

MARCH 5, 1971 25 CENTS

# THE MILITANT

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



"Remember the dignity of your womanhood. Take courage, join hands, stand beside us, fight with us."

— Christabel Pankhurst

# LIBERATION

**Ominous escalation in Indochina; SMC conference backs April 24 mass response/3  
'Sexual Politics': a Marxist appreciation/11**

VOLUME 34/NUMBER 8

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Laos invasion
- N.Y. Third World student struggle
- 4 SMC conference
- 8 Newark teachers' strike
- 9 Boston Black students fight police occupation
- 10 Spring subscription campaign
- 11 Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*
- 14 Cincinnati women fight for child care
- Minn. abortion march planned
- 15 Election campaign '71
- 16 Winter soldier investigation
- 17 Phila. Black conference
- Protests grow for Feliciano
- 18 Interview with L.A. gay activists
- 19 Unemployed search for answers
- 21 Nixon's plan puts squeeze on aged
- 24 Angela Davis support grows
- Victory scored in Quebec defense cases

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion
- Letters
- 7 The Great Society
- Insurgent Majority
- 20 In Review
- 21 National Picket Line

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 8  
MARCH 5, 1971  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—FEB. 24

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone 243-6392. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$18.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**MASSIVE SHOW OF FORCE BY FRENCH HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FORCES RELEASE OF POLICE VICTIM:** 18-year-old Gilles Guiot was freed in Paris Feb. 19 after four days of mass meetings and demonstrations by thousands of his classmates threw the Gaullist regime into a panic. Anatole Shub of the *Washington Post* reported from Paris Feb. 17 that 10,000 students from 60 striking high schools had marched across the city's main boulevards for three hours. The week before, Guiot had been sentenced to six months in jail for allegedly hitting a cop in a Feb. 9 demonstration. *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Milt Freudenheim related the chain of events following Guiot's sentencing which led to the mammoth protests: Students at Guiot's school struck Feb. 15 and strikes spread to 36 other schools by Feb. 16. On Feb. 16 Gaullist Secretary General Rene Tomasini replied to reporters' questions on the Guiot case by extolling the cops as "guardians of liberty." He also accused the judiciary of "cowardice," claiming the "ridiculous penalties" given by judges to student demonstrators were "creating potential anarchy." Tomasini also took a shot at the state TV network for its "bizarre, scandalous, morbid, pessimistic" news reports. Tomasini's Agnewisms created more "anarchy" than the "cowardice" of French judges, who took to the streets themselves Feb. 18 to protest the secretary general's insults. His statements also helped fan the strike to the massive proportions it assumed Feb. 17, which provoked a ban on street demonstrations from the interior minister. The ban was ignored by the judges Feb. 18 and by the students Feb. 19 when a retrial was scheduled for Guiot. John Hess gave this account of the scene outside the courtroom in an article appearing in the Feb. 20 *New York Times*: 10,000 students "filled the nearby Boulevard St-Michel from the Place St-Michel to the Sorbonne, held back by their own marshals in motorcycle helmets and kerchiefs, confronting heavy lines of riot police who sealed off the bridges to the Ile de la Cite and the courthouse. . . . when the word (of Guiot's acquittal) came by transistor radio to the youths in the boulevard, they rose to cheer and sing *The Internationale*."

**NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION RAPS CITY SCHOOL OFFICIALS FOR ILLEGAL SUSPENSIONS:** On Feb. 18, the NYCLU made public a report based on a sample of 115 of the 14,000 cases of suspended students during the last school year in New York City. It found that 77 percent of the suspensions were imposed illegally for such offenses as arguing with a teacher, being late to class, or putting up a Black liberation flag in the hallway. The report accused the Board of Education of "flagrant disregard" for state law and its own regulations.

**PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS OCCUPY CCNY IN FIGHT FOR PUERTO RICAN STUDIES:** Sixty members of the Puerto Rican Student Union, fed up with the stalling of officials at the City College of New York on the students' demands for courses about Puerto Rican history and culture, sat in at the offices of the Romance languages department for six hours Feb. 18. School officials responded by threatening discipline for all those who "could be identified as having participated in the action."



**THIS IS ONE OF THE MEN WHO RUN THE COUNTRY:** The above photo, by Gerald Martineau—The *Washington Post*, is of Sen. Russell Long at a Feb. 13 D. C. ball of the State Society of Louisiana: Long is wearing the robes of the Mystic Krewe of Louisianians, "a secret, elite, sub-group of the Society." The normal-looking person is Marciarose Shestack of Philadelphia.

**SCHOOL BOARD CHICKENS OUT IN CALIF. HIGH SCHOOL RIGHTS CASE:** Roger Merrick dropped his case against the Orange, Calif., school board Feb. 11 after the board returned him to Orange High School in order to avoid a possible adverse court ruling. Transferred last semester because of his political activity, Merrick had filed a suit alleging violation of his First Amendment rights.

**CHICAGO COURT QUASHES SUTTON'S SUBPOENA:** S. Thomas Sutton's attempt to subpoena records belonging to the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks met with defeat Feb. 18 when a Chicago judge ruled the basis for a subpoena irrelevant. Sutton, spokesman for the right-wing Legion of Justice, had tried to subpoena the records as "defense" in the trial of Legion punk Thomas Kevin Stewart, now scheduled for March 17. Stewart is charged with armed robbery and assault for his role in an attack on YSA and SWP offices in Chicago in 1969.

**KAHANE CONVICTED:** Rabbi Meir D. Kahane, founder and leader of the ultraright Jewish Defense League, was convicted for the first time in a New York court Feb. 23. The first conviction out of his many arrests came on charges of obstructing governmental administration, and disorderly conduct, both misdemeanors. Sentencing will take place April 13.

**FOUR N.Y. MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ASK PROBE OF TOMBS HANGING:** Bella Abzug, Edward Koch, Benjamin Rosenthal, and John Dow signed a letter Feb. 16 to U.S. Attorney Whitney Seymour, asking that he investigate the death of Raymond Lavon Moore. Moore, a Tombs inmate who was Black and gay, was found hanging in his cell Nov. 3, 1970. Charges by witnesses that four guards had entered his cell two days earlier and beaten him with a blackjack were ignored by a Manhattan grand jury which issued a report Feb. 11 clearing the guards.

**SENTENCING OF TWO YOUTHS MAKES THREE ON N.Y. DEATH ROW:** Gerald McGivern, 25, and Charles Culhane, 26, were sentenced Feb. 19 to die in the electric chair in April. The sentence, pronounced by Judge Raymond J. Mino, brought to three the number of prisoners awaiting execution in New York. McGivern and Culhane were convicted of killing a guard in a 1968 escape attempt. Both men claim they are innocent. The other death row prisoner is Martin J. Fitzpatrick, convicted of killing two cops.

**ANTIWAR BILLS IN MARYLAND AND NEW YORK:** Both the New York and Maryland state legislatures are considering bills modeled on the controversial Massachusetts statute protecting state residents from serving in undeclared wars such as the one in Indochina. The constitutionality of the Massachusetts law is still being disputed in lower courts after the Supreme Court refused to hear the case. Meanwhile, the New York Council of Churches endorsed the bill that is presently before lawmakers in Albany.

**"FREEDOM" FOUNDATION GIVES GUY \$5,000 BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT HONOR KENT STATE VICTIMS:** The "Freedoms Foundation" of Valley Forge gave Bill Pierson its George Washington Award and \$5,000 Feb. 15 because he placed his 250-pound frame in front of the flagpole at San Diego State College for more than three hours last May just to prevent students from lowering it to half-staff in tribute to the four students slain at Kent State by National Guardsmen.

**JANE FONDA, OTHERS PLANNING ENTERTAINMENT FOR GIS:** Calling attention to the fact that most GIs "are peace-loving and want an end to the war," Jane Fonda told reporters that she, Barbara Dane, Dick Gregory, and others had written to the commanding general at Ft. Bragg, N.C., requesting permission to present an antiwar show, written by Jules Feiffer and directed by Mike Nichols, at the base March 13 and 14. In a New York news conference Feb. 16, Fonda said the group would tour a number of bases.

**BLACK NATIONALISM TOPIC OF BOUTELLE TOUR:** Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate from Harlem in 1970, recently completed a tour of Texas and Oklahoma, where he spoke to more than 900 students at four universities in three days. Last fall his name appeared on a long list of "dangerous" speakers; compiled by the House Internal Security Committee. The talk he delivered was entitled "Malcolm X, Black Nationalism, and the Black Struggle Today."

— LEE SMITH

# Laos invasion: deeper into mire

By DICK ROBERTS

FEB. 24—At this writing, the U.S.-directed Saigon troops in Laos are bogged down and suffering hammerblows from the resistance forces. U.S. copters and planes are being shot down in record numbers. But this setback to the U.S. invasion does not in any way lessen the danger of the qualitative new escalation of the U.S. aggression in Indochina. The logic of the U.S. objective of seeking military victory in Indochina drives it inexorably deeper into the bloody morass.

President Nixon's bellicose defense of the invasion at a hastily called press conference in Washington Feb. 17 left room for no doubts about the ominous character of the present escalation.

Nixon hinted at a heavier bombing attack against North Vietnam (which was already underway by the weekend); he refused to rule out an invasion of North Vietnam; he pooh-poohed the danger of Chinese entry into the war, despite repeated grave warnings from Peking.

These remarks provoked the sharpest reaction to Nixon's war policies since the outcry over the attack on Cambodia last May.

"President Nixon's threat to employ American air power without restraint throughout Indochina and his refusal to rule out a South Vietnamese invasion of North Vietnam remove virtually all doubt that the president is

still thinking in terms of the will-o'-the-wisp of military victory in Southeast Asia," the editors of the *New York Times* declared Feb. 21.

"The threat to unleash unlimited air war on North Vietnam . . . is an ominous hint that the South Vietnamese drive into Laos may be headed for serious trouble. . . . It is altogether unrealistic to assume that China can remain indifferent to an expanding conflict on its borders or that the Soviet Union will fail to seek new ways to fulfill its commitments to Hanoi," the *New York Times* editors warned.

It is evident that the administration is in for a massive rebuke.

● In the U.S. Congress, vote-sensitive politicians introduced a series of bills and resolutions to limit U.S. combat intervention in Indochina and set dates for the removal of all U.S. troops.

● The Democratic Party "Policy Committee" adopted a plank calling for the removal of all American forces from Vietnam by the end of 1972.

● At a major gathering in Washington Feb. 19-21, over 2,000 members and supporters of the Student Mobilization Committee planned a series of campus actions against the war this spring, leading up to massive demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco April 24 to demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia (see pages 4-5).

● Teach-ins at Harvard and Yale attracted overflow crowds—the first of a series of antiwar teach-ins that have been planned. The militant temper of the Yale students was marked when they hissed Averell Harriman because he refused to take an unequivocal position for immediate withdrawal.

The inner logic of the U.S. war policies in Indochina has compelled Washington to undertake this latest military lashing out in Laos. And it is the same "logic" which could compel the administration to order an attack on North Vietnam, with the possible entry of China into the war that this would necessarily imply.

That is the "logic" of attempting to militarily crush a revolution that is ever more widely supported by the peoples of Southeast Asia.

The same warning was strongly made by *New York Times* Associate Editor Tom Wicker Feb. 21: ". . . if the president cannot get his victory in Laos, as he could not get it in South Vietnam or in Cambodia, there is only one other place to seek it, and every reason to believe that Mr. Nixon will do just that."

The unprecedented secrecy surrounding the attack on Laos has not disguised the fact that it is in trouble. The South Vietnamese "Rangers," who have long been proclaimed the best Saigon fighting units, have been driven back from forward positions. They

attempted to escape on U.S. helicopters sent in to remove the wounded.

Meanwhile, the supporting U.S. air forces have been under such murderous fire that there have been beleaguered forces they could not reach. Even by official U.S. figures, the loss of helicopters is unprecedented. And correspondents in the area have challenged the accuracy of these figures as they have the truthfulness of casualty reports.

The initial objective of the invasion, to cut the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail "supply routes," appears to have achieved the opposite. "At this time of year," *New York Times* reporter Henry Kamm wrote Feb. 22, "the electronic sensors that record the number of vehicles using the trail usually register about 1,000 trucks a day going south or north, but several times in the last two weeks the number has reached 2,000. . . ."

One possible explanation for the military problems was suggested by a brief note in the *Washington Star* Feb. 19. The D.C. newspaper recalled that when Gen. William C. Westmoreland first proposed an invasion of Laos five years ago, "He said it would take 260,000 American troops to carry out the operation!"

This all the more suggests that Nixon's principal aim in ordering this "incursion" was precisely to expand the war even further. It is not at all

*Continued on page 22*



Pathet Lao guerrillas in action

## N.Y. students press for campus control

By JOSEPH HARRIS

NEW YORK—A recent series of mass meetings culminating in a one-day strike shook up the campus of the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC).

The Feb. 10 strike was motivated by the demand for student control. Since more than 70 percent of the 3,500 day students at BMCC are Black, Puerto Rican and Asian-American, that meant Third World control of the campus.

Through previous struggles, the administration had granted a Black and Puerto Rican studies program, open enrollment, a day-care center, and student representation on committees controlling finances.

The first two demands were won after the campus struggles that broke out in the spring of 1969 within the City University. BMCC is a two-year

school in the CU. The other demands were agreed to after the campus explosion sparked by the U.S. invasion of Cambodia last May.

But it was one thing for the administration to agree to these demands, quite another for it to implement them.

The day-care center was never made functional. Black and Puerto Rican studies courses were scattered about in other departments. And the students had no real control over the program. Moreover, a Puerto Rican studies professor, M. De Jesus Torres De Garcia, had been fired by the administration. In light of this situation, the Third World Coalition student government, elected last spring, moved to re-mobilize the students.

At a preliminary meeting on Jan. 6, some of the demands codified were: Black and Puerto Rican student control of Black and Puerto Rican studies;

adequate day care; student control of all finances; adequate nursing facilities and an effective training program (in the past two years, only 22 of 332 nursing students passed the state board examination, and this year's first-year nursing students have to wait until September to take Nursing I); and a centralized building location situated in a Third World community (BMCC is located in mid-town Manhattan, with the building for first-year students located 16 blocks away).

About 270 students attended a meeting on Jan. 8. This meeting was threatened with suspensions and police attacks by an administrator. In spite of this, the students decided to call for a strike in the second week of the new semester, which was to begin in February. A work committee and communications committee were set up to build for the action.

The strike forces had to cope with final examinations and the ending of the first half of the school year. Nevertheless, on Feb. 10 a mass meeting of over 450 students met and subsequently shut the school down for the day.

The strike was called off the next day. The students decided to prepare for further action by beginning an educational campaign designed to raise the level of awareness about the issues. Concrete gains made by the militants included control of the student newspaper and commitment by the administration to a functional day-care center.

Student organizations participating in the action were: Society of the Golden Drums, Ramon Betances Club, Women's Liberation Group, Young Workers Liberation League and Young Socialist Alliance.



# SMC solid for April 24

By LEE SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A spring program of antiwar action focused on April 24 was enthusiastically and nearly unanimously adopted by more than 2,000 antiwar activists who were gathered at Catholic University for an emergency National Student Antiwar Conference Feb. 19-21.

Sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the conference was attended by representatives from every part of the country and from every section of the antiwar movement. After two days of discussion and debate, the conference voted overwhelmingly for two proposals from among the 22 which had been introduced.

The main proposal adopted, put forward by SMC national officers Don Gurewitz and Debby Bustin, called for

for campus actions May 5 marking the anniversary of last year's student strike and the killings at Kent and Jackson State, and for GI-civilian solidarity actions on May 16.

The other proposal adopted by the conference calls for a day of nationally coordinated antidraft actions across the country March 15.

The two proposals adopted were chosen from among seven that had been sifted out of the original 22 by straw vote. The combined total of votes for the other five proposals came to no more than 10 percent of the entire conference.

Most of the debate revolved around the Gurewitz-Bustin proposal and proposals that the SMC endorse a May Day "direct action" demonstration in Washington, that the SMC endorse the People's Peace Treaty, and that the

Peace and Justice (PCPJ). William Douthard, PCPJ coordinator, introduced the May 1 action proposal. This appeared to contradict the mid-February PCPJ proposal for a joint "mass action" in Washington on May 2.

The Peace Treaty was introduced by its supporters as a "more concrete" focus for action than the demand of immediate withdrawal. However, the response of the conference at the time the proposal was first introduced indicated that most of those present were not persuaded, and by the time of the final vote, support for the treaty had declined even further.

Supporters of April 24 had pointed out in the course of the discussion that the terms of the treaty, by placing conditions on the Vietnamese, infringed on their right to self-determination. Communist Party spokesman

of building activity for April 24.

The conference participants recognized that the key problem for the antiwar forces is not to fall into the trap of dissipating their energies in isolated protest actions lacking a central focus and a capacity to mobilize significant forces in opposition to the escalation. By utilizing the April 24 buildup as the central focus for an explosion of local activities, including campus meetings, teach-ins, outdoor rallies and marches, the movement could gain continuing momentum and build toward a culminating national action which would have a major political impact.

And by getting the entire movement into action on this basis, it was felt, the organized basis was provided for carrying through any earlier major action that a new turn in the domestic



At Student Mobilization Committee conference

Conference photos by Howard Petrick

all-out support to the mass antiwar marches April 24 in Washington and San Francisco being organized by the National Peace Action Coalition. The proposal, along with others, had been circulated in the special pre-convention issue of the *Student Mobilizer*. Motivating the proposal at the conference, Bustin presented the perspective of mass action as the meaningful alternative to the two extremes of passivity and frustrated "trashing" adventures. Between the two, she said, "there is a wide road leading to Washington and San Francisco down which the SMC can lead hundreds of thousands of students, along with women, Third World people, and trade unionists on April 24."

The Bustin-Gurewitz proposal also called for Martin Luther King memorial actions in local areas April 2-4,

SMC call for united actions by the entire antiwar movement sometime in March to counter the threat of an invasion of North Vietnam.

In a debate that was one of the clearest and most democratic ever to take place at a national antiwar gathering of this type, the supporters of April 24 convinced the conference majority, which was solidly committed to mass action and immediate withdrawal, that the spring program proposed by Gurewitz and Bustin embodied these two concepts while the others did not.

The Peace Treaty, May Day, and March action proposals were all supported by the Communist Party youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, and other forces grouped around the People's Coalition for

Mike Zagarell's impassioned insistence that the terms were not concessions to imperialism won only a scattered handful of votes for the proposal when the question was finally decided.

The proposal calling for the SMC to initiate an action in March to unite the entire antiwar movement against the threat of an invasion of North Vietnam initially received wide support when it was presented by Tony Montero of the Young Workers Liberation League. Every person at the conference was keenly aware of the danger that the situation in Indochina might lead to a dramatic escalation at almost any time. However, in the workshops and on the floor, most of those who had initially supported the idea were convinced by the argument that the best preparation against an escalation was an escalated process

and Indochina situation might dictate.

The conference also acted on a structure proposal and elected new national officers, choosing Bustin as national coordinator and Gurewitz as national field secretary.

In addition, reports were presented from most of the dozen or so workshops. Among the proposals from the workshops acted on were plans for Chicano contingents, women's contingents, and gay contingents on April 24.

Because of the seriousness with which participants attended to the business at hand, the conference finished its agenda in record time. By early Sunday afternoon, the student activists were climbing into cars and buses headed back to every corner of the nation to step up work for April 24.



# Rally launches conference

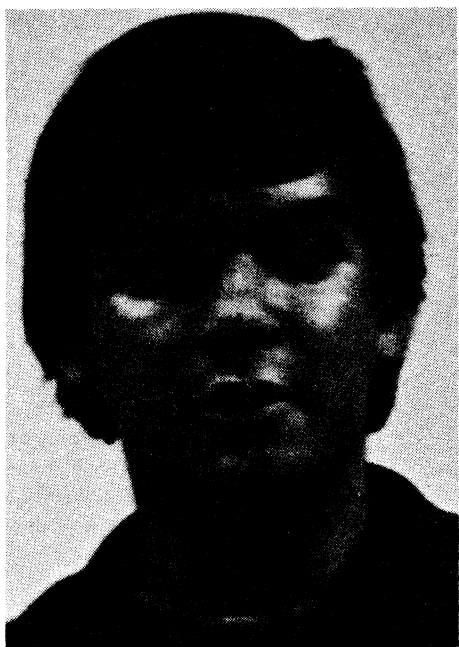
WASHINGTON, D.C. — The rally opening the three-day emergency National Student Antiwar Conference set the tone for the following two days of deliberation by more than 2,000 antiwar activists.

Rally speakers represented a broad spectrum of antiwar forces, which testified to the growing support for the spring antiwar program adopted by the conference.

The speakers included such figures as Leon Page of the Cairo United Front; Jose Garza, of La Raza Unida Party and assistant city manager of Crystal City, Texas; Ron Dellums, Black congressman from Berkeley; Nancy Williamson of Boston Female Liberation; Charles Cheng of the D.C. Teachers Union; Joe Miles of the Fort Jackson Eight; Lt. Rob Olson of the Concerned Officers Movement; Jerry Gordon of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC); Helen Gurewitz of the Washington, D.C., Peace Action Coalition; Don Gurewitz of the Student Mobilization Committee; Frank Greer of the National Student Association; and others, among them representatives of the Angela Davis and Kent 25 defense committees.

The speakers stressed the growing anger among all sections of the population at Nixon's escalation of U.S. aggression in Indochina and pointed to the opportunities this opened up for involving unprecedented numbers of Blacks, Chicanos, GIs, women, trade unionists, and students in the mass demonstrations April 24.

Countering the editorialists who have been pronouncing the student antiwar movement dead, Jerry Gordon pointed to the conference itself as evidence that such claims were false. Speaking for NPAC, Gordon said, "We know students will be in the streets again this spring, and one reason for our confidence is that we know there is a Student Mobilization Committee to bring them into the streets!"



Jose Garza

The SMC conference received telegrams and expressions of support for April 24 from more than a dozen organizations and individuals, including Pham Van Ba of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government in Paris, the Vietnamese National Union of Students, Xuan Oanh of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American People, the Japanese Congress Against A and H Bombs, Pvt. Ed Jurenas in Alaska and another antiwar GI stationed in Vietnam, Patrick Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, Noam Chomsky, Joseph Heller, Sister Jogues Egan of the Harrisburg "conspiracy" case, and Egbal Ahmad of the Harrisburg Six, as well as a number of others from local unions, student governments, and other antiwar organizations.

A spokesman from the Canadian Mobilization Committee gave greetings to the conference prior to the opening session Feb. 20.

## Chicanos to march April 24

Following is the text of the Third World workshop proposal on Chicanos and the war adopted by the SMC National Student Antiwar Conference:

"The effects of the war in Vietnam, the invasion of Cambodia, and the recent escalation into Laos by the U.S. government are felt most by the Chicano people. Part of the oppression of La Raza is reflected in the disproportionate drafting of Chicano youth, and a death rate of three Chicanos for every white GI killed in Vietnam.

"Massive demonstrations have been organized throughout Aztlan in the last year, culminating with the National Chicano Moratorium of August 29, 1970, in Los Angeles, which mobilized 30,000 Chicanos demanding 'Bring our Carnales home!' Despite attempts by the government to crush this movement, opposition to the war amongst Chicanos is continually growing. Organizing and mobilizing the masses of the Chicano people is a prime task of the Chicano liberation movement.

"The demand that all the carnales [brothers] be brought home is the best expression of the right of the Chicano people to control their own lives and determine their own future.

"It is the responsibility of the entire antiwar movement to aid and support in any way possible the Chicano community's effort to organize and mobilize La Raza against the war in Southeast Asia, by building separate actions, building Chicano contingents at national mobilizations, putting out literature directed at the Chicano community, and that we work towards coordination of national communications and exchange of information on all Chicano antiwar activity.

"We, therefore, propose that this conference go on record in support of the April 24 national antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.

"We further propose that this conference go on record in support of

Chicano antiwar actions and that Chicano activists make an effort to build Chicano contingents on April 24.

"Lastly, it is the responsibility of the entire antiwar movement to defend the Chicano community from attacks waged by the government against it and to prevent events such as the August 29 attack on the Chicano Moratorium from taking place again."

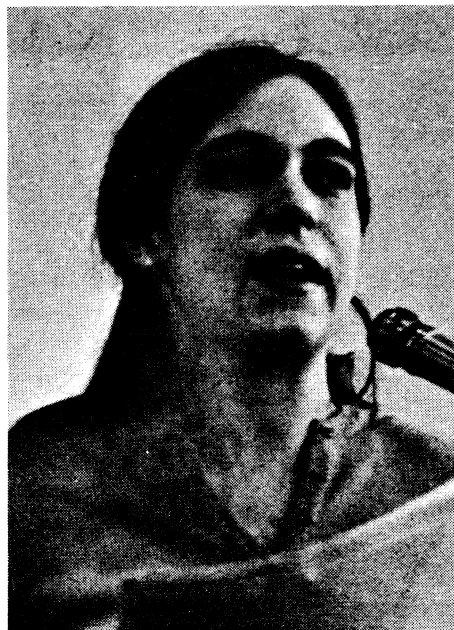
The proposal was signed by Jose Garza, assistant city manager of Crystal City, Texas; Mario Trevino from La Verdad in Crystal City; Mirta Vidal of the New York SMC; and Miguel Pendas from Colorado Springs, Colo. Garza and Trevino reported that a Chicano Mobilization Committee had been formed in Crystal City the day before the conference opened.

The following is an excerpt from an editorial in the Feb. 19 issue of The Observer, student newspaper at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland:

"The students flooded Washington in November 1969, and again May 9, half thinking both times that the war would be over by the time they got back.

"Frustration, cynicism and apathy aside, we have to go again April 24, this time for Dick's benefit—to pay back an insult.

"In the same way that Dick insulted San Jose demonstrators by flashing us a peace sign, Dick insults students when he believes that eliminating the draft and commissioning South Vietnamese to win his 'just peace' will castrate the antiwar movement."



Debby Bustin

## Women to build own contingent

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hundreds of women from across the country proposed to the SMC conference that it endorse the idea of an independent women's contingent for the marches on Washington and San Francisco April 24.

The idea was endorsed by the conference, along with plans of the United Women's Contingent to organize women's actions, such as teach-ins and rallies, preceding April 24. These actions would aim at relating the oppression of women to the war in Southeast Asia.

Marcia Sweetenham of the United Women's Contingent explained that re-

lationship to a news conference here Feb. 22. "The women's movement, like the other movements, cannot achieve its goals until this war is ended," Sweetenham said. She continued, "Thus it is essential that the women's movement, part of which had its beginnings in the antiwar movement, support the antiwar movement and the struggle to end the war."

She said the contingent hopes to "involve all women, including Third World women, college and high school women, working women, women's liberation activists, and women's organizations."

Calling attention to the fact that women are 53 percent of the population, Sweetenham concluded by quoting Nancy Williamson of Boston Female Liberation: "Women have the potential power to end this war, and when women decide this war should end, this war will end!"



Sam Moddykowski reported on Women's Contingent.

Attendance was well over 2,000 at the National Student Antiwar Conference, according to registration figures of the Student Mobilization Committee. Participants came from 38 states, 173 college campuses, more than 70 high schools, and 10 junior high and elementary schools. Approximately 40 percent were women.

Reporters from 108 newspapers, wire services, radio and TV stations attended. All the major U.S. TV networks, as well as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, TASS, UPI, and AP had reporters present, as well as student newspapers from every part of the country. About 75 of the 108 reporters came from the campus press.



Don Gurewitz

# In Our Opinion

## The AFT's future

Solidarity with the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano control over the schools in their own communities is the key question facing teachers unions in the United States today. The attitude taken by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and its affiliates toward this struggle will decide the future of the teachers unions.

The AFT, like many other public employee unions, is growing rapidly and is waging militant struggles for higher salaries and better working conditions. This promising development has been spurred, in part, by the thousands of young people now entering the teaching field. Fresh from the campuses, they have been affected to one degree or another by the student radicalization.

Because of the interrelationship between the teachers, the schools, and the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities in the large urban centers, the AFT has been challenged and has the opportunity to play a vanguard role within the labor movement today. The AFT can take an important step toward transforming the trade unions into instruments of struggle around the broader social issues of today.

To do this, the AFT must join with the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities in their struggles to gain control over the institutions which affect their lives, including their schools. The AFT must win the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities as allies in a common struggle against those who control the school boards.

In 1964, Malcolm X told the founding rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, "... why should you and I who live in the community let these fools continue to run and produce this low standard of education? No, let them turn those schools over to us."

This is precisely the struggle being waged by oppressed nationalities in hundreds of cities. The education their children receive is so rotten, so alienating, so destructive, they increasingly realize that the only solution is to take the educational system into their own hands, to determine the curricula, to choose the textbooks, to hire teachers who can really teach and motivate their children to learn. They want to give their children a knowledge of themselves through an understanding of their own history and culture. They want to be able to transfer or dismiss racist teachers and administrators. They want more Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano teachers and administrators. They want to get the cops out of the classrooms, to destroy the prison-like atmosphere of the schools, and to create institutions conducive to education.

An AFT that really wants to improve the quality of education will support these struggles wholeheartedly, help to mobilize the community for them, and help lead the battle against the boards of education, which oppose such demands. The AFT should campaign within the union movement to win support for the demands of the oppressed nationalities.

However, in recent years, AFT locals throughout the country have failed to do this. In 1968, the New York affiliate, the United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker, called a city-wide strike explicitly to oppose the right of a Black and Puerto Rican governing board in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district to transfer racist teachers. This reactionary strike served to widen the rift not only between the UFT and New York's Black and Puerto Rican communities but between the AFT and Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano communities on a national scale.

In the current struggle of the Newark Teachers Union against the city administration, the NTU's hostile attitude to Black community control is jeopardizing the strike.

The struggle for Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano community control of the schools is an issue in virtually every single teachers strike today, directly or indirectly. The Newark teachers' strike is no exception. It illustrates the principal questions facing every teachers union in the country today. Virtually every strike will be confronted with the same kind of opposition from the Black community unless the teachers support and join with the oppressed communities in their struggles to gain control over their schools.

Teachers struggling for higher wages, tenure, and better working conditions; students fighting for their right to organize political activities in the schools and for a relevant education; and Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican parents fighting for better education through community control of the schools have a common enemy in the school boards and city administrations, which are controlled by those who rule this country. A united struggle against this enemy would be very powerful. It would go a long way toward radically transforming the AFT and other unions into instruments of social struggle. Such a development would have a profoundly revolutionary impact on American society.

This is the course the AFT must follow.

# Letters

## Cops

I thought readers of *The Militant* might be interested in the fact that *The Militant's* Jan. 29 editorial, "A cop is a cop," has been the only radical statement against working-class support of the cops' strike. Even as unlikely a source as *Muhammad Speaks*, the organ of the Nation of Islam, supported the cops' strike!

In the Feb. 12 issue of *Muhammad Speaks*, support for the cops is expressed in three different places in the paper. Underneath a picture of striking Milwaukee cops the caption says: "At last, at last, at last U.S. city policemen appear to be beginning to see themselves as what they are: just another sector of the U.S. working class being played off against other sectors of the working class by the rulers of the wealth and properties they were hired to protect."

*The Militant's* opposition to considering cops simply "another sector of the U.S. working class" stems from its Marxist appraisal of the position cops occupy in class society. They are, as Leon Trotsky said, not members of the working class, but "declassed."

Eric Poulos  
Worcester, Mass.

## 'Traffic in Women'

We're glad to have received copies of the review Linda Jenness did on Emma Goldman's *Traffic in Women* for *The Militant*. However, you failed to give our address and to point out that your readers could order copies of this pamphlet, as well as 11 others on radical themes, directly from that address. I hope you can mention this in a future issue.

Tom Wodetzl  
Times Change Press  
1023 Sixth Ave.  
New York, N. Y. 10018

*Editor's reply*—We're sorry for this oversight. In the future, all reviews of books and pamphlets will include the publisher's address.

## Quebec

Your coverage of the recent Quebec events and Trudeau's repressive War Measures Act and the Public Order Act was excellent. For Americans interested in more information, I would highly recommend *Free the Political Prisoners*, an excellent booklet costing only 25 cents from Vanguard Publications, 334 Queen St. West, Toronto 2B, Ontario, Canada. The booklet supplies vital information explaining Quebec-Canadian political life and for building defense committees.

William Dalton  
Toronto, Ontario

## 'Set the date'

When analyzing recent arguments used by sections of the antiwar movement, it is often useful to review the debates which took place early in the movement's history. I found the 1966 pamphlet *Immediate Withdrawal vs. Negotiations* (available for 25 cents from Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003) useful in analyzing the People's Peace Treaty.

Particularly interesting in dealing with the "set the date" provisions of the Treaty is the following excerpt quoted in the pamphlet: "... per-

haps the National Liberation Front will agree to something less than full self-determination and immediate withdrawal of American troops. If that is the case, we hold no quarrel with people who have fought and bled for a quarter of a century against French, Japanese, and now American intervention. In their circumstances, an honorable compromise may be warranted. But for decent Americans to call for such a compromise in advance is an immoral apology for the criminal deeds of our administration."

The quotation is excerpted from an editorial by Sidney Lens in the November 1965 issue of *Liberation*.

Mark Bedner  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Feminist consciousness

I am renewing my subscription to *The Militant* because of its generally excellent coverage of the feminist movement.

*The Militant* has deficiencies in feminist consciousness, however. In one issue, a picture was captioned, in part, "Ky and his wife." However much *The Militant* dislikes this woman, I am sure that she does have a name. It is male supremacist to refer to a woman as an appendage of a man.

More than once you have reported on society weddings, emphasizing the ludicrous aspects of the women. It is male money which stages these weddings, in which the ludicrousness of the men must be no less than that of the women. The women, in fact, are being degraded to status symbols by their male supremacist husbands. *The Militant* could make a significant contribution by reporting on the degree of control which the husbands have over these women by virtue of their money.

J. M.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Allende

Enclosed is a check to renew my subscription for two years. I'd like to see you do a few editorials on Allende in Chile and include more Third World international information in the paper. Africa, the mother continent, is booming. Check it out and inform the people.

L. S.  
Chicago, Ill.

## Abortion reform

While in Montana at the beginning of February we had the opportunity to attend Legislative House hearings on abortion. This is the first attempted reform since 1897, when the present law was passed allowing abortions only if the health of the mother is endangered.

The reform abortion bill was introduced by Dorothy Bradley, the only woman representative in the Montana Legislature. It was sponsored by the Status of Women Commission, Zero Population Growth, and the American Association of University Women. The bill calls for abortion on demand which must be performed by a licensed doctor in a licensed hospital.

Approximately 500 people packed House chambers for the hearing. Before testimony, the chairman warned the hearing would be closed if there were any "demonstrations." Argu-

# The Great Society

ments centered on the right of women to control their own bodies. Opposition, which was badly organized, dwelled on the obligation of the state to protect the fetus-citizen with full constitutional rights.

Since there is no strong women's liberation movement here yet, the bill will probably be defeated. However, the controversy surrounding this issue shows clearly the potential for sisters to organize in Montana.

B.B.

P.S.

Helena, Mont.

## Israeli raid

*Militant* readers, who are privileged to receive some of the most objective reporting on the Middle East available in America, may be interested in the story-behind-the-story of the recent Israeli raid on Sarafand, South Lebanon.

Israeli sources claimed (*New York Times*, Jan. 16) that their forces landed in the seaside town and blew up two houses used by Palestinian guerrillas. In fact, one of the two structures destroyed was the small storehouse of an American archeological expedition. It contained such obvious military paraphernalia as picks, hoes, trowels, and baskets of potsherds from the 1970 dig. The house was inhabited by a Lebanese (not Palestinian!) guard, hired by the expedition to watch over the equipment and excavation site during the absence of the staff.

Residents of Sarafand report the damage was done by shelling from an Israeli ship. Incidental casualties included nearby archeological sites along the coast.

One interesting footnote: Sarafand numbers among its inhabitants several Lebanese Jewish families. These Jewish families shared the hazard of the Israeli bombardment along with the Christian and Muslim families with whom they have long lived in harmony. Persons mindful of the unhappy plight of Jews in the world should include in their concern the innocent Arab Jews who— together with their friends and neighbors—have their lives directly threatened by indiscriminate Israeli attack.

R.M.

Philadelphia, Pa.

## Impressed

The new format, expanded coverage, and excellent political articles and analyses make *The Militant* a newspaper to be proud of. As a tool for revolutionaries, *The Militant* remains unsurpassed as an educator, agitator, propagandist, and organizer. Opponents on the left must view the qualitative and quantitative expansion with envy and anxiety, as it reflects the growing numbers of youth who are being won to the revolutionary vanguard and assimilated to it.

Milton Chee

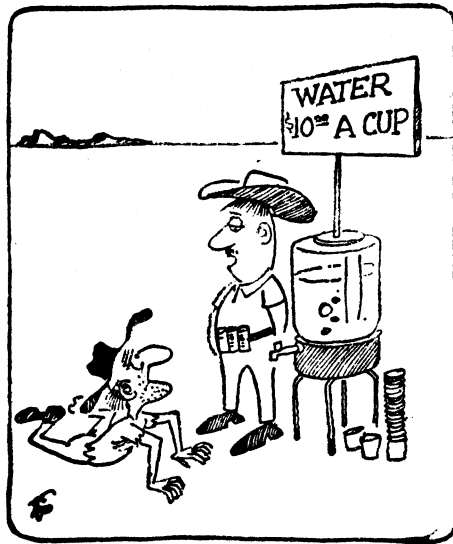
San Francisco, Calif.

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.

To make room for buzzards?— Army officials at Milan Arsenal in Tennessee are planning to freeze three million blackbirds to death. On a subfreezing night, the birds will be sprayed from planes with a chemical that will dissolve the natural oils on their feathers, resulting in a rapid loss of body heat. Lucky the Vietnamese don't have feathers.

The hand on the button— Two former army lieutenants disclosed that superiors permitted officers to cheat on exams that put them in positions of responsibility for firing nuclear missiles. A Pentagon spokesman assured, not without logic, that the existence of unqualified officers manning missile battalions would not go undiscovered. And they'd be punished too.

Nitpickers— The government charged Ocean Spray cranberry cocktail pushers with false advertising merely for asserting it was more nutritious than orange or tomato juice. The government said the cranberry cocktail had more calories and carbohydrates than the other two and that it



BIG GEORGE by Virgil Parich

"It's what's known as the law of supply and demand."

shouldn't be called a juice, because it was mostly water. A company spokesman responded that this was "without relevance to the enjoyment and benefits our good customers enjoy from using this fine product."

The right to be heard— San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen reports that the Presidio chaplain issued this bulletin: "To all Presidio civilian employees, Grade GS-09 and above: You are cordially invited to attend the Presidio Prayer Breakfast 2 Feb. 1971." Caen expresses the concern that this may mean the prayers of civilians in grades below GS-09 will continue to go unheard. But if the Lord listened to everyone he might forget which side he's on.

Research problem— An Arizona judge has been studying claims by individuals and companies volunteering to undertake the project provided for in a will of James Kidd, a miner who left \$175,000 for research to prove that each human being has a soul that survives death. Recently the judge ruled that the Barrow Neurological Institute of Phoenix was qualified, but the state supreme court said no.

How the East will win— In the first half of 1970, West German coffin-nail consumption increased 7.1 percent.

—HARRY RING

# ♀ The Insurgent Majority

Feb. 15 is now a national holiday—a joint commemoration of the births of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, neither of whom was actually born on that date. Susan B. Anthony was. Outside of the women's liberation movement, however, no tribute was made this year to the one hundred fifty-first anniversary of this militant feminist and suffragist leader.

In Boston, Female Liberation circulated petitions protesting the co-optation of Anthony's birthday. Calling it "another outrage against the teaching of our history," the group is demanding that Feb. 15 be returned to women as a Susan B. Anthony national holiday.

And in Washington, D.C., members of the National Woman's Party (founded in the final decade of the fight for women's suffrage) and NOW or Never (preteen wing of the National Organization for Women) cosponsored a rally in the capitol crypt where there is a statue of Anthony. Nancy Clinch of NOW pointed out, "History is ever ironic. For Washington and Lincoln, despite their magnificent achievements, did not have the humanistic vision or universal democratic ideals of Susan B. Anthony." She went on to note Anthony's opinion of Washington ("He whose name is the pride of this nation was a slave master") and Lincoln ("He favored the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law and had stated he was not in favor of Negro citizenship").

A gas station now stands on the site of the church in Seneca Falls, N.Y., where the 1848 Woman's Rights Conference was held—the first time women got together to draw up their own demands. This society makes monuments out of every house George Washington ever slept in, yet tears down the building that housed the beginnings of the feminist movement!

Even more despicable is the way history has totally buried the names of countless females who made revolutionary contributions to American society. The following are just three little-known examples.

Who ever hears of the role women played during the American Revolution? Yet women formed anti-tea leagues many years before the Boston Tea Party, and joined the Daughters of Liberty. Women such as Deborah Sampson, a Black schoolteacher, and Molly Ludwig were soldiers in the Continental Army. But perhaps the most forgotten revolutionary figure is Mercy Otis Warren, who

originated the idea of setting up an organized network throughout the colonies. The Committees of Correspondence became the revolutionary force throughout the war. And although the idea for them has been attributed to Sam Adams or James Warren, they were, at the very least, a product of collaboration among the three.

Mercy Otis Warren was also a poet, historian, and satirical playwright. Her plays were the first to use all-American characters, and the first to portray a woman as a revolutionary.

Eli Whitney and the cotton gin are now legend. But Catherine Greene is unknown. Left the manager of a large Georgia plantation after her husband died, Greene thought of inventing a machine to separate the cotton seeds from the fiber. At the time (1793), Whitney was a lodger in Greene's home. She enlisted his help in working out some of the technical details, but supervised every stage of the invention herself. Rather than exposing herself to ostracism and ridicule as a female engineer, however, she had Whitney take out the patent in his name.

Women in the Civil War did far more than care for the wounded on the battlefield. They fought and spied for the Union army. One supervised military tactics. Anna Ella Carroll was one of the most brilliant military strategists in history. On a trip through the West, she saw the Union army embarking on what she considered a military fiasco. She wrote Lincoln, proposing the famous Tennessee campaign, which split the South in two and eventually won the war for the Union. Thereafter known as "Lincoln's secret weapon," Carroll conceived of a series of other successful maneuvers. Amidst public insistence to know the originator of these strategies, her identity was kept secret. It was felt that northern generals wouldn't take orders from a woman. After Lincoln's death, Grant tried to take credit for her work to boost his presidential campaign. Carroll died in poverty, unrecognized.

International Women's Day, March 8, will be a massive response to this denial of women's role in history. On that day, women throughout the world will voice their demands for liberation and draw new women into the struggle.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE



By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, Feb. 21 — The Newark teachers' strike, now in its third week, is a struggle against a vicious union-busting drive by the recently elected administration of Kenneth Gibson. However, contrary to the view of the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) leadership, this strike is not simply a "labor-management" dispute. A full understanding of the strike cannot be obtained without taking into account the opposition to the strike of a large section of the Black community and the failure of the NTU to support the struggle of Newark's Black community for control over its schools. This policy by the NTU leaders is seriously jeopardizing the strike and could lead to its defeat.

If the city administration is successful in breaking the strike and destroying the NTU, it will be a blow to the right of other workers, particularly public employees, to organize unions and will undermine the rights of existing unions. It will also strengthen the hand of the city school board, giving it more confidence in its attempts to fight the demands of the Black community and Black students. For this reason, the teachers must be supported in their struggle against the board.

The current strike can best be understood by viewing it in its relationship to the NTU strike in February 1970. With only 200 members at the beginning, the NTU pulled off a three and one-half week strike of a couple of thousand teachers for union recognition and salary increases. About 200 teachers were arrested during that strike, but because it was successful the union ranks swelled to over 3,500. This is out of a total of 4,800 educational workers — 4,000 teachers, 600 teachers' aides, and 200 clerks. At the time of the strike last year, the city was run by the corrupt administration of Hugh Addonizio. The school board then consisted of three Blacks, one Puerto Rican, and five whites. Dr. Harold Ashby, an African-American was board president.

This year, the composition of the board is not too much different. Mayor Gibson, in filling three vacancies, appointed two Blacks and one Puerto Rican, reducing the number of whites on the board by one. The present board president is Jesse Jacobs, an African-American who is also housing manager for the Newark Housing Authority. Ashby is still with the board in the capacity of business manager.

The board has repeatedly refused to engage in meaningful negotiations with the NTU. Although the negotiation period for a new contract began on Jan. 11 and the old contract expired on Feb. 1, it wasn't until Feb. 19 that the board even began to show any serious intent about entering negotiations.

According to one union leader, only about 60 percent of the teachers have been out on strike. But this has been enough to impair the functioning of the school system.

One factor inhibiting more teachers from joining the strike is that there is a permanent court injunction against any strike by the union. In last year's strike, most of the teachers arrested served 10-day jail sentences. Six-month jail terms, now on appeal, were imposed on NTU leaders Carole Graves, Frank Fiorito, and Donald Nicholas. Graves, an African-American, is president of the NTU and Fiorito is the union's vice-president.

Because of the present strike, these three leaders are also charged with being in contempt of court.

In the current strike, which began on Feb. 1, there have been seven arrests, mainly of union officials.

A number of unions have endorsed the strike, and the Teamsters Joint Council 73 has threatened to halt the

delivery of food and fuel across picket lines.

The NTU has made binding arbitration the central issue in this strike. Binding arbitration, which was won last year from the board, is a procedure for settling unresolved grievances before an agreed upon arbitrator from the American Arbitration Association. The union has won 23 of 25 grievances that have gone before the AAA in the last year.

In spite of the board's opposition to this procedure, binding arbitration is not really in the interest of the NTU or any other union, and the labor movement has traditionally fought against it. Dependence upon an outside arbitrator to settle disputes between the union and the board reflects the union's weakness. It is neither in the interests of the teachers nor the Black community to have an

majority of whom are in the union. Including aides and clerks, the union is 40 percent Black. Seven out of 20 members of the NTU Executive Committee are Black. What weighs heavily against the union is that 60 percent of the teachers live in suburbs outside Newark and thus have no close ties with the communities in which they teach.

It is clear that in order for the NTU to survive, it must extend complete and unequivocal support to the struggle of the Black community to assume control over Black education. Anything short of this places a noose around the neck of the union.

The slogans for "better schools," and "teachers want what students want," which are being raised by the NTU, are totally insufficient. The NTU leaders have failed to call for the hiring of more Black and Puerto Rican teach-

with one of the union leaders and some of the rank-and-file members, the topic of Ocean Hill-Brownsville came up. This is a Black and Puerto Rican community in Brooklyn where a pilot project in community control of the schools was initiated in the fall of 1967 by the city government. A governing board was set up through a community election. Most of the members were parents from the community, and there was one teacher representative from each school in the district.

The New York City administration allowed the project to proceed because of the mounting pressure for Black and Puerto Rican community control of the schools.

This pressure had been building up throughout the decade of the 1960s, and the government looked upon the project as a safety valve to release

# Newark teachers' strike: what are the issues?



Tanks were used to suppress 1967 uprising of Newark's Black community. One of the issues that sparked that revolt was demand for more Black representation on school board and more Black administrators and teachers. The community struggle around these issues continues.

outside arbitrator have the final say in disputes with the school board. The union in its conflicts with the school board should depend on direct pressure, including strike action. But for such action to be effective and powerful, the NTU must have a program which reflects the interests of its potentially most powerful allies — the students and the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

In this strike and the one a year ago, the most glaring weakness of the NTU has been its failure to win the support of the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Newark's population of 400,000 is over 60 percent Black and about 15 percent Puerto Rican. Seventy-five percent of the 78,000 public school students are Black. Approximately 30 percent of the teachers are Black, the

ers and administrators. They have refused to support the right of the Black community to exercise control over Black schools, including curriculum, textbooks, transfer of racist teachers, determining priorities in use of funds, etc. It is only through Black and Puerto Rican community control that better schools and better education can be won because it is only through such a program the Black and Puerto Rican communities can be mobilized and involved in the struggle.

Furthermore, the union has included the demand for more security guards in the schools. This reactionary demand for cops in the schools is justifiably greeted by the students with anger and resentment.

## Ocean Hill-Brownsville

In a discussion *The Militant* had

the steam of discontent, not as a solution to the educational problems. The Lindsay administration did not even call it community control, but preferred to use the term "decentralization."

The United Federation of Teachers, the New York affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, opposed this step towards Black and Puerto Rican control of a school district. The UFT leadership headed by Albert Shanker decided to sabotage the project. The teachers on the governing board resigned shortly after it was set up and a large number of teachers transferred out simultaneously in an attempt to cripple the functioning of the schools in the district. They opposed the parent-run governing board assuming control over school policies they considered their prerogative.

Scores of teachers that stayed in the schools began organizing support for those that had transferred, and the governing board decided to transfer these teachers from the district and recruit new teachers that would abide by the decisions of the governing board.

The following fall, the UFT struck the entire city school system for two months in opposition to these transfers. To convince teachers of the correctness of their racist actions, the UFT bureaucrats talked about "teacher rights" and Black "anti-Semitism." But to the Black and Puerto Rican communities, the issue was crystal clear, and they mobilized mass actions in opposition to the UFT and in support of their right to control their schools. Hundreds of schools were opened up by Black and Puerto Rican parents during the strike action.

Hordes of city cops were sent in by Mayor Lindsay to occupy the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district and successfully reinstate the UFT teachers in the schools.

The consequences of this racist action by the UFT are still reverberating today. Part of the hostility of Black and Puerto Rican communities to teachers unions, not only in New York City, but in other cities as well, stems from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle.

Yet, in the discussion *The Militant* had with one of the NTU officials, he indicated, that despite his disagreement with Shanker's pro-Vietnam-war views and his opinions on other issues, he agreed with Shanker on Ocean Hill-Brownsville!

The NTU can talk and write all they want to about how the union is concerned with the children, their education, the community and classroom conditions, but as long as it doesn't make clear the distinction between this strike and the action in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, as long as it doesn't sharply denounce Shankerism and the policies followed by racist labor bureaucrats, all of its purported concern doesn't amount to a hill of beans. The Black community will only be won by deeds. And in the present situation, the NTU must unequivocally repudiate Shankerism. It must do so in its own self-interest.

The reactionary policy of the NTU leadership in the current strike has attracted openly racist and anti-union forces to its side. Such scum as Anthony Imperiale, head of a white racist vigilante organization, has led white parents in shutting down two schools and manning picket lines. One Black teacher attempting to enter a school was beaten by Imperiale's

hoodlums. But the union leadership has refused to repudiate these actions.

Victor Riesel, well-known columnist with virulent antilabor and anticommunist views, wrote an article in the Feb. 10 *Daily Mirror* entitled "Newark's Militants Out to Kill Union." The NTU leaders not only failed to attack the contents of this viciously racist article, but had the gall to mimeograph it and pass it out as an accurate account of the strike. With friends like Riesel and Imperiale, who needs enemies!

### The Gibson administration

The racist policies of the NTU leadership have made it much easier for the Gibson administration and the school board to demagogically identify their opposition to the strike with support for community control.

The Gibson administration in the eyes of many Blacks seemingly wears



Carole Graves, NTU president

the mantle of "community control." Back in November 1969, an independent nominating convention of over 3,000 Blacks and Puerto Ricans was held in Newark. At this convention, Gibson was nominated to run for mayor, along with a slate of Black and Puerto Rican candidates for City Council. This convention was opposed and boycotted by the Democratic Party. In fact, a couple of Black Democrats chose to run against Gibson.

But the "community's choice" slate, as the convention nominees were known, defeated by a substantial margin both white and Black Democratic candidates in the first election in May 1970. In the June runoff, Gibson and three of the slate's councilmen were swept into office.

The Gibson campaign, unlike that of Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana,

was organized and partially financed by the Black community, independent of the Democratic Party. The independent nominating convention also adopted a program attempting to speak to the need for Black and Puerto Rican community control.

However, since Gibson took office he has done nothing to implement Black control of the Black community or change the horrible conditions that Blacks suffer in Newark.

He indicated his real position on community control of the schools in a statement quoted in the April 23, 1970, *Village Voice*, a month before the election last spring. He said, "I don't think community control is necessarily the answer. It's not necessarily who decides what that's so important; it's quality education. In some of the best educational systems in the country, there is no community control." From Gibson's point of view, "com-



Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson

munity control" is associated with the number of Black faces in government, not with election by the Black community of independent governing boards for the schools. The independent nominating convention, organized as the "Black and Puerto Rican Convention," ended with Gibson's electoral victory, but it should have served as the basis for further independent political organization of the community.

Many of the organizations in the Black community have committed the same error, identifying the presence of a Black mayor, or Blacks in other official capacities, with community control. This was implied in a discussion *The Militant* had with a representative of the Committee for a Unified Newark. One of the leaders of this group is the noted poet and playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le-

roi Jones). The spokesman for the CUN said the Board of Education was much closer to the community than the teachers union.

The same sentiment was expressed by Rev. Henry Cade, chairman of the Newark Community Coalition, and Elayne Brodie, educational director of the Newark NAACP.

Both of these community leaders, even though they expressed differences with the board, are backing the board in its confrontation with the union. In fact, they even have a community representative on the board's negotiating team. He is Eugene Campbell, an African-American principal at the Robert Treat Elementary School. The irony is that Campbell was appointed principal after the Black community conducted a struggle against the board. This occurred in late 1969.

Over the past two years, the Black community has forced the board into bypassing accepted procedures and appointing 10 new Black principals. This is an example of preferential hiring, one of the demands which must be won in the struggle for Black community control. According to Campbell and Brodie, further struggles will be launched to achieve more Black administrators. There are only 11 Black principals out of 89.

However, the struggle for Black administrators and community control is retarded by the collaboration of Black community leaders with the very enemy they will have to fight—the school board. To fight effectively, the Black community will have to organize its struggle independently of the school board because the board will not grant Black and Puerto Rican control of the school system. It may grant the trappings of power but not the substance of power. In addition, the teachers union will have to be won as an ally in the struggle for control.

The only Black and Puerto Rican body pursuing an independent policy is the Newark Student Federation, a traditional city-wide high school student organization. In talking with some of its members, I found that they neither supported the NTU nor the board. They are promoting their own demands revolving primarily around Black studies.

By supporting and helping fight for community control of Black and Puerto Rican education, the NTU would win these students and the best of the community leaders to a common struggle against the school board and the Gibson administration and would insure the success of the strike—as well as a qualitative advance in the Newark educational system.

# Boston Blacks boycott high schools

By ROBERT CAHALANE

BOSTON—Large numbers of Black high school students have been boycotting classes in almost every major high school in the city, demanding a full investigation of discriminatory and racist policies of the Boston school system. On Feb. 5, some 2,500 Black students stayed out of school and over 700 held a mass meeting in which they decided to continue their strike until their demands are implemented.

Individual striking Black Student Unions and Afro-American Societies have demanded more Black teachers and guidance personnel, more Black studies, an end to the use of police in the schools, and a student discipline review system.

The Black Student Federation (BSF), a city-wide organization of Black high school and college students, has been coordinating the strike activities out of the Afro-American Studies Center at Northeastern University.

The first stirrings of the strike began on Jan. 22, when the Afro-American Society at Boston English High called a demonstration to protest the suspension of two Black students. The "crime" the students were accused of was being involved in a robbery at the school.

Three hundred students came to the demonstration, held in the school auditorium. The principal promptly closed the school, "to avoid possible violence." Actually, he was attempting to prevent a further spreading of the demonstration. One of the major Boston daily newspapers quoted the principal, Mr. Daley, as saying that a group of Black students had "taken over English High."

After the principal closed the school, the 300 demonstrating students remained in the auditorium and drew up a list of their demands: 1) more Black teachers, 2) more Black studies, and 3) dismissal of the charges against the two accused students.

The Boston School Committee met

in emergency session that evening and voted to close the school down for the first two days of the next week. Students were to be allowed back in school only after they had signed an agreement to abide by the school's code of discipline, which calls for expulsion of any student causing disruption.

The School Committee breathed more easily on Jan. 28 when English reopened quietly with the return of the junior class. But on Jan. 29, the fragile peace was broken. This time it was Dorchester High School. This school, like English, is rapidly becoming nearly all-Black.

Some 200 Black students staged a sit-in at the administration offices to protest racist remarks made by one of the teachers in the school, and the school was promptly shut down.

Five days later, on Feb. 3, over 250 Black students at Brighton High School, another major school, held a meeting to discuss their grievances. They demanded more Black teachers

immediately. Brighton High's student body is about one-third Black, but the faculty is all white.

At the same time the Black students were meeting, another demonstration was taking place by some 250 sympathetic white students at Brighton. Calling themselves the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), they walked through the school halls handing out leaflets with 16 demands for improved school conditions and student rights.

That afternoon, a meeting was held by the Black Student Federation, at which all of the schools involved in protest activities were represented, as well as a number of other major high schools. The call went out from this meeting for a noon walkout the next day, Feb. 4, and for a mass meeting to be held at the Roxbury YMCA.

At noon, over 600 Black high school students walked out of their schools across the city and some 300-400 went to the mass meeting which

Continued on page 22



# 7,500 by March 15!

## Big push needed in sub drive

By CAROLINE LUND  
At the halfway point of the six-week campaign to obtain 7,500 new subscribers to *The Militant*, the drive is seriously behind schedule. A total of 2,387 new subscriptions has come in, but this is only 32 percent of the goal of 7,500. We should now have 50 percent of the total.  
Only 10 areas are on time in the drive, which shows no improvement over last week. The most serious problem in the subscription campaign is that several areas with very large quotas—such as Los Angeles, Cleveland, Boston, and Austin—are particularly far behind schedule. The success or failure of these areas to mobilize and bring in their large quotas of new subscriptions will be a determining

factor for the success of the drive as a whole.  
Some areas with large quotas have already mapped out plans for catching up. In New York City, sub drive director Sara Johnston reports that one problem has been that the dormitories of the major campuses have been pretty well saturated with *Militant* sellers. Many people already have subscriptions, or their roommate has one, or someone on the floor has a subscription and *The Militant* gets passed around.  
So New York *Militant* supporters are planning to concentrate greater attention to selling at commuter schools and to go out in weekend teams to schools in Upstate New York and in New Jersey, where fewer students have had the opportunity to see *The Militant*.  
Chicago has similar plans. A Chicago newsletter on the sub drive reports that on the three weekends left in the drive, "we will want to send a total of seven teams to spend weekends selling subscriptions at Purdue, Valparaiso U, U of Illinois at Urbana and other idyllic spots."

Students attending the Feb. 19-21 antiwar conference of the Student Mobilization Committee in Washington, D. C., were very receptive to *The Militant*. Many already had subs, but 500 single copies and more than 90 new subscriptions were sold there. In addition, 30 people bought subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review*.  
The total number of new subscriptions which came into the *Militant* business office last week was 884—as compared to only 592 the week before. This would seem to indicate that areas are beginning to take steps to close the gap between where we are and where we should be.  
But to continue on schedule, we must bring in a total of 1,700 each week for the next three weeks—which means we have a big job ahead of us in reaching out to those thousands of people who are waiting to be introduced to *The Militant*.  
The simultaneous drive for 1,250 new subscribers to the *International Socialist Review* is not quite so far behind schedule. We now have 483 new subs, 38 percent of the projected goal.

## The Militant. Subscribe. 10 issues \$1

- ☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1 FOR SPECIAL 10-ISSUE INTRODUCTORY OFFER  
☐ ENCLOSED IS \$6 FOR ONE YEAR

Name (please print) \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
School \_\_\_\_\_  
**THE MILITANT**  
**14 CHARLES LANE**  
**NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10014**

## Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	New Subs	Oshkosh, Wis.	25	9	New Haven, Conn.	25	5	Sacramento, Calif.	25	1
Long Island, N.Y.	40	57	Riverside, Calif.	50	18	San Bernardino, Calif.	5	1	Red Hook, N.Y.	30	0
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	33	Worcester, Mass.	65	22	Schenectady, N.Y.	5	1	Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
San Jose, Calif.	5	4	Newport, R.I.	15	5	Los Angeles, Calif.	500	97	Waverly, Iowa	25	0
Oxford, Ohio	25	18	Portland, Ore.	75	25	Kansas City, Mo.	50	9	Pullman, Wash.	20	0
Pensacola, Fla.	10	7	Providence, R.I.	75	25	Binghamton, N.Y.	60	9	Farmington, Maine	10	0
Amherst, Mass.	50	30	New York, N.Y.	1,000	330	Burlington, Vt.	15	2	Indiana, Pa.	10	0
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	23	Chicago, Ill.	700	224	Cleveland, Ohio	300	38	New Orleans, La.	10	0
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	19	Milwaukee, Wis.	50	16	Madison, Wis.	120	15	State College, Pa.	10	0
La Crosse, Wis.	30	16	Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	16	Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	3	Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	58	Washington, D.C.	150	32	Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	3	Jacksonville, Fla.	6	0
Logan, Utah	25	12	Houston, Texas	125	38	Gainesville, Fla.	50	5	Carlinville, Ill.	5	0
Atlanta, Ga.	250	119	Pittsfield, Kan.	10	3	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	50	5	Geneseo, N.Y.	5	0
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	19	Philadelphia, Pa.	325	91	Wayne, N.J.	10	1	Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9	DeKalb, Ill.	65	18	Boston, Mass.	600	52	Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	320	136	San Francisco, Calif.	400	110	N. Boston	(150)	(17)	General	175	153
Highland Park, Ill.	12	5	Newark, N.J.	30	8	S. Boston	(150)	(5)	TOTAL TO DATE		2,387
Baltimore, Md.	10	4	East Lansing, Mich.	20	5	Cambridge	(150)	(5)	SHOULD BE		3,750
Hartford, Conn.	5	2	Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	80	Austin, Texas	175	14	GOAL		7,500

# Canadian Blacks form new organization

By TONY THOMAS  
TORONTO, FEB. 22 — Over five hundred Blacks from across Canada met in Toronto Feb. 19-21 to form a National Black Action Committee (NBAC).  
Opening speeches by Cortney Blair and Rocky Jones stressed that the struggle of Black Canadians was the same as the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S. and the West Indies.  
George Archer, from Montreal's McGill University, spoke about Canada's role in Africa.  
Dave Darbreau, a leader of Trinidad's National Joint Action Council, and Tim Hector, a peasant organizer from Antigua, pointed out that Canadian, U.S. and British domination continue in the West Indies, despite formal "independence." Darbreau pointed out that on "Independence Square" in Port of Spain, the major U.S., British and Canadian banks

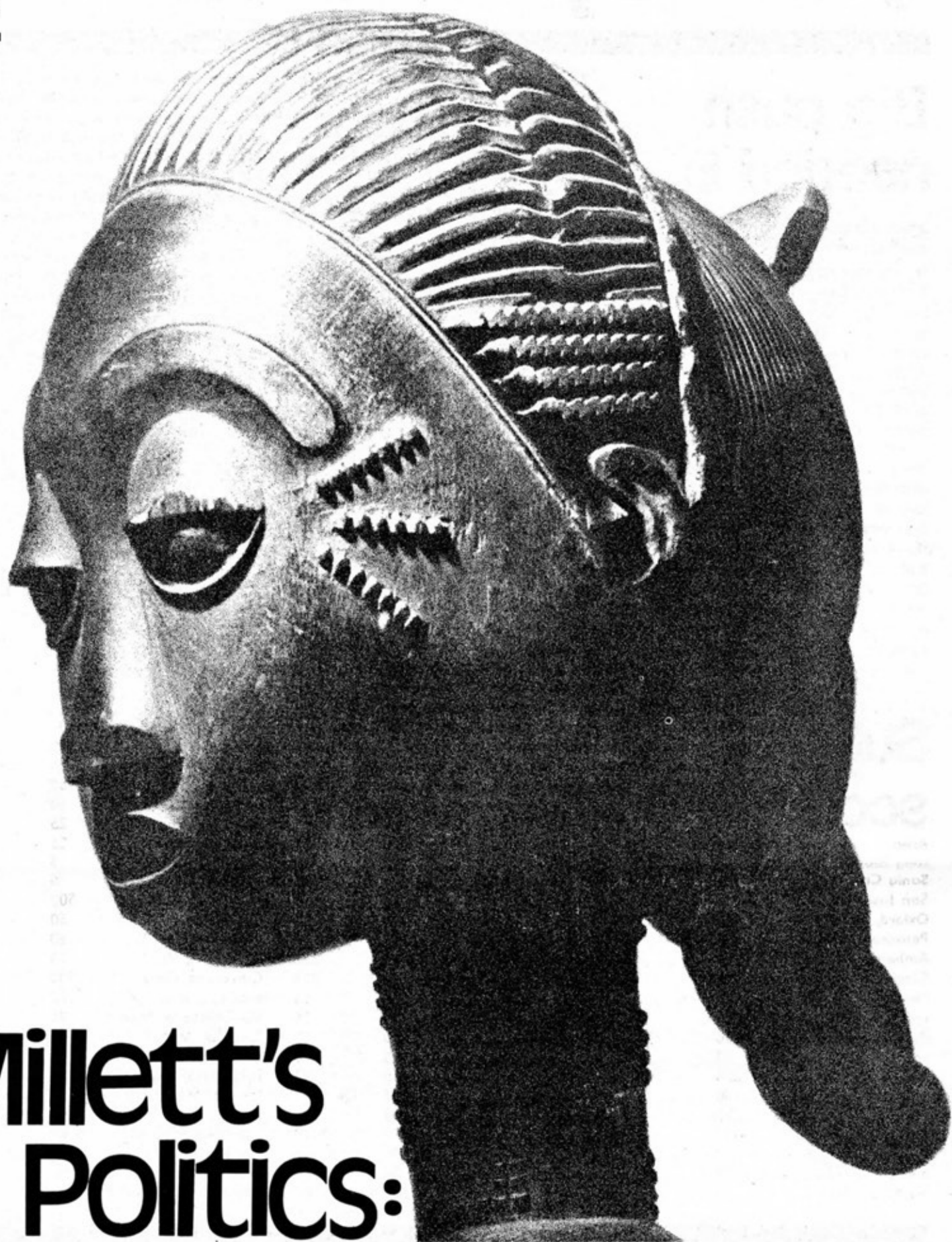
have the most prominent positions.  
The second day of the conference focused on education. Canadian education denies Black history and culture. Blacks are channeled into non-academic courses without regard to their aptitude.  
Many of the problems are accentuated because many Blacks in Canada are immigrants from the West Indies. Most immigrant-education programs are oriented to Europeans, not West Indians.  
Proposals from workshops focused on making parents aware of the channeling of students into nonacademic courses, to win support for special programs to get Blacks into colleges, and to support special programs to tutor Blacks. One such program, the Toronto Black Education Program, run by Black teachers for Black children, is being financed by several thousand dollars won in struggle by

the Black Student Union at Toronto and York universities.  
On Feb. 19, the conference was addressed by Imamu Amiri Baraka (Le-Roi Jones). Baraka stressed the need for Pan-African consciousness and for a fight by any means necessary for self-determination, self-defense, and self-respect. He said only the mobilization of the masses of Black people, not philosophy, anger, or "super-revolutionarism," could gain liberation.  
The final day of the conference was marked by a workshop on women and the organization of the NBAC.  
The leaders of the women's workshop, including Sally Coots, president of the Black Students Association at McGill, stressed that Black women could no longer play a secondary role in the struggle. Despite opposition, she stressed the right of Black women to abortions and child care. Others stressed that these demands

must be coupled with Black power over medical and child-care facilities.  
At the closing session of the conference a provisional steering committee of over 30 was elected for NBAC, representing Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec. Representatives from other areas were to be elected in these areas later.  
The conference closed with addresses by Brenda Dash and Rosie Douglas from Montreal. Dash, who had been arrested under the War Measures Act, stated that the anti-Quebec repression showed what the Canadian government would do against Blacks if allowed. Douglas, one of the leaders of the 1968 struggle at Sir George William University, saw the NBAC as a potential militant and youthful alternative to the National Black Coalition of Canada, which he felt was conservative and middle-class oriented.



## Special Feature



# Kate Millett's Sexual Politics: A Marxist Appreciation

The following two articles, by Kipp Dawson and Evelyn Reed, are the first two in a series of four articles which will be run in *The Militant*, giving an appreciation of Kate Millett's book "Sexual Politics." The two articles which will appear in future issues deal with Millett's treatment of women in the Soviet Union and with the literary aspects of her book.

The four articles are based on talks given by Dawson, Reed, Dianne Feeley, and Eva Chertov at the Militant Labor Forum in New York City on Jan. 29.

## A revolutionary perspective on the oppression of women

By KIPP DAWSON

Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* is one of the most controversial books to come out in recent years. I'm sure many of you, and thousands of other women, responded to it as I did—thinking "right on" again and again as I read it.

But defenders of the status quo responded quite differently. Those who are out to keep women in "their place" have heaped highly vituperative,

emotion-charged attacks on Millett and her book.

*Time* magazine, for instance, in its Dec. 14, 1970, issue, attacks Kate Millett's ideas as a reflection of her "personal problems"—the fact that she is bisexual.

Some who call themselves socialists or communists have been among the most hostile critics. Midge Decter, a spokeswoman for the Socialist Party, attacks Millett in *Commentary* magazine for "finding only others at fault for her predicaments," and for seeking "a freedom demanded by children and enjoyed by no one: the freedom from all difficulty."

Carmen Ristorucci, a member of the Communist Party, reviewed the book in the January 1971 issue of *Political Affairs*. One of Ristorucci's main objections to *Sexual Politics* is that Kate Millett says the family is a key institution in the oppression of women and must be replaced.

In their reactions to *Sexual Politics*, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party only demonstrate how far they have departed from a revolutionary outlook and from Marxism.

One thing all these critics have in common is a hostility to and a fear of the ideas of the women's liberation movement. Many of them try to write off Millett's book, as well as the whole women's liberation movement, as the product of some kind of personal problem. This is probably the main reason they all react so strongly against *Sexual Politics*. Because it is precisely an answer to all those who attack the feminist movement as simply women with personal problems.

*Sexual Politics* examines social phenomena which have gone virtually unchallenged, if not unnoticed, until the development of the women's liberation movement and examines them from the viewpoint of women. Millett looks at mythology, religion, the history of the family, the treatment of women in legal systems, in psychology, in the social sciences, and in literature. Everywhere, she finds what she calls "sexual politics," which is basically the oppression of women. She documents the variety of methods and institutions society uses to press half of the human race into submission by forcing upon us a sense of self-hatred, guilt, worthlessness and despair, which makes it difficult to even feel enough human dignity to want to fight back.

Millett's book is a powerful documentation of the fact that it is *not* personal problems of women which are responsible for our dissatisfaction; rather, we are justifiably revolting against a deliberate social policy of oppression.

*Sexual Politics* is a powerful consciousness-raiser. It leaves the female reader with a feeling of rage and an understanding that her problems are not hers alone but are shared to some extent by millions of women, all women around the world, and that it is society, not she, which is responsible. For instance, in one passage she compares the oppression of women to the racist oppression of national minorities:

"What little literature the social sciences afford us in this context confirms the presence in women of the expected traits of minority status: group self-hatred and self-rejection, a contempt both for herself and for her fellows—the result of that continual, however subtle, reiteration of her inferiority which she eventually accepts as a fact. . . . The gnawing suspicion which plagues any minority member, that the myths propagated about his inferiority might after all be true, often reaches remarkable proportions in the personal insecurities of women. Some find their subordinate position so hard to bear that they repress and deny its existence." (p. 56)

Where does it come from, this humiliation and degradation of our mothers and great-great-grandmothers, of us and our sisters and daughters, of half the human race throughout recorded history?

## The patriarchy

Millett rejects theories which pin the blame on biological weaknesses or special physical characteristics of women. She does not embrace the theory that the individual man is the ultimate source, though he is obviously an immediate bearer of this dehumanization. She sees that the oppression of women is enforced through the organization of society on the basis of the patriarchal family.

"Patriarchy's chief instrument is the family," she says. "It is both a mirror of and a connection with the larger society; a patriarchal unit within a patriarchal whole. Mediating between the individual and the social structure, the family effects control and conformity where political and other authorities are insufficient." (p. 33)

The solution Millett presents is a "sexual revolution" to eliminate sexual politics. She says: "A sexual revolution would require, perhaps first of all, an end of traditional sexual inhibitions and taboos, particularly those that most threaten patriarchal monogamous marriage: homosexuality, 'illegitimacy,' adolescent, pre- and extra-marital sexuality. . . . Primarily, however, a sexual revolution would bring the institution of patriarchy to an end, abolishing both the ideology of male supremacy and the traditional socialization by which it is upheld in matters of status, role, and temperament. . . . It seems unlikely all this could take place without drastic effect upon the patriarchal proprietary family. The abolition of sex role and the complete economic independence of women would undermine both its authority and its financial structure. An important corollary would be the end of the present chattel status and denial of right to minors. The collective professionalization (and consequent improvement) of the care of the young, also involved, would further undermine family structure while contributing to the freedom of women. Marriage might generally be replaced

by voluntary association, if such is desired." (p.62)

## The road to revolution

Millett describes what a sexual revolution would accomplish, but neglects the question of how that revolution could come about, and the vast implications that such a revolution would have for all other institutions of this society.

This was a disappointment, because she had taken her readers just about to the top of the mountain from which the whole terrain could be viewed but then hesitated in an overgrown blind spot a few steps from the top.

For instance, her explanation of a sexual revolution does not explain how or if we could get the enormous sums of money needed for communal child care from the government or from the present owners of the wealth of this country; how or if this capitalist system could provide full employment at equal wages for all women, when now it can't even provide full employment for men. How would a sexual revolution relate to such phenomena as the present war in Southeast Asia and racial oppression in this country?

Millett's blind spot—her inability to see clearly how a sexual revolution could come about and its implications regarding the total organization of society—is itself a product of that same class society which created, molded and depends on the family system and its product, sexual politics. She challenges a great deal. But she leaves unchallenged some of the basic points which this society is organized to keep us unaware of.

One central point is that the family is not an aberration; nor is it a form of organization of human life which flows from biological or natural sexual factors. Rather, it flows from the organization of society in such a way as to ensure the dominance of a small handful of people over the lives of the vast majority. This is what Marxists call class society. At its root is private property and the division of people into classes of those who have the property and those who don't.

The family under class society is an *economic* unit based on the existence of private property and designed to perpetuate the existence of class divisions. The family makes the responsibility for providing for human beings a private matter rather than a social concern. Thus, if a child's parents are very poor, she is raised in conditions of poverty.

The economic dependence of the woman and the children upon the man makes them more or less his possessions. The family is an authoritarian model from which children learn how to submit to an authoritarian class society.

If the family and patriarchal aspects of society are to be done away with in order to end "sexual politics," then so must be the form of society which spawned them and needs them in order to exist. In other words, a total sexual revolution can only take place as part of a broader socialist revolution, which will eliminate private property and classes, the basis for the patriarchal family.

*Sexual Politics* is incomplete from a Marxist standpoint because it does not show the origins of female oppression or how to eliminate it. Although its view is incomplete, *Sexual Politics* represents implicitly a revolutionary challenge to the whole organization of this society, which is based upon the oppression of women. It is a challenge to the inhuman nature of the patriarchal family, which is the basic unit of this repressive society. And it is a feminist answer to male chauvinist theories and traditions which pervade and uphold class society.

These characteristics make *Sexual Politics* an historic document which will be invaluable for the women's liberation movement and the revolutionary-socialist movement in this country as well as around the world. Millett codifies many of the basic ideas of the women's liberation movement; she describes the situation of women in such a way that the basic horror of it can be felt and understood more fully by nearly every woman, and many men, who read her book.

To end, let me share with you my favorite passage in the book, which is from one of the literary criticism sections. Describing a character in Charlotte Bronte's novel *Villette*, Millett says, "Lucy is free. Free is alone; given a choice between 'love' in its most agreeable contemporary manifestation, and freedom, Lucy chose to retain the individualist humanity she had shored up, even at the expense of sexuality. The sentimental reader is also free to call Lucy 'warped,' but Charlotte Bronte is hard-minded enough to know that there was no

man in Lucy's society with whom she could have lived and still been free."

Here Millett is talking about something which is part of the power of the present women's liberation movement. Women are learning to respect themselves, as Lucy did, and claiming their "individualist humanity." The women's liberation movement is turning that "aloneness," that independence and confidence as individual human beings, into the power of united self-confidence and organized rage of women fighting for liberation. In reacting to and fighting our oppression, women are developing a unity and strength in direct proportion to the self-hatred of our sex which has divided women for so long. That much Millett understands and gets across with unique power. Thanks to Millett's book, all of us who are struggling for revolutionary change have a richer understanding of a big part of what that revolution is all about.

# In defense of Engels on the matriarchy

By EVELYN REED

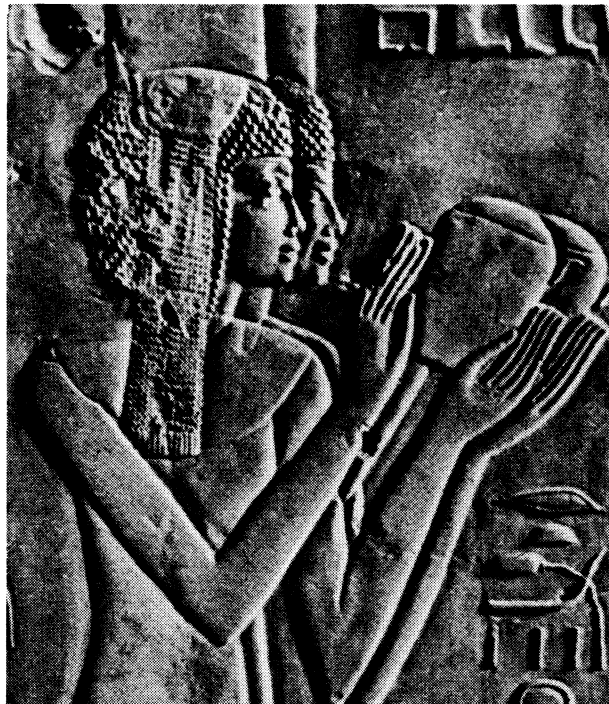
Kate Millett's book is an important production for the women's liberation movement as a landmark in independent expression of the woman's point of view. Few women have made so penetrating an analysis of the abominable degradation of our sex.

Millett's disclosures are all the more forceful because she wields her scalpel upon such literary luminaries as D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, and Norman Mailer, who have applied their considerable talents as writers to glorify this sexual brutality. By the time she is finished with them, they no longer look very lofty as men or as human beings.

Despite the great merits of Millett's book, which are recognized by women all over the country, there are certain shortcomings which mar her analyses. She considers her treatment of the patriarchy as a political institution the most important part of her book. But it is rendered weak and even misleading by her ambiguous attitude toward pre-patriarchal—or matriarchal society.

The "matriarchy" has become a popular term for the "maternal gens" or clan system of social organization, which preceded patriarchal class society in history. Contrary to the assumption sometimes made, the matriarchy was *not* the opposite of the patriarchy in that women dominated men as men dominate and oppress women in patriarchal society.

But the matriarchy *was* the opposite of patriarchal society in that it was founded upon collectivism and full social equality including sexual equality. It was a system called "primitive communism" in sharp contrast to our own exploitative, oppressive society, which also oppresses women.





The question of the prior existence of "matriarchal communism" has long divided the anthropological world. The discovery was made by Bachofen, Morgan, and other pioneers who founded the science of anthropology in the nineteenth century. But the academic anthropologists who came after them in the twentieth century repudiated their discovery.

Kate Millett is aware of this controversy and tries not to take sides, but without success. She inclines toward the academics of today over the early scholars. In any case, she does not regard the issue as vital; she belittles and downgrades it by referring to the "curious quarrel" which "has absorbed anthropology for some hundred years." (p. 108)

However, this is not a squabble of minor importance, of interest only to a few nit-picking scholastics. The issue at stake actually involves a theoretical, social and political battle of great magnitude which has profound implications both for the women's liberation movement and for the advancing social revolution to free all humanity.

That is the way Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, viewed the discovery of the matriarchy. Marx was busy on his own lifetime work *Capital* when Morgan's book *Ancient Society* was brought to him from the U.S. Both Marx and Engels hailed this breakthrough into the ancient past and together made notes for a joint book on these findings. After the death of Marx, Engels summed up their conclusions in his famous *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels was unambiguous about the importance of the matriarchy. He equated its discovery to two other world-shaking discoveries of the nineteenth century: Darwin's theory of evolution in biology and Marx's theory of surplus value in political economy.

Why did he make this judgment? For two reasons. First, it proved the communistic or classless character of precivilized society; and second, it pinpointed the source of woman's downfall as class society based upon private property.

### The matriarchal commune

The exploitation, sexism, racism, and other forms of oppression and inequality which exist in our society stem from the fact that it is founded upon the private ownership of property, class divisions, and the rule of the wealthy over those who must work to survive. But primitive society, founded upon collective production and property, was classless and therefore equalitarian.

The very high position of women was one of the most graphic expressions of that communistic community. Thanks to the important socioeconomic role of women, they enjoyed an unsurpassed prestige, authority and dignity, which stood out in sharp contrast to the inferior, second-sex status women occupy in our society.

More than this, in the period of the matriarchal commune there was no legal, monogamous marriage and no patriarchal family, the economic unit of our society. In our family set-up, the woman is dependent upon a husband for her means of support; this makes her both the sex object and household chattel of the man. But the "pairing family" of the primitive commune was exactly the opposite. It was no more than the simple, free cohabitation of a pair for as long as they wished to remain together. No woman was dependent upon a husband, no children were dependent upon individual parents for their livelihood. All were equally provided for by the whole community. In other words, in sharp contrast to our system of family economics, theirs was a system of communal economics.

These are the points that Millett misses, although they are clearly spelled out by Engels. He wrote, "Unless new social forces became active, there was no reason why a new form of the family should develop out of the pairing family." (Kerr ed., p. 65, 66)

But these new social forces, stemming from private property, class divisions, and all the rest, did become active. In short, the drastic social change that occurred with the downfall of matriarchal communism and the rise of the patriarchal private property system also brought about a drastic change from the pairing family to the monogamous patriarchal family.

The simple cohabitation of a pair and their offspring for as long as any of them wished to remain together gave way and was supplanted by the economic prison house of the patriarchal family, where men ruled over women and children.

As the facts about the past came to light, they

reinforced the following conclusions: 1) the source of women's oppression is lodged in the system of private property, culminating in capitalism, which has denied women their equal rights in education and employment and relegated them in their primary functions to home and family servitude; 2) the road to women's liberation is through a revolution that abolishes capitalism and replaces it with socialism.

Kate Millett embraces that part of the Marxist position which despises patriarchalism (or male supremacy, which is the same thing), and exposes the patriarchal family system. But since she is unacquainted with the method of the historical materialists, she does not understand how the discovery of the matriarchy was the very means that enabled Marx and Engels to make their penetrating analysis of the *causes* of women's degradation and point the road to its eradication. This places her in a contradictory position with regard to Engels.

But apart from this, she apparently feels safer merely repeating the academics' objections on the question of the matriarchy. She, too, says the evidence is insufficient or "unsatisfactory." (p. 111) Like them, she ignores or depreciates the mass of evidence assembled by such scholars as E. Sidney Hartland, W. H. R. Rivers, and others, including Robert Briffault, who made the greatest contribution to anthropology in the twentieth century precisely on the basis of expanding our knowledge about the matriarchy. None of their works appear in Millett's index.

Again, echoing the academics, Millett questions "the value" of Engels' insistence on the priority of primitive collectivism (p. 124) not realizing that collectivism was the very foundation for the high social position of ancient women. And she even imitates their scorn of the effort to reconstruct social origins and prehistory, which was of the most profound concern to the pioneer scholars as it was to the Marxists, by asserting that the study



### Millett and Engels

Millett applauds Engels as the best of all theoreticians on the subject of patriarchalism. He gives "the most comprehensive account of patriarchal history and economy," she writes, and he "alone among the theorists attacked the problem of the patriarchal family organization" (p. 108) so scientifically and clearly precisely because he saw its roots in the class system founded upon private property.

Thus, although somewhat hesitantly, she aligns herself with the academic anthropologists who disavow the matriarchy and are bitter opponents of the revolutionary conclusions of Marx and Engels, including their views on the liberation of women. She fails to see that these conservatives bar the way to a restoration of the study of the matriarchy through which women could learn how and why they became subjected to their male masters.

Uncertain in the field of anthropology, Millett feels that something probably preceded the patriarchy in history although she doesn't know what.

of origins is at best only a "game" embarked upon merely for some "evanescent delights." (p. 28) But it is precisely through the study of origins and early human evolution that we can uncover the true hidden history of women. This is hardly a "game" for women engaged in the struggle for their liberation.

Finally, Millett finds fault with Engels for supporting the matriarchy, by saying that his sources failed adequately to account for the patriarchal takeover. (p. 111) Indeed, Morgan, Engels, and their cothinkers raised as many questions as they answered in a new science that still had a long way to go. Such a criticism is like saying that the whole theory of evolution should be abandoned simply because Darwin did not solve all the problems provoked by his discovery.

In the main portion of her work, Millett stands right up front and delivers slashing blows against male supremacy and the patriarchal family. But in the crucial area of the matriarchy, she walks meekly 10 paces behind the reactionary academics.



This puts her in a highly ambivalent position with regard to Engels, whom she admires—except for his consistently Marxist positions.

This ambivalent attitude toward Engels is unfortunately shared by other women in the liberation movement who do not as yet understand the essentials of Marxism. On the one hand, they too warmly appreciate Engels the individual for his exceptional sensitivity to the oppression of women and his merciless attack upon male supremacy and the patriarchal family. On the other hand, they draw back from his materialist analysis of the class roots of these evils and hesitate to accept the full sweep of his revolutionary conclusions about capitalism.

Thus they try to separate the man from the method. But this won't work. For it was precisely

through his Marxist method that Engels became the kind of person he was—a great and lovable human being, not only keenly aware of the plight of women and a battler on our side, but also, as Millett says, the finest theoretician yet. He was that because he could clearly see both the source of the evil and the means for its eradication.

In the women's liberation movement today we need to study, assimilate and apply the method used by Engels. This is especially important for women writers of influence. Women have long been subdued by the ideology and mythology of writers, most of them male, who support the status quo. When they come to learn about the equalitarian sisterhood and brotherhood that prevailed in the period of the matriarchal commune and can see that women have not always been the

second sex, these truths can help to set them free from the pernicious beliefs in the eternity of capitalism and male supremacy.

Women have been enslaved for a few thousand years, as Millett sees. But what she doesn't see is that they were not enslaved for tens of thousands of years before that. This is the part of our history that the opponents of the matriarchy want to suppress and keep hidden. That is why it is up to us women to keep alive the knowledge of the matriarchy that the ruling powers and their spokesmen tried to kill at birth and have been trying to bury ever since.

Knowledge is power! And correct knowledge about our own past is an indispensable weapon in our struggle for liberation.

## Cincinnati women fight for child care

By ELLEN FAULKNER

Since last October, a group of women from Cincinnati Women's Liberation (CWL) has been meeting on a regular basis to study the issue of child-care centers and how to get them.

Impetus to form the group came out of a study by CWL on the nuclear family and present difficulties involved with raising children within that structure.

Initial discussion centered around cooperative centers, funded by the families who use them and run by volunteers. The group discovered a high rate of failure for these co-ops and attributed it to the limited time and money of the families who have gotten together for this purpose.

Co-op child care was found to be beyond the means of the majority of American families, who live on incomes under \$9,000 a year. One young mother who was involved in such a short-lived co-op venture remarked, "We had no money to hire staff so we spent all our time babysitting at the center, the same thing we used to do at home. In the end, it turned out to be a lot of bother for nothing."

The next step the group took was to discuss what kind of child-care centers would *really* fill the needs of women and children. We decided that child-care facilities must be free to parents. The costs of child care must become the responsibility of the whole of society and no longer the burden of the individual family, which is too often unable to provide children with adequate care.

Further research by the group confirms that control by the people who actually use the centers is necessary to insure the quality of child care. The group discussed the matter with a woman who had investigated the city-controlled child-care centers in New York. Her comment: "Some of these centers are so devoid of opportunities for growth that you might as well freeze the children for the day and thaw them out when they get home at night. Every day spent in such centers is another day's lost growth for children."

Cincinnati's child-care group has a much better kind of center in mind. Its success depends entirely on who controls it. The centers should be open to children of all ages, at all hours, for the purposes, hopes, works, and designs of the children themselves. It is important that the centers be controlled by the parents and children who use them, not by government "experts," industrial patriarchs, or conformity-loving bureaucrats.

After the group had decided what kind of child-care centers were necessary, Julie Haley, a group member and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, did research on the existing facilities in Cincinnati and on available funds for child care in the local area. In her efforts to complete the study and to inquire about funds, she was put off with information later found to have no basis in fact or with official denial of any real need for child-care centers in Cincinnati.

But she reported back with the facts. There is not one free child-care center in Cincinnati. The city of Cincinnati provides no money for the purpose and has no plans to allocate funds for it.

Her report on federal and state programs was a study in chaos, misplaced priorities, and bureaucratic tie-ups. The state of Ohio was allocated \$6-million last July from the federal government for use in providing child-care facilities. None of the money has been used. It can only be used to provide care to children whose mothers get off welfare to get a job; the income for a family with 2 children must be under \$90 a week for the children to be eligible. The State of Ohio shrugs its shoulders, "no such people can be found."

Federal agencies also offer the matching-funds deal. In practice, this means that parents must raise thousands of dollars, buy a federally approved building, and actually start operating with federally approved staff and equipment. Only then can they apply for the matching funds. Very few families have been able to do this: only four such matching-funds centers exist in Cincinnati. They

are not free. They are not controlled by the people who use them.

Similar situations were discovered in the Model Cities program and it was learned that there is a general drying up of funds in agencies under the nearly defunct poverty program. It would take an army of women working full time to get that money supposedly allocated to child-care facilities.

The group affirms that this is exactly what is needed—an army of women, not, however, to hassle futilely through red tape, but to move together in mass protest, to build up enough power so that the rulers must reorder priorities and answer our demands.

To that end, the group has been enlarged and has enlisted the help of the staff, faculty and students at the University of Cincinnati. The campus, with its ready-made army of women students, was chosen as a likely site for mass action. Support for our demand for free, 24-hour child care controlled by the people who use it runs high in the campus community; we feel that we can begin to organize that already existing support more effectively than in any other section of the community at this time.

Recent meetings of the child-care group, which now includes 20 active women, have been taken up with plans for a mass meeting on campus and for a week-long demonstration, which will include "play-ins" on campus, bringing one's children to classes, etc.

The group has concluded that we've spent too much time trying to speak reasonably with the administrators of various public agencies. They have dismissed us as mad visionaries or with complete indifference to our demands. There is a brick wall of bureaucratic ignorance concerning the real conditions under which we now care for our children. We see that our real allies in this fight are millions of other women who now struggle with the same miserable conditions and who also demand free child care. Together with our sisters we have the power to win this demand by mass protest.

## Minnesota abortion march April 3

By MARY HILLERY

MINNEAPOLIS—A new coalition for abortion law repeal, the Abortion Action Coalition (AAC), has been formed in Minnesota. The group has come together to build a demonstration April 3 demanding total repeal of the abortion laws and a woman's right to choose whether or not she wants to bear a child.

Before the actual launching of the coalition, two meetings were held at which women discussed what type of an action we as females wanted to see. We decided to call a big meeting for Feb. 16 to launch a coalition and to draw in all the groups and individuals who would be likely to endorse the action or build it.

A news conference was held prior to the Feb. 16 meeting, which resulted in excellent publicity. At the meeting itself, a proposal was outlined for a march on April 3 from the governor's mansion in St. Paul to the capitol, where there will be a rally. There were also reports on local and national abortion repeal activities. The discussion went into the large-scale publicity plans, free housing, and child care necessary to make this the biggest and loudest statement heard yet that the people of Minnesota want an end to the abortion laws now.

A great deal of support and excitement has been shown already for the April 3 action. The AAC

has just been given an office at 529 Cedar Ave. and will hold weekly meetings until the demonstration.

Another news conference is slated for Feb. 22 on the steps of the capitol, at which representatives of the AAC and other groups will protest the way in which the legislature has excluded all but medical people from testifying at the hearings for the repeal bill which has been introduced. Already, over 700 people want to speak on the bill as proponents, but only one hour is being allowed for such testimony.

Another abortion repeal group exists, the Minnesota Council for the Legal Termination of Pregnancy (MCLTP), which is mainly concerned with lobbying and legislative-oriented activities. The Abortion Action Coalition chose its name very carefully so as not to be confused with the MCLTP. Members of the AAC may or may not support all that the MCLTP is doing, but we are united in building the April 3 action.

There is a strong group opposed to abortion repeal in Minnesota: the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life (MCCL), or as some refer to them, "The Friends of the Fetus." This is a very well-organized and well-financed group, fronting for the Catholic Church. They have already purchased several hours of TV time; they travel all over the state calling public meetings and coffee hours;

they have a huge billboard opposite the state capitol for all the legislators to see; and two weeks ago they started a huge campaign from the pulpit on "the right to life."

The April 3 action will be the first big public demonstration at which the people of Minnesota can express our demand for total repeal of the abortion laws, which even include a penalty for the pregnant woman who attempts abortion. We will let the legislature know that this will be only the first, not the last, demonstration until all women are free to choose whether or not to bear children.

MINNEAPOLIS—On Feb. 17, 100 women marched through downtown Minneapolis protesting the recent escalation of the Southeast Asian war into Laos. Pots and pans served as instruments for a marching band, and picket signs demanded, "Stop the Rape of Indochina!" It was called by members of several different women's groups who felt that we must speak out against the war as women.

The demonstration included mostly young women, but many came from offices on lunch hours. No passerby was able to ignore the march of 100 women at high noon chanting, "We want jobs, we want bread; No more war, no more dead."

# Socialist Campaign '71

## Fight ballot bill in Wash.

SEATTLE—The Fair Ballot Coalition has been formed to oppose the attempt by the Secretary of State, A. Ludlow Kreamer, to keep minor parties off the ballot in Washington state. A "minor" party according to the secretary of state's definition refers to all parties except the Democratic or Republican parties.

The current requirement for achieving ballot status for parties not automatically guaranteed a place is the holding of a nominating convention with not less than 100 registered voters in attendance who have not voted in the primaries (the conventions for minor parties are held on primary day).

The secretary of state's office is sponsoring a bill in the current session of the state legislature which would base the attendance required for a nominating convention at .04 percent of all the votes cast for the office of governor in the preceding general election.

This would mean that at least 507 registered voters would have to come to a nominating convention in order to run a statewide slate in 1972. In addition, the bill would require that at least 25 and possibly as many as 150 registered voters would be required from each state legislative district to nominate candidates in that district.

The reason given by Kreamer for the bill is that there were "too many" parties in the 1968 election and this "confuses" the voters.

The legislation is aimed at parties like the Socialist Workers Party and at the possible development of independent Black and Chicano political action. Among the substantial Chicano minority in Washington, there is growing support for independent political action as the examples of La Raza Unida parties in Texas, Colorado and California become known to them.

Kreamer claims that a "blue ribbon" panel of citizens served as an advisory board in drawing up the proposed legislation. When the Fair Ballot Coalition contacted a Black member of

the panel, he said that he was not informed about the discriminatory clauses in the bill and was opposed to the bill.

The Fair Ballot Coalition is composed of several political groups and individuals who have joined together to fight this restrictive legislation. It has circulated a petition, made extensive mailings, and is planning a news conference. It also intends to participate in the hearings on the bill at the state capitol in Olympia.

For more information, contact: Fair Ballot Coalition, c/o I. King, 1942 Boyleston Ave. E., Seattle, Wash. 98102. To protest the proposed law, write or wire: A. Ludlow Kreamer, Sec. of State, Olympia, Wash. 98501.

## Seattle may vote on war

SEATTLE—The Seattle Peace Action Coalition has announced plans to try to put a referendum for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia on the ballot in the November city elections.

A brochure about spring antiwar activities planned by SEAPAC refers to the petition campaign to place this proposal on the ballot as the "Seattle Peace Initiative '71."

"It is a campaign," the brochure states, "that promises to reach almost every resident of the city and spark off a tremendous educational campaign around the war. . . . Similar campaigns in Massachusetts, Detroit, [and] San Francisco and Marin counties in California this past fall were exciting and quite successful."

The referendum if adopted would officially establish immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia as the policy of the city of Seattle and would require the mayor to post this statement of policy in all public buildings within 48 hours after it becomes effective.

Those interested in helping on the referendum campaign should contact: SEAPAC, 1406 N. E. 50th St., Seattle, Wash. 98105, or call (206) 522-2222.

## Support to Black students

CAMBRIDGE—Lisa Potash, 18-year-old Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge School Committee, held a successful news conference on Feb. 18 in support of the demands of Black students in Cambridge's high schools.

The Cambridge schools were occupied by police the second week of February after negotiations that had been going on for a long time over Black student representation broke down.

Potash, a freshman at Boston University who is emphasizing the need for high school views to be expressed on the school committee, told reporters that she supports the following demands of the Black high school students: 1) that no police be allowed inside the schools; 2) that Frank Frisoli, acting superintendent of schools, resign immediately and under no circumstances be allowed to become permanent superintendent; 3) that all Black students at Rindge and Latin high schools have fair representation

as part of the Cambridge School Committee; and 4) that the administration stop harassment of Black teachers and students.

The news conference was picked up by Boston's two major television stations.



Lisa Potash

## Chicago candidates kept busy

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO, Feb. 21—Cynthia Burke, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Fifth Ward alderwoman in the Feb. 23 elections, participated in a community forum with her two opponents on Feb. 15 on the topic "Strategies for Change." The meeting was sponsored by the Student Government Association and chaired by Student Body President Mike Fowler.

The other two candidates in the race, Leon Despres and John Q. Washington, are running as independents, although both are affiliated in one way or another with the Democratic Party. Washington has been a minor cog in the Daley machine, a Democratic precinct captain. Despres, who is Black, claims to be part of the "independent left wing" of the Democratic Party.

In her opening remarks, Burke emphasized that the office of alderwoman should not be a forum in which a lone individual attempts to battle the power structure in the name of her constituency. Instead, she should use her office to mobilize the people in the community against the Vietnam war and the oppression of women and for Black control of the Black community.

She urged her two opponents to attend the Feb. 19-21 Student Mobilization Committee conference in Washington, D.C.

During spirited discussion following the opening remarks, the candidates were asked to endorse the April 24 antiwar actions planned for Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Burke stated her support, but Despres and Washington did not endorse the action although Despres said he was for immediate withdrawal.

Burke's comments were well received by the audience and literature and *Militant* sales went well. The debate was given major coverage by the student newspaper, the *Maroon*. Although the *Maroon* editorially endorsed Despres, it commented positively on the SWP campaign.

As the aldermanic race in the 43rd Ward also draws to a close, SWP candidate Naomi Allen is maintain-

ing a busy schedule. In the past 10 days, she has participated in seven community meetings with her five opponents. She has also appeared twice on the WIND radio program "Contact," each time before an estimated audience of 100,000.

At a meeting of the candidates at St. Clements church, Gary Chichester of the Chicago Gay Alliance asked all the candidates where they stood on the rights of homosexuals and urged them to fill out questionnaires on homosexual rights. The Chicago Gay Alliance *Newsletter* reports that when the subject came up there was some laughter. Naomi Allen, the *Newsletter* states, "said that most people laughed when the women's movement started but few people laughed now." Pearson, the Communist Party candidate in the ward, and Naomi Allen filled out the questionnaire on the spot, according to the *Newsletter*, giving full support to homosexual rights.

In another Chicago campaign development, Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Linda Sheppard confronted her Republican opponent, Richard Friedman, at a meeting where he was speaking. He explicitly refused to endorse or build the April 24 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

He announced to the audience his willingness to publicly debate Sheppard at any time, but after the meeting he attempted to weasel out of the engagement by arguing that she was not a legitimate candidate since discriminatory election laws prevent her from being officially on the ballot.

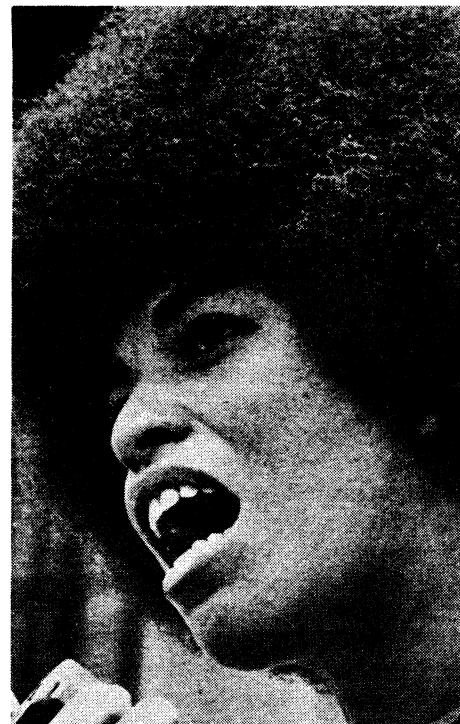
Friedman used this excuse in spite of his stated support for a suit filed in federal court by SCLC leader Jesse Jackson against the high number of signatures required on nominating petitions for independents to appear on the ballot in Chicago.

## Supports Davis

CHICAGO—Linda Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, issued a statement Jan. 23 urging broad united support for Angela Davis.

"It is clear," Sheppard stated, "that Angela Davis will not get a fair trial. All who understand this must unite in her defense. . . ."

"The Socialist Workers Party wholeheartedly supports the immediate release of Angela Davis and all political prisoners. We pledge to use our campaign for city office in Chicago to publicize the facts and win support for her defense."



Angela Davis



Stephanie Coontz, 1970 SWP congressional candidate in Washington.



# Veterans describe how war turned them against government

By **ERNIE HARSCH**

DETROIT—The few hundred Vietnam veterans who attended the Winter Soldier Investigations here Jan. 31-Feb. 2 came from all parts of the country to testify about their experiences in Vietnam, the daily atrocities, the genocide, the treatment of prisoners, the racism, and the effects of the war on themselves.

Unlike most of the veterans interviewed, Jamie Henry, who served in Vietnam with the 1/35 Infantry, 3rd Brigade, in 1967-1968, was against the war when he was drafted. Today, because of what he saw, he is more active in the antiwar movement than ever.

Another veteran, Bob Walker, joined at the age of 17 and was levied to Vietnam in 1969 as a combat engineer with an American support unit based in Chu Lai. Like most GIs in Vietnam, he was indoctrinated with the idea that the Vietnamese were inferior, that they were "gooks." That made it possible for him to not get too upset by what went on around him.

Then one day he talked to a 15-year-old Vietnamese who spoke English as well as he did and he realized that the Vietnamese were just as human as he was. After that, he could no longer accept what the U.S. was doing there and he began to oppose the war.

Walker's entire unit went through a similar evolution. Their opposition to the war and the Army took several forms, such as burning their commanding officer's hootch and placing bounties on the heads of unpopular officers and noncoms. Once, after a period of harassment by the brass, they went on strike. Soldiers in the U.S. Army in the middle of a war stopped fighting, stopped driving their bulldozers, stopped building bridges, and went on strike to end the harassment and to win some privileges. They were on strike for only three days when they won their demands. They were then able to wear mustaches, sideburns, and longer hair and to do more or less as they pleased. In fact, during his last month in Vietnam Walker did nothing whatsoever. And the brass didn't dare do anything about it.

Bob McConnachie was already against the war when he went into the 1st Marine Division in 1967. "When I realized," he said, "that the people



in the higher echelons didn't get tried for their offenses, because of their rank, and that the people in the lower echelons did, I became more radicalized."

In Vietnam, he saw an unpopular lieutenant get shot by one of his own men. While he was in Germany, he observed a fragging incident that left an officers' club in shambles and put four officers in the hospital. If the bulk of the Army remains composed of draftees and the antiwar sentiment among GIs continues to grow, "the Army will fall apart," he predicted.

Art Doherty joined the Marines in 1964, and he first radicalized in a somewhat different situation. He was with Lima 36 Company in 1965 when the U.S. invaded the Dominican Republic and was one of the first to land on its shores. "The Dominican invasion really brought things home for me. There was this line of troops and equipment dividing Santo Domingo. On one side were the mansions and the U.S. Marines. On the other side were the slums and the rebels. When I noticed this, I realized that we were only there to protect those people in the mansions."

His political education continued in

Vietnam. Events in the U.S. also had their effect on him. "I was in Nam in 1968 when Chicago happened, when they beat the kids, and I realized that I didn't belong over there, that I had to defend my brothers back home."

John Beitzel of Philadelphia was lucky enough to get drafted into a unit within the 4/21 Infantry, 11th Brigade, that was almost entirely against the war. His company did almost nothing. When sent out on patrol, they would go a few hundred yards, set up a perimeter and drink coffee. They formed a "Fuck The Army" club which had an elected president and which held meetings to discuss the war, the Army, and anything else of interest to GIs. As new people came in, they would be talked to and convinced that the war was wrong.

The news of the Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington had a big effect in boosting their morale. Not long afterward, through a Vietnamese soda kid, they received a message from the Provincial National Liberation Front of Quang Ngai, a provincial capital. The message said in essence that if the GIs didn't mess with the Vietnamese, the NLF would

not mess with them. They sent a message back through the same soda kid saying, "Right on!"

John Beitzel's company had the lowest casualty rate and the lowest body count of the division.

Finally, there is the case of Rod Podlaski, a Green Beret with the 5th Special Forces in 1968-1969. When he joined he was gung-ho, always volunteering for missions, but after a while he started noticing things. He worked mostly with a few other Americans and a large number of South Vietnamese ARVN troops. The ARVN troops faced the same type of racist attitude on the part of Americans as the civilians, and they often revealed their hatred for the Americans. "If the ARVN troops don't like us, what about the civilians?" he began to wonder.

Asked if his views on the war affected his views on other matters, he replied, "The war started me questioning things. Then I started questioning other government policies. And they're all bummers."

"If it ever comes down to my fighting again," he concluded, "it'll be in this country against those I now consider my real enemy."

## Army racism radicalizes GIs in Vietnam

By **KENNETH MILINER**

DETROIT—Observing the proceedings of the Winter Soldier Investigation here the first weekend in February, I was struck not only by the nature of the atrocities committed against the people of Vietnam but also by the role that racism played in the crimes. Yet the racism perpetrated against the Vietnamese by the United States Army in Vietnam does not stop with that. It is also directed against Third World GIs. "Think what they did to us," said Black ex-Marine Allen Ahers after listening to two days of testimony about atrocities.

One of the most effective tools the government has in its training arsenal is racism. In the Army, the racism of the society as a whole is intensified. It has to be in order to get working class youth to carry out American policy in Vietnam. The veterans explained over and over again how they were trained not to consider the Vietnamese people human. One

stated, "We were just trained to kill gooks, kill gooks, kill gooks!"

The veterans found themselves explaining on more than one occasion that whenever they raped a Vietnamese woman or put a heat tablet in a child's sandwich (which has the effect of burning the membrane out of the throat, or if it gets into the stomach, to keep burning until it burns its way out), they did this to people they were trained to consider not human.

Third Worlders sent to Vietnam are forced not only to witness but to take part in a racist war against other people of color and at the same time to defend themselves against racism directed at them inside the Army.

Two panels were held on racism within the Army. The first consisted of four veterans—a Japanese-American, a Black, an Indian-American, and a white. All three of the Third World panelists expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction and bitterness not only toward racism in the Army, but

also toward racist American society.

The Japanese-American panelist stated that "When I got off the bus [at boot camp] I was a gook." This statement best exemplified the sentiment of the Third World panelists. Mike Hunter explained how the assassination of Martin Luther King created a new unity among young Blacks in Vietnam. The Army then moved in to separate Blacks within the same unit, to destroy this unity.

I asked Hunter if he noticed a change of attitude on the part of Blacks between the time they entered the Army and the time they left. He replied, "When a Black leaves the Army, he is 99 percent militant. If he comes in 99 percent militant, he leaves 100 percent militant."

The Indian brother reported how the Army tried to build up esprit de corps by showing a film of the supposedly glorious history of the First Cavalry Division fighting Indians in the Old West.

The second panel consisted of 12 Third World veterans: eight Blacks, two Asian-Americans, one Indian, and one Chicano. In an emotion-packed room, the brothers told stories of how they were used as cannon-fodder in Vietnam. They reported how more often than not they were made to "walk point." Walking point—ahead of everyone else—according to testimony provided by many of the panels, is considered one of the most dangerous jobs in Vietnam.

Much of the testimony was of the same type many of us had heard before about racism in the Army. What must be kept in mind is that these indignities had to be suffered in the midst of a war. Attempts by the brothers to defend themselves often brought on more repression by the Army. Sometimes they responded by fragging and putting bounties on their officers. The only final solution will be to bring all the brothers home and end the racist draft.



# Phila. Black conference endorses Democrats

By DERRICK MORRISON

PHILADELPHIA—On the weekend of Feb. 12-14, a Black Political Convention was convened here. Rather than advance in the direction of independent Black political action, however, the convention chose to tie its chariot to the jackass of the Democratic Party.

In the weeks before the event, Richard Traylor, administrative coordinator of the convention, talked much about forming a "third political party" in the upcoming city elections. Traylor is a leading figure in the Philadelphia Congress of African People, a formation that arose out of the Labor Day Congress of African People held in Atlanta.

But when the deal went down, the convention endorsed the political action workshop resolution, which stated in part, "The Black Political Convention shall establish an interim or Executive Committee elected by this convention. . . . Resolved, that the proposal for a Black Community Political Action Committee, submitted by the Philadelphia Congress of African People, be submitted to the Executive Committee. . . . Resolved, that the Executive Committee elected by this Convention be charged with the responsibility of coordinating all local groups in terms of immediate registration of nonregistered Black people; and be it further Resolved, the Committee believes that the Black Political Convention as an independent third force will actively seek to register Black citizens within the existing political parties and particularly for the May Primary of 1971, within the Democratic Party. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

So in line with this position, the convention chose to back six Black Democrats for municipal office, including Democratic Party State Representative Hardy Williams for mayor.

Two candidates supported by the Socialist Workers Party, Hattie McCutcheon who is running for sheriff, and Pamela Newman, a candidate for city councilwoman-at-large, refused to be considered for nomination by the convention in light of its adopted political position.

In a letter to the convention on the back of a campaign leaflet, they stated, "Any measure of Black control of the Black community spells the end of the domination exercised over us by the Democrats and Republicans. Hardy Williams and other Black Democrats or Republicans may be sincere and concerned about the problems of Black people. But sincerity is not enough. Any brother or sister who runs in the Democratic or Republican party does a disservice to the Black community. After 100 years of running between a Democratic fox and a Republican wolf, it is time for Black people to break out of this two-party shell game."

Further on in the letter, they stated, "If this convention and the candidates it nominates do not declare a complete break with parties of war and racism, then we call upon people to support the only campaign in this election that is advancing and sup-

porting the concept of an independent Black political party: the Socialist Workers campaign. This is a campaign that is totally opposed to the twin parties of twentieth century slavery."

Several hundred attended the Friday night opening session. Featured speakers were Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Rev. Leon Sullivan. Sullivan, a Philadelphia minister, heads the Opportunities Industrialization Center, an operation heavily financed by the U.S. government. He was recently selected to become the first Black member of the Board of Directors of General Motors.

However, after the opening session, not more than 250 people attended the rest of the convention. As the affair proceeded, the youth in attendance became progressively fewer. Two busloads of people came in from Newark.

Because of their independent position, McCutcheon and Newman picked up significant TV and radio coverage.



Pamela Newman



Hattie McCutcheon

# Protest supports Carlos Feliciano

NEW YORK—On Saturday, Feb. 20, over 500 Puerto Ricans marched to the Bronx County jail demanding freedom for Carlos Feliciano.

Organizations participating were the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, the Young Lords Party, the Puerto Rican Student Union, and the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence).

The same forces held a press conference on Feb. 16, pledging to build a mass defense and blasting the press for its calculated silence about the case.

The most recent statement issued by the defense committee said in part:

"The case of Carlos Feliciano and the issues surrounding it give rise to basic questions about an individual's civil liberties and the possible political motives behind the recent arrest of numerous political activists, questions to which every American will soon be demanding answers.

"Carlos Feliciano, 41-year-old Puerto Rican, was arrested on May 16, 1970, while he was returning to his car from a sporting goods shop in the South Bronx area.

"The bail was originally set at \$5,000 some four and one-half hours after Feliciano's arrest. About two hours later, for some unknown reason, the case was recalled before Justice Gerald Cuklin of the Manhattan Criminal Courts.

"At this second hearing, Assistant District Attorney John Fine gave reasons as to why the bail should be

raised. Reading from a statement which he subsequently gave to the press, Fine charged that Feliciano was responsible for the bombing of thirty-five public buildings, including the GE building and the New York Public Library.

"Fine also asserted that in an interrogation he conducted, Feliciano had made a number of admissions: 1) to having had explosive devices in his car; and 2) to being a member of MIRA (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria Armada—Armed Revolutionary Leftist Movement), an underground group allegedly responsible for a number of bombings in New York and Puerto Rico.

"On the basis of these allegations, the bail was set at \$150,000. In the Bronx, where Feliciano is charged with similar acts, bail was set at \$125,000 based on the high Manhattan bail (this last bail was later lowered to \$25,000).

"At this same bail hearing in Manhattan, Fine also alleged that Feliciano was affiliated with 'an alien government outside the limits of the United States.' Fine did not specify which government because 'it would prejudice the case.'

"These allegations are the crux of the case.

"First of all, the record of the initial interrogation of Carlos Feliciano has been released. According to this record, none of the admissions which Fine attributes to Feliciano, and upon which the bail was set, were made. Feliciano only admitted to being a member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, a legal, above-ground

pro-independence organization which conducted only public meetings and activities.

"The indictment itself, for only one bombing and one attempted bombing, is a further contradiction in the case (the other 34 bombings are not mentioned in the indictment).

"Secondly, the character and flavor of the allegations made by the district attorney's office point to an attempt to construct a nonexistent link between the Nationalist Party (and, by extension, every pro-independence Puerto Rican group), terrorist activities, and an alien government. Such a link, given the current use of the conspiracy laws in the Panthers, Berri-gan, and Angela Davis cases, could present a major threat to the Puerto Rican movement both in New York and Puerto Rico and all movements for social justice.

"Despite the fact that for a man who had to work two jobs a day to keep his family alive such a preposterously high bail amounts to preventive detention, not to mention the obvious fraudulent basis on which the bail was set, repeated bail reduction appeals have ended in failure. Feliciano has spent the last nine months in jail without ever having been tried. By any criteria, this is an injustice."

Contributions can be sent to: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Rev. David Garcia of St. Mark's Church on the Bowery is the president of the committee. Gilberto Gerena Valentin, one of the leading spokesmen for New York's Puerto Rican community, is vice-president.



Carlos Feliciano

The following interview is with two activists in the gay liberation movement in Los Angeles. It was obtained shortly after the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front held a militant demonstration against police brutality and harassment of gay people Jan. 23 in which more than 400 people participated.

Peter Sorgen is a member of the Gay Liberation Front. Angela Keyes Douglas is in the Transvestite-Transsexual Action Organization and gay women's liberation.

**Militant:** Could you describe the background, structure, and history of the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front?

**Sorgen:** In December 1969, about 12 people, most of whom were active in the Dow Action Committee, started the GLF. Through personal experience, I believe that most of the original members of GLF had been engaged in some kind of radical protest, but usually not as open homosexuals.

The conditions that the GLF grew out of were the continuous history of police brutality and harassment, the oppressive activities of the society in general, the sex laws, etc. Also helping us get going were the Stonewall riots in New York in June 1969 where for the first time gay people fought back against the police. After a slow start, we have rapidly advanced to become one of the major gay liberation organizations in the country.

Our basic structure is very loose. It is composed of various committees that deal with particular issues. Our weekly general meetings take up committee reports and consider general policy decisions. We average about 80 people at our general meetings and about 20-30 are involved in each committee. We have survival, legal, medical, draft resistance, gay-in committees, etc. We have just opened a coffeehouse to be used as a healthy social environment for the gay community.

**Militant:** What are your basic goals and how do you feel about the "sexual revolution"?

**Sorgen:** Our basic goal is a society where gay people can live as free people. This is understood by most of our members to mean that a revolution is necessary to destroy this culture. But we have no firm line on

# Interview with L.A. gay activists



Photo by Dave Saperstan

Poster from GLF protest against police brutality Jan. 23.

this. We believe that our ideology will grow out of our work.

I think one of the most important things to emerge from the youth revolution has been more freedom to experiment, learn, and grow in sexual activity. So today there is probably more open gay activity on the part of young people. This relates to an important issue in the gay community — that of the closet. We want all gays to come out of the closet, to openly proclaim themselves as homosexuals.

We view gays as being proud, whole, and truly human beings.

We also realize that we cannot succeed in a vacuum. The idea of sexual freedom cuts across the whole nature of this society. A sexual revolution would probably remake society.

Most of us feel that heterosexuals are oppressed by their own standards of sexuality. The radicals will have to learn from all the sexual freedom organizations that part of today's liberation is a rethinking of the bour-

geois concepts of sexual identity, the family, and sexual behavior. There can be no revolution without us and until everyone is free to exercise their sexuality in a healthy and positive environment.

**Douglas:** All over the world GLFs are being formed. So, in a sense, we are not fighting capitalism or communism but rather heterosexual oppression. Although I may support Castro for what he has done for Cuba, he still oppresses my sisters and brothers.

The gays who are leftists find themselves in a tremendous conflict. Although most young gays in the liberation movement might feel that socialism is the answer for this country's problems, they still believe that the fight for gay liberation will have to continue against any system which puts down gay people.

**Militant:** What is your relationship to the gay women's liberation movement?

**Sorgen:** This past November most of the gay women in the GLF decided to form their own organization because they felt that the GLF was not open to their needs. We cooperate now on specific issues where the gay women feel that we can work together.

**Douglas:** Most gay women feel that the GLF does not confront its own sexism and male chauvinism, which I believe is true. Gay men have to understand the double oppression of gay women, as women and as homosexuals. In L.A., the gay women are working more closely with the general women's liberation movement. This seems to be the trend all over the country.

**Militant:** Do you work with the antiwar movement and will you be marching on April 24 in San Francisco?

**Sorgen:** We have endorsed the April 24 action just as we have supported all of the previous antiwar demonstrations. We are not hot to die for a society that denies us our basic human rights.

I welcome all interest in the GLF on the part of the SWP and all groups. Hopefully, by working together we can make the entire liberation movement discover each other and develop trust among ourselves.

## New support for YSA recognition fight

By DAVID ROSSI

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. — A statewide meeting of student body presidents here on Feb. 28 will consider requesting a point on the agenda of the March 1 Board of Regents meeting to discuss the regents' ruling barring the Young Socialist Alliance from Florida state campuses. Steve Uhlfelder, student body president at the University of Florida, will ask the meeting to put its authority behind the campaign being waged by the Florida Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC), and to raise the issues of

that campaign with the regents at their meeting the following day.

Wide opposition to the arbitrary ban on the YSA has been mobilized by FAPEC publicity, including a three and one-half week tour by FAPEC secretary John Votava which ended Feb. 17. Votava spoke on 25 radio and TV stations for six hours of broadcast time in six cities, as well as addressing campus audiences and being interviewed by 14 newspapers.

FAPEC intends to tap this opposition to the ban for support to court action if the regents refuse to recon-

sider their position before a suit is filed. FAPEC has obtained endorsement from faculty, student, and community leaders, including Dr. T.W. Graham Solomons, professor of chemistry at the University of South Florida (USF); Mary Margaret Rutledge, USF student body vice-president; Robert Cronk, president of Teachers Against the War; Otha Favors from Black Youth for Peace and Power; Raleigh Jugger from the Malcolm X United Liberation Front; the *Olive Branch*, an antiwar newspaper put out by GIs at the Jacksonville Naval base; Bob Pope, Democratic candidate

for Duval County sheriff; and others.

FAPEC has appealed for political and financial support from individuals and organizations all over the country. The committee's address is FAPEC, Box 2303, Tampa, Fla. 33601. Checks should be made to the Florida Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus.

Statements of protest against the ban should be sent to the regents in care of D. Burke Kibler, chairman, Box 1772, Lakeland, Fla. 33802, with copies to FAPEC.

## Czech trial of 'Trotskyists' delayed

(From Intercontinental Press)

The trial of nineteen youths charged with "Trotskyism," scheduled to open in Prague February 8, has been postponed until February 20, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch that appeared in the February 10 Paris daily *Le Monde*. AFP attributed the news to "a reliable source."

The young people—first reports put their number at twenty-five—have been imprisoned by the Husak regime since December 1969.

Eric Bourne, writing from Vienna

in the February 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, published in Boston, gave a similar account:

"According to information from Prague, the trial due to start Monday [February 8] was of some 19 'Trotskyist' minded youngsters, boy and girl students and workers, who have been detained since early last year after being accused of 'plotting' against the 'socialist order.'"

In Bourne's opinion, the decision to put off the trial "suggests that, for

all the harsh words still being published about those 'responsible' for the 1968 crisis, 'consolidation' is deemed to have reached the point where the Husak regime feels confident and ready to look to the future and a new start."

Agence France-Presse suggested a less praiseworthy reason for the Czechoslovak government's action:

"The postponement was said to have been decided on to avoid having the trial begin during the tenth congress

of the International Union of Students being held at Bratislava."

The French news agency added:

"Among the accused, many of whom are students, are two foreigners: a young man born in France of Spanish émigré parents and a young girl from West Berlin. The latter was said to have been accused in particular of having acted as a liaison between the members of the clandestine organization and former leaders of the Fourth International in Germany."



By FRANK LOVELL

The number of registered unemployed in the United States reached 5.4 million in January, the highest in 10 years. However, the report on January unemployment released Feb. 5 by the Labor Department claims a slight percentage dip. In December, 6.2 percent of the labor force was unemployed. According to the latest figures, after adjusting for the normal seasonal rise in unemployment following the Christmas holiday business spurt, unemployment now stands at 6 percent.

Government spokesmen sought to make these latest statistics into a "trend" which they hope will eventually eliminate the "excess" unemployment they have purposely generated in an attempt to combat the war-primed inflation. ("Full" employment is officially defined as 4 percent unemployment). Labor Secretary Hodgson reportedly said, "The signs are encouraging."

The statistics show:

- The duration of unemployment for those now on the rolls has increased, up from an average of 9.7 weeks in December to 10.4 weeks in January. (As always, the statistics are based only on those actively seeking employment. Those who have decided there is no longer any point in even trying to find a job are not counted.)

- More adult males have been hired, unemployment for this category declining slightly from 4.6 to 4.3 percent.

- Unemployment among adult women remained at 5.7 percent.

- The average rate of unemployment among teen-agers is still unchanged, 17.6 percent.

No figures for Black unemployment were cited. However, December figures put overall Black un-

The most startling increases have occurred in the Consumer Price Index. Over the past 13 years, prices have gone up 38 percent (28 percent since the major escalation of the Vietnam war in 1965), and they are still rising. Sidney Margolius, writing in the January issue of the AFL-CIO's *Federationist*, says, "The average worker in manufacturing industries actually is even worse off than in 1964, with \$84.43 (weekly) in spendable dollars now, compared to \$85.27 then." The greatest price increases—well above average—have been in food, housing, transportation, and medical costs.

If the employed worker finds his standard of living reduced by rising prices, the unemployed face impoverishment.

This pincers of rising prices and increasing unemployment has in recent years steadily and relentlessly squeezed down the living standard of the working class, and has forced the union movement to seek ways to relieve the pressure. The organized workers, shielded by their unions, have suffered less than the majority, who are unorganized.

During the past year, the unions have fought tenaciously to maintain real wages, and have tried to insure them by demanding cost-of-living adjustments to keep abreast of rising prices.

### Unemployment plans

But little has been done to combat the devastating effects of unemployment. The unions, as a national policy, have been content to seek higher unemployment benefit payments from state legislatures.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) has a contract provision of supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) to be paid by the employers. This boosts the income of an unemployed auto worker to nearly 95 percent of his regular after-tax pay.

ing and transportation on a production-line basis. Or rapid transit equipment. Mass transportation in our country stinks. With the proper effort, Boeing could easily produce rail cars, buses, and other sorely needed equipment. All sorts of things could be done—medical equipment, such as kidney machines; devices for air and water pollution control. All that is needed is some imagination and some initiative."

The reaction of one company official—"But think how many units of housing we'd have to sell to make as much money as we do on a single helicopter."

In the Seattle area, where unemployment is estimated by some to run as high as 20 percent, the Central Labor Council has done little more than urge an extension of unemployment benefits. Washington Governor Dan Evans has extended the 30-week benefits an additional nine weeks but such stopgap measures are puny compared to the mass of unemployed. Some union officials in that area have suggested unemployment rallies and marches to force higher benefit payments and more funds from the state and federal governments, but they have not gone beyond the talking stage.

The entire Pacific Northwest is hard hit by unemployment, affecting Canadian workers even more than those on the U. S. side of the border.

### Sliding scale of hours

Some of the most powerful local unions in the U. S. and Canada have in times of mounting unemployment demanded a 30-hour workweek with no loss in pay. The United Steelworkers of America is now demanding the four-day week—32 hours—when the present contract in the steel industry expires July 31.

Such demands are designed to put more workers

# Millions of unemployed search for answers

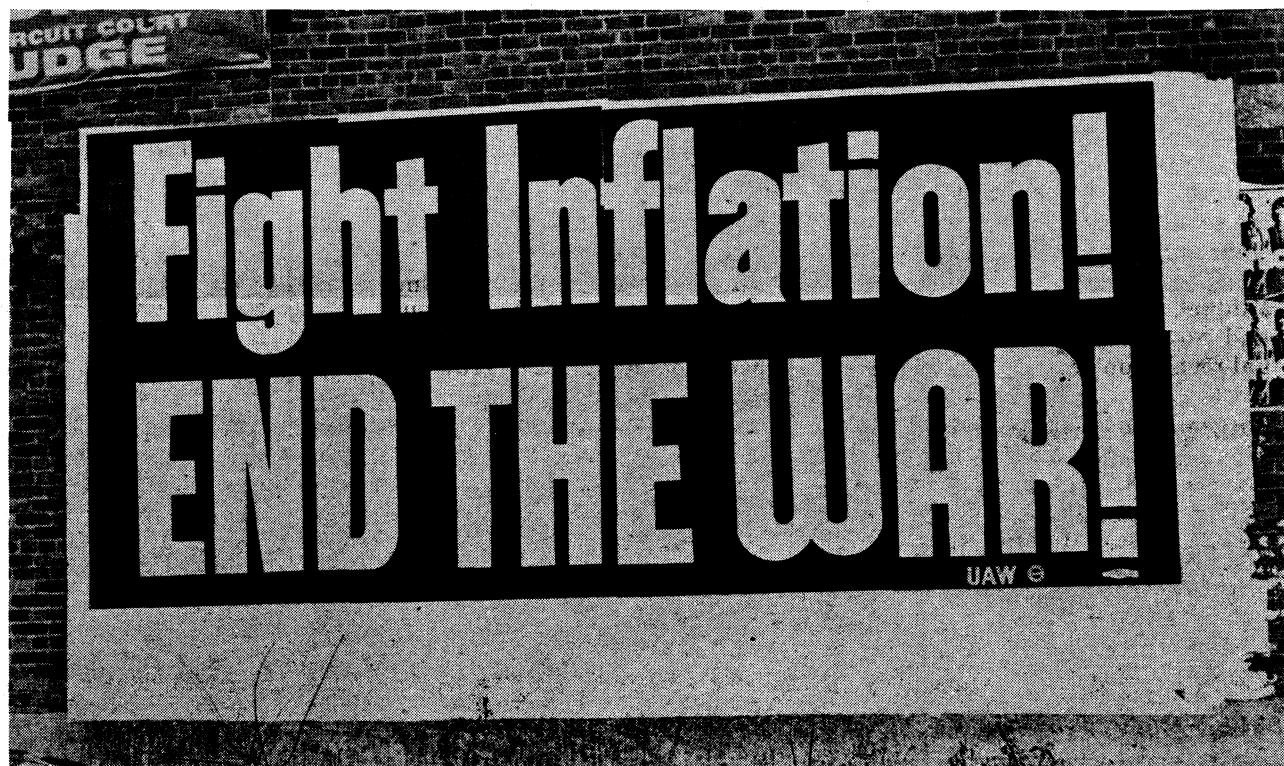


Photo by John Hawkins

### UAW poster on billboard in Detroit last fall

employment at 9.3 percent.

The most significant new facts are the overall increase in the number of unemployed and the constantly increasing length of time the average unemployed worker has been off the job. This is what every worker knows. More of his or her friends and relatives are out of work. Few are being rehired. Unemployment benefits are coming to an end for many.

Nothing in the overall economic picture—contrary to optimistic predictions—indicates an early reversal of the present downward trend. In 1970, the real gross national product—the total value of the country's output of goods and services—slipped \$2.8-billion. In the last three months of 1970, the real output fell at an annual rate of 3.3 percent. Consumer spending, business investment, and housing starts were all down.

Paul W. McCracken, Nixon's economic advisor, told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on Jan. 5 that he expects a 9 percent annual growth of the economy. The only basis for such an extraordinary reversal of the production trend is a probable increase in war-related industries resulting from the present expansion of the war in Indochina and the prospect of wars in other parts of the world, not mentioned by McCracken in his forecast.

But only those workers with at least one year seniority are eligible, and SUB is of limited duration.

Similar but less effective unemployment benefit schemes have been negotiated by a few other unions, all predicated on the assumption that unemployment is temporary.

But some of the present and growing unemployment has a permanent, not temporary, look to many workers. Recently some local unions have begun to talk about ways to solve "the unemployment problem."

A UAW local near Philadelphia which three years ago represented 7,000 workers at Boeing Company's Vertol division now has more than 4,000 members out of work. This division of Boeing, which manufactures helicopters for the Army, previously employed 13,000 men and women and expects to have a work force of less than 3,000 this year.

John Taylor, president of Boeing UAW Local 1069, has attempted to persuade the Boeing Company to convert for peacetime production. According to an article in the Jan. 11 *Nation*, Taylor has had little success. He says: "My argument is that there are thousands and thousands of unused square feet of production space at the Vertol division that could be used to produce low-cost hous-

on the job and pass along some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery to the workers. It is safe to predict that this will become a standard demand of the union movement as it becomes generally recognized that unemployment is a permanent, built-in feature of capitalist economy.

The periods of "full" employment in this country are exceptional, occurring only when the youth contingent of the vast army of unemployed is put into uniform and shipped overseas to die in wars of benefit to big business.

The idea that some men and women should work long hours while millions of others are deprived of jobs is irrational. And some unions are powerful enough to force the employers to reduce the workweek, as has happened in sections of the building industry.

To guarantee full employment, the present wages and hours laws must be altered. All industry must be forced to reduce the hours of work proportionately to the rate of unemployment so that unemployment at all times remains at zero.

In cases where there are temporary dislocations and some few, including apprentices or youth who have never yet been employed, are locked out for any reason, they should be paid the full scale of wages during the period of unemployment.

# In Review

## Theater

**The Trial of the Catonsville Nine** by Daniel Berrigan, S.J. Directed by Gordon Davidson. At Good Shepherd-Faith Church, New York.

*The Trial of the Catonsville Nine*, narrated by Daniel Berrigan (Ed Flanders), is a dramatic account of nine people on trial for napalming draft board files in May 1968. It succeeds well in its attempt to transform the actual court transcript into an artistic and political statement.

The long one-act play cuts through time and space to let each character reveal how he or she came to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam by destroying the files. Each relates a bit of personal history before another character testifies. To do this, the play utilizes techniques of the film, cutting away from one testimony to another until a pattern emerges.

As the testimony unfolds, the audience—despite the fact that it already knows what the verdict will be—is filled with sympathy and admiration for these people. The characters are only a bit more idealistic than average. It is their fatal flaw.

Nancy Molone's portrayal of the nurse Mary Moylan stands out especially well, perhaps because of the kind of spirited determination that characterized Moylan. Because she sincerely wanted



Trial scene from *Catonsville Nine*

Photo by Van Williams

to help people, Moylan volunteered for medical work in Africa. Stationed in the mountains of Uganda, she saw U.S. planes, manned by Cuban exiles, accidentally strafe and destroy two villages. (Their targets had been equally innocent villages across the border, in the Congo.)

Like the narratives of the other defendants, Mary Moylan's story conveys her desire only to be of help, only to build something, only to give meaning to her life. Others discover the criminality of America while working on a cooperative with Guatemalan peasants, in the segregated South, or in a France torn over its adventures in Algeria and Vietnam. The influences that move these nine into action are international.

Throughout the trial, the judge, a liberal, meekly objects that the CIA, the government, and its military personnel are not on trial. But in fact they are. It is an Alice in Wonderland play in which "guilty" means "innocent" and the real crime of napalm goes unpunished while the symbolic act is branded criminal.

As a mechanical voice from out of the dark (God?) pronounces the guilty verdict upon each of the nine, they come forward one by one into the light to take responsibility for their act. It is a heavy moment, for the audience realizes that all but the one subsequently killed in an automobile accident now sit in jail.

In *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine*, the playwright deliberately breaks down any esthetic distance between the audience and the players, cutting through courtroom formality to show the vision of the hero-made-victim. The play concludes with a screen flipping down from the ceiling as the actors disappear. The actual film footage of the "crime" then unfolds before the audience.

The author of this play—himself a participant in the napalming—outlines the attempt of another generation to confront a government that smugly allows people to speak out against injustice as long as they do not act. One may personally disagree with the particular tactics which these nine chose to express their opposition to the war, but one is immensely impressed with their courage and determination. And, if they decided to seek individual solutions instead of mobilizing masses in opposition to the war, is it not true that their radicalization is the story of more than just nine individuals, and is in fact that of a whole generation of fighters?

—DIANNE FEELEY

## Pamphlets

**Appeal to the Second International Congress for Sexual Reform for the Benefit of an Oppressed Variety of Human Being** by Kurt Hiller. 8pp. 25 cents. **The Gay Manifesto** by Carl Wittman. 10 pp. 25 cents. **Gay Oppression: A Radical Analysis**. 8 pp. 25 cents. **Gay Liberation**. 14 pp. 25 cents. Published by The Red Butterfly. New York, 1970.

These four pamphlets, published by an association of revolutionary-minded gays in New York City, should be read by everyone. They are valuable for non-gays who want revolutionary change, for gays who are not convinced that their liberation requires social revolution, and for gays who know a revolution is needed.

Kurt Hiller's appeal to the 1928 congress has more than historical interest. It is an eloquent argument for an enlightened view of homosexuality and a polemic with French Communist Henri Barbusse, whose view that this "perversion" is a sign of "social decay" has unfortunately not lost its adherents among some who consider themselves scientists and revolutionaries more than 40 years later. As the translator's footnotes point out, the czarist anti-homosexual laws swept away by the Bolsheviks in 1917 were reinstituted by Stalin in 1934 and remain in force today in the Soviet Union.

The American Communist Party slavishly apes its bureaucratic big brothers on this as on all other issues. Eight members of the Gay Liberation Front were physically blocked by CPers, for instance, when they tried to join a picket line for the Angela Davis defense outside the federal courthouse in New York City Oct. 14, 1970.

Carl Wittman's *Gay Manifesto* is an important document in the history of the gay movement. Despite its weaknesses, some of which Red Butterfly takes up in the "friendly amendments" accompanying his article in this pamphlet (and others of which are not taken up—such as his over-simplified treatment of the objectification of sex), the manifesto offers a valuable analysis of gay oppression and the role played in that oppression by the institutions of capitalist society.

*Gay Liberation* is divided into five parts: 1) "The Nature of Gay Oppression," 2) "History of the Gay Liberation Movement," 3) "The Anthropological Perspective," 4) "An Approach to Liberation," and 5) "Gay Liberation and The Movement." *Gay Oppression* fleshes out the brief section on the nature of oppression in *Gay Liberation* and deals with the institutions which act as instruments for that oppression—the family, the schools, the churches, private business including the media and syndicate-controlled bars and baths, and the state.

*Gay Oppression* deals with the myth that being gay is somehow "unhealthy" or "against nature," quoting Kinsey's statistics (50 percent of American males and 28 percent of American females have been conscious of specifically erotic responses to others of their own sex) and referring to anthropological evidence which is gone into more thoroughly in *Gay Liberation*. It describes the agonizing self-censorship gays must develop to exist in a society which makes natural sexual feeling socially unacceptable.

The pamphlet also details the more direct and brutal forms of oppression, such as physical attacks and even murder.

Police harassment and medieval laws rooted in that body of dogma which asserts that Jehovah rained sulphur and brimstone on Sodom are also discussed. So are barriers in hiring and housing; the gouging of gays by gay-ghetto businesses which charge exorbitantly for low-quality goods and services, and the stereotyping and ridicule of gays by the mass media and entertainment industry.

*Gay Liberation* dates the birth of the growing gay liberation movement with the June 1969 "Stonewall Riots" when an attempt by the cops to raid a bar on Christopher Street provoked a spontaneous and massive resistance by gays who mobilized from throughout Greenwich Village.

Six pages of *Gay Liberation* are devoted to a condensed anthropological view of homosexual behavior. No one who is without at least the information contained here can pretend to speak intelligently about the subject. This is not to suggest that one should be satisfied with what the pamphlet provides but only to say that anyone who is uninformed could do well by beginning here, perhaps proceeding afterward to the titles listed in the notes. Homosexuality among the higher mammals and in other human societies is presented here in a way that argues convincingly for the conclusion that exclusive heterosexuality is as much a distortion of the human personality as exclusive homosexuality and that both result from the warped masculine/feminine concept which imposes rigid roles on men and women in society as we know it.

The final section of the pamphlet points out that the struggle of gays against their oppression overlaps and is allied to the struggles of all other oppressed sections of the population. This conclusion flows naturally from the largely sound analysis in the "Approach to Liberation" section which says in part: "The system of roles we call American society is presently organized around the needs and requirements of the prevailing economic system, capitalism. . . . Sexuality is too constricted. It is bent into an aspect of life apart from the active and creative functions of society . . . structured into the narrow channel of the nuclear family. Competition and exclusive possession, traits of the marketplace, are extended to erotic relations among persons. The oppression of homosexuals in America flows from this restriction and containment of human sexual potential within certain narrow roles. Labels, such as homo-, hetero-, and bi-sexual, indicate the rigidity of the forms of relating under which we live. Like women, both male and female homosexuals suffer from sex-typing . . . with practical harassment and exploitation as a result. . . ."

"Gay liberation cannot mean mere 'toleration' for homosexuals. It must result in the transformation of existing social relations, the breakdown of straight definitions of relationships such as male supremacy, the subjugation of women, sexual exclusivity. . . ."

These pamphlets may be ordered from The Red Butterfly, Box 3445 Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017.

—LEE SMITH



# Nixon plan puts squeeze on aged

By MARVEL SCHOLL

On Feb. 2, President Nixon announced he was sending a message to Congress asking for a 6 percent increase in social security pensions, with an escalator clause to further increase pensions (without congressional action) as the cost of living goes up.

Wilbur Mills, powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, also announced he was supporting a 10 percent increase, without automatic increases.

At first glance, Nixon's plan appears the most generous—but it involves a further proposition. Giving with one hand, he proposes to take away with the other. Nixon wants the Medicare amendment to the Social Security Act slashed to the very bone. He wants:

- A reduction in the 60-day period of hospitalization during which the enrollee "pays relatively little." (Is \$52 "relatively little" to a person who lives on a \$118 monthly pension?);
- An increase in the present \$60 annual patient-payment to the doctor;
- No more payment by Medicare for custodial care in skilled nursing homes;
- A limit on doctors' fees for Medicare patients.

Under the present Medicare Act, which became effective in 1966, social security and railroad pensioners over 65 and all other people over 72 are entitled to 60 days in the hospital for each illness—for which they must pay the first \$52; up to 100 home visits by nurses and/or physical therapists annually; up to 100 days of extended care in skilled nursing homes with the social security office paying all covered services for the first 20 days, and all but \$6.50 daily for the next 80 days.

Under the doctors' insurance plan of the same Act, for which the enrollee pays \$5.30 monthly now and \$5.60 after next July 1, the plan is supposed to pay 80 percent of any "reasonable" doctor's fee, after the patient has paid the first \$60.00 annually. This section also provides for diagnostic tests, X-rays, surgical dressings, and splints; almost unlimited visits to out-patient clinics for diagnostic tests and treatments. Since April 1968, doctors' fees for X-ray and laboratory work have been paid without the prepayment (by the patient) of the annual \$60 deductible.

Medicare has never covered the three most expensive and most needed

health services elderly people require—eye glasses, dental bills or dentures, and medicine.

As far as the doctors' fee payment is concerned, that too has been a very unfunny joke. In preparation for Medicare, the medical profession heeded the advice of the American Medical Association and jumped their fees as much as 300 percent.

The average pension today is \$118 for a single person, \$180 for a married couple. There are 26.2 million persons on social security alone—*half of whom have no other income whatsoever.*

Inflation has already robbed these elderly poor to a point far below the government-defined poverty levels.

And now the president wants to reduce their living standards even lower.

Recently the *New York Times* carried a feature article about a "ghetto which nobody wants to leave." South Beach, an enclave of elderly poor, lies three miles south of opulent Miami Beach, but it is a million light-years away financially.

Crowded into a 40-square-block area of apartments, duplexes, and small hotels, most of the 9,000 residents of this voluntary ghetto share

only one thing with their rich neighbors—a strip of public beach where they can soak up the sun, visit with their neighbors, read their language newspapers, or play chess or checkers. The companionship they find thus helps to make more bearable the financial nightmare in which they live.

Recently a 69-year-old widow of a garment worker was arrested in one of South Beach's supermarkets for shoplifting. Her crime? She had stolen a 25-cent can of soup. Shoplifting occasionally, she said, was one of the ways she made her \$114 monthly pension check go around.

Another resident who was interviewed said, "Every time you go to the store the prices are still higher. But your income doesn't get any bigger . . . then the president comes on television and says everything is all right. The next day you go to the store and the prices are higher still."

How much longer is the American working class (a big majority of the population) going to accept this inhuman treatment accorded its elderly? How long before they angrily insist that a decent standard of living for the elderly is a social, not a personal, responsibility?

## The National Picket Line

The United Steelworkers of America has reached its first agreement in the current negotiations with the can industry. The new contract with National Can was ratified by the 4,000 workers involved just moments before a strike against the three major can companies—American, Crown Cork, and Continental—began at midnight Feb. 15.

The new contract with National reflects the fact that I.W. Abel, president of the USA, feels very acutely the fires built under him by a dissatisfied rank and file during his last reelection campaign.

National Can workers have won a \$1-an-hour increase over three years—50 cents the first year, 12.5 cents in each of the two following years. In addition, in 1972-3, the workers will receive 12.5 cents cost-of-living bonuses in each year. This brings the total raise to \$1 per hour after three years. On Feb. 15, 1972, a regular escalator clause will become effective, but the 4,000 workers will get at least 12.5 cents whatever the cost-of-living index shows.

Managements of the struck can corporations call the contract "a unilateral agreement . . . (which) substantially exceeds the industry offer as well as other industrial wage settlements."

I.W. Abel described the agreement as "an excellent settlement and responsive to the needs of the membership."

The United Steelworkers union faces contract negotiations with all sections of its industry this year—aluminum, copper and steel, as well as the remainder of the can manufacturers now on strike.

Labor analyst for the *Christian Science Monitor* Ed Townsend reports that the idea of a shorter workweek (40 hours over 4 days) is becoming more popular with some of the smaller corporations because they have found it increases productivity and cuts down on absenteeism.

As reported by Michael Smith in the Feb. 5 issue of *The Militant*, UAW negotiators and the Chrysler Corporation agreed to set up a joint committee to study the new shortened workweek.

According to Townsend, this was a horse trade. Chrysler agreed to a study of the question. The UAW dropped its demand for a dental care plan for the workers.

Absenteeism, especially on Fridays and Mondays, has been a problem for both the auto and steel industries for some time (at Ford Motor Co. it is claimed to run as high as 12 percent on the two days).

But the big manufacturers are leery of attempting to solve their absentee problem by adopting a four-day, 40-hour week.

There is no indication that union men and women are ready to return to the 10-hour day without payment of overtime, and it is dubious that union officials would be able to sell such a scheme in the auto industry.

In addition, big corporations are afraid that the short week, even though it contains the standard 40 hours, will strengthen union demands for a 30 or 32 hour workweek with no reduction in take-home pay.

The union bureaucrats claim they support a shorter workweek (32 hours) in order to spread employment—not to provide more leisure. The rank and file support it for both reasons.

In 1938, the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party adopted a program of transitional demands, two of them being the sliding scale of wages (escalator clause) and the sliding scale of hours with no reduction in take-home pay.

Not until 1948 was the first escalator clause included in an auto contract; and even though based on the misleading Consumer Price Index, issued monthly by the Department of Labor, it did a great deal to keep auto workers earning somewhere near the actual cost of living. Then in the 1967 UAW

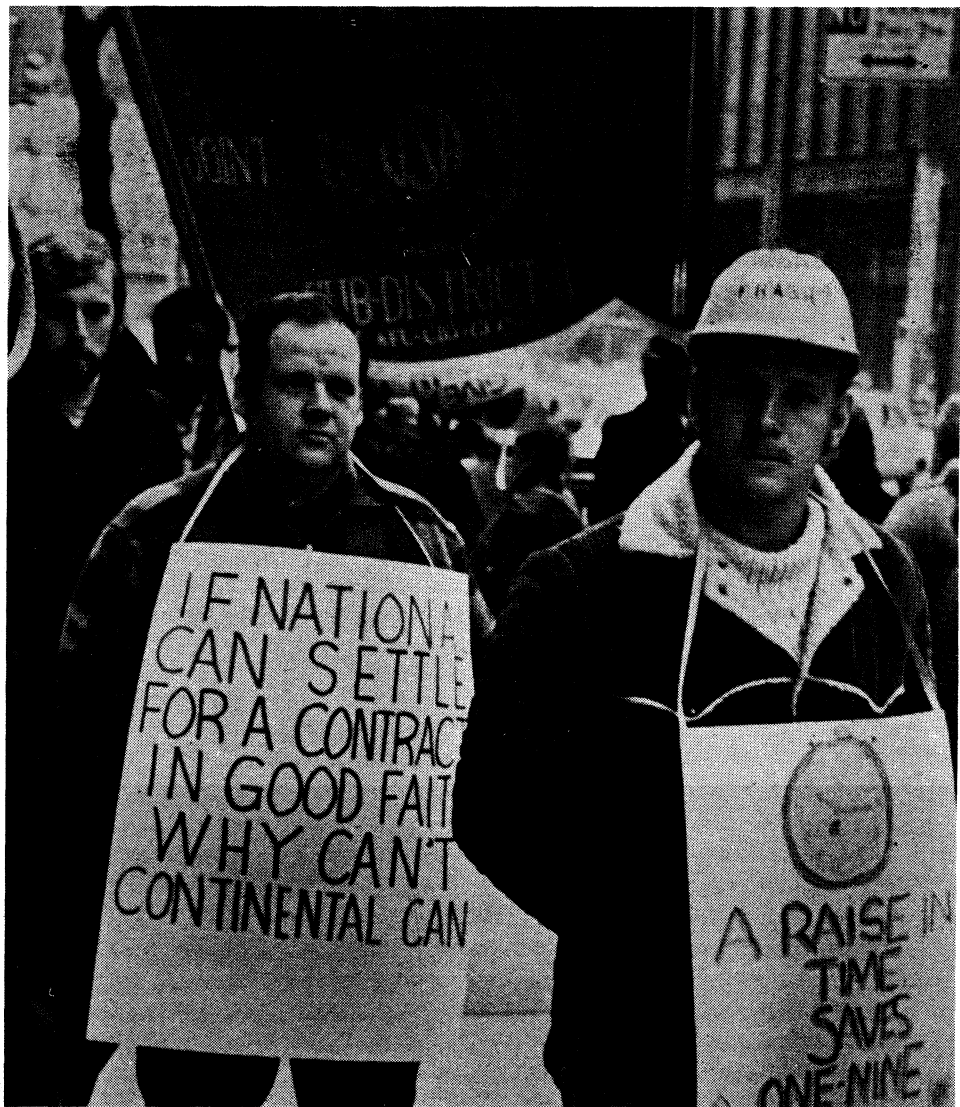


Photo by Steve Beck

Steelworkers Local 5640 picket line at N.Y. headquarters of Continental Can.

contract, negotiated by the late Walter Reuther, a limit of 8 cents per year was placed on the cost-of-living adjustment, paid annually, making it almost meaningless.

In the 1970 auto contracts, the unlimited cost-of-living clause was restored in its original form.

Now the sliding scale of hours with no reduction in take-home pay is beginning to become an issue—an issue with enough rank-and-file support to make the bureaucrats at least begin to project it as a serious demand.

No wonder the barons of industry are afraid of trying a shorter workweek, even with 40 hours, and even if they hope such a plan would mean more productivity and less absenteeism.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# Calendar

## AMHERST, MASS.

**Community Radio Workshop:** A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on **WFCR-FM, 88.5**. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on **WMAU-FM, 91.1** on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

## ATLANTA

**MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY: BETTER DEAD THAN WED?** A panel discussion commemorating International Women's Day. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (14th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp. Militant Bookstore Forum. For further information, call 876-2230.

## BERKELEY-OAKLAND

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: WOMEN AS A SOCIAL FORCE IN HISTORY.** Speakers: Leah Flynn, San Francisco NOW; Mary Lou Montauk, 1971 SWP candidate for Berkeley School Board. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. East Bay Socialist Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

## BOSTON

**VOICES OF DISSENT** (formerly Militant Labor Forum of the Air): Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1**. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on **WRBB-FM, 91.7**. Tues., March 2 and Sun., March 7: Campaign '71—A Socialist Alternative. Guests: Lisa Potash and Mark Friedman. Tues., March 9 and Sun., March 14: Conversation with Bernadette Devlin.

## LA CROSSE, WIS.

**RADICALIZATION AND REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Lee Artz, Young Socialist Alliance. Tuesdays, March 9 and 16. 4 p.m. at Newman Center, 1800 State St. Ausp. Campus Free University.

## NEW YORK

**CHILE—CAN YOU ELECT A REVOLUTION?** Speaker: Will Reissner, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., March 5, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), 8th Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## PHILADELPHIA

**COME RAP AND LISTEN.** Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 686 N. Broad St. (open to Third World people only). Thurs., March 4: *Black Americans and the Mideast*—a tape by Paul Boutelle. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at 236-6998.

## RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

**THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION.** Discussion leaders: Mark Cates, Woody Diaz, Irv Hall and Jeff Higgins. Tues., March 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.

## SEATTLE

**DILEMMA OF U.S. IMPERIALISM.** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 5257 University Way N.E. Ausp. Militant Forum. Donation: \$1, students and unemployed 50c.

## TWIN CITIES

**IN DEFENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Peter Buch, author of *Zionism and the Arab Revolution*. Fri., March 5, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For further information, call 332-7781.

# ... Boston

## Continued from page 9

was changed from the "Y" to nearby Northeastern University. The students at the meeting cited example after example of the repressive conditions at their schools and they decided to call for a Black student strike and a full investigation of the Boston high schools.

On Friday, Feb. 5, as the Black student strike continued, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Greater Boston High School Rights Committee (HSRC) met with the Black Student Federation and decided to plan a rally of white students to support the strike.

On Feb. 12, the strike spread to Cambridge High and Latin High School. Schools were closed for vacation the week of Feb. 15-19, but on Monday, Feb. 22, the city-wide strike was scheduled to continue.

Leon Lock, the head of the Black Student Federation, has been publicly denounced by Boston School Committeeman John J. Craven Jr. as the biggest "troublemaker" in the Black student strike and threatened with possible court action. Craven also attacked the demands of the Black students as both "irresponsible" and "impractical."

The Boston School Committee has threatened legal action against the BSF for aiding and abetting the striking students, and against Northeastern University for harboring truant minors.

The BSF has replied by calling for a continuation of the strike and support for Leon Lock. Both the SMC and the Greater Boston HSRC consider the School Committee threats as attempts to deny the Black students their just demands and to break their strike by intimidating the leadership.

# ... Laos

## Continued from page 3

ruled out that he ordered the Saigon troops into Laos knowing full well they would be cut to pieces but calculating that this might give him a publicly acceptable "justification" for sending in U. S. ground forces.

The critical character of the new developments has evoked a flurry of political activity in and out of the halls of Congress by "doves" and past, present or prospective "peace candidates."

John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) exclaimed on the House floor, Feb. 4, "I think something is going on in this country that is far more profound than most of our members are ready to recognize, much less acknowledge; and that is that the war in Vietnam is having a devastating psychological effect upon the American public. They are losing faith in this entire system of government. . . ."

Abner J. Mikva, an Illinois Democrat, declared, ". . . it is not only that victory in Vietnam is unavailable and inaccessible . . . it is that the entire democracy we cherish is in peril."

Robert Drinan, (D-Mass.), stated: "I am one of the first representatives of a movement for a new congress. People sent me here to stop this war. . . . My mail comes in day after day—'What are you doing, Mr. Congressman, to stop this war?'"

But what these politicians propose falls far short of what is needed. Not one of them has demanded in Congress, and backed legislation for, an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from all of Southeast Asia.

The most widely supported bill, called the "Vietnam Disengagement Act of 1971," cosponsored by 19 senators and over 50 representatives, calls for "withdrawal of . . . American armed forces by December 31, 1971."

The renewal of congressional opposition to Nixon's course in Indochina is in itself eloquent testimony to the depth of popular opposition to the war. These career-conscious politicians seek to derive political advan-

tage from associating themselves with this popular sentiment, and at the same time they hope to provide a safety valve to avoid a new explosion of antiwar activity of the kind that swept this country last May. They recognize that this time such an eruption will be even more profound and more costly to the social system they defend.

Almost universally, the capitalist politicians avoid serious commitment to the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces from Indochina, because they recognize that the demand constitutes a fundamental challenge to U.S. imperialist aims there. They want, at all costs, to avoid the kind of political showdown that is implicit in the fight for immediate withdrawal.

But in seeking to moderate the antiwar movement by associating themselves with it, these politicians run into a contradiction.

For example, the participation of prominent political figures in campus teach-ins will serve to bring together campus antiwar forces and will inevitably provide a forum for advancing the ideas that are needed for an effective fight against the war and against the warmakers.

The demand for immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Indochina will make itself heard at these gatherings. And so will the discussion of the need for building giant mass actions to win that demand.

As the war expands, there is no way to long contain the enormous hatred of the war that now permeates virtually every stratum of American society. It has welled up over and over again. Nixon's latest, and perhaps most dangerous, escalation virtually assures a new, unprecedented outcry.

The catalyst for that developing new wave of mass opposition is the spring antiwar offensive now underway. The situation demands and makes possible an unprecedented wave of organizing activities and myriad forms of protest actions all leading to a truly giant mass march on Washington and San Francisco April 24. This is the necessary response as Nixon's escalation carries the war toward China's boundaries and a possible nuclear showdown.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Greg Nickel, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 267-8264.

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

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

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

Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

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

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

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

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, P.O. Box 1304, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80901.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office,

Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucka, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, UMKC Student Center, Box 38, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mark Anthony, 114 Grand St., Albany, N.Y. 12202.

Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway, 8th floor (2 bl. S. of 8th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5940.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sandy Knoll, Box 250, Memorial Hall, U of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Tel: (513) 475-2721.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Tel: (216) 861-3862.

Columbus: YSA, 2519 Indianola, Apt. A, Columbus, Ohio 43202. Tel: (614) 267-7948.

Kent: YSA, Box 1, Musselman Hall, Kent State U, Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 672-4956.

Oxford: YSA, P.O. Box 321, Oxford, Ohio 45066. Tel: (513) 529-6501.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, c/o John Neal, 819 Owl St., Norman, Okla. 73069.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Ruth Getts, 2205 S.E. Ivon, Portland, Ore. 97202.

PENNSYLVANIA: Mansfield: YSA, c/o Ken Evans, Apt. 208-A, Corey Creek Apts., Mansfield, Pa. 16933.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Charles Kelly, Box 187, Melrose Hall, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Murfreesboro: YSA, c/o Paul O'Connor, 1802 Leaf Ave., Murfreesboro, Tenn. 37130.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Mike Leibman, Box 3703 Sta. B, Vanderbilt U, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP, YSA and Pathfinder Books, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004. (713) 741-2577.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., LaCrosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, 572A Boyd St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-6155.



# Women Power



## PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed

Fifth, and expanded, edition

"Her anthropological studies are especially acute and knowledgeable, not only picking up where Engels left off, but documenting a number of new Marxist concepts in the development of primitive society in a most convincing and erudite fashion." — *Guardian*, January 2, 1971

Evelyn Reed pinpoints the subjugation of women to the rise of private property and the development of the family. To those who have been taught to believe that the oppression of women and the institution of the family are "natural" to society, this radical theory is a weapon in the struggle for women's liberation. \$3.95, paper \$1.45

## THE MOD DONNA AND SCYKLON Z

by Myrna Lamb

"The first drama to be widely acclaimed as a women's liberation play was 'Mod Donna' produced last year in New York." — *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1971

This collection of feminist plays by Myrna Lamb is "consciousness raising" in its most dramatic form. Natalie Gittelsohn of *Harper's Bazaar* wrote of *The Mod Donna*, "It dared to pull back the rug, exposing in bittersweet, somewhat Brechtian style, the corruption and mutual exploitation that rots marriage." *Scyklon Z* is a cycle of six one-acts, including *But What Have You Done For Me Lately?* now performed as street theater by women's liberation groups throughout the country. \$5.95, paper \$2.25

Write for our free women's liberation catalog.

PATHFINDER PRESS, 873 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003

## Upset the balance...



## Join the YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE!

If you support the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement and the struggles for Black and Brown self-determination—if you support the Cuban and the Arab revolutions—if you support the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China—if you want a socialist America—then you belong in the YSA!

\_\_ I want to join the YSA.

\_\_ I would like more information.

\_\_ Enclosed is \$.75 for Introduction to the YSA.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and send to YSA, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Sta., N. Y., N. Y. 10003

## Classified

**INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS.** Weekly magazine recommended by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events on all continents from the revolutionary Marxist point of view. Special features include translations of hard-to-get documents of interest to the entire left, book reviews, notices of pamphlets, etc. Has been first to publish in English various rare articles by Leon Trotsky. \$15 for one year. Or try 26 issues for only \$7.50. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

**GAY FLAMES LITERATURE AVAILABLE.** YSA supports Gay Liberation! Right on! For political essays, personal testimony, poems, etc. on Gay Liberation, send for Gay Liberation literature packet. \$1.25. Gay Flames, Box 410 Old Chelsea Sta., New York, N.Y. 10011.

New York

### BERNADETTE DEVLIN

"The Irish Fight for Freedom and Socialism"

Sun., March 7, 7:30 p.m. Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St. Donation: \$1. Sponsors: International Socialists and NYU chapter of New University Conference.

**Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for Classified and display ads; Tuesday noon, three days preceding publication, for Calendar ads.**

## BLACK LIBERATION LITERATURE

### A Transitional Program for Black Liberation

Arising out of the experiences of the Black community, the nationalist movement needs to develop a program to take control over the specific institutions within the Black community. This pamphlet outlines a comprehensive program, and discusses the need for an independent, Black political party. 25c

### The Black Uprisings

by Paul Boutelle, Derrick Morrison, George Novack and Lawrence Stewart

H. Rap Brown called the 1967 uprisings in Detroit and Newark "dress rehearsals for revolution." This collection includes eyewitness reports, and an analysis of the uprisings from an international perspective. 25c

Pathfinder Press

873 Broadway, New York 10003

## Marxism is not an academic question.

### international Socialist review

In the February issue:

**CHICANO LIBERATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH** by Mirta Vidal. An examination of the history and revolutionary thrust of the Chicano movement and the role for youth in this struggle.

**LENIN AS ELECTION CAMPAIGN MANAGER** by Doug Jenness. The electoral policy of the Bolshevik Party is analyzed and related to the current role of revolutionaries in the electoral arena.

**LEON TROTSKY AND THE NEW RISE IN WORLD REVOLUTION** by Joseph Hansen. A review of perspectives for revolution in the 20th century, illustrating the power and relevance of Trotsky for the present generation of revolutionaries.

CLIP AND MAIL TO:

INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW  
14 CHARLES LANE  
NEW YORK, NY 10014

☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER  
☐ ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# THE MILITANT

## Partial victory for 'Montreal Five'

By ROBERT DUMONT

TORONTO—Seventeen persons accused of belonging to or aiding the outlawed Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) come up for trial in Montreal March 1. The charges, brought under the Trudeau government's Public Order Act, carry a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment.

Among the alleged FLQers are the "Montreal Five"—trade union leader Michel Chartrand, author Pierre Vallieres, teacher Charles Gagnon, lawyer Robert Lemieux and ex-Canadian Broadcasting Corporation producer Jacques Larue-Langlois.

On Feb. 12, the charges of seditious conspiracy against the Five were quashed on a ruling by Mr. Justice Roger Ouimet. The ruling came as something of a surprise. No sooner was the judge's decision announced than the prosecutor asked that the court adjourn—so that he might consult the acting attorney-general, Premier Robert Bourassa!

Was the prosecutor simply putting on an act to suggest that Bourassa wasn't already aware of the decision to quash the charges? Whatever the case, the Quebec government, and behind it the Trudeau government in Ottawa, have good reason to be alarmed at the way the political show trials in Montreal are going for them. The victory of the Montreal Five was a big blow to the authorities' attempts to frame these leading defendants.

The Five had argued their motion to quash the charges, on political grounds—the obvious phoniness of the alleged "apprehended insurrection" claimed by Trudeau when he invoked the War Measures Act—and on legal grounds—the vague and imprecise nature of the charges.

While Mr. Justice Ouimet based his ruling on the strictly legal aspect, there is no doubt that political factors

weighed heavily in his decision. How, after all, can the charges be made more "precise" when they lack substance altogether?

The fact is that the trials—even before they got seriously underway with the selection of juries, etc.—had backfired on the government. Facing increasing political embarrassment over their obvious inability to produce any evidence to back their charges, the authorities had been forced to back down.

Despite this setback to its witch-hunt campaign, the government is proceeding with its equally phony attempt to prove that a small number of people—those accused of FLQ membership—were responsible for the October crisis.

Some have already been tried on FLQ charges. Come Leblanc, a 22-year-old unemployed laborer, has been convicted of "promoting or advocating the aims of the FLQ," and was sentenced Feb. 15 to 10 months in jail. He is appealing his case. In a related case, Pierre Demers, charged with armed robbery to raise money for the FLQ between December 1969

and February 1970, was sentenced Feb. 10 to 12 years. His co-accused, Robert Hudon and Marc-Andre Gagne, are already serving 23 years and 25 years respectively on similar charges.

Meanwhile, Robert Lemieux, one of the Montreal Five and lawyer for many of the alleged FLQers, faces threats by the Quebec Bar Association, which controls the legal profession, to deprive him of his right to practice law. Lemieux is one of the very few lawyers who have been willing to defend persons accused of political crimes.

Lemieux and Michel Chartrand have been released on bail. Larue-Langlois had already received bail. Although they face the same charges, Vallieres and Gagnon were refused bail on Feb. 19.

"All these charges are a monumental farce," Michel Chartrand told an improvised news conference Feb. 16 as he was released in the provincial police headquarters. "The government needs scapegoats to justify the measures it took. In four months, not one of the accused has yet been found

guilty of having been a member of the FLQ. There are still about 10 of them in the cells upstairs, including three young guys from Manitoba!"

Chartrand denounced the court's refusal to grant bail to Vallieres and Gagnon. "They can't make the population believe that two guys alone can make a revolution. A regime which imprisons its artists and poets begins to resemble the Greece of the colonels."

Chartrand said that in his opinion the trade-union movement should respond by stepping up its political action.

In a related development, four socialist activists were acquitted Feb. 18 of having violated a city ordinance by distributing leaflets opposing the presence of Canadian occupying forces in Quebec during the 24-hour period preceding last fall's mayoral elections in Montreal. The defendants in this case were Manon Leger, mayoral candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in those elections, and three of her supporters.



Toronto demonstration Feb. 7 in support of Quebec political prisoners.

Labor Challenge photo

## Black profs, Devlin support Angela Davis

NEW YORK—Support for Angela Davis' defense continues to mount. On Feb. 21, Bernadette Devlin, Irish socialist and member of the British Parliament from Northern Ireland, expressed support for Davis by visiting her in the Marin County jail. Devlin is on a speaking tour of the U.S.

Previous to this, 12 African-American law professors from 11 colleges organized a panel to "provide advice and counsel" to the defense of Angela Davis. Formation of the panel was announced in January by the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The professors include: Paul E. Miller, dean of the Howard University Law School; Charles Jones, Rutgers University; John Baker, Yale University; Derrick Bell, Harvard; Leroy Clark, New York University; Charles Donegan, State University at Buffalo; William Gould, Wayne State University, Detroit; Clarence Laing, Boston University; Henry W. McGee Jr., UCLA; Charles Quick, University of Illinois; Herbert Reid, Rutgers; and Kenneth Tollett, University of Colorado.

In a Feb. 14 article in the Washington, D.C., *Sunday Star*, Dean Miller of Howard U related why the panel was formed. The following are excerpts from that article:

"A great number of persons and some organizations, including the news media, have asked why 12 Black law professors from 11 different law schools have joined together to provide advice and counsel to Angela Davis through her attorney. Some of those who inquired have expressed amazement and open displeasure at the idea of prominent Black legal scholars banding together to aid an avowed Communist.

"Others have discerned in this joint effort a sinister plot to foster the forces of revolution and subversion against the established order. Still others have unhappily suggested that a kind of taint or guilt by association is sure to follow as retribution for this unwise decision to act in such a political trial. All have unwittingly revealed that they either know little or care little about the legal imperatives of the Bill of Rights to our Constitution.

"Implicit in the statements of these critics is an unfavorable judgment of Miss Davis' political views and a suggestion that only those who share her beliefs in a certain ideology would come to her defense. It is startling in this era to find people who still seriously believe that a lawyer defending a person's right to a fair trial is automatically defending that person's ideology or opinions.

"It is plain that when the political powers-that-be decide that someone or some group of people is engaged in activities inconsistent with what those powers admit as proper conduct, the offenders must be punished or forced to abandon that impermissible conduct.

"If it takes suspension or repression of constitutional rights and guarantees to achieve this punishment, then it is done with the rationalization that it is necessary to protect the interest of the 'whole society' or the 'silent majority' or whatever, against the interests of individual offenders.

"To set the record straight, we have not joined together to champion ideology. This has not been a consideration at all. I neither know nor care what political views other members of our panel hold. To me, and I hope to each of the individual panel members, what Miss Davis espouses, what political 'bag' she is in, and what and who her associates are, are irrelevant. What is relevant and important is our deep belief in the soundness and sanctity of the principle that any American citizen, irrespective of color, political belief, race, class or economic station, is entitled to all the privileges, rights and immunities incident to that citizenship. We are deter-

mined to live by that principle and in the practice of law to honor it. . . ."

By JAMES LITTLE  
and BARBARA PETERSON

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 24—A meeting called in defense of Angela Davis was locked out of Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Hall at Cal State L.A. on Feb. 19. Students coming to attend were met by campus police and told that President John A. Greenlee had personally instructed them not to unlock the doors for this meeting.

Students meeting in Washington, D.C., at the national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) unanimously agreed to send a telegram to Greenlee protesting his action. Letters of protest should be sent to President John A. Greenlee at Cal State L.A., State College Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032.

Students at Cal State are organizing to turn back this attack on their rights. A broad coalition of student organizations has called for another meeting for the defense of Angela Davis. Participants in the coalition include: Black Action Coalition, Movimiento Estudiantil de Chicanos de Aztlan, Young Socialist Alliance, Asian-American Student Alliance, Radical Zionist Union, and SMC.