even improve the programs.

We lose more majors that way—Major Hugh Bauer of the U.S. military mission to the Congo was killed by a crocodile while taking a dip in the Congo River during a Sunday picnic with friends.

Cultural note—Italian producer Franco Zeffirelli is ready to shoot a film on the life of St. Francis, who will be depicted as history's first socially

conscious dropout. The cast will be made up completely of unknowns, unless they can get Sir Laurence Olivier to play the pope. In keeping with St. Francis' asceticism, the film will be budgeted at \$2-million.

Do they have bad breath?—Union Carbide says that it will have to lay off 125 workers at its plant of 1,400 at Marietta, Ohio, to meet a federal order to reduce pollution by 1972.

Fable for our times—"PENANG, Malaysia, Jan. 7 (AP)—Malaysia's warring frogs were reported to have hopped to another bitter clash today, leaving 50 dead or wounded, after two months of truce. Reports from the field said the battle had taken place along the Ipoh highway . . . five miles from the battlefield where hundreds of frogs were reported to have been killed in November. . . . Zoologists say the frogs fight when swamp water covers breeding grounds and the amphibians compete for scant remaining areas."

Why don't they just stay home?—New York State legislators are planning to invest about \$200,000 to install bullet-proof plastic around the galleries of both houses. A spokesman said they "realized how vulnerable they are sitting there without any protection."

Shop early for Xmas—Rathcon, an outfit that peddles flight bags, etc., on American Airlines, also lists a 14-carat gold table service, \$62,360. Which may sound a bit steep until you consider that each set comes in a mink-lined solid cherry case.

Value judgement—Responding to observations that his \$240,000 pay was 10 times that of a government minister, an Italian soccer coach commented: "In modern society, one earns what one is worth."

Thought for the week—"The whole purpose of advertising products is to sell them."—Madison Ave. executive Alfred Seaman.

— HARRY RING

Third World Liberation Notes

"Security Grows Tighter in Nation's Courtrooms" was the headline on an article in the Jan. 17 New York Times disclosing that "some judges go to court with guns concealed under their robes."

The article, by Jon Nordheimer, is quite candid and very nonchalant about the fact that an increasing number of judges—in New York, the Midwest, and California—are dispensing so-called unbiased judicial decisions with arms in hand.

After describing how people entering the courtroom nowadays are being subjected to searches and seizures by armed guards and bailiffs and by electronic equipment, Nordheimer sees nothing wrong with judges carrying concealed weapons on the bench.

He writes of one Florida judge, "He would not disclose the caliber of his weapon. 'It's big enough,' he remarked. 'I'm not going to be pecking at any one if I have to protect myself. Mine will stop someone dead in his tracks.'"

The biggest revelation in the article is that judges, prosecutors and clerks operating out of Marin County courthouse in San Rafael—where Angela Davis is being tried—carry guns on occasion. This courthouse may have the heaviest police atmosphere in the country. At the Davis arraignment, police sat ringing the courtroom.

Instead of responding with a modicum of justice after the judge at San Rafael was shot and killed last year by police while he was a hostage of escaping convicts, the courts are responding with arms. This attitude was probably best summed up by a Florida judge, David Popper of the circuit court of Miami, when he said to Nordheimer, "I've probably given more death sentences than any other judge in Florida, and I don't want to end up like that poor fellow in San Rafael."

Detroit Black Panther Dianna Brown was acquitted of charges of assault and battery on jail guards, following a two-day trial in early January. Brown is in jail awaiting trial on frame-up charges against 16 members of the Detroit National Committee to Combat Fascism. They are accused of conspiracy to murder all Detroit policemen and murder in the first degree (see *The Militant*, Nov. 13, 1970).

As the first witness for the prosecution, one guard testified that he alone went into the jail cell to bring out

defendant Brown. The second witness, also a guard, stated that he and the previous witness both went into the cell to bring out the defendant.

A third guard testified that all three went into the cell to get Brown. They were not to be outdone by a matron, who testified that the four of them went into the cell. Brown testified she hit the guard with a broom in order to defend Kim Gardner, whom she claimed was under attack by the guards.

Four of the women arrested in the Oct. 24 police attack on the Detroit Panthers have been released on bail. Although these women have not been found guilty of any crime, curfews and limitations have been imposed which are surely unconstitutional. Among them are a 9 p.m. curfew and a denial of their right to appear at any public gathering. The latter ruling has the effect of not only stopping the sisters from attending rallies but also from attending school. The four are: Carol Smith, Beverly Fleming, Linda Warnaley, and Silvia Robinson.

In the aftermath of the revolutionary upheaval that shook Trinidad last April, the Anglophile government of Prime Minister Eric Williams is now conducting trials of the participants. Because the army refused to move against the Black power demonstrations at the time, the defendants in the present trial include 10 enlisted men and three officers. The government, according to the Jan. 16 Baltimore Afro-American, is trying to maintain that there was some kind of conspiracy or plot to overthrow it last April.

Two of the officers on trial are Rex LaSalle and Michael Bazie.

The date for the retrial of Huey P. Newton will be set on Feb. 11. The date was supposed to be set this month, but Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry, is in New Haven, Conn., going through the process of selecting a jury for the forthcoming trial of Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins.

Newton, BPP minister of defense, had a mistrial declared last June after higher courts ruled that the trial jury in 1968 had been given inadequate instructions by the judge. Newton had been framed on charges of killing a cop, but the jury reduced it to manslaughter.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Why 'set-the-date' is a retreat

By HARRY RING

Some 500 supporters of Women Strike for Peace rallied on the steps of the nation's capitol Jan. 21 to initiate a new antiwar effort. The occasion was the swearing in to Congress of Bella Abzug, recently elected liberal Democrat from New York's 19th District. The theme of the WSP demonstration was the demand that Congress "set the date" for ending the Vietnam war.

In an address to the group, Abzug said she would introduce a resolution into Congress that the U.S. set a date of July 4, 1971, for ending the war. During her campaign, she had said she favored immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

After the rally, WSPers tacked similar declarations on the office doors of various congressmen. The declaration stated in part:

"We hold you responsible to set the date for the complete withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia. . . .

"We want complete withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia in 1971. . . .

"Set the date and there will be meaningful negotiations in Paris. . . .

"We insist Congress must set the date within the next four months for total withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia in 1971. . . .

"Women Strike for Peace will mobilize and educate the American people to support congressmen who give leadership in Congress and in their constituency to set the date to end the war. . . ."

The decision of WSP to focus on the "set-the-date" demand constitutes a serious political retreat from the group's previous position of demanding immediate U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

In demanding that the U. S. set a date for withdrawal, WSP and others who have picked up on the idea seem to be responding to the position put forward in the Paris negotiations by the North Vietnamese government and the South Vietnamese liberation fighters. The Vietnamese have declared themselves ready to negotiate all of the basic issues related to ending the war as soon as the U. S. sets a definite date by which it will withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

The Vietnamese have proposed a date of June 30, 1971. With Nixon's failure to respond to this, the Vietnamese have called on him to put forward an alternate date for withdrawal.

They have noted, with obvious justice, that the failure of the U. S. to either accept their date or offer an alternative one makes clear they are not at the bargaining table for serious purposes of seeking to end the war. They have properly sought to make the American people aware of this in the hope that it will increase the pressure on Washington to end the war.

While the set-the-date stand taken by WSP and others in the antiwar movement is not unrelated to the position taken by the Vietnamese at the Paris bargaining table, the two are entirely separate political matters and an assessment of the WSP stand does not constitute an assessment of what the Vietnamese are doing in Paris.

Only mindless sectarians and/or factionally blinded opponents of the Vietnamese revolution, would argue that the beleaguered Vietnamese people have no right to enter into negotiations as part

of the effort to get the U. S. aggressors out of their country. And whatever concessions they may deem it necessary to offer as a means of furthering that aim must necessarily be judged in the context of their particular situation in relation to the enemy.

Victims of U. S. imperialist aggression may be compelled to make concessions—and it clearly is a concession to propose that an invader set the date for ending the invasion. But this in no way justifies U. S. opponents of the war watering down their opposition. The U. S. antiwar movement does not have a gun at its head as the Vietnamese people do. There is no good reason for the antiwar movement to demand anything less than "out now!"



Bella Abzug

An old debate

The issue is, of course, not a new one. It has been the focus of debate and political struggle within the antiwar movement from the outset.

As the movement against the Vietnam war developed during the mid-60s, various moderate forces within the movement—SANE, the Communist Party, and others—argued that while they sympathized with the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Vietnam, they regarded it as "too advanced" for the mass of the American people. They asserted that a mass antiwar movement could not be built on the basis of such a "radical" demand. Instead, they insisted, the antiwar movement should seek to mount pressure on the U. S. government to enter into negotiations with the Vietnamese for an eventual settlement of the war.

Those who argued for the negotiations position were invariably the same ones who placed major emphasis on rallying support for capitalist "dove" politicians as the primary means of opposing the war. As the negotiations vs. withdrawal debate developed, it became apparent that these reformist forces opposed the withdrawal demand, not because they feared it would cut them off from the masses, but rather because they feared it would cut them off from the "doves," all of whom were committed to one or another variety of a negotiations proposal as counterposed to the immediate withdrawal position.

Those in the movement who fought for the withdrawal position were motivated by a series of considerations. They recognized that such a position was the only one consistent with principled support to the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination.

Further, they argued—and the subsequent development of mass antiwar sentiment confirmed this

—that while the withdrawal demand might admittedly be too radical for the "dove" politicians, it was in fact the one central antiwar demand around which masses of people could be effectively rallied.

Further, political developments had made plain that the negotiations stand was being exploited by the war-makers to lull antiwar sentiment while they continued to press for military victory in Vietnam. Lyndon Johnson, and then Nixon, piously proclaimed again and again that they more than anyone else wanted a negotiated settlement of the war. They merely neglected to mention that they wanted a "negotiated" surrender of the Vietnamese people.

As the antiwar movement grew in size and power it became so apparent that the withdrawal demand was the only principled and effective one that even such reformists as the Communist Party were forced to reverse field and join in supporting the demand.

And as popular sentiment for withdrawal mounted, various "dove" politicians began making noises that sounded like they too favored immediate withdrawal, even if a close scrutiny of what they actually said showed it really wasn't quite so.

Ruling-class differences

Now, as the war escalates and enters a new stage of crisis, the capitalist "dove" politicians again feel the need to more actively relate to popular antiwar sentiment and to register their uneasiness at the acute difficulties the war is creating for American capitalism. Figures like Senator McGovern are now talking of the need to "set the date" for U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

The Vietnamese have noted this revival of a public divergence within the U. S. ruling circles and have, entirely properly, sought to exploit it to their own advantage. And it is equally correct that the U. S. antiwar movement should seek to do likewise. The question is how.

The existence of dissident forces within the U. S. ruling class on the question of Vietnam is, of course, not the result of any concern for justice or moral principles. Various groups within the American ruling class, and those within the two major parties who speak for them, have become convinced that from the viewpoint of U. S. imperialist interests, the aggression in Vietnam has become a very sticky business. It is promoting rather than rolling back revolution abroad, and it is fanning a deepgoing social crisis at home. They would like to see a negotiated settlement by which U. S. imperialism could finally extricate itself from a bad situation without undue cost. Some of them, like McGovern, believe the worsening Vietnam situation will prove inimical to U. S. imperialist interests in the Mideast and Latin America.

Basically, their critical approach to the U. S. aggression in Vietnam is a response to mass pressure at home and abroad. (Consider how the cooing of the doves has increased or decreased in volume in proportion to the high points and low points of the antiwar movement.)

What this clearly suggests is that the effective way to drive the wedge further between the differing stratas of the ruling class is not to ease the pressure by adapting to their positions—e.g., "set-a-date"—but precisely by intensifying the pressure with more mass actions and with even greater insistence on the demand: no more stalling, out now!

Such an approach will also keep the pressure on the U. S. negotiators in Paris. It was largely to defuse domestic antiwar sentiment that the U. S. bargainers went to Paris to begin with. Their posture in Paris will only harden if there is a modification of the demand for immediate withdrawal by the U. S. movement.

It is certainly necessary to expose the monstrous fraud of the U. S. government piously talking of a "winding down" of the war while it moves forward to ominous new escalations. But the only thing that will prevent those escalations is a more massive struggle than ever for the immediate, unconditional, unilateral withdrawal of every last U. S. soldier from Southeast Asia.

Expose the hypocrisy of the U. S. talking about desiring an end to the war but refusing to set a date for doing so. By all means. But to use this as a justification for retreating from the demand for withdrawal to the negotiations plea is to render a grave disservice to the American people and to the Vietnamese revolution.

Phila. peace coalition to meet

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia Peace Action Coalition is holding a regional antiwar conference at the University of Pennsylvania Fine Arts Building on Feb. 6, beginning at 12 noon.

The purpose of the conference will be to implement the plans and decisions made at the Dec. 4-6 conference of the National Peace Action Coalition held in Chicago.

A keynote address at the conference will be given by Jerry Gordon, a national coordinator of NPAC. There will be workshops on the various projected actions, as well as constituency workshops. All are invited to attend.

Detroit Blacks map antiwar actions

By WALTER JACKSON

DETROIT — Support for the spring antiwar actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition is widespread in Detroit's Black community. In response to a drive for sponsors on the part of members of the Black Task Force of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now and of the Detroit Student Mobilization Committee, a number of leaders of the Black community here have officially endorsed the spring peace offensive and offered aid in building the actions.

Endorsers of the April 24 March on Washington include Albert B. Cleage, pastor of the Shrine of the Black Madonna; Claudia Morcum, former coor-

dinator of Detroit Citizens for Proposition Peace and currently chairwoman of the Michigan Angela Davis Defense Committee; state representative Jackie Vaughn III; state senator Coleman Young; Frank Ditto, director of the East Side Voice of Independent Detroit; Lonnie Bates, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Michigan; Nellie Dunlop, director of the Detroit Welfare Rights Organization; and William Penn, executive secretary of the Detroit chapter of the NAACP.

Although plans for activities commemorating the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on April 3-4 have not yet been decided, all of the groups

and individuals who endorsed the spring peace action have indicated a desire for united action on those days.

SCLC here in Michigan is planning activities for April 4 and sees the possibility of a massive rally or demonstration on April 3 as a good prelude to whatever activities it and other groups may be planning.

While the local chapter of the NAACP has not mapped out plans for commemorative activities, it has indicated a willingness to help plan and build a united action April 3 or 4 in commemoration of Dr. King and against the war in Indochina. They have offered the use of their facilities, including materials needed for publicity.

"What we want to do," said Malik Miah, staff member of the Black Task Force here in Detroit, "is get all of those people interested in the April 3-4 and April 24 actions together so that we can concretize a plan of action. We plan to hold such a meeting within a week or two. Then we think it would be good to take the ideas we come up with to the Black community as a whole so that all those who wish to get involved in the struggle to bring our brothers back home can do so and can have some say in what is going to be done."

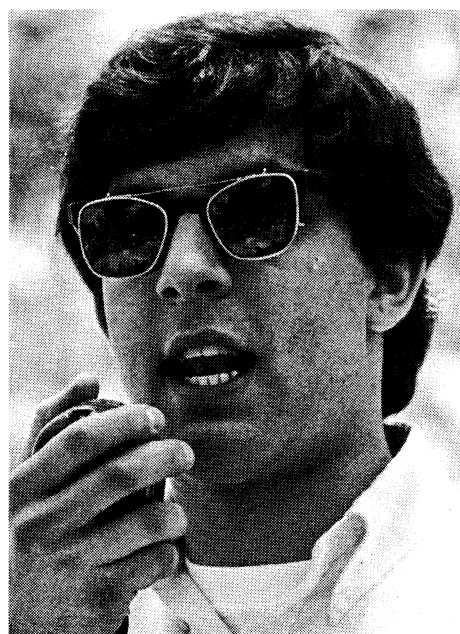


Detroit NAACP endorses April 24

The following is a letter to John Hawkins of the Black Task Force of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now from William Penn Sr., executive secretary of the Detroit branch of the NAACP:

"I am very pleased to inform you that on Monday evening, Jan. 18, 1971, the Detroit NAACP Executive Board voted to endorse your organization's spring activities as outlined in your letter, aimed at bringing an end to the war in Vietnam. We hope this effort will be the final act needed to achieve the desired goal of most of the citizens of this nation."

National tour to build SMC conference



Don Gurewitz

WASHINGTON — To help build the upcoming national antiwar conference, the Student Mobilization Committee will be sending its executive secretary, Don Gurewitz, on a whirlwind two-week speaking tour of the Midwest, South and East. In addition to speaking to campus-wide meetings, Gurewitz will meet with SMC activists, student government leaders, representatives of various campus and youth groups, and other key figures in the student antiwar movement and city-wide coalitions. He will also be holding news conferences in a number of cities and raising funds for the spring offensive.

The theme of Gurewitz' talk will be "The Crisis of Nixonization." Analyzing the current military situation in Southeast Asia, especially Cambodia, the massive disaffection of the GIs, the renewed attention to the war from the

major media and the liberal political establishment, and the growing uneasiness among the general public, his talk will point to the SMC conference as a major focus for launching a reinvigorated spring antiwar offensive.

The conference, says Gurewitz, "will deal with every facet of the struggle against the war, from massive education about Nixon's lies to mass action in the streets this spring, from high school rights to the GI movement to independent antiwar action by women and Third World people. There will be a special emphasis on the fight to abolish the draft," he explained, "especially in light of the fact that the current draft law expires in June."

Gurewitz' tour will take him to the Ohio region Feb. 1-3, the Detroit-Ann Arbor area Feb. 5-8, the Chicago area Feb. 9-10, the Southern region Feb.

11-13, the Boston area Feb. 14-16, and the Philadelphia area Feb. 17-18. For more information about the tour or to arrange speaking engagements in your area, contact the SMC national office at 815 17th St. NW, Room 503, Washington, D.C. 20006. Or call (202) 628-5876 or 628-6834.

The SMC national office also reports that their conference-building campaign includes a special issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, a special issue of the *GI Press Service*, a conference miniposter and sticker, a national mailing to students and underground publications, a special expanded meeting of the SMC working committee which will bring together key SMC organizers from the eastern half of the country, and a number of other special projects and campaigns.

Black Moratorium is held in Riverside, Calif.

By IRVING HALL

RIVERSIDE, Calif. — Well over 300 people, predominately Black students, participated in the first Black Moratorium against the Vietnam war on Saturday, Jan. 23. The march and rally held in Riverside were organized by the Black Alliance (BA), a campus-community group.

A non-Third World contingent was organized by the Student Mobilization Committee and a women's liberation group. Several dozen Chicanos also walked the estimated three miles through the central business area and the Black and Chicano communities.

The chant of "Stop, stop, stop the war, bring the brothers home" was changed to "No more brothers in jail, end the war now" as the march passed between the county courthouse and Riverside County jail. Several dozen persons joined the march as it proceeded to Bordwell Park in the heart of the ghetto.

Despite persistent rumors of a police attack, no incidents occurred. Moratorium organizers utilized a visit to the University of California at Riverside by local police dignitaries earlier in the week to stress publicly the non-confrontationist, nonviolent nature of the day of protest. However, the Riverside police did seize the opportunity provided by the Moratorium to initiate its new helicopter service. Two whirly-birds, delivered only two days before, flew over the march.

The first speaker at the rally was Horace Jackson, Black principal of the predominantly white North High School. Jackson related the number of Black GIs who have died fighting in America's wars "only to return to civilian status to be treated like subhuman beings." He said that from Crispus Attucks, a Black and the first American to die in the American Revolution, to the 38,000 Blacks who died in the war

"to save the union," and the battalions of Black cavalymen used as shock troops against Native Americans, Afro-Americans have continued to serve a government which refuses them first-class citizenship or nondiscriminatory treatment in the military.

Jackson described the race riots after World War I in which returning Black servicemen were lynched in uniform for protesting discrimination. He concluded his speech by citing the rising Black power movement among Black GIs.

Tyrone Hooks, president of the UC Riverside Black Student Union, related the demand for Black self-determination in the United States to the struggles in Indochina, Latin America, and Africa. Not only should Blacks demand the release of all Black political prisoners in this country, he said, but also the release of Blacks jailed in South Africa and the thousands of

Blacks in stockades in Vietnam, all of whom were imprisoned for fighting against the "same racist, capitalist, imperialist system."

As a result of the march and rally, two of the organizers of the event, Roy McKnight and Higgins of the BA, are discussing a state-wide Black Moratorium as well as an organized Black contingent in the April 24 antiwar mobilization in San Francisco.

Forty Black students from the UC campus at Santa Barbara drove over 100 miles in a caravan to attend the Moratorium. A delegate from their group read greetings to the rally. Jeff Higgins of the Black Alliance chaired the rally.

Other organizations supporting the event were the UCR Black Women's Study Group and Black Student Union.

By **ANTONIO CAMEJO and ANITA BENNETT**
BERKELEY—The Jan. 18 collision of two 17,000-ton Standard Oil tankers just outside the Golden Gate Bridge and the subsequent spillage of 840,000 to 2 million gallons of bunker oil (more damaging than crude oil) has created one of the worst ecological disasters in recent history. Birds coming in contact with the thick, tar-like oil are unable to fly. In their desperate attempts to clean themselves, the highly toxic material enters their bodies and poisons them. The oil also breaks down their natural protective coat, bringing the cold ocean water in direct contact with their bodies. The drastic lowering of their body temperature drives the birds into shock and death.

Of the hundreds of waterfowl being treated at special centers set up by volunteers, fewer than 10 percent are expected to survive. When the death toll is finally known, it will surely reach into the thousands.

But there is a far more serious loss than the birds. Anemones, algae, and tiny sea creatures will also die, cutting off the food supply to other forms of life dependent on them. The damage to the already endangered ecological balance of the 50-mile-long bay cannot yet be measured. But many ecologists already fear that it may now be impossible to save the bay.

But the oil did not limit itself to the bay. Strong ebb tides carried it out into the Pacific Ocean, spreading a slick over 50 miles long from Point

plowed across the entrance to a small estuary. Oil had already entered the estuary, and 10 or 15 young people, mostly high school women, moved about in the shallow inlet with pitchforks and hay, trying to absorb the oil.

The ridiculously small amount of hay available on the beach, the lack of experienced technical advice, the lack of medical teams to treat birds or young people bitten by the frightened birds, and the aimless action of the few army personnel who were helping the students was a pathetic sight. Many of the young people sat demoralized around a small fire on the beach. They had stayed up all night fighting the oil with little success.

A young man pointed out just beyond the breaking surf where hundreds of oil-soaked birds were floating on the surface, still alive. "They're afraid to come to shore because of the people, and we can't catch them."

The Coast Guard has done nothing. Standard Oil could easily staff a ship with experts to go along the coastline retrieving birds and treating them on the spot. They don't.

"The Army starts to do one thing and then a Standard Oil official comes in and says to do something else," said the young man. "What a combination: big business and the Army!"

At a beach in San Francisco a young man angrily asked: "They can get the National Guard to Berkeley in two hours. Why not to the beaches?"

"We are here doing this job because it has to be

tween 1968 and 1970: 197 from vessels, the rest from land.

Cutting corners increases profits. Thus Standard Oil has pressed into service tankers that should be condemned, that are more likely to break up in rough waters, and that are equipped with obsolete or inadequate navigating equipment.

Government officials have merely looked the other way and ignored the potentially dangerous situation. A U.S. Coast Guard hearing was recessed "indefinitely" minutes after it began, because the Sierra Club, a conservationist group, made a motion that they be allowed to participate as a public representative.

The Coast Guard and Standard Oil have worked together to keep silent on the details of the collision. Standard Oil even attempted to get the Marin County Sheriff's Department to close all beaches to thousands of volunteers so only Standard Oil people could work there. The assurance of public outrage at the attempt to hide the extent of damage from public view led the sheriff to deny Standard Oil's request.

One of the most frightening facts revealed was that if one of the ships had been carrying explosives, say to Vietnam, the Golden Gate Bridge would have been totally destroyed. The tankers involved were small coastal oil transports of only 17,000 tons. Standard Oil of California has probably as many as eight 212,000-ton tankers and three 70,000-ton tankers in service. They presently

An ecological disaster for the Bay Area



Oil-soaked Fort Cronkhite Beach in Marin County

Reyes in the north to Pacifica, south of San Francisco.

Every beach along the entire 50-mile coastline remains threatened. A change in weather could wash the remaining oil ashore, causing irreparable damage.

Standard Oil officials claim that they have retrieved about 40 percent of the oil with skimmers and vacuum ships. But emulsification in rough waters has already made the rest difficult if not impossible to collect.

Clumps of the tarry substance have also hardened sufficiently in the cold bay waters to sink to the bottom, where toxicants will continue to take their toll by contaminating crab beds.

In the wake of the collision, thousands of young people rushed to beaches, harbors and other threatened areas, desperately trying to hold back the tide of oil. Standard Oil, in an attempt to cover up its negligence, has made token contributions of mineral oil, corn meal and other materials used in cleaning birds, and stated they would pay the expenses of volunteers working on beaches and in bird-rescue centers. Many people, however, have not received any money from the company, despite presentation of receipts.

The efforts of Standard Oil have been characterized by the indifferent use of too little equipment, too late. An indication of the totally irresponsible and uncoordinated action by Standard Oil was evident to us at Fort Cronkhite Beach, part of a military reservation.

We were driven to the beach by one of our campaign supporters. As we neared the area we noticed a barricade of sand which an army bulldozer had

done. But we're not volunteers." This is the thinking of many young people who didn't have to be told to come down to the beaches. "Standard Oil should pay us union wages; we're doing their work."

The major bird-rescue station is located in Richmond, home of a large Standard Oil refinery and shipping complex, which is the worst overall polluter in the Bay Area. Ecology Action, a group of students and faculty, fought for the lives of hundreds of birds at facilities provided by the University of California.

Facts coming to light indicate the reasons behind the tragic crash. The two tankers were attempting to navigate the narrow Golden Gate channel in zero-visibility fog. Crewmen from similar Standard Oil tankers say they are tankers of World War II vintage with obsolete radar and insufficient backup systems and in general disrepair.

Control of shipping in and out of the bay is another problem. We called the San Francisco Port Authority to find out the destination of the outgoing tanker. An official responded: "We have no idea. We do not control the traffic of Standard Oil shipping. We are only in charge of ships that come into our port. They have their own private control."

The equivalent of this would be if every airline had its own control tower, its own schedule of take-off and landing times, independent of what anyone else was doing.

Tankers do not produce profits while docked. Thus the oil companies press them into service as quickly as possible, even in low-visibility weather. The speedup in loading procedures at the Richmond port resulted in what one crewman referred to as "a normal spillage of 20 to 30 barrels of oil into the bay at each loading."

The Bay Regional Water Quality Control Board recently reported that there were 518 reported spills of oil and chemicals into San Francisco Bay be-

have on the drawing boards plans for 500,000-ton tankers. One can only imagine what would have happened if ships of this size had been involved in the collision.

The need for larger and a greater number of tankers is to a great extent due to the war in Vietnam. Since 1964, the volume of oil transported by Standard Oil of California has doubled. In 1969 the corporation netted, after taxes, \$453,780,000 in profits.

The spillage of 385,000 gallons of fuel oil into Long Island Sound by another Standard Oil tanker within a week of the California disaster only points up more clearly that those of us who are concerned with preventing the destruction of our environment by profit-hungry corporations must map out a course of action which can mobilize thousands of people to demand the right to control the activities of these destructive corporations and to force those responsible for disasters to pay for the damage and for the steps necessary to repair it.

SAN FRANCISCO—Phillip Berry, president of the Sierra Club, will be speaking on "The Environmental Crisis—The Case Against Standard Oil" at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday, Feb. 5.

Barry Weisberg of the Bay Area Institute and author of "Eco-Cide in Indochina" will share the platform with Berry.

The meeting, called in response to the great Standard Oil spill in San Francisco Bay, will begin at 8 p.m. at the Longshoremen's Memorial Hall, 150 Golden Gate Ave. For more information, call 626-9958. Donation: \$1.

Antonio Camejo and Anita Bennett are Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor of Berkeley and for Berkeley City Council, respectively.

THE NEW ESCALATION

Continued from page 1

SAIGON—“The military command, which has been known to twist and turn before to avoid political repercussions from military actions, thinks the prospect of stirring up a storm at home could remain minimal so long as it follows the ‘don’t touch ground in Cambodia’ rule.” — *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster

JAN. 21, SAIGON—It was reliably reported today that American advisers and South Vietnamese officers were traveling together on command and control helicopters in Cambodia and periodically setting foot on the ground despite Pentagon assertions to the contrary. (Associated Press)

WASHINGTON—Defense Secretary Melvin Laird today invoked the two-year-old Nixon Doctrine and a recent military aid bill to provide the rationale and authority for expanded use of American air power in Cambodia. “We will use air power, and as long as I am serving in this job, I will recommend that we use air power to supplement the South Vietnamese forces, as far as the air campaign in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia” is concerned, Laird stated. (New York Times)

WASHINGTON—“The test of domestic tolerance, some officials privately acknowledge, involves much more than the current operations in Cambodia. It gauges public acceptance of the general process of gradually substituting helicopters and attack planes for foot soldiers. . . . It is conceded that Mr. Laird was preparing the public for future, possibly larger, air operations. . . .” — *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith

JAN. 24—As the situation in Cambodia appeared to worsen, American officials disclosed that they were using a broad range of U.S. airpower there, including logistical support and helicopter gunships. B-52s hit southwest of Pnompenh for the first time and helicopter carriers moved into the Gulf of Siam, off the Cambodian coast. (New York Times)

JAN. 25—American officials in Pnompenh have developed a program for a “military equipment delivery team” that would send U.S. military representatives through the Cambodian countryside to check on deployment of American military equipment. Qualified American officials who disclosed the plans said that the Americans “would not fall into an advisory role.” . . . Pentagon spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim said that Congressional limitations did not prohibit sending American military instructors into Cambodia so long as they were not assigned as advisers to Cambodian military units. . . . Friedheim said that those military men working out of the American Embassy in Pnompenh turning over military aid equipment to the Cambodians might from time to time show them “where the on-off switch is.” (New York Times)

JAN. 26—The Defense Department acknowledged today that 15 to 20 Americans in civilian clothes landed at Pnompenh airport last night to retrieve two damaged helicopters and take them back to South Vietnam for repairs. The men were disclosed to have been carrying sidearms. (New York Times)

By ED SMITH

JAN. 26 — The quotations beginning on the front page and continued on this page make two things clear: the Nixon administration has decided on a major new escalation of the war. It is attempting to cover this turn in Southeast Asia with a pack of lies and double-talk at each step of the way. And it is carefully “testing” public opinion to see how far it can go.

This has a number of precedents in the past decade of U. S. aggression in Vietnam. From the very beginning, Washington politicians and military men have periodically persuaded themselves that just a little more bombing and bloodletting will finally do the job former President John F. Kennedy started out to do in 1961: that is, to destroy the forces of popular revolution.

The more difficult this becomes, the wider they spread their devastating bombs. It appears as though the predominant military conception in the Pentagon is that revolutions “are fed from the outside.” If they fail to crush the revolution in one place, that must be because it is getting support from somewhere else. Thus the war ever widens in concentric circles of bombing, defoliation, and the forced movement of the indigenous population to hovels in refugee camps.

The comparison between Cambodia today and South Vietnam five years ago has been frequently made, but it should once again be underlined. Johnson ordered hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops on massive “search and destroy” operations throughout the South Vietnamese countryside, and thousands and thousands of Vietnamese and Americans died in the slaughter. Johnson also leveled an air attack against North Vietnam that grew to be the biggest ever launched against any nation in history, with more bomb tonnage dropped than during the entire Second World War.

But in 1968, neither the capital city of Saigon nor any other city, village or town in South Vietnam proved to be immune to revolutionary upheaval. When Johnson decided not to run again for president, not long after the Tet debacle, Washington was no closer to subduing the revolution than it had been five years earlier when the assassination of Kennedy brought Johnson to the White House.

Nixon’s attack on Cambodia last May was supposed to be the final step necessary to destroy the “outside sanctuaries” and at the same time to stabilize the new military regime in Pnompenh. But today it cannot even be said that Lon Nol’s capital city is

a secure refuge isolated in a sea of “hostile” territory. The bombing attacks inside Pnompenh, so typical of an earlier stage of the Vietnam war, announce that the revolution is penetrating Pnompenh itself.

The Pentagon’s answer has been the most intensive bombing yet of Cambodia and Laos, renewed bombing of North Vietnam, and the renewed use of American combat troops in Cambodia.

In addition to the escalation in Cambodia, there has been an alarming announcement from Saigon of plans for “what is expected to be the largest organized movement of peasants in the history of Vietnam,” as reported by *The New York Times*, Jan. 11: “. . . the movement could involve between two million and three million peasants throughout two military regions during the next three years. . . . Some Vietnamese, sharply critical of the movement, say that the plan is a political move by the government against the Vietnamese of the northernmost provinces, who have consistently resisted control by the Saigon government. . . .

“By moving the peasants, these critics say, the government would attempt to disperse its opposition at the cost of still more suffering.”

This horrendous plan to evacuate the inhabitants of the entire northern area of South Vietnam emphasizes beyond any possible doubt the continued inability of the South Vietnamese regime to stabilize its hold on the populace and the prospect of ever-widening “pacification” warfare extending indefinitely into the future, so long as the U.S. continues to prop up the Saigon military clique.

There can no longer be any question that Nixon is massively reescalating the war; the question is to what degree, how far will the administration go? And the answer to that question above all depends on the response of the antiwar movement.

The quotations in the adjacent column underline the importance of public opinion in checking each administration move.

The spring antiwar offensive must provide a resounding and unequivocal demonstration of public outrage against Nixon’s policies, not only against each step of the new escalation, but the whole course of U.S. aggression from beginning to end. Massive demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco April 24 for the immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia will be the response of the American people.

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Polaroid's 'experiment in South Africa'



The Sharpeville Massacre has come to symbolize the struggle against the hated identification passbooks South African Blacks are required to carry. Polaroid manufactures the photographic equipment used to make the passbooks.

By CARLA HOAG

BOSTON—On Jan. 13, the Polaroid Corporation took out full-page ads in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and some 20 Black weekly newspapers. The same ad appeared in all the papers and was entitled "An experiment in South Africa."

The intent of this ad was to shore up Polaroid's "liberal" image after the corporation had been publicly exposed by its own Black employees in Boston for doing business in South Africa. Black workers at Polaroid number about 900 out of a total of 9,000 employees. Most of them are in production or janitorial jobs.

A group of Black workers known as the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRWM) publicly revealed how Polaroid photographic systems sold to South African firms were being used by the government to help produce the heinous passbooks Black South Africans must carry. Any Black caught without a passbook, containing his picture, fingerprints, and other data, is subject to immediate arrest.

The PRWM was formed last October after Black workers discovered that the all-white composition of the sales department was due to the business conducted with South Africa. The organization is demanding a complete and total ban on Polaroid sales to that country.

To stem the tide of the mounting protests by the PRWM, Polaroid gave \$20,000 to the United Black Appeal of the United Front in Roxbury on Nov. 1. Then they sent a four-man fact-finding team, two of whom were Black engineers, to South Africa in December. The ad describes the findings of the team and its plans for "An experiment in South Africa."

To get the real story behind Polaroid's attempt at a whitewash, *The Militant* interviewed Caroline Hunter, spokeswoman for the PRWM.

In reference to the press conference held by the fact-finding team on Jan. 12, she commented, "Essentially what they said was, 'Well, we are not pulling out of South Africa, we are going to give out a few scholarships to Black South Africans, but we are going to continue to make money.'"

"Polaroid didn't mention in their latest ad that they have been in South Africa since 1938, only one year after their incorporation in Massachusetts. They didn't mention the amount of profit they make in South Africa. They say it is very small, but we consider \$15-million or more a year [this figure includes not only sales but products pro-

duced in S.A. for sales abroad] off of the backs of Black South Africans, when they are being paid only 20 cents a day, to be a tremendous amount of money."

She then went into the "seduction" money given to the United Black Appeal, the fund-raising arm of the United Front. "When we launched our campaign in October, we immediately turned to the Black community for support. And the Black United Front responded by saying they would support the campaign. Then, on Nov. 1, Polaroid published an article in the *Boston Globe* saying that they had been helping the Black community. And one instance of it was the \$20,000 that they gave to the United Black Appeal.

"The next day, the United Front received a check in the mail for \$20,000. In order that there would be no chance in the world for anyone to misunderstand the nature of this gift, the Black United Front called a community meeting in December where they made very public Polaroid's intention of buying them off. They made public the issues the workers had raised in their demands and left the decision up to the Black community.

"The community voted to split the \$20,000 equally between South African liberation movements and the Black United Front in Cairo, Illinois, which is undergoing the same type of repression from the whites there.

"Polaroid was totally shocked over this decision. They wanted the money to go for cultural events and social things in the Boston area."

Hunter explained that the ID-2 photographic system employed against Blacks in South Africa, was also being used against the Quebecois. "While Polaroid was making statements in the newspapers saying that they had been doing a small amount of business in South Africa, that they weren't as guilty as everybody else, they were negotiating in Quebec with the government to sell them ID-2 systems for citizen classification cards.

"Polaroid has sold the same system to the police forces in the United States as well as throughout the world. They have sold this system to colleges and high schools where it is being used as a means of repression.

"It is only recently that Polaroid has gotten into the realm of security systems, and this is what the ID-2 is all about. The important thing about South Africa is it is a testing ground for the rule of the many by the few."

Hunter then talked about the reality behind Polaroid's liberal image. "Polaroid has built up this fantastic world image of being the company 'with a conscience.' They only started hiring Blacks as of 1965. And at the time, there were about 15 Blacks in the corporation. Now the number has jumped they say to 900, most of them being hired in 1968.

"The conditions in Polaroid are just a mirror of what is happening to Blacks in South Africa. There are no unions at Polaroid.

"Just as they used the \$20,000 bribe to the Black United Front as a booster to their liberal ego, they also have set up a slave factory in Roxbury, which is called the Inner City. Workers at Inner City work production jobs which pay less than they do at Polaroid Corp."

When *The Militant* asked Hunter for her reaction to the ad, she picked passages from it to illustrate her points. She began, "The ad is called 'An Experiment in South Africa.' And just the title alone gives you a picture of the mentality of the minds we are dealing with. They feel that

people are meant to be experimented with, tested, used, worked over, and dehumanized. Polaroid's 'experiment,' which is an insulting word, says that they are going to work within the framework of apartheid law which clearly states that there will be no rights, no opportunities, no relief for the conditions of oppression of Black people and colored people in South Africa.

"Polaroid said, 'First, we will take a number of steps with our distributor, as well as his suppliers, to improve dramatically the salaries and other benefits of their nonwhite employees.' South African law clearly states and has clearly mapped out levels of employment so that the Black workers in South Africa will in no way be paid anywhere close to what the least-skilled white worker will get. That Polaroid can effect some change within the police state of South Africa is absurd.

"Polaroid goes on to say, 'Our business associates in South Africa will also be obliged (as a condition of maintaining their relationship with Polaroid) to initiate a well-defined program to train nonwhite employees for important jobs within their companies.'

"Polaroid is trying to say again that their South African distributor, who in one of the November editions of the *Christian Science Monitor* denied that he was an equal opportunity employer and emphatically stated that the government will not allow such a thing to exist, is now going to begin to train his nonwhite workers for important jobs within his company. This is against the law, it is a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment, death, or deportation from the country.

"Polaroid then says, 'We will commit a portion of our profits earned there to encourage Black education. One avenue will be to provide funds for the permanent staff and office of the Black-run Association for Education and Cultural Advancement (ASECA).' It is true that there is such an organization. But its origin is rooted in the fact that after the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, the government took over all the schools, changed the curriculum, and set up a Black-run government agency called Bantu Education. Bantu Education is a system whereby the owners of industry are guaranteed a slave labor force, pure and simple. This is what Polaroid's funds are helping to maintain."

Hunter went on: "Within the corporation, the issue was first raised by Blacks six years ago, and then again two years ago. But there was no action because the committees kept the issue quiet. They were shoved under the rug. But that can't be done today.

"The PRWM is again calling on all right-on thinking people to boycott Polaroid products and to begin to put pressure on any and all American businesses doing business in South Africa. We feel that our demands, although they are expressed in behalf of Black South Africans, are the demands of all oppressed and colonized people throughout the world."

Finally, Hunter described the repression that Polaroid has brought to bear against the PRWM. Two members of the group, Ken Williams and Clyde Walton, were summarily dismissed by Polaroid because of their activities. Polaroid is also planning to move against other workers active in the boycott campaign.

For more information on the PRWM and the boycott campaign, write to PRWM, c/o Caroline Hunter, 46 Longwood Ave., Brookline, Mass., 02146.



Caroline Hunter

Photo by Ken Williams

An answer to YWLL: Why the YSA supports all-Black organizations

By TONY THOMAS

The nationalist struggles of Blacks and other oppressed peoples have always drawn attacks from those who openly support U.S. imperialism. This is to be expected.

Unfortunately there are "socialists" who also oppose or attempt to divert the revolutionary impact of these nationalist struggles. An example of this is a leaflet which the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), a youth group with ties to the Communist Party, distributed at the December 1970 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This leaflet, reprinted Jan. 7 and 8 in the Communist Party newspaper the *Daily World*, veils the YWLL's opposition to nationalism with an attack on the YSA's strategy for Black liberation.

The YWLL leaflet states: "YSA says it is for self-determination. But self-determination means the right of Black people to decide the path to liberation, the right to be part of interracial movements, or the right to form all-Black movements."

"For this right to be a real one, white people must fight against racism among whites so that Black people can become part of *any* community, get *any* job, join *any* organization. YSA never fights for this. But this all-white organization instead arrogantly decides that in all cases Black people should be in separate forms. Forced separation by whites is racism."

The YWLL is so panic-stricken at the thought of the YSA supporting all-Black organizations that they try to smear the YSA by asserting that it is an "all-white" organization. As the YWLL members who attended the YSA Convention well know, the YSA is a multinational organization with Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican members.

The YSA agrees that the right of self-determination for Black people includes the right of Blacks to form or work in either all-Black or multinational organizations or both. The YSA has consistently defended the *right* of Blacks to join any organization they choose, including groups we oppose like the Democratic Party. For example, we defended the right of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to be in the national Democratic Party even though we considered it a wrong policy.

However, it is precisely because "self-determination means the right of Black people to decide the path to liberation" that the YSA strongly supports all-Black organizations.

Every significant organization of the Black struggle in the past few years has been all-Black: Malcolm X's Organization for Afro-American Unity, SNCC in its later period, the Black Panther Party, and Black student organizations on scores of campuses and high schools. This is not due to an "arrogant decision" by the YSA, as the YWLL crudely implies, but is a result of a growing consciousness among Blacks of our oppression as a distinct and separate nationality.

The formation of all-Black organizations has turned the forced separation of Black people by the American capitalists into a potentially powerful weapon for unifying Blacks in a struggle for liberation. Blacks didn't choose to live in all-Black communities with all-Black churches, all-Black schools, and other all-Black institutions. This was forced upon us by the racist policies of American capitalism. But the fact that this national oppression has concentrated our people into large urban ghettos has helped to create a nationalist consciousness as well as the possibility of giving our unified forces greater strategic political and economic power.

Furthermore, we are forming our own organizations because we are rejecting years of subordination to white-dominated liberal or radical civil rights organizations that have dismally failed to win significant gains for Blacks.

Reformist radicals like the authors of the YWLL leaflet are forced to oppose or attempt to divert the thrust of all-Black organizations because their proposed "path to liberation" for Blacks is through pressuring liberal Democratic Party politicians. Reformist Black leaders and white liberals attacked Malcolm X and his support to all-Black organizations in terms similar to the YWLL's vicious slander that the YSA's support to all-Black organization is "forced separation" which equals "racism."

They totally ignore the fact that Black people

by forming our own all-Black student, political, labor, feminist, cultural, and other organizations are demonstrating in action what they see as the "path to liberation." The YWLL attack on the YSA for its support to all-Black organizations is really an attack on a large section of the Black movement that has chosen to form all-Black groups. If there was ever an "arrogant" denial of the rights of Blacks to self-determination, this is certainly it.

We also agree with the YWLL that self-determination includes the right to equality for Blacks, and the right to integrate. However, the YWLL denies that the YSA supports demands for full equality. They make this slander because they believe top priority must be given to integrationist demands. Thus they again evade the real decisions that the Black community is making.

The Black struggle is not centered around demands for individual Blacks to get into "any job, any organization, or any community" but on the demand that Black people control our own organizations and communities.

YWLL's definition of self-determination also omits one essential aspect of the socialist concept of self-determination: the right of oppressed nations to separate from their oppressors and create their own power independent of their oppressors, including the right to form a separate state. Again, it is the nationalist thrust of the Black movement that the YWLL evades.

The evolution of the Black struggle from the old "civil rites" mentality to demands for Black power symbolized the fact that Black people are aiming to create independent power bases which challenge the capitalist oppressors.

This makes life harder for pseudoradicals like those in the Communist Party and YWLL who

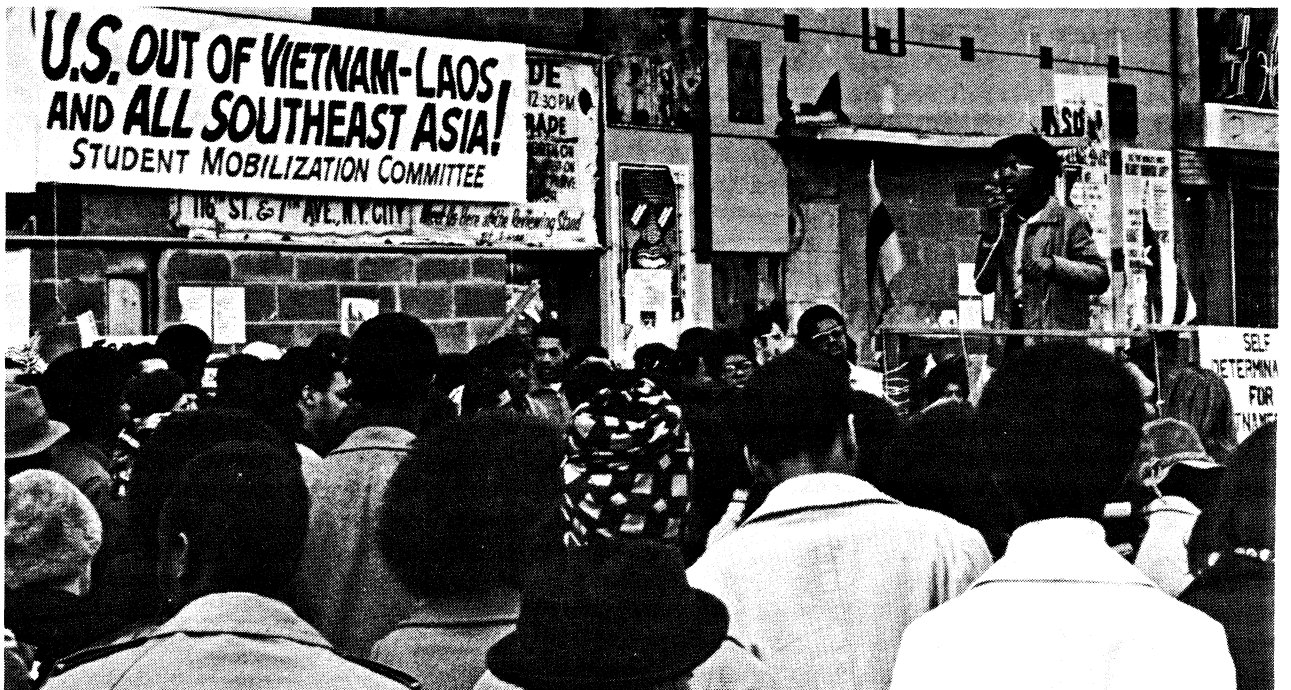
The YWLL leaflet also attacks the YSA's successful strategy of building a united antiwar movement. It complains that "The cornerstone of the YSA's divisive policy is its refusal to link the peace movement, or any other struggle, with the fight against racism. In essence, the policies of the YSA are that white people should do their thing and Black people should do their thing. What this means is that nowhere does the YSA plan on attacking racist thinking among white people. . . ."

To say that building a mass movement to end the Vietnam war has nothing to do with fighting "white racism" is to have no comprehension of the racist character of the war—either in relation to the Vietnamese people or in relation to Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow people in this country. Again, building a mass movement against the U.S. government's imperialist and racist war in Indochina does more to undermine racist prejudices and destroy a social climate favorable to the growth of racism than all the YWLL's slogans about "fighting racism" combined. On this count, the YWLL not only fails to understand the importance of Black nationalism but ignores the reality of "white racism."

Labeling the YSA's support to Black antiwar formations like Riverside's Black Moratorium as "do your own thing," the leaflet continues, "This policy makes unity between Black and white impossible whether in the peace movement, the women's movement, or the YSA itself."

On the contrary, building all-Black formations in the antiwar and feminist movements is the best way to build real Black-white unity—a unity based on struggle for common goals and against a common enemy.

Malcolm taught that before there can be any



Student Mobilization Committee rally last April in Harlem. YSA helped build it. YWLL refused to participate.

support liberal Democrats. These capitalist politicians abstractly oppose "racism" and support "integration" but totally oppose Blacks gaining control of the Black community or the right of Blacks to totally separate.

The YWLL leaflet does not project any strategy for the nationalist current of the Black liberation movement. Instead, it implicitly projects the fight for "integration" as the sole "path to liberation"—an orientation which the Black movement has in large part gone beyond.

Fighting racism among whites is important, as the YWLL points out. But it can only have real meaning if it is centered around defending the right of Black people to control our own destinies. The acid test is not whether people attack "white racism"—even Nixon can and has done this—but whether or not they support the struggle of Black people to gain power—power to achieve our liberation and to control our lives. The mass independent struggles of the Black liberation movement have done more to combat racist ideas among whites than all the proposed "educational" campaigns of the YWLL combined. This is why YWLL's opposition to the nationalist course of the Black liberation struggle *hinders* the fight against racism among whites.

real Black-white unity, there must be Black unity. By forming their own organizations, oppressed peoples can best participate in coalitions because they will be able to set their own terms, make their own demands, organize their own people in their own way.

Support by whites for all-Black formations in the labor, feminist, student, and antiwar movements is the basis for unity in struggle since it supports the right of Blacks to "do their own thing." Opposition to all-Black formations hinders the involvement of Blacks in these movements by trying to alter the "path to liberation" that Blacks have decided to take.

No matter how sincerely the members of the YWLL want to destroy racism, their reliance on the Communist Party's strategy of pressuring the racists in the Democratic Party forces them to attempt to divert movements that can effectively combat the Democratic and liberal oppressors in the Black community.

Their attacks and slanders of the YSA flow from the fact that the YSA's strength in the white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Black youth movement is based on the new generation of socialist youth, who totally and unconditionally support the nationalist movements of the oppressed.

Issues in Female Liberation split

By CAROLINE LUND

The women's liberation movement is now in a period of increasing and sharpening discussions on perspectives for the movement. This discussion—which will be crucial for the future of the movement—can be most fruitful if it takes place in an atmosphere of free and open debate and with the clearest possible statement of ideas and political viewpoints.

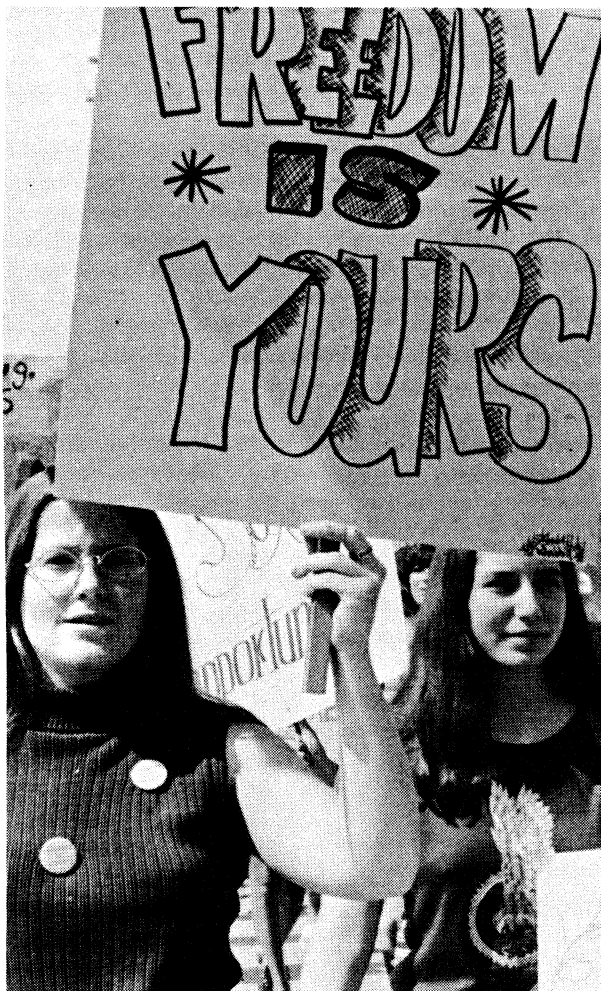
One dispute in particular has recently been brought to the attention of the women's liberation movement nationally. It is the political disagreement which led to the split of five women from Boston Female Liberation to form Cell-16. A letter to the movement signed by these five women—Dana Densmore, Lisa Leghorn, Abby Rockefeller, Betsey Warrior and Jayne West—was sent out last November to a very wide national mailing list. It has been published in *Ain't I A Woman* and reported in several other women's liberation periodicals.

The letter points to a number of disagreements with the current political orientation of Female Liberation and accuses women from the Young Socialist Alliance of "infiltrating," "taking over," and "occupying" Boston Female Liberation and its office.

An answer to the letter from Cell-16 women was discussed and passed unanimously by the 35 active members of Boston Female Liberation. Unfortunately this answer has not been as widely circulated in the movement as the charges made by Cell-16.

It is apparent from reading the letters put out by both sides of the dispute that there are three important questions involved: the question of democracy within the movement; the question of what kind of organization Female Liberation should be (a small, closed, literary and discussion group or an open action-oriented group); and the question of the effectiveness of building broad coalitions of women's organizations to unite in action.

The background to the split is explained in the Female Liberation answer to Cell-16: "Beginning with our wholehearted participation in the Aug.



Aug. 26, Los Angeles, Calif. A major issue in the Female Liberation split was whether or not to build a broad, action-oriented women's liberation movement.

26 coalition, we began to function actively as part of the women's movement.

"This kind of development was a big change for Female Liberation, since we had always been a small group and never encouraged other women to become involved in our group. Although many of the women who were early activists in

Female Liberation are still active members today, we find that a tiny grouping of sisters from the older, closed group are now opposing the fact that Female Liberation has become a much larger, active organization. They decided that they wanted to separate from all the activities of the office and the Monday night business meetings, where we make our major decisions democratically."

The problem arose because instead of simply leaving Female Liberation and organizing according to the perspective they believed in, the women who later formed Cell-16 demanded control over the Female Liberation bank account and control of the Journal and asked that Female Liberation change its name.

Democracy

When this proposal was brought before the business meeting of Female Liberation, on Nov. 30, they voted to reject it and to reaffirm that all decisions regarding the finances and activities of Female Liberation should be decided democratically.

They felt that even though one member of the Cell-16 group had made large financial contributions to Female Liberation, other activists had contributed what they could to the organization in other ways. The Female Liberation answer says: "Many women in the movement give *whatever they can* in terms of both time and money, yet we feel that no one has more right than another to make the political decisions that affect our lives. . . . It was the feeling of the group present that Female Liberation is a group that belongs to all its members and supporters, not to single individuals, and that the work that lies before us can only move forward if we treat each other as sisters, and make our decisions democratically."

The other questions involved in the Boston dispute concern small groups, reaching out to new women, and action coalitions. The position of the women from Cell-16, was explained in their letter: "We have always asserted our belief that movements grow only when there are vital individuals and groups doing what feels most important and relevant and progressing as fast as they can in their analysis: developing and spreading the ideas that brought them together."

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♀ The Insurgent Majority

Only a few years ago, abortion was something you whispered about. But now, with the women's liberation movement forthrightly demanding the right of women to control our own bodies, abortion is being hotly debated and reactionary abortion laws are being challenged across the country. Last September at the conference of the California State Bar Association, California lawyers voted 337 to 150 for complete repeal of all state laws against abortion. Barbara Ashley Phillips, a San Francisco lawyer who proposed the resolution, was quoted in the Sept. 16 Los Angeles Times as saying: "Since 1962 in the United States, as many women have died at the hands of illegal abortionists as American soldiers have been killed on the battlefield in Vietnam."

The Jan. 20 New York Post reported that Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) announced that he will introduce legislation this year to legalize abortion nationwide.

A bill to repeal the law outlawing abortions in Maine has been introduced in the current session of the Maine legislature. Until the law is outlawed, however, students at the University of Maine are trying to assure female students the right to an abortion if they desire one. The student government has established a loan fund based on contributions from students' activities fees. Loans up to \$400 will be made to female students who want to go to New York for a legal abortion.

Maine's Governor Curtis was displeased with the abortion loan fund, but noted disappointedly that there were no laws against what the students were doing. "I'm not for making it easy to get an abortion," he said. "People are going to suffer for taking the easy way out."

The 1970s will probably be looked back on as the decade during which women opened big holes in the barriers which have traditionally been used to attempt to keep them within the bounds of so-called "feminine" pursuits and out of occupations, organizations, bars, and fields of study which have been claimed by men as their special territories.

For the first time, a Frenchwoman was accepted as a candidate for election to the all-male Academie Francaise, an honorary association of intellectuals. Male members of the academy, according to the Jan. 25 Time, fumed that her candidacy was "a practical joke," "not serious," and "indecent and outrageous." The woman is Francoise Parturier, a novelist, essayist and feminist.

She was inspired to apply for the candidacy by the American women's liberation movement. "I decided it was high time to strike a blow for women in France (by) attacking a citadel of male chauvinism."

An example of the crudeness of the ridicule she faced was the objection that she would look funny in the academy's traditional robe and cocked hat. She replied, "The frivolity of men never ceases to astonish me. All they want to talk about is clothes." She received only one vote in the election.

Mrs. Simonne Abboud has become the first woman in recent history to be a crew member of an American cargo ship. She will be the only woman in the crew of 41 on the ship's trip to the Far East. According to the New York Daily News, she is a staunch supporter of the women's liberation movement. In The New York Times report on Mrs. Abboud's taking the job, they use the standard technique of put-down and slander against women: "As she unpacked her suitcase . . . Mrs. Abboud had a typical woman's comment. 'I packed too much,' she said." Then they explain that she thought the two-month cruise was supposed to last for three months—a completely rational reason to bring more clothes!

Women musicians are organizing to assert their rights in another male stronghold. Members and supporters of the Women Musicians' Collective sent a letter to the editor of The New York Times describing the prejudice they face. It was published Jan. 3. "When the conductor of an orchestra says, 'I just don't think women should be in an orchestra. They become men. Men treat them as equals,' it should be astonishing. Unfortunately, it expresses the general attitudes of conductors, contractors and managers in the music world. Since jobs in the music profession are controlled by these people, it is no wonder that concert audiences have grown so accustomed to a masculine image of an orchestra."

"We urge all women musicians to join us in protesting these attitudes which discourage and keep women from the right to work as professional musicians. Look around you. Listen to women musicians. Talk to the few women you find in orchestras. Question your orchestra's board of directors about its hiring policies. Wake up. Make Demands."

— CAROLINE LUND

The truth about 'pacification'

By DICK ROBERTS

The monstrous character of Washington's "pacification" of South Vietnam has been sharply accentuated by two recent series of disclosures: first, that U.S. Army chemical defoliation has "utterly destroyed" vast areas of the land; second, that the relief budgets and programs for the hundreds of thousands of peasant refugees forced to flee from the war zones are hopelessly inadequate—if they provide any relief at all. Neither of these "revelations" come as a surprise to opponents of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, but they serve once again as a reminder of the nature of the war being conducted by U.S. imperialism.

According to the U.S. General Accounting Office, the total budget from all sources for South Vietnamese refugees in 1969 came to \$61-million. That is less than the Pentagon spends to finance its military activities in South Vietnam in a single day.

Bombing the villages and fields to devastation, defoliating the forests, poisoning the lakes, rivers and soil, and driving the living refugees into hovel settlements with few or no sources of income—these are the realities of eight years of U.S. "pacification" of South Vietnam.

Refugees

Senator Edward Kennedy, a critic of the manner in which U.S. imperialism defends its interests in Southeast Asia, entered the General Accounting Office report on the situation of South Vietnamese refugees into the *Congressional Record* Dec. 10. Concerned by the failure of "pacification" efforts, Kennedy prefaced the report with comments summarizing its findings:

"It has long been recognized that a key to successful pacification has been the humane treatment and rehabilitation of millions of war victims. But what do we find after years of war and a continuing rhetoric of progress from official sources?

"There is still no formal system of priorities for any nonmilitary U.S. assistance—let alone the important programs for rehabilitating war victims. Field reporting to Saigon and Washington for planning and budgeting purposes is grossly inaccurate and often of no use at all.

"Sloppy management, nonutilization and diversion of goods, and illegal distribution continue to mark the extensive U.S. commodity import program for war victims.

"In a highly advertised campaign last year, hundreds of thousands of refugees were removed from relief rolls in an apparently deliberate effort to create a facade of progress in the pacification program. But the bulk of these people remain refugees—nearly all of them in need. Thousands of people forcibly moved by the military are given no relief at all."

The report (*Congressional Record*, pp. S 19944-52) listed the following numbers of refugees as recognized by the government of South Vietnam (GVN):

Dec. 1967	794,000
Dec. 1968	1,329,000
Dec. 1969	268,000
Dec. 1970	570,000

But the report added:

"We believe that the above figures . . . are misleading and significantly understated as to the true number of people in need of assistance because of

"—a reluctance by the GVN to report newly generated refugees;

"—a GVN policy of claiming refugees in sites as resettled on the basis of the payment of GVN refugee allowances, despite the fact that many of these people are in need of assistance; . . .

"—a GVN policy of classifying refugees as returned to their original village despite the fact that many of these people are not economically viable and lack basic facilities [because the villages are no longer there?—D. R.];

"—a GVN policy of removing from the rolls certain refugee groups living outside refugee camps who have received their one month's [!] temporary allowances, which terminate benefits until such time as they are able to return to their original village [provided the villages are there—D. R.]."

Reading this document one must constantly remind oneself that these words describe the fates of literally millions of persons; that this is the description of a war "to protect peoples from outside aggression," a war "to allow the people of South Vietnam to determine their own government," a

war the president described Dec. 10 as involving the best investment "in foreign assistance that the United States has made in my political lifetime."

In a paragraph summarizing the "Level of Financial Assistance" to refugees, the General Accounting Office stated that the "United States, voluntary agencies, and the GVN during fiscal years 1968 and 1969 contributed about \$57-million and \$61-million, respectively, in support of the refugee and social welfare program."

According to the most conservative estimates, U.S. Vietnam-war spending in 1969 came to \$25-billion. Thus the total expenditures on the refugees displaced by the war in that year, of \$61-million, comes to 0.2 percent of the military budget—one part in five hundred.

Defoliation

The results of the chemical defoliation program were vividly described by Senator Stephen Young, the retiring Ohio Democrat.

In a Senate speech Dec. 30, Young stated: ". . . more than a year ago on Nov. 25, 1969, President Nixon announced that the United States was renouncing germ warfare. He ordered existing American chemical and biological germ warfare weapons destroyed. The president also pledged that research on biological agents would be only defensive in nature.

"Recently, however shocking and appalling, it has come to light that American troops in South Vietnam have continued to use a poisonous chemical warfare ingredient months after it had been banned by the Defense Department.

"The fact is that spraying of Agent Orange containing the deadly chemical compound 2,4,5-T was ordered suspended on April 15 of this year. Since that time, however, hundreds of acres of farmland in the highlands of Quang Ngai Province in South Vietnam have been sprayed with Agent Orange. . . .

"Since 1961, 100 million pounds of chemical herbicides have been sprayed on five million acres of land in South Vietnam, an area the size of Massachusetts. . . .

"Defoliation operations in Vietnam are carried out by squadrons of specially equipped C-123 cargo planes, each with tanks capable of holding a thousand gallons of herbicides. The official code name for the program is Operation Hades. . . .

"When I was in South Vietnam in early 1968 as a representative of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, I personally witnessed the horrible effects of our defoliation program and of our napalm bombing of villages and hamlets in South Vietnam. . . .

"Miles, length and width, of what had been beautiful green forest land with humble homes of peasants were defoliated as our forces burned, destroyed, and poisoned the trees and foliage in the entire area. The land itself has been poisoned.

"Men, women, and children have been forcibly removed from their homes and most of them taken against their will to miserable refugee camps, so-called. . . .

"Defoliation results in destroying crops and even foliage supplying food for water buffalo so greatly needed by Vietnamese farmers. Of course, many water buffalo and other livestock have been destroyed. We are not only destroying the meager food supply of Vietnamese civilians but also leaving the earth sterile for future generations.

"Vietnam, once a beautiful green paradise, is being stripped of vegetation and crops. Unfortunately, men, women, and children trying to stay alive are being pushed closer to starvation or herded like animals into American refugee camps. It is difficult to visualize this burned out, devastated land." (*Congressional Record*, Dec. 30, p. S 21487.)

The technical details of the results of defoliation were described in a report undertaken for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, released (but not yet made public) Dec. 29.

New York Times correspondent Walter Sullivan described the AAAS report: "At least a fifth of the 1.2 million acres of mangrove forest in South Vietnam have been 'utterly destroyed,' the study found. Furthermore, some unknown factor has prevented any vegetation from returning to those areas.

"Photographs were shown in which parts of the delta region between Saigon and the sea look as if they had been devastated by nuclear attack."



Pacification: Pock-marked by bombs and artillery and denuded by herbicides, the Vietnamese countryside looks like the surface of the moon.

Further details on the report were provided by Victor Cohn, a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*: "The commission found that spraying of forests and crops has [destroyed] enough food to feed 600,000 people for a year, and a half a billion dollars worth of prime hardwood.

"It found some striking increases in birth defects in some South Vietnamese hospitals, indicating that the question of whether or not herbicides have harmed genes—a question still unanswered—should be far more closely studied. . . .

"Close study in Tay Ninh Province—where people commonly eat fish from waters that could be affected by 2,4,5-T—showed the highest birth defect rate of any provincial hospital in South Vietnam. . . .

"Both hardwood and mangrove forest areas may fail to return to their natural state, even after years—the hardwood areas because they have been infested by hard-to-kill, almost worthless bamboo; the mangrove swamps because they have been infested by crabs that eat the young mangroves."

Thus "pacification" reaches the ultimate objective of "scorched earth": a land utterly destroyed, with the people who once occupied it in refugee camps under military surveillance.

These facts speak more eloquently than much theoretical analysis to the real aims of the Washington war-makers in Southeast Asia. They hope to destroy a popular revolution by terrorizing and if necessary annihilating the people who support that revolution. That has been the central strategy of three successive administrations in Washington. It is what the word "pacification" means in fact.

The result is truly one of the most monstrous crimes in the history of humankind.

The Palestinian struggle and the Arab revolution

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

There is little question that the most dramatic new development in the Mideast since the 1967 war has been the growth of the Palestinian resistance movement. The Palestinian people, fighting for their national rights, have become an important factor limiting the ability of imperialism and the Israeli state to impose their will on the Arab peoples.

Both Israel and the Arab regimes found the new Palestinian movement as unwelcome as it was unexpected.

For years, the Israeli government has maintained that the Palestinians do not exist as a people, that they have no national identity, that they have no national rights, that they are just a heterogeneous mass of Arab refugees who must be absorbed by the neighboring Arab states.

The bourgeois Arab regimes have been forced by the pressure of their own masses to speak out in defense of the Palestinian people. But they have always attempted to keep tight control over the activities of Palestinians in their own countries. While utilizing the issue of Palestine on the diplomatic level, their long-term policy has been aimed at avoiding a confrontation with imperialism and its agents, especially over the issue of Palestine.

History has shown, however, that the issue of Palestine cannot be avoided. In fact, it is at the heart of politics in the Mideast. Three wars in the last three decades have thrust the question of Palestine onto all parties concerned.

In an age when the colonial revolution has burst onto the political scene, the creation of the new settler-colonial state of Israel could not fail to heighten Arab nationalist consciousness and generate mass anti-imperialist feeling all over the Arab world. From the time of the Balfour Declaration until today, the attempt to deny the Palestinian people their national rights has been met by unremitting opposition on the part of the Arab masses throughout the Middle East.

The first Arab nationalist movements after World War I drew much of their inspiration from the fight against the Zionist colonial venture. The revolts of the Palestinian Arabs during the days of the British mandate helped spark mass upsurges in other countries. The wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 spurred the growth of Arab nationalist consciousness and led to mass uprisings and the toppling of regimes.

Palestinians, driven from their homeland and dispersed throughout the Arab world, forced into a situation which heightened their consciousness of oppression, have been part of the most politically active circles in all countries in which they have lived. They have played important roles in the creation and development of many different nationalist organizations.

Since the 1967 war, the Palestinian resistance movement has developed as a major political force in its own right. The Palestinians themselves have shown the world that they are not merely a dispersed mass of refugees but a nationality fighting for its rights. Their struggle has clearly revealed the revolutionary thrust of the democratic struggle for national liberation.

Independent struggle

One of the key attributes of the Palestinian resistance is the fact that it has developed, by and large, independently of the bourgeois regimes in the other Arab states. Moreover, the demand for Palestinian national liberation, around which the movement is based, is incompatible with accepting the terms that the Israeli regime is trying to impose on the Arab states of the area. While the bourgeois Arab regimes may be willing to accept the loss of Palestine, the Palestinian movement cannot do so without abandoning its reason for existence.

Thus, the objective situation of the Palestinian movement impels it to adopt a much more radical position than the bourgeois Arab regimes and the bourgeois nationalist movements in the Arab world. Since 1967, the radical thrust of the Palestinian movement has won it broad mass support, which has undercut the political influence of bourgeois nationalist trends such as Nasserism and Baathism, and which has helped generate new left-wing currents in other Arab countries which take their lead from the militant stand of the Palestinian movement.

While the Palestinian movement has developed as an armed resistance movement, it is not limited to a relatively small number of full-time fighters. It enjoys widespread support among the Palestinian masses, especially the most oppressed living in the refugee camps. Tens of thousands of Palestinians have been incorporated into popular militia forces or have been involved in support to the resistance in other ways. These masses were a key factor enabling the Palestinian movement to stand up as well as it did to

Hussein's well-equipped army during the Jordanian civil war in September 1970. The Hussein regime was unprepared for this development.

As the masses have become more deeply involved in the Palestinian struggle, key political questions have been thrust to the fore.

One of the central premises of revolutionary socialism is that the national bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries cannot carry out the bourgeois-democratic tasks facing these countries. In this day and age, the struggle for full national liberation cannot be won within the framework of capitalism. It can only be carried out by mobilizing the working masses and all the oppressed poor in a mass revolutionary upsurge that will culminate in a socialist revolution.

The validity of this perspective has been exemplified in the development of the Palestinian revolution. The growth of the independent Palestinian movement threatens not only Israel and imperialism but all the bourgeois regimes in the Arab world, especially the Hussein regime in Jordan, where the Palestinian movement has been strongest. In effect, the Palestinian movement became almost a state within a state. The inevitable confrontation between it and the Hussein monarchy broke out in a civil war in September 1970, while the capitalist regimes of the other Arab countries looked on doing nothing and Israel and the United States prepared to intervene to save Hussein if that appeared necessary.

Thus, the struggle against the indigenous capitalist regimes in the Arab world was proven to be inextricably tied to the democratic struggle for national liberation.

Toward a socialist revolution

The dynamic of the Palestinian struggle was further revealed as the civil war unfolded. The necessity of relying on the Palestinian masses in the fight against Hussein led to the creation in the northern Jordan city of Irbid of what was called the first Arab soviet. The Palestinian resistance seized control of the city, the police and army forces of Hussein were replaced by fedayeen and armed militia, people's committees for self-government were set up in the neighborhoods, and a popular assembly with delegates representing some 200,000 people in Irbid and the vicinity was established. The dynamic of mass developments such as this leads beyond the bounds of capitalism.

Although the Hussein regime proved too strong and the Palestinian movement suffered an important setback, the example of what happened at that time shows the direction that the Palestinian movement will have to take to be successful. A democratic Palestine will be achieved by a revolution that will inevitably have to lead in a socialist direction.

Such a revolution will include mass mobilizations which will raise anticapitalist as well as anti-imperialist demands and which will create mass-based organizational forms.

The revolutionary Palestinian struggle will interreact with the mass democratic and anticapitalist struggles of the Arab masses in other countries. While a socialist revolution cannot occur simultaneously in all countries of the Arab world, advances in any one sector will strengthen the others, eventually leading to the overturn of capitalism in all these countries. This will lay the basis for the realization of Arab unity in the Mideast, whether in the form of a federation, a new unitary state, or in some other way.

Because the Palestinian cause enjoys such widespread mass support all over the Arab world, it can force concessions and win material aid from the existing Arab regimes. But a revolutionary strategy cannot be predicated on permanent support from these regimes, and revolutionists must be prepared to defend themselves against the inevitable counterrevolutionary attacks that these regimes will mount against them, as happened in September 1970.

Leninist parties

The task of carrying through the national liberation struggle to its socialist conclusion requires the creation of mass Leninist parties, both in the Arab states and in Israel. At present no such parties exist, but the process of struggle will create new political realignments in which the ideas of revolutionary socialism will gain a hearing. Out of this process, Leninist parties can be created.

The Palestinian movement has in the recent period been the most advanced sector of the Arab revolution. It has been the most uncompromising in struggle against imperialism and the Israeli state. Its program has been most closely identified with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Its goal of a democratic, secular Palestine points

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New generation of Palestinian youth.

Mine owners pleased with federal 'enforcer'

By MARVEL SCHOLL

A new position, that of "enforcer," has been created by the Federal Bureau of Mines. The new appointee is Edward D. Failor—who says he knows nothing about mining or minerals. Mr. Failor's experience is, rather, political—from a spell as a city judge through public relations and fund raising positions for the Republican Party. He was a Midwest wheelhorse in the campaign of Barry Goldwater, as well as the fund raiser and campaign public relations man for two defeated Republican senatorial candidates in the last election.

His appointment must make the mine owners as happy as did the appointment of the Bureau of Mines head Dr. Elbert F. Osborne. The mine operators greeted Osborne's appointment with joy, claiming him for "one of their own." Certainly they can apply the same characterization to Mr. Failor.

The new "enforcer" is now working at \$100 a day pending formal civil service appointment (with no competition) for the \$30,000-a-year job. He has already laid the groundwork to provide relief for the owners against any real enforcement of the 1969 Mine Safety Act.

A schedule of fines to be levied against mine owners whose operations are closed because of violations of the Act has been drawn up. These fines range from \$5,000 to \$10,000 per closure. This schedule is mandated by the terms of the 1969 Act. But what is not a part of the legislation is the following hooker.

Fines will be waived "if it is determined that (A) the operator did not or could not, with the exercise of reasonable diligence, know of the violation; or, (B) did not or could not



Photo by Helen Roach/The Southern Patriot

Some 800 persons attended black-lung hearings in Horse Creek, Ky., last November. Miners and their families will not find things much better with new federal "enforcer."

have available to him at the time of the inspection the equipment, material, personnel or technology to avoid the violation."

Congressman Kenneth Heckler (D-W.Va.), one of the authors of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, protested the new schedule and its accompanying amendment to Bureau head Dr. Osborne, charging that the qualifications for waivers is contrary to the law. Mr. Heckler also said that if the fines schedule is enforced, it will meet with the strenuous objections of the mine owners, and if it were not enforced it would be an outright sellout by the Bureau to the owners. He further charged that the waivers amendment "would create for the operators' lawyers the tools they now

lack to frustrate and block enforcement of the Act's provisions."

Since last April 1, when the Mine Safety Act became effective, 611 mines have been closed down, most of them for only one or two days. There have been no fines levied. In that same period, more than 200 miners have lost their lives in the pits.

Among those 200 were the 38 men who were blown to their deaths in the Finley Brothers Mine near Hyden, Ky., on Dec. 30, 1970.

This mine is a classic example of how the Mine Bureau "enforces" the new law. Since April 1, 1970, the Finley mine has been cited for health and safety violations 38 times. It was never closed. The last inspection was on Nov. 19, when six serious hazards

were found—one a concentration of coal dust of 44.5 percent. Under the law, a maximum of coal dust is 3.5 percent.

The inspector gave the mine owners until Dec. 22 to correct the violations or the mine would have to be closed. But the inspector never came back. And on Dec. 30, 38 miners died—one miner for each citation made against the mine owners.

Since that costly explosion, state and federal teams have been searching the blast scene—looking for evidence that some worker used dynamite for blasting. They are looking for anything that will prove it was the fault of a worker, or workers, and not the company.

UAW reaches contract agreement with Chrysler

By MICHAEL SMITH

DETROIT — Chrysler Corporation came to terms with the United Automobile workers on Jan. 19 without a strike. Since last September 15, 110,000 Chrysler workers in the U.S. and Canada were working without a contract.

The settlement followed the basic pattern set by the recent 67-day strike against General Motors. Both Ford and Chrysler continued operating during that strike.

Although a strike deadline had been set and negotiations came down to the wire, the workers never really expected they would have to strike, or if they did, they didn't think it would be a long one. Chrysler had been balking at the union's demand to make any pay increase retroactive to Nov. 2, the date agreed to earlier by Ford in its settlement with the union. Chrysler finally gave in on this, which means that each worker

will receive roughly \$100 in back pay.

"Our spirits were high," said one worker at the Dodge truck plant. "Just to teach Chrysler a lesson we wildcatted on them one hour before the deadline. I think seven other plants went out too."

Chrysler is the sixth largest corporation in the country and the largest employer (72,000 workers) in Detroit, a metropolitan area where unemployment is presently around 8 percent.

The settlement provided for average first-year wage increases of 51 cents hourly, additional increases in 1971 and 1972, an unlimited cost-of-living allowance, and improved pensions and other fringe-benefits. In hard cash, this means an average worker will bring home about \$9,000 a year before taxes.

A major article in the *Detroit Free Press* on the day of the settlement stated that the cost of a moderate living had gone up \$1,000 since 1969.

The article cited figures recently released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor.

"A typical Detroit-area family today must spend \$10,905—almost \$1,000 more than a year and one-half ago—to maintain a 'moderate' standard of living." By the government's own admission, the 72,000 Chrysler workers, not to mention those at Ford and GM, even with their new contracts are earning considerably less than a "moderate" living!

There was much talk in the shops the day after the settlement about an issue which had been raised during the negotiations—a four day work-week. Union bargainers won an agreement from Chrysler to appoint a joint committee to study the possibility. The agreement will establish an experimental program in up to three Chrysler plants if the six-person

study committee decides to put the plan into effect.

The demand for a shorter week with the same amount of pay is obviously one that appeals to workers and has been raised before in the plants. The corporations, however, have no such idea in mind. Instead they would like to squeeze the same number of hours into a reduced number of days, hoping thereby to curb the high rate of absenteeism. According to Sidney McKenna, director of labor affairs for Ford, absenteeism is so bad that occasionally a whole plant has to be shut down.

Absenteeism at Ford has run as high as 20 percent on Mondays and Fridays, and at GM the rate has doubled in the last decade. The "problem" is particularly acute with young workers who resist the idea of discipline and apparently feel no compulsion to follow the Biblical injunction that "Six days shalt thou labor and on the seventh rest."

Chicago teachers win substantial pay increases

CHICAGO—Chicago's 22,000 unionized teachers, members of Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, ended their four-day-old strike when they voted Jan. 17 to accept a new two-year contract. Among other things, the contract provided for an 8-percent wage increase in 1971 and an additional 8-percent in 1972.

Unlike the first strike in the local union's history two years ago, when many Black teachers followed the lead of Jesse Jackson's Operation Breadbasket and opposed the strike, this strike was marked by solid support among both Black and white teachers.

Only 10 percent of the city's school employees showed up for work Jan. 12, the first day of the strike, and this ratio of scab to striker remained approximately the same throughout the strike.

Under intense pressure from the parents of Chicago's 557,000 school children, Mayor Richard Daley intervened in the strike. Along with the salary increase eventually agreed upon, the results of his efforts provided for a mere \$5-million for school improvements. This is a sore point with many teachers who consider reduction in class size to be even more important than a salary increase.

One-third of Chicago's teachers are Black, and some were initially hesitant to support the strike. They felt betrayed by the union leadership two years ago when the negotiators settled for a substantial salary gain with none of the school improvements which would have benefited Black students, who make up more than 50 percent of the student population.

Management, as usual, had a few tricks up its sleeves. One striker from a primary school located in the South Side ghetto reported an attempt by the school's principal and the Woodlawn Organization, a local civil rights group, to set up a "freedom" school

at a church during the strike. The organizer of this project called teachers from the principal's home telling them that a majority of the faculty would be at the "freedom" school. Although a few teachers were fooled at first, the project collapsed when the school's Black union representative made clear the union's opposition to this strikebreaking maneuver.

Militant picket lines were maintained at most city schools, despite freezing weather, throughout the duration of the strike. Roving pickets were sent out by the well-organized strike center to help strengthen some of the weaker schools.

The youth radicalization brings changes to New Zealand too

By DAVID THORSTAD

"The worldwide youth radicalization is indeed worldwide—and that means New Zealand too," revolutionary socialist Hugh Fyson told *The Militant* recently. Fyson was the representative of the New Zealand Socialist Action League to the Young Socialist Alliance national convention held in New York at the end of December.

Americans can go for weeks without even hearing or reading about New Zealand. As a result, most are unaware of developments there. I was no exception. Our conversation ranged over social and political topics which revealed both remarkable similarities and marked differences with the situation in the U.S.

The Socialist Action League is itself a product of the youth radicalization. Formed in mid-1969 by a group composed mainly of students in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington, its first priority has been to build the antiwar movement, in which it now plays a leading role. "The war is the single most important radicalizing issue among students in New Zealand," Fyson stated.

The antiwar movement

The antiwar movement in New Zealand originated in 1965—the year the government sent troops to fight in Vietnam alongside the Americans. "From the very beginning there was quite a large movement. The very idea that New Zealand should be involved in a war supporting the Americans was rejected by a very large number of New Zealanders who, because of the traditional ties between Britain and New Zealand, would perhaps have been prepared to follow Britain into a war, but they were not prepared to follow the United States."

At first the movement was led by reformist liberals. Despite a number of large, successful demonstrations, this leadership eventually turned away from mass protests toward merely organizing conferences which lacked any action perspective and toward organizing electoral support for the Labor Party. They believed that if the Labor Party were elected, the troops would be withdrawn.

"Both of these perspectives were tried and both failed. The Labor Party was not elected, but despite a great deal of pressure from the antiwar forces, it failed to take an antiwar stand. And although a very large conference was put together in 1968, nothing happened afterwards. So that was the end of the liberal antiwar leadership."

The Communist Party (which in New Zealand is a Maoist party) led the movement from then until the end of 1969. It too had no perspective of organizing mass actions. "It simply wanted to carry out small token demonstrations when a U.S. official was visiting or when an American ship was in port."

By this time, the Socialist Action League had been formed and was able to promote the perspective of building a mass antiwar movement. Since November 1969, there have been three mass mobilizations against the war, each one larger than the preceding one. "The one last July drew more than 4,000 nationally," Fyson said, "which in New Zealand is quite a sizable demonstration when you consider that the population is only 2.8 million."

The next mobilization will in all likelihood take place at the end of April, around the time of the April 24 demonstrations planned in the United States. The exact date and character will be determined at a national antiwar conference scheduled for March 13. It is a sign of the growing strength of the movement that this will be the first national action to be called and coordinated by a national conference, Fyson said. "Now, for the first time, we have a perspective for building a national antiwar coalition."

Women's liberation

New Zealand also saw the birth of a new movement during 1970: the women's liberation movement. "The issue has become a kind of household word in New Zealand. This is understandable since women's oppression is a universal or 'household' occurrence."

There are functioning women's liberation groups in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Their main activities have so far tended to consist largely of consciousness-raising, although they have also carried out actions like picketing newspapers that have printed male chauvinist articles, or going into pubs for men only. "These groups have a tremendous prospect for rapid growth," Fyson said.

"The abortion question is the main question facing the movement in New Zealand right now." New Zealand only permits "therapeutic" abortions in cases where serious mental disorder or physical damage to the mother is likely.

"Abortion is an issue you can read about every day. There's a very active movement built around the Catholic Church, called the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, which has been building big meetings in all the main centers, showing slides of fetuses, playing tape recordings of the heartbeat of a fetus, and in general trying to show that a fetus is a human being and that to kill it is murder."

The Socialist Action League hopes to be able to build a national coalition around the right of free, legal abortion. Although this is the most important issue for the women's liberation movement, other issues include child care and especially equal pay. Except for teachers and government workers, New Zealand law specifies that women be paid two-thirds the salary of men!

Is there any awareness in New Zealand of the women's liberation movement in the United States?

"This is really how the movement got started—through the publicity which the American women's movement gained in the New Zealand press."

"I can remember very clearly the Aug. 26 Women's Strike and how its demands came right through into the New Zealand press. I remember a letter written by a bus driver in Wellington who said he didn't know what the women's liberation movement was, but he read the press reports of the Aug. 26 action and he read about child care and abortion and he said that was right on and that he agreed with it."

"This shows how international the movement is, as well as the importance of projecting clear, transitional demands."

Ties with South Africa

A major issue contributing to the youth radicalization in New Zealand has been the country's ties with South Africa. "One reason South Africa figures so largely in New Zealand political life," Fyson explained, "is that New Zealand is itself a society where there are two nationalities: the Maori people and the Europeans." New Zealanders are brought up on the idea that the country is a "multiracial society" where the Maoris are supposed to enjoy equal rights with other citizens.

"Yet at the same time as New Zealand has this multiracial ideology, it also has very strong links with South Africa. It's one of the few countries in the world which openly supports South Africa in the United Nations."

The New Zealand bourgeoisie has been anxious to promote increasing trade between the two countries. "Key public figures have visited South Africa and come back giving glowing accounts of how good it is and how apartheid is really not so bad after all. These things are producing a deep reaction among many people in New Zealand who have always been brought up on the idea of equality between the people of all nations."

The reaction has tended to focus on the question of sports contacts between the two countries, Fyson explained. "New Zealand and South Africa are both great sporting countries. They play rugby, hockey and countless other sports, which are probably more important than religion to most people."

Although New Zealand's rugby team is called the All Blacks, no Maoris were allowed to go on the All Black tour to South Africa in 1965. This changed in 1970 as a result of mass protests against apartheid. "There was a big movement to stop the tour from taking place in 1970, and some large street demonstrations occurred in the main centers. They were the biggest demonstrations of the year among the student population—and along with Vietnam one of the key radicalizing factors." In Wellington, with a total of only 6,000 college students, 2,500 participated in demonstrations on two occasions.

It was as a concession to the pressures generated by the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand that the South African government backed down on its racist policy of excluding Maori athletes from playing on its territory.

The Maoris

"The Maoris are part of the Polynesian culture and have one of the most highly developed forms of that culture," Fyson said. They comprise 8 percent of the population of New Zealand, which makes them a very substantial minority. He said that although they were formerly rural dwellers who lived on hunting and fishing and a certain amount of agriculture, today they have lost all but a token amount of their land, are dependent on wage labor, and are about 90 percent working class.

"They are also becoming increasingly urbanized. Fifty percent of them now live in the cities. In addition to the urbanization, there is also a very rapid increase in the birth rate, which is now more than twice that of the European population

growth rate. This means that the Maori population is very youthful. In fact, 50 percent of the Maori population is 15 years of age or under."

Add to this urbanization, youthfulness, and working-class composition the fact that the Maoris constitute an oppressed national minority, and you have "a very explosive situation which is going to lead to the Maoris playing a vanguard role in the future struggle for socialism," Fyson predicted.

The Maoris are believed to have come from the Society Islands to what is now New Zealand in the fourteenth century—"400 years before the first European set foot on it." As the Europeans encroached more and more upon Maori land, and as it became clear that they had no intention of leaving, the Maoris began to resist. "As this resistance deepened, it took the form of an armed struggle which continued for quite a number of years.

"Eventually, the Maoris were beaten in what are called the Maori Wars but which should really be

and with the rise in national consciousness, it is natural that there is a growing desire to change that. "Maori is taught in the schools only peripherally, as a kind of extra people can learn if they feel it keenly enough. But, of course, as long as it's on this level it means that the great majority of both white and Maori New Zealanders don't ever have any knowledge of the Maori language. There is a movement now to get the language taught in all schools as part of the curriculum, just like English. This is one of the main demands of the Maori struggle at the moment."

Auckland, with a total of over half a million, has 60,000 Polynesian people, making it the largest Polynesian city in the world. It is there, said Fyson, that the major organizational developments in the Maori struggle are most visible.

One group is called the Tamatoa Council. "Tamatoa" means "young warrior" or "young brave." The word suggests that the group is a militant Maori youth organization which intends to take action on all issues affecting the Maori people.

for the adoption of this position within the Labor Party.

Besides the Labor Party and the Trotskyists, there are two main left-wing groupings in New Zealand: the Stalinists and the new left.

"We can't really define the new left or say what organizations are in it," Fyson said, "because it's such a vague thing." Since there are no established new left organizations, it is essentially a catchall term for nonaffiliated radicals who are unable to sustain any movement.

From a high point just after World War II, when it had "a large number of members and was widely respected," the Stalinist movement has been declining rapidly. "Since then it has split many times. Today there are four separate Stalinist groups in New Zealand."

The two largest ones are the pro-Peking Communist Party, centered mainly in Auckland, and the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party which broke away from the CP during the Sino-Soviet split.

Two other groups survive from the several other



The New Zealand government sent troops to fight alongside the Americans in Vietnam in 1965, and it still maintains a force there. This gave rise from the very beginning to a vigorous and growing antiwar movement in New Zealand. "The war is the single most important radicalizing issue among students in New Zealand."

called the Pakeha Wars. 'Pakeha' is the Maori word for 'European.' The Pakehas were the cause of the war."

European diseases and the effects of the musket on tribal warfare brought on a rapid decline in the Maori population following the final defeats around 1880. "It was commonly held, even by liberals, that the Maoris were going to die out. The liberals' perspective for the Maori people was nothing more than to smooth the pillow of a dying race, as they put it."

The Maori population began to pull out of this decline when Maori leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became involved in reform movements and succeeded in bringing about the implementation of elementary public health measures. Today it has a very high rate of population growth.

"This has revived the entire Maori movement. And although even today the Maoris are under the influence of reformist movements, the basis for a new kind of Maori movement is developing. The reformist movements I am speaking of are the Labor Party and the Ratana Church, which is a nationalist, messianic church of the Maori people."

A new militancy is already visible in the Maori movement, Fyson said. "The Maori movement is getting to look more like the kind of nationalist movements developing in North America: more militant, more consciously nationalist, and more youthful." Militant young Maoris identify with the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. They have, for instance, picked up the Black power salute, the wearing of black gloves, and even the slogan "Black Power."

Most Maoris cannot speak their own language,

This group originated with Maoris at Auckland University, said Fyson, but it has contacts in other cities and has organized actions protesting, among other things, police brutality and victimization of young Maori workers.

The New Zealand left

One of the thorniest problems for revolutionaries in New Zealand is how to relate to the Labor Party. It is the largest political organization in the working class and completely dominates the Federation of Labor. Because of its organizational affiliation with the trade unions and the support it enjoys among workers, Fyson explained, "It is inside the Labor Party that the radicalization of the workers will find political expression. And it is inside the Labor Party that the sharpest political developments and breaks with reformist politics will take place."

As a result, revolutionaries have to explain to radical youth the importance of orienting toward the Labor Party. "This is not always so easy since for many young people it is difficult to see any difference between the Labor Party and the ruling National Party."

One reason for this is that the Labor Party "has done nothing to build the antiwar movement and does as little as it possibly can to raise the question of Vietnam. It is only the antiwar movement's pressure on it from the outside which causes leading Labor Party spokesmen to say anything on the question at all." Although the party is officially on record as favoring withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, it refuses to call for immediate withdrawal. One goal of revolutionaries is to fight

splits that have occurred. One is called the Wellington District of the Communist Party, which Fyson estimated to have about 25 members. The other is the Revolutionary Committee of the Communist Party, which is "very noisy and probably the craziest of the Maoist groups. It is also the smallest one, having only half a dozen members." He estimated the total combined membership of the Stalinist groups as being somewhere around 200.

The Socialist Action League is still small, with about 40 members, Fyson added. Yet, "the relative size between us and the Stalinists puts us in an extremely favorable situation where we're already able to stand out as an alternative to those parties. It can already be seen that we're moving ahead much faster than they are."

This is especially true in light of the sectarianism of the Stalinist groups. "They're opposed to women's liberation because 'it divides the working class.' They're opposed to Maori nationalism because 'it divides the working class.' And they regard the student movement with a great deal of suspicion because 'it's not the working class.' So you might think that they really have a lot of support amongst the working class. But that's just where they *don't* have much support."

The vacuum of leadership on the left in New Zealand opens up "tremendous opportunities" for the Trotskyist movement, Fyson concluded. "This triangle between us, the new left, and the Communist Party means that we have the perspective of winning hegemony in the youth movement. If we are able to do this, we will have put together the most powerful springboard for injecting our revolutionary Marxist ideas into the working class itself."

In Review

Theater

The Playboy of the Western World by John Millington Synge. Directed by John Hirsch. At the Vivian Beaumont Theater.

The Lincoln Center Repertory Company's spirited performance of *The Playboy of the Western World* is a fitting tribute to Synge on the 100th anniversary of his birth. The Irish playwright, closely associated with the Irish nationalist theater in the early 1900s, felt that the drama must contain reality, poetry and joy. This production has managed such a symphony.

The play, which caused riots in Dublin and America when it first opened in 1904, is set in a sleepy western village in Ireland. There the young women are ashamed to go to the priest all summer and winter "with nothing worthwhile to confess at all." Although the great migrations to America or to the cities and factories of England are not dealt with, the play conveys the mood of a depopulated countryside.

In the opening scene, the audience discovers that Pegeen Mike (Martha Henry), is about to be betrothed to her boorish cousin Shawn (James Blendick). He describes the impending marriage as "a good bargain." And for him it undoubtedly is. He is an unattractive, doltish, and superstitiously religious farmer, in contrast to the independent Pegeen Mike. Yet, what else is there for her?

Into this setting comes Christy Mahon (David Birney). He reveals that he has actually *done* something—killed his father. Suddenly he is the center of attention. Young women run three miles across the hills in the morning to see such a person. They bring him presents, they fix his breakfast, they hang on his words.

Christy is a timid young man, who explains that he was "born lonesome." From being someone who has done nothing extraordinary, he becomes a person who has performed one of the most daring deeds of all. Someone who can do that can accomplish anything!

Yet the leap from swineherd to hero is not smooth. As if he had only been



Villagers fete Christy Mahon the hero

Photo by Martha Swope

dreaming after all, his father appears. The old Mahon (Stephen Elliott) was not dead, only injured. Nevertheless, the father's descriptions of Christy as the idle dreamer no longer fit. Christy has glimpsed a bit of his worth as a human being. He has fallen in love with Pegeen Mike and spoken of his love to her the way other young men do. He has taken part in a race along the beach, and although he slipped and fell, he recovered in time to win first prize.

Physically, Christy changes from the timid young fellow whose clothes hang on him in the first act to a person who has come to know himself.

Christy rejects the forces of blind authority—whether they be father, family ties, or the church. In a sense, he represents all young people who would defy the shibboleths of their world. In another sense, he represents Ireland, rising up to wrest control from centuries of British dominance.

What of Pegeen Mike? By the end of the play, she has, of course, rejected Shawn. She has not defied sacred authority but merely circumvented it. It is clear that if she is to leap from childhood to adulthood she will have to make the break. It is not enough to make fun of Father Reilly. One must act.

The Lincoln Center Repertory Company captured the audience, and drew it into the play. At first the audience was a bit fearful of laughing over the themes of patricide, religion, the family, the romantic visions of youth, and death itself. But the actors were able to cut through the barriers that do separate an American audience from the Irish experience. (The title itself, for instance, loses its meaning if you don't know that the Irish Atlantic seaboard is called the Western World, and that playboy is Hibernian slang for a participant in a game.)

Although John Synge was not considered "political" by the testimony of all who knew him, his plays are filled with subdued but definitely political themes. His use of the Irish language itself is a political act. While he does not offer a programmatic solution, he offers a play peopled with courage and brimming with life. Against the backdrop of a colonized and occupied country, that is an affirmation of the future.

—DIANNE FEELEY

Pamphlets

The Traffic in Women and Other Essays on Feminism by Emma Goldman. Times Change Press. New York, 1970. 63 pp. \$1.25.

The reprinting of the three essays included in *The Traffic in Women and Other Essays on Feminism* by Emma Goldman, along with a short biography of her by Alix Shulman, is timely and appropriate. Emma Goldman was one of the most articulate and militant feminists of her time (1869-1940). She analyzed women's exploitation in society; wrote essays and gave lectures against marriage as an institution; advocated a full and rich sex life for women; crusaded for voluntary parenthood; and was jailed several times for her role in the struggle for women's liberation.

The first essay included in this collection, "The Traffic in Women," explains and documents the fact that "the economic and social inferiority of woman is responsible for prostitution." She explains how the prostitute is a product of social conditions and places blame where it is due.

The second essay, "Marriage and Love," is perhaps the best. It is a biting condemnation of the institution of marriage and an eloquent explanation of the degradation of social relationships inflicted by society and its institutions.

The third essay, "Woman Suffrage," reveals Emma Goldman's lack of understanding about the fight for women's suffrage. She calls the struggle for universal suffrage a "fetish." "Wherein, then, are the advantages to woman and society for woman suffrage?" she asks. Although Emma Goldman was in the forefront of the struggle for free speech and defense of the movement, her anarchist philosophy led her to underestimate the power of the democratic struggle for women's suffrage.

—LINDA JENNESS

What's Happening to the American Worker? by David Montgomery. Published by Radical America, 1970. 27 pp. 25 cents.

The liberal myth of the contented worker—happy with mortgaged house, two-and-a-half kids, docile wife, large quantities of beer, and an ever-operating TV set—all too frequently influences the thinking and saps the will of radical-minded people, especially those who are divorced from direct contact with the industrial work force.

In *What's Happening to the American Worker?*, David Montgomery sets out to dispel these illusions and to show that even if the working class as a whole is only beginning to evidence combativity, the discontent is already there that will bring increasing numbers of industrial workers into motion. He writes:

"Recently the GE strike, the Wallace campaign, massive confrontations over lily-white hiring practices in the building trades, and the murder of Jock Yablonski have rudely reminded America's intellectuals that the country still has industrial workers, and that those workers still have their grievances.

"To some extent the intellectual must be forgiven his ignorance. The labor leader did nothing to correct the image of the contented worker. On the contrary, union officials themselves appeared more often than not as posh and prosperous suburburbans preaching their 'team' and 'mutual trusteeship' programs to increase labor productivity and improve the employer's competitive position, racing off on government junkets to the far corners of the earth arm-in-arm with the CIA to help hold down the efforts of working people in other lands to improve their lot, loudly endorsing every twist and turn of the government's most belligerent and reckless Cold War policies—not to recoil even at the futile slaughter of their own members' sons in the bloody jungles of Vietnam."

Montgomery goes on to carefully show the hatred of industrial workers for the conditions of their work. They hate the narrow, boring routinism of tasks assigned to them. They resent being forced to take orders and having no say about their lives in the work place. "The American Dream of opportunity and independence is dangled before him daily. But the instant he hits that time clock, Mr. Big lets him know: 'Your ass belongs to me.'"

Montgomery concludes by demonstrating that slowly but surely the militant combativity that has taken hold in other sectors of the population has begun to spread into the ranks of labor—white, Black, male and female.

—MALACHI CONSTANT

What is the Jewish Defense League?

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK — The Jewish Defense League, an ultraright organization headed by Rabbi Meir D. Kahane, an outspoken racist and supporter of the U.S. government's war in Vietnam, has drawn international attention in recent weeks with its openly avowed campaign of harassment directed against Soviet diplomats and other Soviet citizens working in the U.S.

Founded in 1968 by Kahane and attorney Bertram Zweibon, the JDL is a sizable group composed mainly of young Jews who devote themselves to harassing, intimidating and physically attacking those they consider "hostile to the interests of the Jewish community." These include virtually every radical and left-wing organization, especially Black and Puerto Rican groups and the antiwar movement.

During the two years since it was founded, the JDL has carried out raids on the offices of radical and Palestinian organizations, marched through the Black community armed with baseball bats, disrupted meetings, and physically attacked anti-Zionist speakers and demonstrators.

The JDL's current campaign of harassing Soviet officials is carried out in the name of "defending" Soviet Jews who suffer from the anti-Semitism of the bureaucratic regime in the U.S.S.R.

In response to diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union and other nations, the U.S. government has moved to curb the activities of the JDL, which until now it has virtually ignored. In January, a federal grand jury returned indictments against a number of JDL leaders on a variety of charges. Kahane and other JDL officers have also been arraigned in a Manhattan Supreme Court on charges ranging from inciting to riot and unlawful assembly to burglary and assault.

The not unfamiliar pattern of the indictments following diplomatic protest parallels the treatment given by government authorities to some groups of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles (gusanos) which attacked and harassed supporters of the

Cuban revolution with relative impunity for years until some of them began directing their attacks against the offices of foreign-based firms from countries which trade with Cuba. Then the government suddenly stepped in against the individuals involved — only to let many of them off later when the diplomatic pressure subsided.

The JDL is similar to gusano groups and to such fascist-style gangs as the Legion of Justice in the treatment it receives from the police and courts. Its reactionary outlook and gangster-like methods of operation also correspond to those of other right-wing organizations.

Kahane is the co-author of *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam*, a book supporting the war, and is an openly virulent racist. In a Jan. 12 court appearance, Kahane made the incredible statement that "John Lindsay, who has never sought to make war against the Black Panthers, the Young Lords, the Weathermen, has declared open season on the JDL." One hardly needs to comment on this warped comparison between the Black Panthers and Young Lords, who are brutalized, framed up, and beaten and killed in jail, and the JDL, which has only now been indicted on serious charges for the first time. In contrast to the impossibly high bail set for the defendants in the New York Panther 21 trial, Kahane and his crew were released on "nominal bail" Jan. 18 when they "promised" Supreme Court justice Gerald P. Calkin "to desist from illegal activities."

A standard operating procedure of the JDL is the issuing of carefully worded but boastful statements to the press after an anonymous act of terrorism has been committed. The terrorist act — a bombing or the hurling of an object through a window — is usually followed directly by anonymous phone calls to the press by persons who repeat the slogan "Never Again!" This slogan is used by the JDL to refer to the mass murder of six million Jews by the Nazis. It is calculated to evoke the horror and revulsion which that slaughter recalls and to mobilize it in support of the ultra-right-wing actions and policies of the JDL.

After receiving the calls, the press contacts the JDL, which then issues statements disclaiming responsibility for the action but refusing to condemn it, while in the next breath claiming credit for he action by implication.

This pattern has been repeated dozens of times in connection with the defacing of photographs at a Soviet exhibit, the bombing and breaking of windows at the offices of the Soviet airline and travel agency, Aeroflot and Intourist, the disruption of performances by Soviet artists, and other incidents. It can be seen clearly in the JDL's activity around the bombing of the Soviet cultural building in Washington, D.C., Jan. 8.

Shortly after the bomb exploded around 4 a.m., a woman called news agencies and said, "This is a sample of things to come. Never Again!" Contacted by the press, JDL co-founder Zweibon said, "We do not condemn the act — nor did we do it." Zweibon then added, "The applause for the bombing in Washington comes from imprisoned Soviet Jewry. The commuting of the death sentences [of two Soviet Jews convicted of plotting to hijack an airliner] was but a skirmish in a war of liberation. We call upon the people of the world to join that war."

Two days later, Kahane called a news conference in front of the Soviet U.N. Mission, in which he told the press that the JDL was forming teams

to "follow, question and harass" Soviet diplomats in an effort to see that "the life of each Russian . . . be made miserable."

The Israeli regime has given the JDL an indirect boost by lifting censorship from extreme rightist Soviet refugee groups in Israel and sending spokesmen from some of them on speaking tours in Europe and the U.S. The Jan. 16 *New York Times* reported a letter from a score of these Russian-born Israelis applauding the actions of the JDL.

While Kahane promised Justice Calkin he would obey the law Jan. 18, three days earlier he was quoted in *The New York Times* as saying of the prosecutions, "In any case, these proceedings are irrelevant. Whether they take place or not will not stop us. We will simply keep on doing what we have to do."

Since the opening of this latest JDL campaign, which has resulted in the indictments, virtually every other Jewish organization in the U.S. has condemned the JDL's tactics. The Jan. 19 *New York Times* reported that the New England director and seven chapter chairmen were resigning from the JDL in protest of the JDL's "irresponsible actions."

But while other Jewish organizations condemn the actions of the JDL, they fail to recognize the interrelation between these actions and the JDL's Zionist ideas, which many of them share with Kahane and his gang.

The Zionist formula of equating opposition to Zionism and Israel with anti-Semitism provides one of the rationalizations for the JDL's assaults on socialists and radicals who support the right of the Palestinians to regain their homeland. (They also attack radical organizations because they oppose their pro-Black and antiwar views.)

When Kahane and 40 of his followers armed with pipes invaded the offices of the *Daily World* June 3, 1970, harassing staff members and damaging equipment — or when a similarly armed JDL group of about the same size attacked 30 Columbia SDSers peacefully picketing a speech by Israeli official D. Fahri Oct. 7, 1970, and beat them unmercifully — they were only carrying to its logical conclusion the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism and opposition to Israeli policies equals anti-Semitism.

The JDL's pro-Zionism is also closely related to the kind of racism which Kahane and his gang practice in the extreme form of armed assault on Black militants. When the JDL marched through Black neighborhoods with baseball bats or confronted the Black Panthers at a demonstration, it could well have been taking its cue from the Israeli Army's policy in Arab villages.

Zionism, which is based on the racist oppression of the Arab people, falsely portrays the Arab liberation struggle as a threat to the entire Jewish people. Similarly, the racist Jewish Defense League falsely portrays the Black liberation struggle as a threat to the Jewish people. A related method of reasoning leads the JDL to oppose the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Jewish Defense League's actions belie its name. It is not the defender of the Jewish people, but the attacker of all other oppressed people fighting for their liberation. The JDL to the contrary, the defense of Jewish people against anti-Semitic actions can only be carried out successfully in alliance with the other national liberation forces throughout the world, not against them.

N.Y. court upholds right of parolees to counsel

NEW YORK — The significance of a recent State Court of Appeals decision upholding the right of parolees to counsel at proceedings to revoke parole was discussed at a Bill of Rights Foundation news conference here Jan. 19.

The state's highest court ruled Jan. 13 in the case of Joseph Menechino, a 43-year-old construction worker whose parole was revoked in 1965, that a person on parole has a constitutional right to be represented by an attorney in parole revocation hearings.

Menechino was convicted of second-degree murder and sentenced to 20 years to life in prison in 1947. He

was paroled in 1963. Two years later, he was charged by his parole officer with "consorting" because he worked on a construction job with two other ex-convicts and denied this to the officer. At a five-minute hearing in which he was not represented by an attorney and was not allowed to explain that his only association with the two men was on the job, Menechino's parole was revoked. Immediately sent back to prison, he has subsequently been denied parole three times.

David Rosenberg, lawyer for the firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard, who is representing Menechino, speculated at the news conference today that the reason for the Parole

Board's denying Menechino parole on the three occasions "might possibly be because he's brought this suit." The suit which resulted in the Jan. 13 victory was begun by Menechino, without the aid of counsel, in a lower court in 1965. He initially won the suit, which was then appealed by the government. Menechino requested aid from the Bill of Rights Foundation when the suit went to the appeal level.

Melvin Rivers, a spokesman for the Fortune Society, a prisoner rehabilitation organization, agreed with Rosenberg's suggestion that Menechino's court action might have adversely affected his chances for parole. "The

prison system does not like 'jailhouse lawyers,'" Rivers said.

Bill of Rights Foundation director Dan Collins, who is also head of the New York New Democratic Coalition, joined Rosenberg and Rivers in pointing out that this important legal victory has "done no more than to chip away at a prison system which is thoroughly corrupt."

Rosenberg explained that while parolees may now be represented in proceedings to revoke their parole, "ultimate discretion remains with the parole board." Moreover, the right of prisoners to counsel at hearings to grant parole has yet to be won, Rosenberg added.

... Mideast

Continued from p. 16

toward an alternative to the existing capitalist regimes. Its ranks have been engaged in continual political discussion of various points of view within the mass movement. It has taken steps toward incorporating women into its ranks with equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities. It has shown political perspicacity in putting forward its program for national liberation in terms that can win Israeli Jews away from Zionism.

Although at present none of the Palestinian resistance organizations has a revolutionary-socialist program, and although there is no Palestinian Leninist party, it is from the best fighters in the major Palestinian organizations that many of the cadres of a Leninist party will come. The accomplishment of this burning task will be a key to the success of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

(To be continued)

... Boston

Continued from p. 14

"They should not attempt to *become* the movement themselves by bringing everyone into their group (thus impeding its efficiency and diluting its message), but offer their ideas and analysis to others through writing and talking."

The Cell-16 letter accuses the YSA and Female Liberation of turning the group's office into "a highly organized women's center," and of establishing "coalitions with groups with which we had no political agreement, only common goals. Their use of coalitions has been to give them access to greater numbers of people. The effect is to neutralize the integrity and intensity of individual groups."

Thus, the Cell-16 women stress the importance of "vital individuals" in the movement, and express a fear that a massive influx of new women would "impede the efficiency" of a group and "dilute its message." In their answer, Female Liberation states that these ideas are the main difference they have with Cell-16. "Most of us are 'new' members. Our participation has strengthened Female Liberation and the women's movement."

The basic orientation of Female Liberation toward building an open action-oriented group which will reach out to masses of women, is expressed in the statement of aims of Female Liberation: "It is becoming clear that this movement is reach-

ing into every layer of the Female population. We want to help mobilize the energies and power of these masses of women to fight for nothing less than our total liberation."

In regard to forming coalitions of women's organizations for united actions, Female Liberation says: "Cell-16 accurately describes Female Liberation's attitude towards work in coalitions. Very few individuals or groups have total 'political agreement'. However, we feel we have 'common goals' with most women and therefore seek to form coalitions for specific actions aimed at achieving these 'common goals.' To say that this 'dilutes' the movement shows a terrific intellectual elitism and a fear of all those millions of women we believe can be reached and involved in the struggle to achieve total liberation, which is after all what we are all fighting for."

Although the majority of Female Liberation decided upon an orientation different from that of Cell-16, they say clearly in their answer that "Female Liberation respects the right of all women in the movement to work in whatever structure they feel is the most effective. . . . There is room for everyone and every kind of activity in the movement. The oppression of women is so great and so multifaceted that it must be attacked by *all* the groups."

These basic questions — democracy, coalitions and a closed-group orientation vs. an open, action orientation were the underlying disagreements behind the Cell-16 charges of "take-over" by the YSA. The charge by the Cell-16 women that Female Liberation was "taken over" by the YSA is a complete distortion of the fact that the majority of Female Liberation, including the YSA women and other long-time members of Female Liberation, democratically decided on an orientation different from that of the Cell-16 women.

The Female Liberation answer to Cell-16 says: "Statements and charges that somehow an alien, outside group has 'infiltrated' and 'taken over' Female Liberation are totally false and can only be seen as attempts to discredit the work we are all doing, and is in no way constructive. The implications that all the women who participate in Female Liberation activities are manipulated by the YSA is insulting to our intelligence and integrity. Six of the 35 women who regularly participate in business meetings are also members of YSA. . . . These YSA women were completely open about their membership in YSA. In May 1970, it had been agreed that Female Liberation would be open to all women who want to work on feminist issues regardless of their other political affiliations. Members of Female Liberation are also in Gay Liberation, NOW, Daughters of Bilitis, Black organizations, MORAL [an abortion coalition], and many other groups."

Copies of the Cell-16 letter can be obtained by

writing to: Cell-16, 16 Lexington Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. For the Female Liberation answer, write: Female Liberation, Box 303 Kenmore Square Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.

Calendar

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ATLANTA

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN. Speakers: Dr. Ronnie Strickland, Emory professor of psychology; Kathleen O'Nan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (at 14th St.). A Militant Bookstore Forum.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

A SYMPOSIUM ON SEXUAL POLITICS. Speakers: Susan Griffin, poet and mother; Ruth Rosen, teachers assistant in women's history at U.C. Berkeley; Sandy Peck, SWP. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Contrib: \$1. Ausp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

BOSTON

REPRESSION IN THE U.S. AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speakers: Leonard Boudin, noted constitutional lawyer, defender of the Ft. Jackson Eight, Benjamin Spock and Ernest Mandel; and Matilde Zimmerman, former executive secretary of GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Donation at the door. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call 536-6981.

CLEVELAND

IN DEFENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Burning Issues in the Mideast*. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

LOS ANGELES

IS SOCIALISM RELEVANT TO CHICANO NATIONALISM? Speakers: Hilda Rangel, Chicana activist and former YSA national field secretary; a representative from the Brown Berets; others. Fri., Feb. 5, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

NATIONALISM AND FEMINISM: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Panelists: Dolores Prida, NOW; Myrna Hill, SWP; others. Fri., Feb. 5, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. 4th St.), 8th floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

RIVERSIDE

CHICANO NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM. Discussion leaders: Olga Diaz, Woody Diaz, George Resendez and Gerry Reyna. Tues., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Ausp. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 687-1129.

SAN FRANCISCO

SEMINARS FOR WOMEN: WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Thurs., Feb. 4, 8 p.m.: *Women in Struggle: History of Feminism in America*. Sponsor: YSA and SWP. 2338 Market St.

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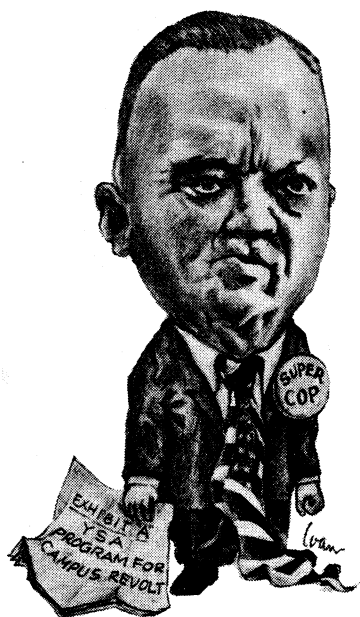
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THE MILITANT

Polish workers mount pressure on Gierek

By DOUG JENNESS

JAN. 25—While Poland's new Communist Party chief Edward Gierek prepares for a Central Committee plenum to discuss the country's economic difficulties, the workers, who last month forced the ouster of Wladyslaw Gomułka, are stepping up the pressure on the new regime.

James Feron, *New York Times* correspondent in Warsaw, writes on Jan. 23 that Gierek "was reported tonight to have flown to Szczecin to try to end a widespread strike gripping the Baltic coastal city. . . .

"The strike in Szczecin was reported to have started Friday in the Adolf Warski Shipyards, which employs 12,000 people. It spread yesterday to the city's transportation facilities. It was reported tonight that train service also had been interrupted."

During the mass uprising last month, the workers in Szczecin formed strike committees which assumed considerable power in the city before major shifts were made in the central government in Warsaw.

The Szczecin strike this week followed a week of strike activity among workers in other Baltic ports, particularly Gdansk.

A Jan. 18 AP dispatch from Gdansk published in the Jan. 19 *Washington Post* reported that "Thousands of shipyard men stopped work because of political and economic grievances today in this Baltic city. . . .

"Workers leaving the morning shift in the giant Lenin plant, which employs 16,000, said the men went on a six-hour strike. They returned after being promised that management directors and workers delegates would go to Warsaw to present their demands including the removal of two Politburo members."

Feron, in the Jan. 24 *New York Times*, reports that trade-union and party meetings have become much more open and in many instances tumultuous.

"One observer said," he writes, "that the meetings had moved beyond the economic sphere — although Gdansk party officials say they have heard

2,000 demands so far—to the political arena, where the cry is 'Get rid of him — and him — and him.'

"Another change is that workers in Gdansk, and perhaps in Szczecin, feel better able to speak out. They shake their fists at what they consider to be ineffective trade-union representatives, they march to directors' offices, and they negotiate directly with local party people.

"They are putting their names on petitions, and they are standing up in public to address groups of workers as negotiations with local authorities ebb and flow."

One of the central grievances is the speedup measures that the government is attempting to impose in order to increase efficiency. Feron, in a Jan. 18 dispatch from Gdansk, quotes a shipyard worker: "Until recently, 32 workers spent 1,500 hours overhauling a set of three condensers. Four guys would have to do it in 400 hours to meet the new quotas."

Other demands include higher pay,

freedom of the press, release of those jailed during last month's revolt, and removal of officials that are considered responsible for the economic crisis.

On Jan. 19, Gierek was forced to meet with a delegation of shipyard workers from Gdansk who went to Warsaw. It is almost unprecedented that top party officials would directly negotiate with workers, and the fact that this meeting was televised doubtless had an impact on workers throughout the country, who also want a hearing for their demands.

Pressure from the workers has forced Gierek to remove the hated interior minister, Kazimierz Switala, and the trade-union chief, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski. However, the government's response to other demands is to combine promises of concessions with threats of a crackdown on strike activity. With this attitude, Gierek runs head on into the workers' growing sense of strength, and even sharper conflicts can be expected.

Indictment of Angela Davis: 'pure speculation'

By DERRICK MORRISON

On Jan. 15, the transcript of the Marin County grand jury proceedings that indicted Angela Davis were made public.

In a press conference the next day, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, Howard Moore Jr., chief counsel for Angela Davis, remarked, "The transcript . . . convinces me beyond any doubt that Angela Davis is the target of a vicious political frameup. . . . We must assume that this is the best shot the State of California can pull together—and it boils down to pure speculation, guessing, and conjecture of the wildest order."

The indictment was hastily put together last November in order to secure the extradition of Davis, a member of the Communist Party and a former philosophy professor at UCLA, who was arrested in New York on Oct. 13. Defense attorneys John Abt and Margaret Burnham had filed a petition for habeas corpus, giving a serious challenge to the extradition proceedings. In response, the grand jury indictments on charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy were handed down.

She is charged with providing the guns in an attempt by 17-year-old Jonathan P. Jackson to free three Black prisoners in the Marin County courthouse last Aug. 7. The judge, Harold J. Haley, and several other persons were taken hostage. But during the attempt to escape, scores of police and San Quentin prison guards shot wildly into the van which held the prisoners and the hostages. Two of the prisoners, Jackson, and the judge were killed. The surviving prisoner, Ruchell Magee, and Davis are being charged with the judge's death.

Recently though, Magee released a document discharging his court-appointed lawyer on the basis that the lawyer and Marin County judges had offered a bribe if he would testify against Davis. He stated further that Davis is innocent and that he had no prior knowledge of Jackson's plan.

But in another passage from the document, as quoted in the Jan. 9 *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper published in the Bay Area, Magee runs down just who did the shooting on Aug. 7 and the prison policy behind it. ". . . of my own knowledge, the first lethal shots were fired by the would-be-rescuers on

direct orders from Warden Louis S. Nelson, who predicated and initiated such deadly orders under the cover of a long-standing Department of Corrections rule that states that no person shall be allowed to escape alive by means of the seizure of hostages regardless of their physical danger."

In other developments, the NAACP Board of Directors has demanded a fair trial for Davis, and a Committee of Concerned Academics for Angela Davis (CCAAD) has been formed.

The NAACP statement said in part, "We are appalled at the obvious effort to deny the presumption of innocence and thereby convict Miss Angela Davis of murder long before the first witness has been called. We are deeply concerned that the American judicial system provide a fair trial for a young, Black American woman who admits to being a member of the Communist Party. . . .

"At this moment, we express no view as to her innocence or guilt simply because the evidence has not been presented. Miss Davis has not asked our help but we demand, and will take every lawful step available to us to

guarantee, that Miss Davis shall not be denied any of the safeguards of the American judicial system. We call on all other Americans, Black and white, to join us in assuring a fair and impartial trial for Miss Davis."

The CCAAD is a group of Black professors from different parts of the country headed by Keith Baird, professor of humanities at Hofstra University. In "An Expression of Concern," they state, "As Black Academics, we, the undersigned, hereby express our deep concern for the welfare of our sister, Professor Angela Davis. In view of the historic oppression of Black people in these United States, an oppression perpetrated by means of social and economic deprivation, continuing acts of stark physical violence, and unequal treatment in courts of law—precisely the conditions against which Professor Davis so courageously spoke out—we cannot but voice our understanding and sympathy for our distinguished colleague who has seen it her duty as a human being and her responsibility as a scholar and teacher to consider not alien to her these protracted sufferings of our people. . . ."

New Haven jury selection biased against Panthers

By TIM CRAINE

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Jan. 24—Jury selection in the trial of Black Panthers Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins is continuing in the same pattern it has followed since Nov. 17. Over 750 jurors have been rejected and only seven selected.

In the process, the defense has used all but 9 of its 60 peremptory challenges, whereas the prosecution has 38 left. Thus, the defense will soon exhaust its challenges, leaving the field open to the prosecution and Judge Harold Mulvey.

In some instances, the judge has made it necessary for the defense to challenge prospective jurors whose bias was so obvious that the court

should have excused the candidate. One such prospective juror defended J. Edgar Hoover and said he would believe a policeman over anybody else.

Also, despite repeated objections, the judge continues to dismiss jurors who are against capital punishment, thus producing what Seale has described as a "lynching jury."

Judge Mulvey has denied numerous defense motions including one protesting the underrepresentation of Blacks and youth on the jury panel. Another motion asked for the dismissal of charges on the grounds of prejudicial publicity, particularly the recent statements by J. Edgar Hoover about the Black Panther Party.

In late December, Seale and Huggins became plaintiffs in a suit against the state of Connecticut, charging that their basic human rights are being violated through "administrative segregation" in the prisons in which they are incarcerated.

At the court hearing on the matter, Ellis MacDougall, Connecticut commissioner of corrections, stated that Huggins was "administratively segregated" because of "the extreme danger of this type of offender being in the general prison population. . . ." It was also learned that State's Attorney Markle had "recommended it." But Huggins was released from isolation at the time the suit was filed.

With respect to Seale, MacDougall explained that he was in solitary confinement because he refused to shave his beard and because he caused a disturbance in the cell block.

Although the suit was thrown out, there were negotiations afterwards in the judge's chambers. There, it was agreed that anyone defense lawyers — Charles Garry and Catherine Roraback — stipulated as being necessary to the defense case will have visiting privileges, that both prisoners will be able to get the *Black Panther* newspaper and will have access to materials that are necessary for court preparations and that materials communicated to the prisoners by their lawyers will not be censored or read.