

THE MILITANT

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

Laos invasion routed

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Saigon troops flee heavy artillery attack March 20 at Fire Base Ham Nghi near Laos border

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CANADIAN SOCIALIST CHALLENGES EMPLOYERS' USE OF ILLEGAL POLICE FILES IN MONTREAL: After being asked to resign from her job because she was held without charge for six days under the War Measures Act last fall, Penny Simpson applied for a secretarial position at \$30 less a week. She was asked, "Are you not a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (Socialist Workers League)?" and was told information about her membership came from a police dossier. Publicly demanding at a news conference an explanation of why such files are kept and why employers have access to them, Simpson raised the question of how widespread the practice is. She is also seeking a written apology from the government stating her jailing was unjust and \$5,000 compensation.

HATCH ACT CHALLENGED BY GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN LEGAL SUIT: A suit against the secretary of health, education and welfare was filed March 18 in Washington on behalf of 13 plaintiffs, including the National Association of Letter Carriers and other federal employees, charging that the Hatch Act violates the First and Fifth Amendments. The Hatch Act prohibits partisan political activity by government employees, including the signing of nominating petitions and running for office. **SUIT HITS CENSORSHIP BY NEW YORK SCHOOLS:** The New York Civil Liberties Union filed suit March 18 on behalf of five public school students who had been "harassed, discouraged and intimidated" in their efforts to distribute an NYCLU handbook informing students of their legal rights.

COURT VICTORY FOR STUDENT GAY GROUP: The March 17-30 *Advocate* reported that a California superior court ruled Feb. 9 in favor of the Society for Homosexual Freedom (SHF), which had been denied recognition as a campus group at Sacramento State College. The suit was brought on behalf of the SHF by the Associated Students, representing the college's 10,000 undergraduates. **OAKLAND BISHOP DOWN ON GAYS:** The Roman Catholic bishop in Oakland, Calif., has proscribed homosexuals from the mass and "banned all discussions of homosexuality by Catholics" in his fiefdom, according to an article by Don Jackson in the San Francisco underground paper *Good Times*. Writing in the March 12 issue, Jackson suggests that the directive was aimed at the Newman Center at U of C in Berkeley, which has been discussing gay liberation.

WOMAN UMPIRE SUES ORGANIZED BASEBALL: Contending she has been denied employment as an umpire, the job for which she is trained, because she is a woman, Bernice Gera filed a \$25-million suit March 15 against the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues and other organizations and individuals connected with baseball. **CHINESE DON'T WELCOME U.S. TOURISTS YET:** A story from Hong Kong in the March 17 *New York Times* said the State Department's lifting of travel restrictions would not produce any change on the part of the People's Republic until Washington decides "to recognize Taiwan as a province of China and pull out of Indochina." **NEW YORK SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS PATERNAL TYRANNY:** A father may dictate the style of his daughter's life until she is 21, and bears no financial responsibility for her if she refuses to follow his demands. This is, in effect, what the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court said March 16 in overturning a lower court ruling that a father had no right to cut off financial aid to his daughter because he considered her a "hippie." **HAVEN'T THEY DONE ENOUGH ALREADY?** The stench of rotten fish washed up along the beach or the mucky water of Lake Michigan itself has not dissuaded the profit-greedy Great Lakes Carriers Association from challenging in court a new Michigan law requiring special antipollution devices on ships. The commercial carriers group filed suit contesting the law March 16.

THIRD WORLD STUDENTS AT ST. PAUL, MINN., COLLEGE WIN CONTROL OF MINORITY PROGRAM FUNDS: After sitting in at the college president's office for seven hours March 17, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American students at Macalester College won control of funds allocated to counseling services for minority students. Each group now has the right to spend as it sees fit the following amounts: Black students—\$43,000; Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans—\$25,000 each.

MORE UNFOUNDED SMEAR CHARGES FROM CONGRESSIONAL WITCH-HUNTERS: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, unaffected by the international furor created by J. Edgar Hoover's loose-mouthed accu-

sations against the Berrigans last fall in Congress, heard testimony March 16 from a Detroit cop who claimed "confidential sources" told him John Sinclair and the White Panthers had contemplated kidnapping Spiro Agnew. It remains to be seen whether this smear charge is, like Hoover's, a prelude to "conspiracy" indictments against more political victims.

TENANTS IN RENT STRIKE TAKE OVER BUILDING, MAKE REPAIRS, RENT EMPTY UNITS: The retrogressive role of landlords received dramatic highlighting in a successful rent strike by the occupants of 317 Second Avenue in New York City. Last July, reports the *February Tenant*, a new landlord who had just bought the building issued 30-day notices to all of the tenants. They organized to stay. The landlord had the superintendent turn the water off twice, but the tenants turned it back on and kept the building heated all winter with the help of local firemen who taught them boiler maintenance. Money needed for repairs was doled out from the rent money held in escrow by the East Side Tenant's Council, and after fixing up the vacant units in the building, the strikers rented them out to new tenants. The strike was settled early this year with new leases, recognition of the new tenants, a new boiler and a new superintendent. But for six months, the tenants had run things by themselves, proving that the only function of that guy with the piece of paper called a deed is to take away money.

CALIFORNIA PLUMBER SUES MA BELL FOR 30-YEAR REFUND: New Yorkers especially, and others too, will recognize the complaint of John Bobick, a Woodside, Calif., plumber who says he has been unable in recent weeks to place outgoing calls from his home or office. Charging that this is only the latest outrage in 30 years of rotten service, Bobick has filed suit for a refund of the \$22,985 he has paid to Pacific Telephone during that time.

FIRST EMPLOYMENT OF NO-KNOCK WARRANT: Using for the first time the "no-knock" search warrant provided for in the 1970 D.C. crime act, Washington metropolitan police broke down a door with a steel battering ram and arrested 13 persons accused of gambling offenses March 15. **10,000 AT "LABOR'S SALUTE TO MAYOR DALEY":** More than 10,000 plumbers, steamfitters and janitors attended a banquet for Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley, paying \$15 a seat.

ANTIWAR EX-GI IS POLITICAL PRISONER IN MEXICO: According to an Associated Press dispatch in the March 20 *New York Post*, Bernard Ames, a former Marine now serving a 16-year sentence in a Mexican prison, has been classified a political prisoner by Amnesty International. Ames went AWOL because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam. He was arrested by Mexican police after turning himself in at the U.S. embassy one day before his AWOL would have become desertion. He was charged with sedition and related charges arising from his alleged role in the 1968 student demonstrations which were brutally repressed by the Diaz Ordaz regime. Ames charges that collusion between the U.S. embassy officials and Mexican authorities led to his arrest. The article quotes an embassy spokesman who says Ames "considers himself a martyr and a revolutionist."

GALLUP POLL SHOWS 12 PERCENT WOULD LIKE TO GET OUT OF U.S.: One in eight persons in a sampling of 1,500 from 300 locations said they would like to leave the U.S. and settle in another country, according to a Gallup poll taken in February and reported this month. Gallup concludes from this that 16 million Americans would leave the country if they had the means to do so. The percentage is twice as high as that obtained in a similar survey in 1959. Among persons with college training, between the ages of 18 and 29, nearly one-third said they would prefer to live elsewhere.

ARTIFICIAL REDNESS OF MEAT MAY CAUSE CANCER: Dr. William Lijinsky of the University of Nebraska Medical Center told a congressional hearing March 16 that nitrite, a chemical used by food marketers to give meat products an "appetizing" red color, may contribute to cancer. Lijinsky recommended a 90 to 95 percent reduction of the amount of nitrite in meat permitted by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). As usual, the FDA, which recently demonstrated its resourcefulness by suggesting that dangerously high mercury content in tuna and swordfish may be "natural," pooh-poohed Lijinsky's warning.

— LEE SMITH

Laos invasion is routed

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 23—The latest news reports coming from Vietnam indicate that the U.S.-backed invasion of Laos is in full rout as Saigon troops madly try to scramble back to South Vietnam for safety. Meanwhile, the U.S. forces are beginning to pull out of Khesanh, their principal support base for the Laos invasion. This base and all other U.S. positions in the northwest corner of South Vietnam have been under severe attack from North Vietnamese and Laotian artillery for over a week.

The rout of the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos is a setback of major proportions to the Nixon administration.

It shows that the "best" troops of the Saigon military regime cannot withstand an assault of the revolutionary armies, even when the puppet regime's troops are backed by intensive U.S. air and artillery support.

The military disaster was all the more underlined by the refusal of a 53-man GI unit to go and guard a downed helicopter in an area of heavy fighting near Khesanh. The refusal came following meetings held by the men to discuss the situation. One of the GIs, according to the March 23 *New York Times*, "said he refused to go back because 'the reason given wasn't a very good one. It was after a piece of machinery that could have been replaced. I didn't see any sense in risking any more lives.'"

The moment of battlefield truth catches the Nixon administration in a web of lies that can only serve to widen the credibility gap and add new momentum to the antiwar forces that are mobilizing for mass demonstrations against the war in Washington and San Francisco April 24.

The administration's desperate at-

tempt to lie its way out of the Laos debacle was epitomized by the assertion of Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim on Monday, March 22, that "The South Vietnamese have won the overall battle."

Friedheim's remark was reported by CBS-TV news late Monday night. Yet the same news program stated that "Every report from the field tonight continues to indicate that South Vietnamese troops are fleeing from Laos to whatever shelter they can find in South Vietnam across the border."

NBC-TV news described a typical reception of the fleeing Saigon army troops, Sunday night, March 21: "These men are from the second regiment of the first division, one of South Vietnam's best troops. . . . But now they're tired and beaten men. There's a lot of hand shaking here. . . . But it is not for a job well done. It's sim-

ply a way of saying hello to a man who survived."

U.S. troops near the Laos border that were attempting to cover the South Vietnamese Army's retreat also came under heavy fire. A CBS-TV correspondent on March 22 talked to an American artillery sergeant:

"It started about four days ago, I mean really bad. . . . They've had us pinned down. We haven't been able to move at all. . . . We're running down on supplies. . . . There are some guys ready to crack up; it's been going on for quite a while; it's really getting rough—it's gotten rough."

Meanwhile reports kept coming in of the agonized efforts of the South Vietnamese troops to get on board or cling to the U.S. helicopters taking them to safety.

The *New York Times* stated on
Continued on page 22

Victory won against Mandel travel ban

By GEORGE NOVACK

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

On March 11 a three-judge federal court in Brooklyn, New York, by a two-to-one decision, upheld the right of Ernest Mandel, internationally known Belgian Marxist, to obtain a visa to lecture at colleges and conferences in the United States. The judges declared that the United States government could not ban an alien visitor even though the visitor advocated "the doctrines of world Communism" and revolution.

Their decision rendered unconstitutional sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, one of the key pieces of ultrareactionary legislation passed at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt in 1952. The court granted a preliminary injunction against U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell and Secretary of State William Rogers who had excluded Mandel from speaking in the United States in the fall of 1969.

The judges' ruling backed a joint suit filed in June 1970 by Mandel and eight distinguished scholars from six leading Eastern universities. The plaintiffs were Professor Norman Birnbaum, department of anthropology-sociology at Amherst; Professor Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Richard A. Falk,

professor of international law, Princeton; Professor Robert Heilbroner, New School for Social Research; Professor Wassily Leontiev, Harvard, who is chairman of the American Economics Association; Professor David Mermelstein, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Professor Louis Menashe, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; and Professor Robert Wolff, department of philosophy, Columbia University.

These academic figures contended that the rejection of Mandel's visa application for an American speaking tour in October-November 1969 restricted the right of Americans to hear the opinions of other scholars in their fields.

Corliss Lamont, chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the committee, which had initiated the case, hailed the decision as a significant civil liberties victory extending the First Amendment of the Constitution to cover the right to hear and to know alongside the right to freedom of expression.

In its thirty-page opinion, the court majority supported the right to "free and open academic exchange." It proclaimed invalid sections of the immigration law as "imposing a prior restraint on constitutionally protected communication."

The following editorial appeared in the *New York Times*, March 22:

The federal court ruling that Dr. Ernest E. Mandel, a noted Belgian Marxist scholar, could not be barred from delivering lectures or attending conferences in the United States upsets a repressive edict by Attorney General John N. Mitchell. In denying an entry visa to Dr. Mandel, the Justice Department embarrassed the United States rather than the applicant—a fact evidently understood by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who had urged Mr. Mitchell to admit the scholar.

The case involved far more than the right of an individual who holds ideas abhorrent to Mr. Mitchell and probably to the majority of Americans. Fortress America was an image, long since abandoned, built on the mistaken ideology of military isolationism. Equally unacceptable in a free society is an intellectual fortress soundproofed against unpopular and even dangerous ideas, domestic or foreign.

The 2-1 ruling may, of course, be appealed to the Supreme Court. But for the moment the extraordinary significance of the opinion, written by District Court Judge John F. Dooling, lies in the fact that it holds unconstitutional important sections of the McCarran Act of 1952, that shameful legislation sired by cold war hysteria and passed over President Truman's veto.

The majority opinion, rejecting the counsel of fear, held that freedom of speech is abridged whenever unwarranted restrictions are placed on "open and wide-ranging debate." Freedom to hear thus is recognized as a vital ingredient of free assembly and free speech itself. This reaffirmation of a nation unafraid of free traffic in ideas, even beyond national boundaries, ought to set the scene for the too-long delayed elimination of the McCarran Act in its entirety.

The government had contended that Mandel had written and published material advocating and teaching "the doctrine of world Communism." It maintained that the attorney general was not required "to have factual support to justify his discretionary decision not to grant temporary admission since the power to exclude is absolute and waiver of exclusion purely a matter of grace."

The court majority gave credence to what it called the validity of the country's concern with "the threat of international Communism" and supposed public apprehension about doctrines teaching "that the entire frame of government, including its basic constitution, must be uprooted by the forc-

ognizing "the sovereign power to exclude in the interest of self-preservation," had subordinated this to the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of expression. He stated that "in the hierarchy of priorities the imperative of national security in dealing with aliens" must come first.

"The loss of thousands of lives and the expenditure of billions of dollars attest to the fact that the Federal Government has reached the judgment that the continued worldwide growth of the Communist movement as practiced in its tyrannical form is inimical to the best interests of this nation."

When Mandel was refused entry in 1969, this reversion to McCarthyism stirred vigorous protest, especially in



Ernest Mandel at New York University in 1968.

ible seizure of the total power to govern." It nonetheless ruled that the First Amendment protected the right of debate.

They stressed the distinction between advocacy and acts. The Supreme Court has held that there is "a dichotomy between the protected freedom to preach the doctrines thus legislatively pronounced to be abhorrent to the nation's free institutions and the punishable illegality of taking significant action to initiate subversion and revolution."

The Brooklyn court majority stressed that the First Amendment guaranteed "to the people as sovereign" their right to "an open and wide-ranging debate, publication and assembly, to review the government they have created, the adequacy of its functioning and the presence or absence of a need to alter or displace it."

The dissenting judge, Bartels, contended that his colleagues, while rec-

academic circles. Two Nobel laureates, Salvador Luria and George Wald; the presidents of Stanford, Princeton, and Vassar; and faculty members of more than fifty universities condemned the ban. This public outcry provoked an open split at the top of the Nixon administration. While the State Department recommended lifting the ban, the attorney general refused to budge. A November 27, 1969, *New York Times* editorial called Mitchell's stand "an incredible example of autocratic insensitivity."

The government will most likely appeal the decision knocking out the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act to the U.S. Supreme Court. If a majority there sustains the lower court ruling that the sections are unconstitutional, this would have broad implications in view of the subsequent exclusions of Gisela Mandel, the Pakistani socialist Tariq Ali, and others under the act.

New support in Houston bomb attack

By DAVE BLISS

HOUSTON, March 22—Amidst rising protest against the March 12 bombing of the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters, an open public meeting was held here on March 19 to organize a united community response. The meeting was advertised throughout the city with the assistance of the *Houston Post*, which carried an editorial condemning the bombing and urging all to attend. "If all of us would attend who have a stake in this response, the meeting would not be held in a room but in Rice Stadium," the *Post* editor remarked.

The meeting was attended by representatives from virtually every group in the city concerned about the bombings by right-wing terrorists, which have increased in recent months. The panel presentation was chaired by Allen Saltstein, a professor at the University of Houston. Other panelists included a woman from the National Organization for Women and representatives of the Welfare Rights Organization, *Voice of Hope* newspaper, Pacifica Radio, the underground newspaper *Space City*, the Socialist Workers Party, the Houston Peace Action Coalition, and the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The meeting, attended by over 75 people, came to an agreement over three basic demands: 1) the immediate removal of Police Chief Herman Short; 2) the opening of the files and records of the Houston Police Department and the arson files of the Houston Fire Department—full public scrutiny to allow citizens to see what has been done towards the solution of these crimes; 3) the holding of an open public hearing on the recent bombings.

Police Chief Short in answer to recent requests for an investigation has said, "I don't care what this party



Debris-strewn SWP headquarters following bombing March 12.

Photo by Ed Weaver

[the SWP] thinks. We are not going to tell them what we are doing. They can read about it after we do it in the newspaper."

So far, the only action taken has been secret questioning of two SWP candidates for the coming municipal elections by the arson squad. Chief Short has said that the police have no direct jurisdiction in bombing cases. A letter to the Houston City Council signed by the Socialist Workers Party candidates (Debbie Leonard for mayor and Mareen Jasin, Paul McKnight, and Jeannette Tracy for

City Council) received the endorsement of the entire meeting. The letter enumerated 16 attacks of a political nature against liberal and left organizations in the past year. None of these crimes have been solved, no one has been arrested, nor have the police given any indication that investigations are being made into any of them. The SWP candidates called for support for an open hearing, opening the files, and removal of Police Chief Short as the only way of making people in Houston safe from unchecked right-wing attacks.

The community-wide meeting voted to form a Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, whose purpose is to put pressure on public officials to take action against right-wing terrorism. The committee will try to focus national attention on the problem as a means of forcing the police to take action. It plans to write letters to the convention committees of the Democratic and Republican parties and other groups considering a location for their conventions, informing them of the history of unsolved political terrorism in Houston.

Czech 'Trotskyists' are sentenced

On March 19, 16 young people were convicted on charges of "subversion" against the Czechoslovakian government after a 19-day long trial in Prague. They were given sentences ranging from one to four years.

The specific charges against the young people included organizing a group called the Revolutionary Socialist Party in 1968 and 1969, organizing demonstrations, printing illegal leaflets, and holding Trotskyist views.

The harshest sentence—four years in prison—was received by Petr Uhl, a 29-year-old teacher at the Central Industrial School. According to the March 20 *New York Times*, he ad-

mitted writing the manifesto of the Revolutionary Socialist Party in 1969. The *Times* also reported that Uhl told the court his activities and views were in no way aimed against socialist society or the working class, but rather against the bureaucracy and the state apparatus.

Sybilla Plogstedt, an East German, and Jaroslav Basta each received sentences of two and a half years and, for Plogstedt, expulsion from Czechoslovakia when she finishes serving her sentence.

Receiving sentences of two years were: Jan Frolík, Petruska Sustrova, Ivan Dejmal and Jaroslav Suk. Pavel

Lukacovic and Pavel Sremer were sentenced to 20 months, Radan Base for 18 months, Vavrinec Korcis and Karel Cambula for 15 months, and Tomas Sigmund and Jan Dostal for 14 months. Egon Cierny and Filip Serrano received suspended sentences.

Matylda Brozovska was acquitted. She contended that the only reason she was charged was because of the poor housing situation in Prague, which compelled her to continue living in the same apartment as Petr Uhl, her former husband.

Originally there were 19 defendants, but two of the cases were separated out to be tried in the future.

According to the March 21-22 French daily *Le Monde*, in their final statements almost all of the defendants stated that the only motivation behind all their activities was to serve the interests of socialism.

According to the *New York Times* report, "Among those who waited outside the courtroom for the verdicts were Rudolf Slansky, son of the former party leader who was hanged after a purge trial in 1952, Jan Sling, son of a former Communist leader who was hanged after the same purge trial, and Mrs. Marie Svermova, widow of Jan Svermova, Czechoslovak party and resistance hero."

Detroit student struggle continues

By MALIK MIAH

DETROIT, March 22—Over 400 students, parents, teachers, and community people attended a widely publicized meeting at the Stevenson Building on March 12 to discuss the deteriorating Detroit public school system and the recent budget cutbacks.

The meeting was announced over the news media as open to the public in order to deal with demands raised by different inner-city schools that are now or have been on strike. But it was instead a meeting of the city-wide Parent-Teachers Association.

The floor was opened to all who attended, but only representatives of the PTA were allowed the right to vote on any proposals. When students and parents attending protested this procedure, they were told they could have a special meeting after the of-

ficial PTA meeting adjourned.

The PTA program of action adopted called for: 1) a massive petition campaign in the schools calling for the rehiring of the 101 noncontract teachers laid off; 2) a march on the capitol in Lansing on March 31 to pressure the state legislature to provide more tax dollars for the schools in Detroit; and 3) a "School Crisis Day" called for March 23 on which the public school system would be shut down.

Students from Mumford, Mackenzie, Cass Tech, Southeastern, and many other schools spoke on the necessity of community control of the educational system. Many students disagreed with the PTA plan of action and felt that a city-wide student strike should be called immediately. They felt the only way the school board or state legislature will concede real con-

trol over the educational system is through direct strike action.

The PTA petition campaign has gone on for over a week now and it doesn't appear to have been well received by the teachers or the parents. The idea of the March 23 "School Crisis Day" is also not going over too well.

But the students have continued to sleep in, sit in, and hold other forms of protest for the control of their education and the rescinding of the budget cuts.

At Malcolm X High School (Northwestern) over 2,000 students held a rally on March 19 demanding quality education for the schools. The organizers of this rally are members of the Black Student United Front (BSUF) a group that has a number of members in the inner-city high schools. The BSUF has cosponsored

a call for a meeting of students and parents to discuss the perspective of a definite city-wide strike.

Actions have also been held at Coolley High, where over 600 students sat in. At Mackenzie High, students closed down the school for over a week and gained support from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and many prominent community leaders. At Cass Tech, the students sat in at the principal's office until some of their demands were met.

The school crisis in Detroit is far from over. It is apparent at this time that students are in the leadership of the struggle for quality education. But it is also true that the students understand that without the total cooperation of all of the students, without growing community and teacher support, the struggle cannot be victorious.

Sub drive 1,100 over goal!

By CAROLINE LUND
We did it! Supporters of *The Militant* have succeeded in attaining our goal of 7,500 new *Militant* subscribers in only six weeks—and in fact exceeding that goal, bringing in a grand total of 8,653 new *Militant* subscribers. We also went over our goal of selling 1,250 subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review*, with a total of 1,343.

This six-week drive was the second big push in the effort begun last fall to substantially increase the number of subscribers to *The Militant* and *ISR*, commensurate with the rapidly deepening radicalization going on in this country. Last fall, we reached a total of 16,044 new *Militant* subscribers in a nine-week period—the largest subscription campaign *The Militant* has achieved since the post-World War II strike wave. The most recent drive, coming so soon after the enormous success of the fall drive, is clearly a significant victory and a confirmation of *The Militant's* estimation that vast numbers of Americans are becoming radicalized.

The importance of this victory and the importance of the great effort on the part of *Militant* supporters that made it possible can perhaps be most clearly seen in the effect this drive will have on building the massive

April 24 marches in Washington and San Francisco against the war.

There are 8,653 new people receiving the most complete news provided by any paper on the war in Southeast Asia and developments in the antiwar movement. Many of these 8,653 will hopefully become inspired through *The Militant* to become active organizers and builders of the antiwar movement if they weren't already active.

Similarly, the importance of the subscription drive can be seen in its effect in helping to build the women's liberation movement and liberation movements of oppressed national minorities. Thousands of new readers were informed of activities commemorating International Women's Day March 8 and were encouraged to get involved in building them and in building the growing movement for the right of women to abortion.

The information provided by *The Militant* on the defense of Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, the New York Panther 21, and the New Haven Panther defendants was also spread to thousands more potential activists.

A continued push to expand the subscription base of *The Militant* is absolutely necessary to make possible enlarging and improving *The Militant* by adding more pages and better

quality coverage. As the weekly press run of *The Militant* goes up, this means a decrease in the cost of each copy as well as more support for the paper in terms of sellers and writers from across the country. These things make it possible to put out even a bigger *Militant* better able to play its unique role as an organizer for the struggles against this rotten system.

One thing that is clear from the past two *Militant* subscription drives is that finding new subscribers for *The Militant* and *ISR* is in no way contradictory to building the mass movements for social change today; in fact, the subscription drive has been an integral part of building all the mass movements.

The Militant is not a newspaper for "arm-chair radicals." *Militant* readers are activists. To obtain these 8,653 new subscriptions, *Militant* sellers did not stop their activities in the Black liberation, Chicano, women's liberation, antiwar, or antipollution movements.

In reaching out to thousands of people newly interested in revolutionary change, *Militant* subscription sellers used the opportunity to introduce these people to specific activities that are going on, such as the April 24 antiwar mobilization, women's liberation conferences, etc.

The well-earned satisfaction in achieving and surpassing the goal set for this subscription drive was expressed in a letter sent to the *Militant* business office by a member of the Tallahassee Young Socialist Alliance. He said: "For the Tallahassee YSA, this subscription drive has been nothing other than an overwhelming success. . . . Today we have sold a total of 126, which means that we have more than tripled our quota of 40." He explained that most of these subscriptions were sold in apartment buildings surrounding the Florida State University campus. "The drive not only helped introduce these people to radical ideas and news from a socialist perspective," the letter continues, "but also told them about the YSA and SWP—to clear away some of the thoughts they may have had that all campus radicals are naïve ultraleftists."

The victory in surpassing our goal of new *Militant* subscriptions was paralleled by the success of the *International Socialist Review* subscription drive. The projected goal—one-sixth of the *Militant* goal—was 1,250, and the total of new *ISR* subscriptions actually obtained was 1,343. This is an improvement over the results of the fall drive, which fell 269 short of the goal of 2,500.

Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA NEW SUBS	
Burlington, Vt.	15	51
Tallahassee, Fla.	40	126
La Crosse, Wis.	30	61
New Britain, Conn.	20	51
Santa Cruz, Calif.	40	92
Long Island, N.Y.	40	84
Amherst, Mass.	50	90
Phoenix, Ariz.	35	61
Alamosa, Colo.	10	16
Hartford, Conn.	5	8
East Lansing, Mich.	20	30
Boulder-Denver, Colo.	110	148
Riverside, Calif.	50	67
Bloomington, Ind.	50	64
Durham, N.H.	20	25
San Diego, Calif.	100	125
Worcester, Mass.	65	81
Boston, Mass.	600	746
Cambridge	(150)	(228)
No. Boston	(150)	(201)

So. Boston	(150)	(151)
Pensacola, Fla.	10	12
San Jose, Calif.	5	6
Madison, Wis.	120	141
Tampa, Fla.	50	58
Binghamton, N.Y.	60	69
Newark, N.J.	30	33
Newburgh, N.Y.	10	11
State College, Pa.	10	11
Nashville, Tenn.	25	27
Oxford, Ohio	25	27
Cincinnati, Ohio	40	43
Chicago, Ill.	700	747
Atlanta, Ga.	250	266
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	531
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	325	339
Logan, Utah	25	26
Milwaukee, Wis.	50	52
Washington, D.C.	150	156
Cleveland, Ohio	300	311
Twin Cities, Minn.	420	435
Providence, R.I.	75	77
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	41
New York, N.Y.	1,000	1,021
Portland, Ore.	75	76
San Francisco, Calif.	400	404
Detroit, Mich.	350	353
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	327

Geneseo, N.Y.	5	5
Houston, Texas	125	125
Norman, Okla.	25	24
Seattle, Wash.	200	189
Austin, Texas	175	162
Baltimore, Md.	10	9
New London, Conn.	10	9
Oshkosh, Wis.	25	21
Highland Park, Ill.	12	10
Corvallis, Ore.	10	8
Sacramento, Calif.	25	20
San Bernardino, Calif.	5	4
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	31
New Haven, Conn.	25	19
Paterson, N.J.	20	15
Kansas City, Mo.	50	37
Pittsburgh, Kan.	10	7
Modesto, Calif.	25	15
Schenectady, N.Y.	5	3
Albany, N.Y.	40	21
DeKalb, Ill.	65	34
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	50	26
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	13
Pullman, Wash.	20	10
St. Louis, Mo.	10	5
Portsmouth, N.H.	20	9
Gainesville, Fla.	50	22
Carlinville, Ill.	5	2

Edinboro, Pa.	10	4
Murfreesboro, Tenn.	25	10
Newport, R.I.	15	6
Columbus, Ohio	25	9
Jacksonville, Fla.	6	2
Champaign, Ill.	25	8
Clemson, S.C.	20	6
El Paso, Texas	25	7
Dallas-Ft. Worth, Texas	35	9
Farmington, Maine	10	2
San Antonio, Texas	20	4
Wayne, N.J.	10	2
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	50	7
Colorado Springs, Colo.	25	3
College Park, Md.	10	1
Waverly, Ohio	25	1
Red Hook, N.Y.	30	1
Pittsfield, Mass.	25	0
Indiana, Pa.	10	0
New Orleans, La.	10	0
Wakefield, R.I.	10	0
Florence, Ala.	5	0
Kalamazoo, Mich.	5	0
Mission Viejo, Calif.	5	0
Webster, N.Y.	5	0
General	175	190
TOTAL TO DATE		8,653
GOAL		7,500

Berkeley teachers protest school cuts

By DAVID WARREN
BERKELEY—The Berkeley schools are facing a \$2.6-million deficit in the \$28.5-million budget for next year, brought on by inflation and recent cutbacks in state and federal aid to education.

Recently, the Board of Education revealed the existence of the budget crisis and proposed the firing of first- and second-year teachers as an initial step toward balancing the budget. This brazen move evoked such an angry response from teachers and community (most Black and all Chicano teachers are in this first- and second-year category) that the board hastily backed down.

The board's next move was to pro-

pose a salary cut of 5 percent, along with "reassignment" of counselors, librarians, and reading and bilingual teachers to regular teaching assignments. The proposal left the huge Berkeley central administrative bureaucracy untouched.

Teachers responded to the board's latest threat with a march, called on a few hours' notice, to the Board of Education on March 12. More than 200 teachers turned out in pouring rain to stress the teachers' demands: no staff cuts; no pay cuts; lower class size; a cost-of-living increase; and a reduction of central, nonschool city administration to solve the budget crisis. The march stopped downtown

traffic as teachers aggressively leafletted pedestrians and motorists with an explanation of their protest.

Both teacher organizations—the Berkeley Federation of Teachers Local 1078 and the National Education Association-affiliated Berkeley Educators Association—have displayed unprecedented unity in issuing leaflets and press releases and calling meetings and other actions.

The teachers' union plans to oppose board incumbents in the current elections by supporting opposition candidates. In addition, the California Federation of Teachers is planning a massive march on the state capitol in Sacramento May 15 to publicize

the state-wide crisis in education and to demand financial relief from the state.

Significant community support exists for the teachers' struggle, especially in the Chicano community.

Carmen Alegria, La Raza Unida Party candidate for Berkeley school board, has been endorsed by the Berkeley Federation of Teachers Local 1078. Her stand on the present budget crisis drew the best response from those attending the union-sponsored meeting that endorsed her. She stated her support for the teachers' demands that no staff or pay cuts be made.

In Our Opinion

The Calley trial

From searing napalm and the testing of chemical weapons to gruesome daily body counts, the Southeast Asian war from the beginning has been marked by horrible brutality—an almost unimaginable inhumanity. The Fort Benning court martial of Lt. William F. Calley Jr., charged with murdering 102 noncombatants at the Mylai massacre in 1968, has particularly helped expose this aspect of the war. As we go to press, the six-man military jury is still deliberating and having testimony reread to them.

Whatever verdict is reached by the jury, several things need to be said about this case. The first and most obvious is that the U.S. government and top military brass are attempting to shift the principal blame for this massacre onto Calley. This is being done in order to cover up the fact that the agents of the capitalist class are the ones who bear major responsibility for the entire war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, for Mylai, and for scores of similar atrocities for which no one has been tried. No one is putting on trial the men who run this capitalist government, who are responsible for dropping more than five million tons of bombs on Indochina and killing untold hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people, and who are behind the scorched earth and relocation policies that have destroyed thousands of acres of once fertile land and put hundreds of thousands of people into concentration camps or turned them into refugees in teeming city slums.

No one has put on trial those responsible for ordering hundreds of thousands of American men to Southeast Asia, about 50,000 of whom have been killed, and many more permanently maimed. Are these crimes less terrible than the murders committed by Calley? Is Nixon less of a killer than Calley? Is Westmoreland? Abrams? Yet it is these men who are trying Calley.

Lt. Col. Anthony B. Herbert filed charges March 16 at Fort McPherson against Maj. Gen. John Barnes and Col. J. Ross Franklin for covering up seven incidents of murder, torture and mutilation under their command. This is just the latest piece of evidence confirming the view, based on investigations like the Winter Soldier project (sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War), that Mylai was part of the whole pattern of the Vietnam war, not an aberration.

It was revealed by the court-martial testimony that the entire thrust of the military training given to American GIs is aimed at fostering the attitude that the "enemy" is not really human—they are "gooks." This training plays on the racism and sexism bred by capitalist society and which is readily manifested during war in acts of rape, torture and the murder of civilians and prisoners of war.

This helps to explain why Calley, who partially admits to the charges against him, did what he did. But he still bears responsibility for his inexcusable actions. Although he claims he had orders to kill the noncombatants, no one had a gun pointed at his back forcing him to do so. Rather, his military training led him to believe that it was permissible and correct. Even in the context of this bloody massacre, there were men who refused to take part. Calley could have done the same.

Today with the climate created by continued mass mobilizations of the organized antiwar movement, such as the upcoming April 24 actions in Washington and San Francisco, the resistance of GIs in Vietnam has deepened considerably and is being expressed in many ways.

One of the most recent and particularly noteworthy examples was described in NBC and CBS TV broadcasts March 22 and 23 which showed films of GIs near the Laotian border caucusing and voting on whether to follow orders sending them into combat against the advancing liberation forces. Two platoons of an armored cavalry troop refused to obey an order to secure a damaged helicopter when they deemed it "unreasonable."

This growing sentiment among GIs is helping to make crystal clear that the real criminals—the ones who get away scot free—are the capitalist agents who sit in the White House and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. And more and more GIs, like the Vietnam veterans who organized the Winter Soldier Investigation, are saying they want no more of Nixon's blood on their hands.

It is this growing attitude among GIs that will play a crucial role in staying the aggressive moves of the U.S. rulers.

30 for 40

I dig your publication. It's the first radical newspaper I have seen that appears to be written by intelligent people with the purpose of real social reform instead of senseless destruction and slaughter.

One comment, on the article by Frank Lovell about Nixon and labor: He [Lovell] makes suggestions about sliding wage and time scales, which imply that construction workers should for some reason receive the same wages even when there is no call for construction. It would be nice for them, but how are they contributing to society, and, more important, how would it work?

R. E. P.

Pasadena, Calif.

Editor replies—Capitalism maintains that society has no responsibility for those who are not productive—the old, the young, the sick, or those unable to find work. But unemployment is not the "fault" of the unemployed. It is a built-in feature of capitalism. The threat of unemployment is used as a weapon against the workers, who are always told that they had better accept the wages the bosses offer them or they will find themselves out of work entirely—replaced by machines or by those willing to work for less.

Needless to say, socialists reject the concept that society as a whole is not responsible for its individual members—regardless of whether or not they are—at any given moment—productive. Since it is not the fault of construction workers (or any other workers) when they are unemployed, they should not be made to suffer. Any unemployed person should receive full compensation at union rates. Instead of some people working full time while others are unable to find employment, we propose that everyone should work fewer hours at no reduction in pay, and thus spread the work.

The mechanics of exactly how this would work is a question we hope to deal with in the future.

'Sexploitation'

Anyone who doubts the profitability of sexploitation of women, the depth of sexism in America, should consider these figures recently printed in *Bestsellers* (a trade publication of the book and magazine industry). With an average dealer profit per issue of \$855,000, *Playboy* magazine is the single most profitable magazine to U.S. newsstands. Its monthly circulation of 3.9 million also makes *Playboy* fourth in the country in copies per issue sold.

Jim Kendrick

Berkeley, Calif.

Vietnam vets

Vietnam vets have a tough time getting work. This was a common complaint voiced by many of the antiwar vets I spoke with at the Winter Soldier Investigation in January in Detroit.

A front-page article in the March 11 *New York Times* fleshed it out with some statistics. A U.S. Labor Department functionary reported that out of 4,000 vets applying for jobs in New York City in January, only 1,400 were able to get work. That is, 65 percent of those vets looking for jobs didn't get one. The official also affirmed the fact that for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and those who lack job experience (how much could one

have at that age!), the situation is the toughest.

Recognizing the danger, the government has set up a Jobs for Veterans committee, which mailed 900,000 letters to employers asking their cooperation in training and placing Vietnam veterans.

What a pitiful response. It doesn't take much to imagine what a vet thinks upon learning that the same government that has the nerve and resources to send him to Vietnam can now only meekly undertake an exercise in letter-writing on his behalf.

Michael Smith

Detroit, Mich.

Angela Davis

More than 100 University of Washington students attended an Angela Davis defense rally here in Seattle March 5. The rally was initiated by the Young Socialist Alliance and co-sponsored by the Brown Berets, the Black Student Union, and the Asian-American Student Association.

Linda Corr of the Free Angela Davis Committee gave the rally the general background of the case and Angela Davis' political career. Rhea Rolfe of the YSA stressed the importance of keeping up mass pressure that won't let the courts get away with railroading political prisoners.

LaMar Mills, from the Black Student Union, drew an analogy between the way political prisoners are treated in the U.S. and what the U.S. does in Vietnam. "The best way to radicalize someone," he said, "is for them to spend a day in court and see how Third World people are railroaded."

Rick Congress

Seattle, Wash.

L. A. Teamsters

In April 1970, a series of wildcat strikes broke out in the Los Angeles area against the National Master Freight Agreement negotiated by the international leadership of the Teamsters Union.

Subsequently, a trusteeship was imposed upon Teamsters Local 208 by officials of Joint Council 42, which coordinates and supervises the affairs of all Southern California Teamsters locals. The elected officers and business agents of Local 208 were replaced with handpicked supporters of the top Teamsters officialdom.

It was no surprise. Local 208 has a militant tradition and had been placed under trusteeship before. When members of the local were fired for wildcat strike action last year, the local moved to officially sanction the strike by declaring that its members had been locked out. This met with thunderous approval from several thousand at a mass membership meeting. The local then encouraged support from campus activists, who joined many picket lines.

The surprise came when the elected officials of Local 208 went to court and got an unprecedented injunction against Joint Council 42. This kept the top officials of the Teamsters union from kicking officers of Local 208 off the payroll until their appeal within the union had been heard.

The hearings, conducted by a board responsible to top Teamsters officials, lasted eight weeks, an unusually long time. All witnesses called by the Joint Council were paid representatives of employer organizations, save one.

Under cross-examination by Local 208 vice-president John T. Williams, who acted as chief defense counsel,

The Great Society

even the employers were forced to bring out facts that proved 208's leaders had abided by signed contracts, and were mainly guilty of backing the needs and demands of working truck drivers. Had this not been true, hundreds of rank-and-file Teamsters would not have come out as they did to testify in defense of the Local 208 leadership.

In February, the hearing board wound up these proceedings and upheld the trusteeship of Joint Council 42, as expected.

The next steps in the case include an appeal to the International Executive Board and possible further court action. A Local 208 defense committee is being formed to publicize all the facts and to bring pressure to retain control of Local 208 to its membership. It will be a long struggle but an important one, and all trade unionists concerned with union democracy should pay close attention to it.

*Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, Calif.*

Tornado aftermath

On Feb. 21, several towns in the Mississippi delta region were heavily damaged by tornadoes. Oxford, Morgan City, Delta City, Cary, Inverness, Moorhead, and Pugh City were badly damaged and Little Yazoo was almost completely destroyed. About 50 homes were destroyed in Pugh City. Ninety percent of Inverness was destroyed. So far there are 100 counted dead.

Families who had little before the storm will be eligible for little disaster help, while those who had quite a bit before the storm will have just about everything they lost replaced through federal and state disaster programs. Some of the families in the worst fix are tenant farmers in the country who owned nothing before the storm and were dependent on their place of dwelling for employment. So far the only help available to them is a \$33 check a week from the unemployment commission. The tornado victims really don't need clothes now but they will be needing money and almost all household supplies, such as kitchenware, furniture and bedding.

*Margaret Kibbee
Sunflower County Improvement Association
P.O. Box 30
Indianola, Miss. 38751*

Amazed

Though I never expect much from Tim Wohlforth's Workers League, I'm still amazed to see him come out in support of the right of cops to strike for higher pay. He thinks such a strike is a "struggle against our enemy." Such a strike is actually a struggle against the people, an attempt to rob us even more than they do now. But all Wohlforth's "workers" can see is the magic word "strike," which was also the only word they saw during Shanker's racist teachers' strike in New York a few years ago.

*Bob Geb
Boston, Mass.*

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.

The return trip—According to the *New York Times*, a confidential Army document asserts Nixon is winding down the war because he doesn't have enough cash to keep it going. If so, wouldn't it be a good idea to get out now while they still have carfare home?

Military semantics dep't—In the olden days, the generals used to call a retreat an advance to the rear. Now, with the U.S.-backed Saigon forces getting their butts handed to them in Laos, Saigon spokesmen are explaining that they're merely following a new military strategy of "jumping around." Meanwhile, a U.S. spokesman said things were going "according to plan" and the flight back toward the border was "mobile maneuvering."

Biggest thing since Bill of Rights—Dr. Robert R.J. Gallati, director of the New York State Identification and Intelligence System, says folks should stop worrying about data-bank invasion of their rights. "Indeed," he assures, "I believe they can be so developed and operated as to provide new dimensions of personal freedom and protection for civil liberties and constitutional rights."

The way the cookie crumbles—The Young Americans for Freedom are \$221,000 in hock, their executive director reports, and unless it can be raised fast they may have to fold shop. Which, of course, is as it should be in a free-enterprise society.

Antigraffiti—A new product, "DWR," is designed to remove graffiti from walls. DWR, we are advised, stands for Dirty Word Remover. We thought it was Dependable for Warding off Revolution.

Sweet talk—Manufacturers of Hostess Snack Cakes were irked because the government told them to stop making false claims about the cakes' nutritional value, noting that the primary ingredient is sugar. Everybody, the company responded, knows that cakes contain sugar.

Wants to be dead certain—An Agriculture Dep't spokesman assured that the government shares the concern of a medical specialist that nitrite, a widely used food preservative, may cause cancer. But the government won't be doing anything about it because the threat is still unproven.

The enforcers—In its continuing drive

on behalf of consumers, the federal government now requires that in order to call a product "chicken soup" it must contain at least two percent chicken. Anything less goes as "chicken-flavored."

Oh, shush—S.J. Michelson, director of a ghost-writing service, warns that verbal pollution is the latest threat. He estimates 11,000 speeches a week are made in New York alone, up 6,000 from a decade ago. And that probably doesn't include us.

Law-and-order drive—The law n' order administration of Mayor Charles Stenvig in Minneapolis is getting down to cases. A new police dispatching system ensures quick arrival of a dog-catcher in response to complaint. Previously such complaints were referred to the kennel outfit which has a \$100,000-a-year dog-catching contract with the city. Now the company trucks are linked directly to the police radio system.

Double-duty—A *Moneysworth* magazine finding, reports LNS, is that Masegill, a female deodorant, will kill roaches. Which in New York could be a real selling point.

—HARRY RING

♀ The Insurgent Majority

A regional conference on women in the academic community drew over 700 women to the University of Pennsylvania Feb. 27. The conference, sponsored by women students and faculty at Douglass College, Bryn Mawr College, and the University of Pennsylvania, featured a program of speakers, workshops, and a plenary session, directed toward the formation of national and regional associations for the development of female studies, and toward ending the second-class status of women students and professors on today's campuses.

The newsletter of Boston Female Liberation (Box 303, Kenmore Sq. Sta., Boston 02215) comments on an anti-abortion bill that has been introduced into the Massachusetts legislature: "The Murphy Bill to establish the constitutional rights of the unborn fetus states: 'All men (sic) are conceived and born free and equal and have certain natural essential and unalienable rights. . . . These rights include enjoying and defending their lives and liberties from the moment of conception, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness. . . . The Commonwealth shall not make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of its citizens, nor shall it deprive any person including the unborn within its jurisdiction of the equal protection of the law.'

"It is interesting that the state is now trying to establish the rights of an unborn fetus, but has never felt it necessary to establish any legal rights for children already born. Or women. Further, it is interesting to note the peculiar emphasis on establishing the rights of a fetus to own and protect property.

"Female Liberation and the New England Women's Coalition strongly oppose this bill and plan actions against it."

Some interesting statistics. . . . According to a Labor Dept. study reported in the March 9 *Wall Street Journal*, married women made up the largest portion of the last year's labor-force gain. The proportion of married women holding or seeking jobs rose to 40.8 percent in March 1970, from 39.6 percent a year earlier. About one-fourth of all women with children under three are now working.

The Labor Department also admitted (and these sta-

tistics are by no means the whole story) that since 1963 women have been cheated out of \$26-million in unequal pay. Only \$8-million of this has been recovered for them under the Equal Pay Law.

In the decade 1958 to 1968, the number of working women went up from 32.7 to 37.1 of the total work force. During the same period, however, the percentage of working women who are members of trade unions dropped from 13.8 to 12.5 percent. Similarly, the percentage of women holding national union office dropped from 4.7 to 4.6 percent. Not one major union today is headed by a woman. The Teamsters, which is the largest union, has not one woman on its 15-member executive board. Approximately 25 percent of all unions have no female members whatsoever.

The union representing San Francisco's 10,000 postal workers has been pressing for the Post Office to set up an emergency day-care center for children of postal workers. The Feb. 5 *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that postal workers were protesting the fact that many workers, especially Black parents who are single, were being fired for absenteeism due to problems with babysitters who didn't show up. To impress their demand upon the Post Office, the union sent the following suggestions to its members:

"If your babysitter doesn't show up, report for duty with your children.

"If management provides care for the kids, complete your work shift.

"If management doesn't, have your arrival at work recorded so the union can fight disciplinary action."

The *Herstory Synopsis*, a list of women in world history, has been especially prepared and published for International Women's Day by the Women's History Research Center. Send \$1 to Women's History Research Center, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, Ca. 94708. Twenty percent off for 20 copies or more.

Also available from the same address is a *Women's Songbook* for \$1 plus postage (50 cents per book first class, 80 cents airmail, 12 cents for first two books, 6 cents each additional two books at book rate).

—CAROLINE LUND

By HARRY RING

As April 24 approaches, broad new forces are giving their support to the National Peace Action Coalition antiwar marches on Washington and San Francisco. One very positive development in this unity process was the decision of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) to cosponsor the action.

This decision did much to reduce the negative effect of the division that has existed within the peace movement. Now efforts must be made to develop the unity process further and to give as much real content as possible to what is at this point, essentially, a formal endorsement.

But if there is to be further progress in the unification process, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the problems involved. Unity in action between differing forces is not accomplished by avoiding or blurring over the very real differences which led to the division to begin with.

It is particularly worthwhile at this point to summarize the political origins and evolution of

issues for united action against the Vietnam war. In addition, they had a strong antipathy to democratic decision-making within the movement.

The New Mobe, and its predecessor the National Mobe, had organized major massive national antiwar demonstrations during the 1967-69 period. The turning point for the New Mobe came, curiously, after its biggest success.

After Nov. 15

On Nov. 15, 1969, the Mobe massed an unprecedented one million Americans in the streets of Washington and San Francisco in an antiwar demonstration.

The next month, a meeting of the Mobe steering committee was held in Cleveland. The meeting was bureaucratically packed by the anti-mass-action, so-called multiissue bloc.

A program was adopted to organize undefined activity against "repression" and to conduct educational activity illuminating the relationship between war and corporate profits. Grandiose schemes for

mittee and a group of local coalitions and antiwar activists associated with the Mobe, who saw the need for continuing antiwar action, had called an emergency conference to be held in Cleveland in June. To cut into that conference, the Mobe frantically began organizing a Milwaukee counter-conference for a week after the Cleveland antiwar gathering.

NPAC created

The Cleveland conference established the National Peace Action Coalition, adopted a program of mass action as a central means of fighting for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and began organizing for demonstrations across the country on Oct. 31. The demonstrations mobilized some 100,000 people and were the largest antiwar actions held on the eve of national elections since the war began.

A week later, the Milwaukee conference gathered together the various opponents of mass action. After two days of discussion, they were unable to agree on a program of action. They designated a steering committee, which four months later announced the birth of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression (NCAWRR). As a counter to the Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations being built by NPAC, NCAWRR announced a whirlwind campaign against "genocide," to culminate in a massive national demonstration featuring "direct action" at the United Nations Nov. 31. Less than 2,000 people turned out and 28 of them were arrested in a token act of civil disobedience.

Despite this utter fiasco, NCAWRR persisted in its efforts to create a multiissue formation to counter the steadily growing antiwar coalition that was developing around NPAC.

April 24 called

When NPAC convened a December 1970 antiwar conference, a NCAWRR delegation came to urge that the conference not set a date for an action because they were holding a conference in January and would be considering a date there. The prospects for reuniting the movement, they argued, would be enhanced if NPAC awaited their decision.

The NCAWRR proposal was duly reported to the 1,200 assembled NPAC activists, who agreed that the most likely prospects for unity being realized was precisely if they did set a date for an action and began building it. The date of April 24 for Washington and San Francisco was agreed on.

The NCAWRR conference the following month was, politically, an odd spectacle. Again, the only substantial point of agreement among the 400 present was opposition to mass action against the war.

Literally the only proposal voted on was a "consensus" motion by Dave Dellinger which stated that all those assembled were united around promoting the "Peace Treaty" project and that there should be a variety of "actions" of an undefined character in Washington and elsewhere the first week in May in support of the Peace Treaty and against racism and repression.

Amidst bitter wrangling, the old Mobe leadership was "reelected" as the continuations committee of the group. Later, the continuations committee announced that the group was no longer the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression but the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Shortly after, in what was strangely characterized as a move toward "unity," the PCPJ coordinating committee announced it was organizing a legal, peaceful demonstration against the war in Washington on Sunday, May 2. It was a "unity" move, they solemnly explained, because NPAC, which had already done extensive work in building April 24, could abandon April 24 and join in the still-to-be initiated May 2 action.

Unity

This was of course rejected, and as wide support continued to mount for April 24, the PCPJ found itself almost totally isolated and under heavy pressure to abandon its divisive proposal for May 2. At a Feb. 27 meeting, it reconsidered and voted to "cosponsor" April 24.

On March 1, the PCPJ issued a statement to its supporters motivating this decision. This statement, referred to at the outset of this narrative, indicates a continuing lack of comprehension of the meaning and worth of mass action against the war.

The statement begins by asserting, "Virtually all of us in the peace movement were against racism, poverty and political repression—but we did not clearly see any link between the war in Indochina and these issues."

Further, the statement explains, "Many of us had supported Johnson in 1964. . . . After Johnson himself expanded the war massively in February 1965 . . . the movement turned toward mass demonstrations. The demonstration of November 15, 1969, was the largest political demonstration

Continued on page 21

Political origins of the 'People's Coalition'



Photo by Flax Hermes

Following the most massive political demonstration in U.S. history, the Nov. 15, 1969, March on Washington and San Francisco, the forces now together in the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice decided they must be doing something wrong.

the PCPJ formation and to consider the political statement it issued to its supporters explaining why it had decided to support April 24.

Such an examination makes it fairly evident that the decision to cosponsor April 24 was not the result of any basic change in political outlook but was rather a response to significant pressure for unity in building the action.

The political character of the PCPJ is not subject to simple definition. The grouping is extremely heterogeneous, embracing a spectrum of diverse and sometimes contradictory views.

The central leaders of the PCPJ were the principal officeholders of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam in its last stages, and their political errors were largely responsible for the demise of that formation.

Their bloc included partisans of individual witness, radical pacifists, ultraleft confrontationists, the Communist Party, and other reformist, pro-Democratic Party elements. Some of the individual figures were Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Sid Peck, Ron Young, and Brad Lyttle. The Communist Party was represented variously by Arnold Johnson and Gil Green.

What held these disparate forces together was a generally hostile view of mass action as a means of opposing the war. They tried to substitute a general reformist program around many social

picketing and disrupting corporate stockholders meetings were approved. None materialized.

That spring, in April, local antiwar coalitions organized demonstrations against the war. Then in May came Nixon's Cambodia invasion, the murders at Kent and Jackson State, the historic demonstrations and occupations of campuses across the nation.

The Mobe played no role in this development, with the exception of providing accidental leadership for a mass Washington demonstration May 9. Just prior to the student upsurge, the Mobe had announced a routine picket line for that day in protest against the Cambodia invasion. With the upsurge, a hundred thousand people came virtually spontaneously to Washington.

At the end of May, the Mobe steering committee convened in Atlanta. There it was announced that the movement faced an imminent "crisis"—in two or perhaps three months, the U.S. would unleash nuclear war in Asia and institute fascism at home.

How did the Mobe propose to meet this "crisis"? By "gumming up the country." Such "gumming up" would be achieved by sit-ins at the offices of various congressmen. Needless to say, the "gumming up" program, like the previous anticorporation scenario, never got past the talking stage.

But the Mobe leadership was galvanized into action on one issue. The Student Mobilization Com-

Black antiwar actions set for major cities

By CHARLES STEPHENSON
and HERMAN FAGG

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Actions planned in various cities commemorating the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and calling for an end to the racist war in Southeast Asia clearly indicate the growing influence of the Third World Task Force of the National Peace Action Coalition.

In Detroit, the Black Moratorium Committee Against the War is organizing a mass teach-in at Highland Park Community College on March 24, and a mass march and rally April 3.

The Chicago Third World Task Force has joined with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), NAACP, and other Third World organizations in a Martin Luther King Commemoration Committee, which will sponsor a mass march and rally April 3.

SCLC in Cleveland, along with the Peace Action Coalition, has received widespread support from the Black community for an April 3 memorial for King.

The Third World Task Force in New York has slated a teach-in at Manhattan Community College April 2 along with a high school student strike, and on April 3 a rally in Central Park.

On April 2, workshops at high schools and junior high schools are being organized by the Philadelphia Third World Task Force. A mass meeting the same day in commemoration of Martin Luther King at the Church of the Advocate is also part of the action.

The Washington, D. C., police department has denied the Third World Task Force a permit for the planned April 3 march. The reason given for the denial was that the march may conflict with the annual Washington, D. C., "Cherry Blossom Parade."

This attempt to quash the march and rally has brought additional support from the Washington community, and five of the six candidates for the Washington, D. C., nonvoting delegate to Congress issued a statement in support of the Task Force.

The statement says, in part: "We, the candidates for the office of delegate of Washington, D. C., wish to protest in the strongest way the denial of a permit for a march against the war in Southeast Asia which has been

called by the Third World Task Force Against the War in Southeast Asia."

The candidates who signed the statement are: Julius Hobson, D. C. Statehood Party; Walter Fauntroy, Democratic Party; Rev. Douglas Moore, Black United Front; James Harris, Socialist Workers Party; Franklin E. Kameny, founder and former chairman of the D. C. Mattachine Society.

A meeting of the Third World Task Force voted to go ahead with the planned march on April 3 in spite of the harassment by the police force. Other Washington actions include a mass teach-in at Howard University April 2, and a meeting in commemoration of Martin Luther King and in support of Angela Davis and other Third World political prisoners co-sponsored by the D. C. Angela Davis defense committee.

Nationwide support for the planned activities include: Charles Cheng, assistant president of the Washington Teachers Union; Leon Page, Cairo United Front; Froben Lozada, chairman of the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College; Kate Moore, national staff of the NAACP; Warren Buxton, president of the student senate of Jackson State College; Dick Gregory; Jaine de la Iola, president of the University of Houston MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); John Conyers, congressman from Michigan; Parren Mitchell, congressman from Maryland; Ron Delums, congressman from California; and Michael Harris, president of Howard University Student Association.

This wide range of support should certainly point out to President Nixon that Black, Brown, and all oppressed nationalities are in motion against the war, and will settle for nothing less than immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia and a reordering of national priorities.

The Third World Task Force demands that the \$80-billion a year being used to wage war on self-determination should be used instead to upgrade education and to provide decent jobs, housing, and better facilities for all of our people.

For further information, contact National Third World Task Force Against the War in Southeast Asia, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., 8th floor, Washington, D. C. 20005, or call (202) 638-6601.

April 24 countdown

In a March 18 letter to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, national legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union Melvin Wulf urged Laird to notify all military commanders of "their duty to avoid interference" with GI participation in the April 24 antiwar actions. "In the event that any member of the Armed Forces is subjected to discipline for participating in legal and constitutionally protected antiwar activity," Wulf informed Laird, "the ACLU is ready to provide legal assistance and counsel."

The Third World Task Force of NPAC has an attractive red and black button available. Bearing a clenched fist and the words "Third World People Unite Against the War" along with the dates April 2-4 and April 24, the buttons can be ordered at 25 cents each from Third World Task Force, NPAC, Eighth Floor, 1029 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005.

The United Women's Contingent reports that women's buses are now being organized in Boston, New York, Detroit and Houston, and women's buses from other cities are anticipated. The United Women's Contingent is one of several groups in Washington, D. C., building a silent rally as a show of support for Louise Bruyn, a Boston woman marching from Newton, Mass., to Washington as a personal protest against the war. The rally will be held at the capitol April 2, when she will meet with Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. Robert Drinan and give them her "Theses on U. S. Foreign Policy."

The Women's Liberation Front at the University of Houston is planning a production of Joseph Heller's play **We Bombed in New Haven**. Heller, an early endorser of April 24, has offered to pay the fee for the royalty rights in this all-women's production being put on to raise money for a women's bus to the April 24 women's contingent in Washington.

The New University Conference at New York University is sponsoring a series of antiwar programs in Tishman Auditorium at NYU April 1, 2 and 3. On April 1, there will be two evening panels, a panel of veterans and students discussing war crimes in Vietnam, and a panel of law students, attorneys and defense committee representatives discussing dissent and repression. On April 2, an evening panel will discuss the current escalation. On April 3, there will be a morning panel on labor and the war, an afternoon discussion of antiwar strategy, and an evening panel on the war and the economy. Speakers on the April 3 evening panel include Dick Roberts, writer for *The Militant*, and Victor Perlo, writer for the *Daily World*.

The Washington Democratic Council, the main statewide liberal Democratic organization in the state, voted last month to back both the Seattle Peace Initiative (the campaign to get an immediate withdrawal referendum on the ballot in Seattle) and the April 24 mass demonstration in San Francisco.

The Student Mobilization Committee's Gay Task Force is planning to put out a button, and already has a brochure available. Write to SMC Gay Task Force, 135 W. 14 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011, for more information.

The Sacramento Valley Peace Action Coalition was formed in Sacramento, Calif., March 14 at a meeting of 150 antiwar activists from more than a dozen organizations. The groups represented included the Student Mobilization Committee, the Sacramento Labor Council, the Sacramento Democratic Party Central Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, Vets for Peace, Women for Peace, Reservists for Peace, the War Tax Refusal Committee, Sacramento Women's Liberation and others.

SMC launches membership drive

By DAVE FRANKEL

A massive membership drive aimed at winning 15,000 new national Student Mobilization Committee members by May 5 was approved by the SMC Steering Committee when it met in Philadelphia March 20.

SMC national coordinator Deborah Bustin placed the SMC membership campaign in the context of the explosive growth of antiwar sentiment. "In the past," Bustin said, "the SMC stood almost alone in its refusal to abandon the perspective of mobilizing masses of Americans in the streets to oppose the war, in its refusal to accept anything less than immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. troops and materiel from Indochina." Today, however, "it is the United States government that is standing alone," Bustin continued, "and the record of the

SMC, together with its work to build the spring antiwar offensive, will result in thousands of young people looking to the SMC as their organization."

The aim of the membership campaign is to reach out to these thousands of university and high school students and others, drawing them into active participation in the SMC's antiwar work. Fifteen thousand active, new SMC members, Bustin said, will "make it much harder for the government to put over any phony plans for 'Vietnamization' or other hoaxes."

The Steering Committee meeting itself reflected the growth that has already led to the formation of SMCs in areas where formerly there weren't any. Representatives from more than 20 East Coast, Southern and Midwestern cities in 12 states, including nine

regional SMC officers, attended. In addition to the regional representatives from Atlanta, Minneapolis, Detroit, New York, Boston, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, chapter representatives came from campuses in Nashville, Tenn., Boonton, N.J., and similar places. In all, there were about 125 activists present.

In addition to national reports on the progress in building support for the Third World, United Women's, Gay Liberation, and GI contingents for April 24, reports were presented from regional and local areas on April 24 publicity, fund raising and transportation. Between the national materials produced in Washington by the SMC and the National Peace Action Coalition and materials produced by local SMCs and coalitions, mil-

lions of leaflets and buttons for April 24 have already been distributed. Every area reported that more transportation has been reserved for April 24 than was reserved for Nov. 15, 1969. For example, Chicago has already ordered 54 buses, Boston has 50 reserved and an option for 100, Minneapolis has reserved 25 buses, Detroit has ordered 50, Atlanta has reserved 8.

Other motions acted on by the Steering Committee included a proposal from the high school students for a national day of high school leafletting to build the April 24 action and national coordination of high school contingents on April 24, a proposal for a national student strike on May 5, and motions reaffirming SMC's support for victimized draft resisters and SMC's opposition to the use of U. S. troops in the Middle East.

Feminism and Black nationalism

By MYRNA HILL

There is a theory held by some people that you can't be a Black nationalist and a feminist at the same time.

That theory is incorrect and is based on a misunderstanding of what both movements are about. Both movements are revolutionary.

In the American economic system, Blacks and women are both kept in a state of constant high unemployment. They serve as a reserve labor supply, to be fully employed only in times of national emergencies like World War II.

They get the lowest paid jobs—or they perform unpaid labor such as when women get stuck with the care and feeding, at their own expense, of the next generation of labor for industry to exploit. Generally, Blacks get the most undesirable jobs, the ones that nobody else wants. In this role, Blacks and women can be used as a threat against privileged white males who, if they get too ungratefully uppity, might find themselves condemned to the same fate.

This arrangement is both convenient and profitable for the U.S. capitalists. Racism and sexism, traditional aspects of the American social system, serve to maintain that profitable arrangement. The American ruling class can't meet the demands of Blacks and women and still maintain profits high enough to finance its frequent wars, which are getting to be another American tradition.

The liberation of women from sexism will require the replacement of the present system with a better one, a socialist system, and that will require a revolution.

The same radical change in the basic character of American society is required for the liberation of all Black people from racism.

It's the same capitalists who deny Blacks good jobs and education that deny women good jobs and education. It's the same government which won't allow Blacks to control their own communities that won't allow women to control their own bodies. It's the same advertisers who have denied that "Black is beautiful" who have also denied women's natural beauty. So it is clear that Blacks and women have the same enemy.

Some Black nationalists, such as the Muslims, think that all whites are to some degree the enemies of Black people, because they all benefit from, and to some extent can all be exposed as participating in, the oppression of Black people.

Others feel that poor whites are potential allies, and will become the actual allies of Blacks in the struggle to destroy the system that exploits them both.

Nationalists who are members of the Socialist Workers Party, like myself, take the position that the American revolution will bring all sectors of the U.S. working class, Black and white, into a common struggle against the ruling class, but that the groups that are most oppressed, such as Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, will play the leading role.

For all revolutionary nationalists, the primary enemy is uncontestedly the same: the small group of white ruling-class men in whose hands is concentrated most of the wealth, and therefore the power, of this country.

Similarly, some feminists think that all men, in all economic classes, are the enemies of women for similar reasons as those given by the nationalists: all men to some extent receive privileges from the oppression of women. Furthermore, men serve as agents for the system in maintaining the oppression of women.

Others, particularly many Black feminists, see potential allies in Black men, since Black men too are an oppressed group. And these women look with suspicion on declarations of solidarity from ruling-class white women, and sometimes even exclude poor white women as allies.

Feminists who are revolutionary Marxists, like myself, hold that all women are potential allies, but that those—like Black women—who suffer most from this system will lead the fight to liberate us all.

But all feminists unanimously heap the largest share of the blame for their suffering on the rich white men of the capitalist class. And increasingly, as the movement develops, this group of men

that has all the money and wields the most power, is finding itself the target of feminist struggle, in such actions as the demonstrations held Aug. 26 and Dec. 12 by the New York Women's Strike Coalition demanding free abortion on demand and protesting how rich medical men are getting richer from exorbitant abortion fees, and demanding that the people who own and run this country's government hand over some of their profits to provide free, 24-hour child care for all women.

In fact, our increasingly harassed rulers have even begun to get a taste of the force of united pressure from the nationalists and feminists, pressures for the capitalists to get up off of a portion of the profits they have stolen from us for so long.

At Manhattan Community College, the nationalist Golden Drum Society and the campus women's liberation group have begun to see mutual gain in supporting each other's demands for Black control of the Black studies program and for adequately equipped and staffed campus-located child-care facilities.

This kind of sticking together causes understandable uneasiness in high places, and it's not surprising that the ruling class is going all out to sow suspicion and confusion, and to try to nip in the bud all such "unhealthy" alliances. Unhealthy from the capitalists' point of view, of course.

To discourage such dangerous partnerships, the ruling-class does its best to distort the image of both movements in the news media. They print article after article assuring Black women that women's liberation is crazy and silly and has nothing whatever to do with them. And when Black feminists try to say anything different, it doesn't get printed. They try to make it appear that Black nationalism is all hating whitey, walking all over women, and bombing everything in sight for no good reason.

When actually the essence of nationalism is the very rational claim that the Black minority of America has a right to national self-determination. And the essence of feminism is the valid claim of female human beings to determine and control their own destinies, free from exploitation and

from domination by other people who happen to be male.

Another energetically promoted source of needless Black antagonism toward feminists is the notion that the nationalist and feminist movements are somehow in competition with each other for the crumbs from the capitalists' table, so that the successes of one must be at the expense of the other.

At the root of this mistaken notion is a misunderstanding of the economic demands of the Black community and of the meaning of the women's liberation demand for equal opportunity in jobs and education.

Some time ago, white construction workers in Pittsburgh believed that the Black job applicants' goal was to take away their jobs. They were misinterpreting what was basically a demand for Black full employment. Similarly, some nationalists misinterpret the economic aims of women's liberation. But it is false that Blacks and women have to fight over the same few unattractive jobs. There is a lot of urgent work to be done in this country, like building adequate housing. But people aren't getting hired to do the work that's really needed, because the capitalists are too busy concentrating on what makes the most profit.

The feminist demand for equal opportunity is a threat, all right—but not to the Black community. Rather, it threatens the continued existence of an economic system to which the basic human needs of both women and Black people are sacrificed.

At this point, some nationalists may say, and some are already saying, "Yes, the women's liberation movement is all right, but it's the white woman's thing, it's not for Black women."

But examination of Black women's triple oppression—as women, as Blacks, and as workers—provides eloquent argument that these objections are based on ignorance.

White feminists demand equal opportunity in jobs. Black women workers, averaging \$3,000 per year, have the lowest average wage in the country.

Women's liberation demands free, community-



Black and Puerto Rican women in New York demonstration for "Free Abortion on Demand—No Forced Sterilization!" in March 1970.

controlled abortion services, with no forced sterilizations. Four times as many Black women die from child-bearing related causes as do white women. This demand also relates to those who fear that abortion is genocide, since community control and no forced sterilizations are included. No community is going to exterminate itself.

The feminists demand community-controlled, 24-hour child care. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that a larger proportion of Black women hold jobs than do their white sisters, in every age group except for the 16-24-year-olds, who are most likely to have very young children with no child-care facilities in which to leave them. These facts make it very clear that the issues of the women's liberation movement, far from being just a white thing, are even more relevant to the needs of Black women.

Other objections to Black participation in the women's liberation movement are that we need the efforts of Black women for the Black struggle, and that Black women's primary responsibility is the bearing and education of a Black nation.

But the issues that most concern Black women—jobs, low wages, community-controlled medical care—are the Black struggle! How these issues could somehow "divert" Black women away from the Black struggle is a mystery indeed. And when Black women organize around these issues, it becomes evident that they are inseparably tied to other such issues. For instance, if you talk about the inflation that cuts into Black women's paychecks and welfare checks, you need to consider the Southeast Asian war, which is a great deal to blame for inflation.

The nationalist brothers who counsel Black women to concern themselves solely with bearing and educating Black children to build our nation forget that the Black home does not exist in a vacuum. Black women in this country have been having babies for quite a while. What we want is not just more Black babies but a new Black nation that is free. To have that, we'll have to destroy this society, which condemns Black chil-

dren's aspirations as hopeless, and where the evidence of Black unemployment and despair hang out every day on any Harlem corner.

Black women can't do anything about changing this situation by cooking greens and getting pregnant. The struggle that will replace this system is outside the kitchen. For Black women's energies to be used up sewing clothes and waiting on men is a luxury that we cannot afford, even if it were desirable, which it is not. We can't spare half the brain power of our people; we're going to need it all.

As for the claim that Black feminism is divisive and therefore holds back the revolutionary struggle, it is more accurate to say that Black male supremacy is a reactionary force that needs correction.

It is sometimes said that male domination is Black people's African cultural heritage and that in pushing women around, Black men are undoing this society's negation of Black manhood. But examination of our heritage reveals that it is very diverse—as diverse as the submissiveness of Zulu women and the aggressiveness of Nigerian market women are different from each other.

For instance, among the Balonda tribe in Southern Africa, women held a position economically superior to that of men. Women ran the tribal councils, and when a Balonda young man married, he left his own village to go and live in his wife's home. And in ancient Egypt, the husband had to promise to love, honor and obey the wife.

That doesn't sound much like an unbroken tradition of male supremacy, does it?

It is just as wrong for Black men to think that the human qualities of self-respect and assertiveness belong only to the male sex, as it is for whites to think that intelligence and sensitivity are limited just to the white race.

Apart from its obvious disadvantages for Black women, Black men's sexism plays right into the hands of the white ruling class. Sexism, Black and white, is an essential component of American capitalism, and it serves an important function in the successful running of that system.

Black men's role as agents of oppression for Black women is very convenient for the capitalist exploiters. The ruling class has in fact gotten very good at promoting Black male supremacy. For instance, one of its more effective efforts was bestowing on the world the Moynihan Report, which announced the urgent news flash of the existence of an American Black matriarchy—that's a society ruled by women—despite the fact that in this society neither Black men nor Black women have ever been in a position to control the lives of their own communities, much less exercise power over the whole society.

It is male supremacy, not feminism, that undermines the Black liberation struggle by holding back half our fighters and helping out our oppressors.

For the capitalists it's very useful indeed to have Black men busy keeping Black women from getting uppity, because uppity "niggers" of either sex are dangerous. And uppity women definitely bear watching!



Myrna Hill

Photo by Harry Ring

Third World Liberation Notes

Because of the recent police killings of Mexican-Americans in the Rio Grande Valley, over 2,000 Chicanos marched from San Juan, Texas, to Pharr, Texas, on March 7. The march was organized by the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO).

In an effort to discourage Chicanos from participating, the local newspapers ran articles that day quoting police to the effect that Anglo businessmen armed with high-powered rifles would be stationing themselves atop buildings along the march route. But no vigilantes or snipers were seen.

According to the March 14 *New York Times*, the local newspapers belong to a California-based chain that is very conservative. So conservative that editorials were written against public schools as being socialistic!

Last December, after the Pentagon had sent a team of investigators to study the racial situation within the U.S. Army in Europe, it announced that it was giving base commanders the power to declare housing off limits if the landlords discriminated. Until that time, Pentagon authorization was required.

Although it only applied to bases in the States, the new order did not go unnoticed by Black soldiers in Germany.

In fact, a Black Army judge, Captain Curtis R. Smothers, sent a petition to Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor asking for a court of inquiry into the housing discrimination against African-American GIs stationed in West Germany. The petition was sent in late December and signed by three other Black officers and three Black enlisted men. A court of inquiry is normally convened when charges are made against very high-ranking officers, base commanders in this case.

For backing such a petition, Captain Smothers was asked to return to Washington in March. The March 14 *New York Times* quoted him as saying, "The fact that housing discrimination continues against Black soldiers shows that the military does not consider this a high priority matter. They apply no pressure against Germans on housing even though they apply all kinds of pressure in Bonn to make German insurance companies lower automobile insurance rates for American soldiers."

"The Army makes a mistake to assume that these disparities escape the Black GI. . . . This is why you hear young Black troopers saying, 'Do you think I'm going to die for these people? You have to be some kind of a fool to support American policy when they don't give a damn about you.'"

After a week of discussions, the March 20 *Times* announced, the Army has decided to extend the Stateside order to base commanders in Europe. However, the article reported, "Captain Smothers said that in Europe, the Army had issued a similar order on April 3, 1969, but that most commanders did not

comply with the order. 'There was tremendous resistance to this because it will expose racial abuses like no other system,' the captain added. 'We would hope that the Secretary would design monitoring methods to preclude the failure that the order suffered in Europe.'" Captain Smothers stated that the petition for a court of inquiry was still standing.

Of the 300,000 U.S. soldiers in Europe, about 40,000 are Black. The nationalist awakening amongst Black GIs is making racist abuses intolerable.

The following excerpts are from the March 12 San Francisco *Good Times*:

"The dispute between the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and the Teamsters union appears to be widening into a major battle. In San Francisco, on January 25, Local 85 of the Teamsters threatened to pull its workers from the San Francisco Produce Market unless they discontinued handling union lettuce from the Salinas Valley. The threat followed the beating of a high school student working with UFWOC while he and others were checking out lettuce at the Produce Market. UFWOC charges the student was attacked with a crowbar by Teamsters.

"A few days later, the S.F. Produce Market, who supply lettuce to all local stores, complied with the Teamsters and discontinued handling union lettuce. . . . Oakland and San Jose Produce Markets also stopped handling union lettuce for a short time but President Larry Diez of the Oakland Teamsters decided not to go along with the SF local and ordered his men to continue to handle union lettuce. . . .

"The Teamsters are fighting the lettuce boycott because they claim to represent the farm workers as a result of a 5-year contract they signed with 200 growers in the Salinas Valley in the summer of 1970. But the farm workers charge that the Teamsters only represent the packing house workers and the truck drivers and charge that they were not consulted about the terms of the contract. As a result, in July of 1970, 7,000 farm workers went out on strike.

"Bud Antle, a lettuce grower who leases land from Dow Chemical and sells lettuce to the Department of Defense, was the first grower in Salinas to join hands with the Teamsters against the farm workers. Antle responded to a lettuce strike in 1961, the same way as growers did in Salinas in 1970, by refusing to negotiate with the workers and then signing a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters. In 1963, the Teamsters loaned Bud Antle \$1-million from their pension fund. UFWOC, citing the loan, recently filed suit against Antle and the Teamsters for conflict of interest.

"The current UFWOC boycott has almost wiped Bud Antle out of the lettuce business. His sales have stopped in sixty-four cities across the nation. . . ."

—DERRICK MORRISON

La Raza Unida Party candidates discuss Berkeley election issues



Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles, Aug. 29, 1970

Photo by Mike Mastro

The following interview was obtained for *The Militant* by Antonio Camejo on March 4, 1971. Interviewed were Victor Acosta, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) candidate for Berkeley City Council, and Carmen Alegria, LRUP candidate for Berkeley Board of Education. Acosta has been a leading activist at Merritt College, where he has been active in the fight for community control of the college.

Carmen Alegria, an instructor in Chicano Studies at Merritt, has been active in the women's liberation movement in the Bay Area.

Camejo: What made you decide to help organize La Raza Unida Party in the Oakland-Berkeley area?

Acosta: The first thing that motivated us was the concrete example of what was happening in Crystal City, Texas, under the leadership of Jose Angel Gutierrez. It became very evident to us that what he was talking about in terms of forming an independent political party, separate from the parties that have oppressed us—the Democratic and Republican parties—was something we had to address ourselves to here also.

So we began organizing La Raza Unida Party in the Oakland-Berkeley area and on a northern-California-wide basis. There are also significant developments in southern California.

The reason we decided to run in the local elections here (in Berkeley) and in Oakland was to help our party get organized. By running we could begin letting our people know who we were and what we represent. We could use the media at our disposal to inform and politicize our people and introduce them to a party that plans to stay here 365 days a year and deal with the daily problems confronting our communities. We have begun making use of free radio time, press coverage, and public meetings to reach our people with what we have

Antonio Camejo is an instructor in the Latin and Mexican-American Studies Department at Merritt College and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley.

to say. We have already forced candidates running for office to address themselves to the demands of the Chicano community.

Alegria: One of the problems in Berkeley is that even though there are about 7,500 Chicanos and Latinos we have never been represented in the City Council or the school board, and most Anglos don't even know we exist. They are not even aware of the existence of a sizable Raza community, let alone of the problems our people face in terms of housing, health, unemployment, and education. We are using our campaign to bring all of these problems into public view. In short, La Raza Unida Party is giving our people a voice they have never had.

The community is very receptive to what we are trying to do. We don't make any demands on our people. We make the demands of the government, which has ignored our needs, and then we mobilize our people behind the party to get some changes. We welcome anyone into the party as long as they are Raza and sincerely want to build a Raza party independent of both the Democrats and Republicans to struggle for control of our own community.

We recognize that we have every political outlook within our communities, and if we are to successfully unite our people, we must seek the participation of everyone who supports the principles of our party. The basis for forming the party was that we all have common bonds of oppression, a common language, and a common culture. We have a common enemy and face a common oppression, whether we be Chicanos, Latinos or Puerto Riquenos. This is what brings us together.

Acosta: I would like to emphasize that breaking totally from the Democrats and Republicans is not just a principle we thought up when we had nothing else to do.

When you begin looking at the history of the Democratic Party in this country, which has kept us oppressed, which has miseducated our people, which robbed us of our land, language and culture, and which participates in the government conspiracy to deny millions of our people their

rights, we begin to see that declaring our total independence of the two-party system is not just a matter of rhetoric but a practical matter of survival. It is a very down-to-earth practical matter of being able to organize our people to effectively struggle for our needs.

Look at the record. Our people have been tied to the Democratic Party for years and years and what has it gotten us? Nothing. The standard of living in East Los Angeles for Chicanos dropped in the last decade to the 1959 level in spite of the fact we have thrown our weight behind various Democratic administrations which promised all sorts of things.

The reality is very clear to us: either we begin to count on ourselves and organize ourselves independently to fight for complete control of our communities and our destiny, or we continue the same old fruitless game of "lesser-evil" politics. Our people are responding enthusiastically to La Raza Unida Party because they are angry and don't want to wait another minute to get what is ours. This is what we mean by "Ya Basta!" (Enough!).

Camejo: Many people have pointed out that La Raza Unida Party has been successful in Crystal City, where the population is 85 percent Chicano. Do you feel that the concept of independent political action is viable even in areas where Chicanos are not a majority?

Acosta: In Berkeley, we compose around 8 percent of the population, in Oakland about 15 percent, and in certain districts in those cities as much as 20 percent. The fact that we are a minority does not invalidate or fundamentally change the purpose of our party. We are organizing to fight for community control of all the institutions within our community which directly affect our lives. We always point out that we are not merely an electoral machine but a political party that will fight for the needs of our people all year long between elections as well.

In the electoral arena, the fact that we are a minority does not really make any difference in terms of us beginning to initiate independent political action. Even though we are a

minority, we represent a sizable voting bloc with the power to determine the outcome of most elections. The votes cast for La Raza can either elect or defeat a Democrat. We can hold the balance of power. This doesn't mean, however, that we will sell our votes to the highest bidder.

Camejo: The most controversial issue in the Berkeley campaign has been the police charter amendment. The Democrats and Republicans have lined up almost unanimously to oppose it. What is your view?

Acosta: One of the key points on the platform of La Raza Unida Party is community control of all institutions in our communities. That means the churches, police, schools—all the institutions that exist in the community. The charter amendment will begin creating the situation where our communities can concretely struggle around having total control of the police.

The charter amendment will split up the police in Berkeley into three departments—the Black and Chicano section, the white area, and the campus area. The important section of the charter amendment that deals specifically with community control is that we can democratically elect neighborhood committees or councils to keep the police in check and determine police policy.

We the people in the Black and Chicano communities can tell the police what to do. We can begin telling them not to break a picket line when workers are on strike, or not to go into a school when students are striking and demanding better education. When there's a Third World strike at the University of California at Berkeley, we'll tell the police not to go in there and victimize our Chicano brothers who are struggling for a more relevant education. We can point out to these policemen that these are just struggles and they shouldn't intervene unless it is to arrest all of those people who are trying to interfere with the right to picket and to protest and with the rights of students to a more relevant education.

The charter amendment provides rights for the people of the community to recall any of the elected officials of the police department. It also

provides that all police officers reside in the community that they are serving, so that we will have police officers who will be acquainted with the people in the community, who will be aware of their language and culture. For example, in our case none of the police who come in even understand the Spanish language, much less the culture of the Chicano community. And so they inevitably act in a racist manner. These policemen have got to go. What we've got to have are policemen who represent the people in the community and understand our problems and who are not alien to us.

Camejo: Carmen Alegria, could you comment on the present financial crisis in the Berkeley schools in relation to the Chicano and Latino community?

Alegria: Berkeley is faced with a \$2.6-million deficit, and the school board and the superintendent have come up with some suggestions on their part as to what they would like to do about this deficit and where they would like to cut back. They want to cut back on the teachers and on programs.

They're talking about freezing salaries and in general making cuts at a time when our community hasn't even begun to get the kinds of services, teachers or programs that we need in the schools. We've estimated, roughly, a 20 percent illiteracy rate in English among our people in Berkeley. The bilingual program right now

in one school where there are 168 Chicanos only serves six, and the other schools follow pretty much the same pattern. The number of Chicano teachers in bilingual programs is minimal. We're asking for the expansion of the program and for hiring Chicano teachers in the bilingual program, and in the schools in general—until we're represented proportionately to our population.

One of the projects that we in the Raza Unida Party have become involved in, together with people in the community and Chicano students, teachers and parents, is writing up a proposal for a **Casa de la Raza**, a school for Raza. This school would be bilingual, have cultural programs, and teach all the disciplines, both in English and Spanish. The school would be controlled by the community. Rather than have one director, appointed by the school district, we want to have a school that's run by a board made up of parents, students, teachers, and staff from the community. They would decide on who the teachers are, how the money's to be used, what the programs are, and how the facilities are used.

Camejo: What kind of support have you received for your campaign?

Alegria: We've received a very enthusiastic response from the community. Last week, we got the endorsement of the Oakland chapter of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA). We're also endorsed by Bert

Corona, former state-wide president of MAPA in California. He's endorsed all our candidates in Berkeley and Oakland.

In terms of community support, people are beginning to open up their homes for house meetings, inviting their friends so that we can talk about the campaign. We have people in increasing numbers coming up to help us with the campaign in whatever way



Carmen Alegria

they can. We've opened a headquarters in Oakland and in Berkeley and people have already pledged money on a monthly basis to cover rent.

Those interested in the campaign may write to: La Raza Unida Party, 929 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94710, or call (415) 841-5490. "Partido de la Raza Unida" buttons (25 cents) and bumper stickers (50 cents) are available.



Victor Acosta

SWP endorses Raza Unida campaign

BERKELEY—The Oakland-Berkeley Socialist Workers Party has announced its support for candidates of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) in the April 6 municipal elections in Oakland and Berkeley.

In Berkeley, the RUP is running Victor Acosta for City Council and Carmen Alegria for Board of Education. Both candidates also have the support of the Oakland-Berkeley chapter of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA).

The RUP candidates in Oakland are: Tito Lucero for councilman-at-large, Tony Rodarte for councilman from the 5th District, and Florencio Medina for school board. They also have the endorsement of MAPA.

The RUP is running Trinidad Lopez for the Peralta Junior College Board of Trustees, which has jurisdiction over Merritt College, a center of Chicano and Latino struggles.

In a statement issued by Antonio Camejo, So-

cialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Berkeley, he said, "The Raza Unida Party represents a significant break with the dead end of lesser-evil politics.

"The RUP is an independent party of La Raza and correctly sees both Democrats and Republicans as the enemy. La Raza will not seriously be able to change its present condition as an oppressed people until we reorganize ourselves into a mass independent political party which can lead the fight for Brown control of the Brown community. The Raza Unida Party is pointing the way for all oppressed nationalities in this country. That's why the SWP has endorsed the RUP slate.

"The SWP candidates in the Berkeley and Oakland city elections, wherever they speak, are explaining the importance of the RUP campaigns and urging people to support them."

L.A. to pay to defend killer cops

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Chicano representatives here are angrily protesting a decision by the Los Angeles City Council to pay for the legal defense of three policemen who killed two Mexican citizens last summer.

"The three policemen committed a flagrant atrocity," Esteban Torres, head of the East Los Angeles Community Union, told *The Militant*. "I am appalled by the decision of the City Council to have the taxpayers pay for their defense."

Torres added that this indication of the close tie between the police department and the city attorney's office was no surprise to him. "The civil rights of the ordinary citizen are not protected by the city attorney's office," he said.

Roberto Elias, spokesman for La Raza Unida Party, said, "Our people will now have to pay taxes to support these men. It is like saying the police are justified in killing our people. The 8-to-5 vote to pay their legal expenses shows the predominately racist character of the City Council."

Many letters were sent to Police Chief Edward Davis condemning the action of the three policemen and demanding that the city not pay for their defense, Daniel Ybarra, treasurer of the Barrio Defense Committee, told *The Militant*.

"These policemen have committed a crime," Ybarra said. "If Chicanos commit a crime, the city does not pay for our defense." He said the Barrio Defense Committee was meeting to plan actions against this latest slap against the Chicano people.

The three L.A. cops indicted are Hector Zepeda, Marshall F. Gains, and Jeffrey J. Fedrizzi.

They along with other police busted into a downtown apartment last July 16. The cops were looking for a murder suspect. Whereas they demanded entry in English, the five Mexican occupants only understood Spanish. This left the Mexicans bewildered. And two of them, Guillermo Beltran Sanchez, 22, and his cousin Guillard Alcazar Sanchez, 21, never recovered from that bewilderment.

Mass protests, led by the Chicano Moratorium Committee at the time, forced the Los Angeles Police Department to indict seven of the raiders on charges of manslaughter and assault. But these charges were later dropped.

So on March 3, a federal grand jury indicted three of the raiders. However, the three police officers are only being charged with violating the civil rights of the two dead Mexican citizens.

Latino march attacked

By OLGA RODRIGUEZ

MILWAUKEE—Police attacked a peaceful demonstration here March 3 to protest the conviction and sentencing of Ernesto Chacon, a community organizer for the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, and Jose Puente, a member of the group. Chacon and Puente face six-month jail sentences stemming from a welfare demonstration for winter clothes for the poor. They were convicted of disorderly conduct and obstructing an officer. Although the Wisconsin Supreme Court has upheld the convictions, the two men have not been jailed, pending a defense motion for a rehearing.

Trouble at the March 3 demonstration began as more than 200 marchers returned to Milwaukee's South Side (where most of the city's 20,000 Latinos live) from the peaceful rally at the civic center. Police accompanying the march in squad cars, in motorcycles, and on foot began to move in on the crowd when some of the marchers were crowded off the sidewalk onto the street. The police started

pushing marchers onto the sidewalk and took out their night sticks. Several arrests were made.

All at once the police began rushing the crowd and beating them indiscriminately. The shocked marchers tried to scatter, but police were everywhere.

Some 15 demonstrators were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Among them were Jesus Salas, a Latino community leader, and Lalo Valdez, editor of *La Guardia*, a Latino newspaper in Milwaukee.

After the disturbance had ended, police remained in the vicinity of the offices of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, where demonstrators had gathered. The offices of one building were searched, among them the office of the Latin American Outreach Institute of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. An employee of the institute was on the telephone when two policemen entered and held a shotgun to his chest. The cops finally left when they were persuaded he was a university employee.

On Sat., March 6, more than 430 persons marched in freezing rain and snow to demand freedom for Chacon and Puente and to protest the police attack on the previous demonstration. This march demonstrated the determination of the Latino community not to be intimidated by the tactics of the police and to exercise its right to protest without police harassment.

Facts about Panther split

By TONY THOMAS

Over the past month, a split has developed in the Black Panther Party. The party is divided between supporters of Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard on one side, and supporters of the New York Panthers and Eldridge Cleaver on the other. Both sides claim the support of Bobby Seale, national chairman of the Panther Party, now facing trial in New Haven, Conn. Seale has so far withheld comment on the split.

The first sign of division came when a letter signed by the New York Panther 21 (actually written by nine of the male defendants) written to the Weatherpeople appeared in the Jan. 19 *East Village Other*. The letter praised the Weatherpeople's terrorist actions and attacked "leaders" of the Panther Party for "tripping out, pseudomasochism, arrogance . . . dogmatism, regionalism, regimentation, and fear."

The nine defendants had at first tried to get permission from the Panther leadership in Oakland to publish the letter, but this was denied. Upon the publication of the letter, the defendants were secretly expelled from the Panther Party.

The Jan 23 issue of the *Black Panther* newspaper included several items that are extremely relevant to the split. The most important is Newton's speech given at Boston College Nov. 18. Newton states, among other things, that nations and states no longer exist—only empires and communities. Since "socialism can only be achieved in one country," it will not be seen. We will instead pass through the stage of "intercommunalism."

He also states that people who counterpose socialism and internationalism to Black nationalism, and who state that Blacks are not a nationality, are correct. Newton even denounces internationalism since it includes too much recognition of "nonexistent" nations.

Added to this political madness, is the treatment of Newton as a Mao-like superhero.

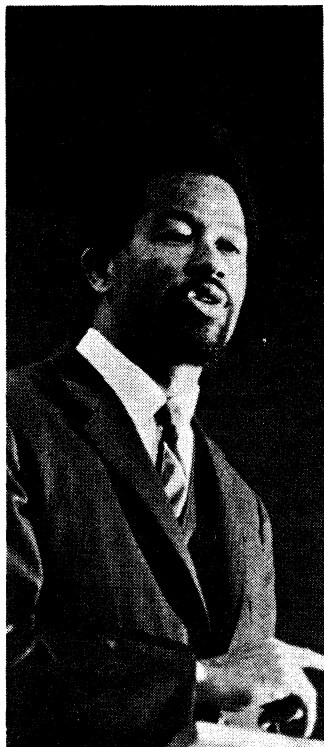
The cover of this issue featured a picture of Huey P. Newton with the headline, "LET US HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERCOMMUNALISM AND THE INVINCIBLE THOUGHTS OF HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY." This headline, which now accompanies articles by and pictures of Newton, was draped across seven of the eight pages of Newton's article.

This issue also carried a communiqué from Eldridge Cleaver on the Angela Davis case. Cleaver claimed that the "case of Angela Davis is a tool in the hands of the reactionary forces in the world to deny the right of the people to take up arms in their struggle for liberation from oppression."

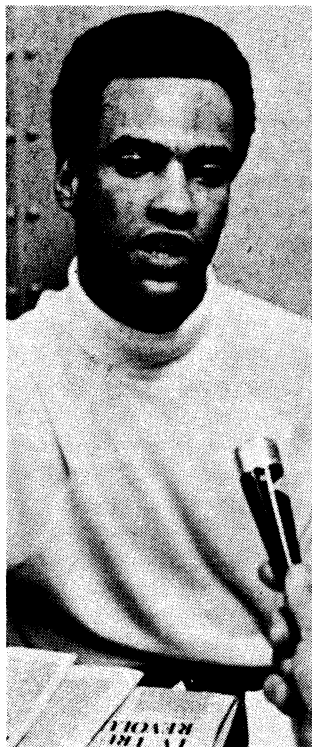
He argued that the case was a "conspiracy" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. to divert attention from the case of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins. While Cleaver did not explicitly say that nothing should be done about defending Angela Davis, the Panther paper carried not one word on the Davis case until after Cleaver split.

The Jan. 23 issue also carried an article "On the Purge of Geronimo (Elmer Pratt) from the Black Panther Party." Pratt, a former leader of the Los Angeles Panthers, was one of the best-known Panthers.

Pratt was expelled for allegedly planning to assassinate David Hilliard, "But the most disgraceful, counter-revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly . . . he would assassinate . . .



Eldridge Cleaver



Huey Newton



Bobby Seale



Kathleen Cleaver

Huey P. Newton. This statement on the importance of the "Supreme Commander's" life was signed by Huey P. Newton.

On Feb. 8, Richard Dharuba Moore and Michael Cetewayo Tabor, two Panther 21 defendants out on bail, failed to show up at the trial. It was later reported that Connie Matthews Tabor, Newton's personal secretary, went with them to Algiers.

The Feb. 13 issue of the *Black Panther* branded the three as "enemies of the people," and they were "expelled for life" from the Black Panther Party for endangering the defense of the other defendants and causing the forfeit of \$150,000 in bail money.

Afeni Shakur and Joan Bird, then the only remaining unpurged New York defendants—both of whom lost their bail due to Tabor and Moore's flight—and the New York chapter of the Black Panther Party supported the Tabor and Moore and were also expelled at this point.

At this time, the split did not seem to include the Panther Central Committee members in exile at the "Intercommunal" chapter in Algiers: Kathleen Neal Cleaver, minister of communications; Don Cox, field marshal; and Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information.

On Feb. 26, during a San Francisco television program that included a telephone hook-up between Newton and Cleaver, Cleaver called for the expulsion of Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard and demanded the reinstatement of Geronimo, the New York defendants, and the New York chapter of the Panther Party. Cleaver claimed that the expulsion and other decisions had been carried out without consulting him and the other Panther leaders in Algiers.

On March 1, the New York Panthers announced that Newton, Hilliard, and all their supporters were expelled "for life" from the Black Panther Party.

On March 4, the New York Panthers made available a tape of Cleaver and other Panthers in Algiers speaking on the split.

Cleaver stated that the repression of the Panthers had resulted in too much emphasis on mass actions and defense of political prisoners and too little emphasis on "military struggle." Cleaver attacked Newton for not favoring the Panthers "going underground," and claimed the Panthers had developed a "bureaucratic machinery."

The March 6 issue of the Newton-controlled *Black Panther* carried a special supplement by Elaine Brown entitled "Free Kathleen Cleaver and All Political Prisoners." Brown charged

Eldridge Cleaver with marital infidelity and with beating Kathleen Cleaver.

Brown also charged that Cleaver had murdered Rahim, a Panther who allegedly had an affair with Kathleen Cleaver.

Brown attempted to draw the "political" implications of this by saying "the . . . murder of Rahim was endorsed by the . . . [Algerian] government of Houari Boumédiène. . . . Yasir Arafat [leader of Al Fateh] . . . might accept this, but we know that Dr. George Habash [a leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] . . . would never accept this. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Republic of China would never have tolerated this kind of behavior. And the government of Albania will not tolerate this. . . ."

Several slogans on the back page of the supplement attacked Cleaver for his criticisms of Cuba, the Angela Davis defense, and Newton and Hilliard, claiming he was dividing the Black Panthers, the Black community, and the socialist world. Apart from the supplement on Cleaver's married life and these slogans, the pro-Newton faction has published no explanation of their differences with Cleaver.

On March 8, Robert Webb, a leader of the New York Panthers, was shot dead in broad daylight on 125th Street in Harlem.

At a press conference, Zayd Shakur, a leader of the New York Panthers, charged, "This cold-blooded murder was ordered by dope fiend Huey P. Newton." Shakur claimed that Newton had sent supporters into New York to "murder Panthers." He claimed that Webb was killed when he attempted to stop two Blacks from selling the pro-Newton Panther paper.

Shakur played a video tape of Cleaver talking in a telephone conversation with a voice attributed to Newton. The voice threatened that Cleaver and his supporters would be killed. Shakur claimed that David Hilliard controlled Newton through the use of "mind-bending" drugs.

Shakur announced that there had been no split, only a "purge" of the Newtonites. He said that New York had replaced Oakland as the Panthers' national headquarters and that the New York Panthers would publish a newspaper of their own.

Newton charged that Webb was murdered by police provocateurs seeking to set him and Hilliard up for murder charges. The New York Panthers have refused to give any information about the killing to the cops.

On March 11, the New York Panthers released a video tape of Cetewayo and Connie Tabor in Algiers. Cetewayo stated that "Newton failed to live up to the expectations that we had of him," and that after the "Intercommunalism" speech last November, "members began to drift away from the party one by one."

When rank-and-file members demanded "explanations why the party had abandoned all military activities," Tabor charged, Newton and Hilliard warned that "anybody who asked such questions would be dealt with severely—they might even be offed [killed]." Tabor also claimed that Hilliard and Newton were appropriating Panther Party and defense funds for their own private use.

Kathleen Cleaver stated on the same tape that Elaine Brown's charges were "vicious, distorted, perverse lies," and that Newton's "counterrevolutionary backstabbing clique has . . . betrayed Eldridge and they've betrayed me."

While the split in the Panthers is in no way resolved at this point, it is clear that neither faction provides anything resembling a program that can advance the Black liberation movement.

The split, the lack of any attempt to clarify political differences, the threats of and possible use of violence between the different factions, are all the logical outcome of the Panthers' false political approach. In a future issue, we will discuss this point.

However, it is very important that everyone within the Black liberation movement, in the Panthers and outside of them, and in the general radical movement, rally to the defense of all Panther political prisoners, especially Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and the New York 21, no matter what faction they adhere to. Others that should be defended are: Newton and Hilliard, currently out on bail on charges of manslaughter and threatening the life of the president, respectively; Geronimo, currently being held in Texas; and Eldridge Cleaver, Don Cox, Michael Cetewayo Tabor, Connie Matthews Tabor, and Richard Dharuba Moore, all fugitives from frame-up charges.

Secondly, it is necessary to condemn the use of hooliganism to settle differences within the Black movement. Violence between the factions can only lead to tragedies like the slaying of Robert Webb, and provides an excuse for the U.S. government to use police and provocateurs to kill Panthers and other Black radicals while blaming different factions within the Panther Party.

Socialist Campaign '71

Socialist runs in Worcester

WORCESTER, Mass. — In a news conference which received extensive coverage on every local radio and television station (including a five-minute television interview) and much notice in Worcester's leading newspaper, Eric Poulos announced his campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council here March 17.

Poulos, a student at Clark University, said that he considered his candidacy a product of the current youth radicalization. "It is no accident," he said, "that the first 19-year-old to run for municipal office in Worcester is a socialist." Poulos has been a radical activist since he was in junior high school, when he became involved in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He was a leader of high school Students for a Democratic Society in New York and was active in Worcester SDS. Poulos was a leading figure in establishing the Worcester Young Socialist Alliance.

Poulos said that candidates for local office must deal with the causes of Worcester's problems. "One of the most important aspects of my campaign for City Council will be to demonstrate that the war is a local issue. The casualty rate for Worcester draftees is higher than the national average. Last fall, 85 percent of the Worcester voters voted for withdrawal from Vietnam. My campaign will seek to represent the feelings of the majority of Worcester voters on the war."

He went on to challenge all his opponents to join him in a demonstration in Boston the following evening, March 18, protesting Agnew's visit, and to also join him at the antiwar demonstration in Washington April 24, where he will be representing the views of the majority of Worcester's residents.

The response of Worcester's ruling elite to the socialist alternative was immediate. In a letter postmarked 12 noon, March 17—just 90 minutes after the news conference—Poulos was informed that he had been removed from the list of registered voters, thus making it impossible for his name to appear on the September ballot.

The excuse given was that students cannot vote in a city unless they live in that city with their parents. This is clearly an effort by the city government to nullify the gains that young people in Massachusetts won when the voting age was lowered to 19 by a referendum this past fall.

It also makes it practically impossible for many young people to run for public office.

A news conference has been called by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee on the steps of Worcester City Hall to protest this blatant denial of democratic rights.

Lafferty joins race in Mass.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Socialist Workers Party announced the campaigns of five candidates for City

Council and mayor here March 21. The candidates are Jeanne Lafferty, a founder of Boston Female Liberation; Terry Bell, an antiwar activist and veteran; Toba Singer, who was the SWP candidate for Massachusetts attorney general in 1970; Sarah Ullman; and William Scheer.

Jeanne Lafferty will be running for both City Council and mayor in order to call attention to the fact that at present the mayor is not elected directly by the Cambridge community. She will be demanding that the community be given this right.

Smith puts heat on liberal

LOS ANGELES—Baxter Smith, SWP candidate for Board of Education here, was among those appearing at a recent "Meet the Candidates Night" meeting sponsored by an organization called Transport-A-Child (a group that provides transportation for small children to and from school). Other candidates who presented their views on public education were liberal incumbent Georgianna Hardy and Daniel Carasso.

Hardy appears to be feeling the pressure of Smith's campaign. She apparently sees his campaign as potentially taking away significant Black, Chicano and youthful votes, thus threatening her bid for reelection.

Previously, Hardy, who has served on the board for 16 years, had declined invitations by Smith to debate. However, she was not only unusually cordial at the candidates' meeting, but

even offered Smith a job as field advisor to her after the campaign!

At present, the liberals on the school board enjoy a four-to-three majority over the conservatives. They have formed a liberal slate with Democratic Party backing in an effort to ward off a conservative challenge.

SWP at abortion hearing

MINNEAPOLIS — Susan Vass, student activist and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, testified before the Minnesota State Senate Judiciary Committee on a proposal for abortion law reform that is currently being considered.

Vass took an aggressive stand, which went beyond the proposal that women be granted abortions on the approval of a five-doctor committee. She demanded recognition of what she called "the right of any woman to control what goes on in her own body."

"This basic right is being denied women at the cost of thousands of lives per year," she asserted, "and the denial of this right is one of the major forces locking women into their present subservient role in society. The only legislation socialists will support will be bills that end all restrictions on the rights of individual women to decide for themselves whether they want abortions, and that provide free facilities so that poor and working-class women — and not only their wealthier sisters — can afford abortions whenever they need them."

Socialist tour evokes wide interest

By CAROLINE LUND

"I think that my tour has been very successful so far," Linda Jenness, a Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman, told me when she stopped in New York nearly halfway through a national speaking tour. She has been speaking on the general topic of why feminism is revolutionary and how it is related to the struggle for socialism.

"One thing is certain," Jenness emphasized, "and that is people are asking questions and thinking about this society in a much more serious way than they were just a few years ago. The main questions that have been raised after my talks are *how* we are going to change this society, not *why* or *should we*. Very few people will challenge the fact that this society is rotten and must be changed."

Linda Jenness gained much of her speaking experience in the South, where she became widely known as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta in 1969 and for governor of Georgia in 1970.

One indication of the growing desire of people for social change, Jenness said, has been the response from her audiences to the criticisms she makes of the family system. "More and more people are beginning to see the inhumaneness of the family system—particularly for women, children and old people—and are asking, 'What forms of human relationships will people have under socialism?' or 'How can we replace the family?'"

She showed me an article from the *Cleveland Press* reporting her views

that "The family is inadequate." The article quotes her as saying: "Everybody always romanticizes the family, of course. But the trouble is that there are many families where there is no warmth, where children are unwanted to begin with, and where they are cold and hungry."

"I don't believe that children should have to rely on the family to be well cared for. Today for children to be decently fed and clothed and properly educated, they must be born into middle- or upper-class families. Poor children, of course, have no control over being born into poverty, and because of their birth, they are denied the things that other children have."

"The only solution is that society must take over where the family, or what passes for a family, leaves off. We are tremendously rich in this country, yet we use most of our resources to enrich those who already have too much," she said.

This article in the *Cleveland Press* is an example of the good newspaper and radio coverage Jenness is receiving on her tour. She has been on the radio for a total of 150 minutes during the tour so far and on TV for 10 minutes.

"Many questions are raised about the 24-hour child-care centers which the women's liberation movement is demanding," Linda Jenness noted. "Everyone agrees that they are badly needed, but people are mistrustful that this society would provide decent child care. Many people have this image that child-care centers might be alien-

ating institutions controlled from above and producing robots, like something out of 1984 or *Brave New World*."

"I think it's very important that the women's liberation movement carefully explain the demand for community control of the child-care centers. We have to explain that the people who live and work in a community, along with the parents of the children and the children themselves, must have total decision-making power over the kind of facilities, staff, education, etc. that are to be used in the centers."

"Of course," she added, "some of the questions about child-care centers also come from people, mainly men, who think that once a woman has a child, she's duty-bound to be responsible for it 24 hours a day whether she's able to or wants to or not. They think that getting pregnant, bearing a child and raising it is the 'price' women should pay for having sexual intercourse. The women in the audience usually take care of that argument!"

After finishing this first leg of her tour, which included meetings on 23 campuses in 17 cities, Linda Jenness remarked that although her speech is mainly about feminism, most of the questions asked afterwards are about socialism.

Linda Jenness' speaking engagements have generally been sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. In Oshkosh, Wisconsin, her meeting at Wisconsin State University was co-sponsored by the YSA and the Asso-

ciation of Women Students. At Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, the Association of Women Students sponsored her meeting. At other schools, her talks have been sponsored by the philosophy department and political science clubs.



Linda Jenness



Kate Millett addressing gay liberation demonstration in Albany, N.Y., March 14.

Photo by David Thorstad

Kate Millett on gay liberation

The following is a transcription of Kate Millett's speech to the March 14 Albany gay liberation rally, provided for *The Militant* by the Gay Activists Alliance news committee.

It's a beautiful day to hear this chant for justice coming up and over against all these crazy buildings. That justice, that call for justice, I felt it like a little voice inside my guts, hurting, waiting for years and years. And today it feels so damn good to say it out loud.

Now, we came to see The Man today, and we've got a lot to tell him.

Let me tell you one or two things I know about gay. But I also have to tell you one or two things I know about sexism because that's where it starts. We've got a deeply sick sexual culture with two special segregated existences—straight and gay. Straight is terrified of gay. It's so scared of gay, it does everything it can to keep it from happening—that's why, sometimes, it does even. It does all this to limit love—so it won't happen, so it won't be generalized, so people will be miserable. It does it because it is all built on the oppression of women and of gay people. Its hierarchy depends on making a pariah class out of homosexuals and making women second-class citizens.

And so if I tell you one or two things that I know about gay and can remember, it is that I can remember when it was hell! I can remember the guilt they gave us, the ghetto they gave us. I can remember the hiding, the loneliness, the terror, the always being afraid of being spotted, hooted at, harassed, put down. Can you remember these things?

And most gay people still live in it and only there. It is a closet and it's very dark.

So then things began to change and we started to get it together. And, by god, has it ever changed! We started to march. I've been to a lot of marches, for lots of things, but the march last summer, the march in New York, the Christopher Street march in June—that blew my mind. It was like no march I've ever been to. That made me feel freer than anyplace I've been. To be together, to be out in the streets, finally to be public. To feel—and it seems so crazy—gay pride! All we'd ever known was shame! We were feeling proud, and we liked ourselves, and we were free and we were beginning to show them that we meant to stay that way! And they've got to know that! We're not going back in!

Also, to know that we were beautiful after having hated ourselves so long. And I think that it isn't only the legislature that has got to learn this—but it sure has got to learn it tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock—the universities have got to learn it too. And all the schools, and all the shrinking business, and all the employers.

It's time, you know, that we finally got that justice. It's too late even. It's awfully late and it's past time that our freedom was given to us. But it is a thing that we are going to have to take, and we know that. Remember how much they owe us! Remember what they put us through! So let's begin the revolution—and this is a very special one. It's about love, and health, and it's even got kisses in it—and a sense of humor.

Biggest fund drive in history of YSA

In order to implement ambitious plans for expanding its national activities, the Young Socialist Alliance is currently campaigning to raise \$43,000 by May 15. The goal of \$43,000 for this spring fund drive makes it the largest such drive in the history of the YSA.

Delegates at the YSA national convention held in New York last December voted to launch the campaign after hearing reports on and discussing the increased financial needs of the YSA.

In an interview with *The Militant*, YSA financial director Andy Rose, who recently returned from a national financial tour, pointed out some of these needs:

"The fantastic growth of the YSA in the last year has made it absolutely necessary for us to expand all the different aspects of our national organization, from publications to staff to office expenses—everything.

"Just one small example may give you a feel for the situation we're operating in now. We have 11 people on our national staff jammed into an office that could comfortably hold six. So we're moving to a new national headquarters in about a month, and we figure our rent will increase by 150 percent.

"We also have plans for substantially stepping up our publications—new buttons and posters, several new pamphlets, more leaflets, flyers, and so on.

"But the biggest need is to expand our national office staff. Last fall, we added a national Third World liberation director and a national women's liberation work director—those were important steps forward for us. But for the spring, we saw we had to bring even more people onto the staff, to

keep up with our own growth and the growth of the mass movements we are participating in.

"For example, we now have two people heading up our women's liberation work instead of just one, and we just brought another person into the office to help direct our work in the Chicano and Latino liberation struggle."

How does this fund drive compare to those the YSA has conducted in the past?

"Last spring, we had a fund drive for about \$28,000," Rose said, "and in the spring of 1968, we had a drive for just over \$13,000, so you can see what a big increase it is.

"This fund drive is also different because we are conducting it differently. We plan to raise a lot of money through campus fund-raising projects and donations from people who support the work the YSA is doing.

"Plus we are having an all-out campaign to tool up our internal financial functioning. I think the YSA probably has the most professionally organized finances of any radical youth organization, but we can always improve.

"So all in all this is a major challenge for us, and we view our financial campaign as one of the most important campaigns we are engaged in this spring."

When Rose was asked if the YSA can successfully make this fund drive, he replied, "I'm almost sure we can. We know that \$43,000 is the absolute minimum we must raise in order to take full advantage of the current opportunities for building the revolutionary movement—bigger opportunities than we have ever seen before—so I think we *have* to make this fund drive."



The Young Socialist Alliance—America's largest, fastest-growing revolutionary youth organization—must raise \$43,000 by May 15. We are rapidly expanding all of our activities—building the mass movements against the war, for women's liberation, for Black and Chicano self-determination—getting out our ideas to hundreds of thousands of radicalizing young people—organizing for the socialist revolution. To carry out these activities requires money, and we are asking for your help.

I WANT TO HELP MAKE THE YSA FUND DRIVE FOR \$43,000.

ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION OF ()\$1 ()\$5 ()\$10 ()\$20 ()\$50 ()\$ (CHECK ONE)

SEND TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER STATION, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003.

Palestine groups discuss future plans

By TONY THOMAS

MARCH 22—The National Palestinian Council meeting in Cairo ended March 5 with a continuation of the division over perspectives that has marked the Palestinian liberation movement.

The council issued a communique, quoted in the March 6 French daily *Le Monde*, which stated that "the Palestinian revolution is a national liberation movement and that the armed struggle is the essential aspect of action aimed at freeing Palestine." The council also categorically rejected proposals for a Palestinian "mini-state." (This proposal would give the Palestinian people Jordan's West Bank and the Gaza Strip for their own state.)

The issue which caused the most dissension at the meeting was Al Fateh leader Yasir Arafat's proposal for organizational unity of the Palestinian movement.

According to *Le Monde*, Ibrahim Bakr, a spokesman for the pro-Arafat supporters, charged the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—which is now split into two wings, one led by George Habash and the other by Ahmed Jibril—and the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) with "ultra-left infantilism." In return these groups have called for the removal of Arafat and the other leaders of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), umbrella organization for all the Palestinian commando groups.

According to the March 8 *Le Monde*, Arafat's proposal, which was passed by the council, is aimed at unifying "the Palestinian struggle in the military, political and economic domains . . . in organization, training and [military] operations."

The PLO is to be transformed into a highly centralized group to include all resistance groups, organizations and individuals. A central leadership is to be elected, which would exercise total control over all facets of the



work of the different groups. Participating groups are to be allowed to maintain their "internal administration," while all external functioning would be fused. Total fusion of all organizations within the PLO was seen as the ultimate goal. Arafat called on the different political tendencies to forget "their doctrinal particularism."

This proposal was developed in opposition to a plan initially put forward by George Habash before the council meeting. Under Habash's proposal, a National Liberation Front of Palestine would be established "similar" to the NLF of Vietnam. The participating tendencies would "maintain their ideological identities, but would be submitted to measures of discipline, especially to prevent isolated actions" on a military plane.

The supporters of this point of view feel that the resistance should "renounce marginal" struggles in Arab countries bordering Israel and infiltrate the Israeli-occupied sections of

the Jordan Valley to build a base for eventual guerrilla actions there and in the Gaza Strip.

This strategy is, in part, prompted by increased restrictions on the resistance in Jordan, Lebanon and other Arab countries, especially since the setback the fedayeen suffered in the September 1970 Jordanian civil war. Backers of the infiltration strategy feel that at least 10 thousand lives will be lost before a base for fedayeen operations on the West Bank is established.

The DPFLP disagrees both with Arafat's organizational proposals and the West Bank infiltration strategy. They feel both proposals adapt to the pressure of the Arab regimes, which fear the effects of the Palestinian struggle within their own territories and are now seeking to make a deal with Israel.

In an interview with the March 4 *Le Monde*, Nayeh Hawatmeh, the leader of the DPFLP, says the follow-

ing: "[Our] notion of national unity . . . implies . . . new relations between the organizations of fedayeen within the leadership of a common front of which the fundamental basis will be: a) doctrinal and political independence of each of these forces; b) the adoption of adequate measures to prevent the Palestinian people from participating in all projects of compromise [with Israel]."

Hawatmeh opposed abandoning the border nations and also attacked Ibrahim Bakr's warnings against antagonizing "the progressive Arab regimes." He said: "All this presupposes the creation of a national Jordanian-Palestinian front which struggles against Zionism and for the liberation of Jordan. This also implies that the resistance revises its relations with the Arab countries and collaborates with the Arab movements for liberation directly and no longer through the intermediary of the established regimes." (Emphasis added.)

Nationwide arrests in South Africa

(From *Intercontinental Press*)

Leaders of the Unity Movement of South Africa, in exile in Lusaka, Zambia, have confirmed reports in the press that a number of well-known members of their organization were arrested by the Vorster government in sweeping raids February 10.

The arrests were made in Natal, Transvaal, Western Cape, and the Transkei provinces. The government has not revealed the reason for the raids and the arrests. Under the Terrorism Act no charges need be filed. The same law denies legal representation to defendants and permits the police to hold them indefinitely.

In a joint statement issued in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam February 20, I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa; Dr. A. I. Limbada, treasurer of the same organization; and N. Honono, president of the All-African Convention, reported that they had been able to ascertain the names of fourteen of the twenty or more said to have been thrown into prison.

A number of these had been living under bans or restrictions that would have made it impossible for them to engage in "subversive" activities.

The statement identifies the known names as follows:

"Mr. Leo Sihlali, former President of the Unity Movement and presently executive member of the Unity Movement of South Africa. He finished his term of imprisonment on Robben Island in 1969. He was picked up in the Transkei. He was banned for

five years under the Suppression of Communism Act when he was arrested. A teacher by profession, he was dismissed for opposing Bantu Education.

"Mr. Louis Mtshizana, a member of the Society of Young Africa (S. O. Y. A.), an affiliate of the Unity Movement, concluded his prison sentence in 1970. He too served in that notorious concentration camp—Robben Island. A lawyer by profession, Mr. Mtshizana was originally arrested and convicted in connection with his legal defence of members of the P. A. C. [Pan-Africanist Congress] in East London, Cape Province.

"Mr. Alfred Wilcox, secretary of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (A. P. D. U. S. A.), an affiliate of the Unity Movement, was dismissed from his job in the Simons Town Harbour on the grounds that he was a security risk. His dismissal was in contravention of the so-called Simonstown Agreement which the British Government bandies about as a cover to do its dirty work of selling arms to racist South Africa. Mr. A. Wilcox, a diligent organiser, has been under a ban for many years in Cape Town.

"Miss Gwen Wilcox and Mr. Robert Wilcox are executive members of the Cape Town branches of A. P. D. U. S. A. and S. O. Y. A. respectively. The former, a teacher by profession, was still under a ban when arrested.

"Mr. Kader Essack of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, is an executive member of the Unity Movement. A lawyer by

profession, Mr. Essack was banned for five years. At the expiration of the ban last year, it was reimposed for a further period of five years."

Besides these, the following are known to have been arrested:

"Mr. D. Lobi and Frank van der Horst, Chairman and member of Executive, Cape Town Branch of APDUSA, respectively.

"Mr. J. B. Vusani, lawyer; Mr. R. Moeng, leading members of the Johannesburg Branch of APDUSA.

"Mr. M. Njonga and S. Van Katharam, both members of the Durban Branch of APDUSA.

"Mr. and Mrs. Bera. They are not members of the Unity Movement, but Mrs. Bera is a sister of the Treasurer of the Unity Movement, Dr. A. I. Limbada, who is in exile."

The authors of the joint statement declare that the arrests came as no surprise. What was surprising was that the imperialist communications media publicized their affiliation:

"It has been a strict policy of the White South African press, and therefore of the imperialist press in general, never to mention the name of the Unity Movement. Whenever its members have been banned, executed, banished, jailed, or placed under house arrest, they were just names, if reported at all, without political affiliations being indicated. Only recently 25 of our peasant members were arrested and detained. Of these, five are still under the 180-day detention. Before then 65 peasant members were simply slaughtered in the Rustenburg

area in the Transvaal on the grounds that they were agitators. There were no prosecutions and not a word in the press, despite the fact that we called the attention of the press to this cold-blooded murder."

In their joint statement, Tabata, Honono, and Limbada offer the following reason for the raids and arrests:

"It is quite clear that the police are acting on a countrywide basis in a desperate bid to destroy all the organisations affiliated to the Unity Movement. These arrests give the lie to the boast of the racist regime that they have destroyed all resistance by the oppressed people of South Africa. The very fact that they still maintain Proclamations 400 and 413, which make it possible for any policeman to arrest any Black man or woman, at any time of the day or night, and keep him under detention indefinitely, and continue to ban any meetings of more than 10 people in the Reserves—all this gives a lie to their claim. On the contrary, the resistance is gaining momentum. It is an undeniable fact that the people of South Africa, including the vast majority of the peasantry, are openly rejecting *Bantustans* (so-called independent Reserves), with what they popularly call a 'Baboon's Parliament,' together with all those inferior apartheid institutions created for a child race.

"Their demand for self-determination, which has become common currency today, is proof of their resolve to carry on the struggle for liberation."

By CAROLYN JASIN

DENVER—On March 10, Esther Goodyear filed Colorado's first sex discrimination class action suit in U. S. District Court against Gates Rubber Co. She is a 10-year office employee of Gates, which is the world's sixth largest rubber manufacturing firm.

Goodyear is suing for \$2,400 in back pay that she is due, and for \$2,856,000 in back pay on behalf of women employees of the company since July 2, 1965, the date when the 1964 Civil Rights Act took effect. She has charged through the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) that Gates underutilizes women and discriminates in hiring, training, salaries, promotion, and termination practices.

Gates refuses to allow the EEOC access to its records and says it will fight the charges in court.

Denver Women's Liberation decided to throw its full support to this case. At first the group tried to file as co-plaintiffs in the suit, but this was impossible because of a legal technicality. However, Denver Women's Liberation and the National Organization for Women plan to be "interveners" in support of the case.

All day Mar. 10, women's liberation activists picketed Gates and leafletted the workers. The leaflet read, in part: "We are going to find out if Gates unceasingly exploits women, constantly denigrates women, continuously insults the intelligence of women, flagrantly uses and abuses women, and viciously retaliates when women protest such treatment. . . . It is also alleged that Gates' managers want 'feminine-looking' women who will accept, or even defend, domination by men. . . . We believe that the phenomenal male chauvinism and greed of Charles Gates Jr., his family, and his hiring managers dictates the practice of using women badly, illegally, and as cheaply as possible."

The response of the women workers varied. Many young women working in the offices showed excitement and approval as they passed the women pickets. Some of the more privileged secretaries at the end of the day pinned paper hearts on their coats saying, "I do not want to be liberated."

Union women were confused at first by the pickets, since the union women

Denver working women fight discrimination

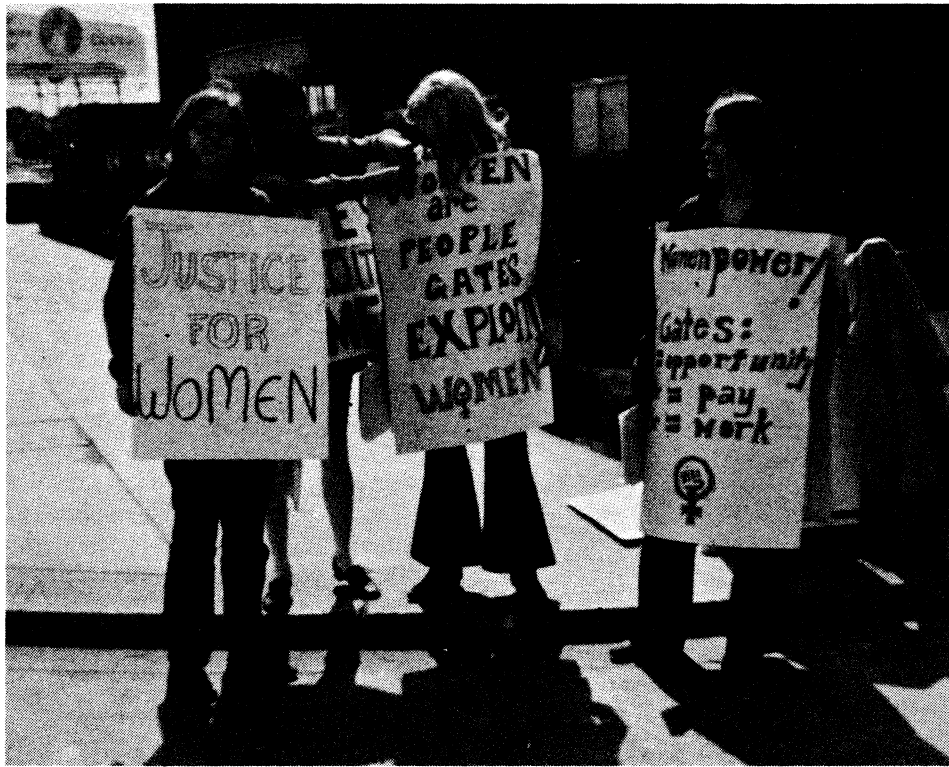


Photo by Carolyn Jasin

Members of Denver Women's Liberation setting up picket line at Gates Rubber Co. March 10.

say they receive equal pay for equal work. There are about a half dozen different unions at Gates, the Rubber Workers being the largest.

Some of the picket signs were: "Gates exploits women," "Justice for women," "Free our sisters, free ourselves," "Junior is not the great white father" (Charles Gates Jr., is Gates' president), "Gates unfair to women," and, written in shorthand, "Gates hates fair pay."

On the day of the picket line, a press

conference was held by Esther Goodyear, Eleanor Crow of NOW, Nell Sale of Denver Women's Liberation, and Pat Brown of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence.

Eleanor Crow said: "This is a landmark case because it challenges overall policies in a large industry." Gates employs 6,000 workers, making it one of the largest employers in Colorado. Women compose 20 percent of Gates workers, 555 being semiskilled and

645 office and clerical workers. NOW members are sending telegrams to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in Washington, D. C., requesting OFCC investigation and termination of all federal contracts with Gates Rubber Co. and its subsidiaries.

The news media, who refer to this case as "Goodyear vs. Gates," tried to get a statement from Gates, only to be put off with a "no comment."

For some years, Esther Goodyear had expressed interest in the rights of women and in the right of collective bargaining and had discussed organizing the office workers. In March 1970, she was transferred to another department. On April 14, she was given a termination letter. This occurred while the Rubber Workers union was conducting an organizing campaign.

On May 1, Goodyear was given a job that paid \$100 less per month. According to the National Labor Relations Board, "during a union organizing campaign . . . an employer may not lawfully take away or threaten employees with loss of existing benefits if they support or select the union. . . ."

Goodyear had sought advice from the ACLU and then the EEOC. It was a woman on the staff of the ACLU who suggested Esther Goodyear call a friend who was in women's liberation. Esther became active in women's liberation in early 1970.

Speaking about her case, Esther Goodyear told me: "I feel it is necessary that women organize and show unity because with the present job situation I feel women are going to be put out of their jobs in droves, are going to be abused much more openly than now, and will be the last hired and the first fired. This is not just a special case involving just me and my problem with Gates. I don't think it is an individual matter or that I am one of those terrible women who just doesn't fit in. I have talked to other women at Gates who have put up with some of the same baloney I have. I have seen women fired before because their bosses just didn't like their 'attitude.' My attitude is that women should be treated as human beings."

As a TV news commentator said, "Let's see how Gates Rubber snaps back from this one."

The National Picket Line

While workers around the country are busy trying to figure out the new "simplified" 1040 income tax forms, and see on their W-2 forms just how many weeks in 1970 they worked for the government, the following item, buried in the March 15 *New York Times*, might be of interest:

"There were 301 Americans with incomes of more than \$200,000 who paid no income tax for 1969. . . ."

This figure represents a rise of 100 percent over 1967, when 155 persons in that income bracket paid no taxes.

The 1969 rise is a direct result of the Tax Reform Act of 1969—a bill which was supposed to set a minimum income tax on those persons who, by one dodge or another, had avoided any taxes at all. But the "minimum" provision in that law is "itself filled with loopholes," according to Rep. H. S. Reuss, (D-Wis.) who revealed the 1969 figures.

On March 17, Nixon signed the bill raising the national debt limit to \$430-billion. Attached to that bill was a 10 percent increase in social security pensions. The national debt increase had to be signed by March 18, so the social security provisions, higher than what Nixon wanted, also were approved.

In signing the bill, the president warned that the 10 percent increase to 26 million Americans (most of whom despite the benefits will still live at the poverty or near-poverty level) will be "highly inflationary" unless Congress immediately passes legislation raising the maximum annual income on which social security taxes are imposed from \$7,800 to \$9,000, instead of waiting for 1972 to make that increase.

The new money will begin to appear in pension checks on June 3, 1971, but the raise is retroactive to Jan 1, 1971. The bill increases minimum benefits for an individual from \$64 to \$70.40 a month, and from \$96 to \$105 for couples. The maximums have been raised from \$193.70 to \$213 for individuals and from \$376 to \$413.71 for couples.

The average pensions tell a more realistic story, however. The new pension average will go up to \$126 for a single person and to \$219 for couples.

Actually this 10 percent raise is only 3 percent. The cost of living has gone up more than 7 percent since the 15 percent increase in benefits in December 1969.

A Massachusetts manufacturing firm has appealed to the Supreme Court to upset a U. S. Court of Appeals ruling that striking workers may receive welfare benefits.

A U. S. Court of Appeals ruled last December that welfare payments by the states do not conflict with free collective bargaining.

The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation's Lamp Division argued that this decision was wrong because Congress had intended to bar the states from this kind of "interference." Welfare aid would prolong strikes since "welfare aid to strikers amounted to governmental subsidies of strikers and their unions."

Governor William T. Cahill of New Jersey has introduced a bill into the state legislature to improve living and working conditions of migrant workers. His recommendations would include a minimum wage of \$1.50 per hour, tighten control over migrant crew leaders, provide interpreters for Puerto Ricans, and furnish sanitary facilities and fresh drinking water for workers in the fields.

This seeming altruism on Cahill's part is the result of a scandal which broke last year when two federal antipoverty workers were arrested and thrown into jail for "trespassing"—they were attempting to investigate conditions in a southern Jersey farm migrant camp. The state investigation which followed this incident revealed conditions it is almost hard to imagine. Cahill now wants to erase that picture by introducing legislation which, in the words of the state director of the Wages and Hours Bureau, would establish "the best set of migrant labor laws in the United States."

The governor's proposed bill has the active opposition of the state's farm interests which have already had sympathetic legislators from farming areas introduce legislation prohibiting visitation rights by either state or federal officials.

At the present time, the factory farms which produce a large part of the vegetables for the East Coast market import Puerto Rican workers and pay their transportation both ways if they work out the full season. Conditions of deprivation and squalor, as well as very low piece rates for work, have caused many of these Puerto Ricans to pack up and go home after a few weeks.

In addition to horrifying conditions in the migrant camps, these Spanish-speaking workers are arrested and jailed for the most minor infractions of New Jersey small-town laws. Without recourse to legal help, they often sit in jail for months without trial and then receive stiff sentences far exceeding the "crimes" (mostly loitering) they have been charged with.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Official discusses issues in rail union

By PEARL CHERTOV

The strike ban imposed by Congress on railroad workers expired on March 1. But the demands of the workers are far from being met. An unstable truce exists in the wage talks because union leaders, like Charles Luna of the United Transportation Union (AFL-CIO), have failed to mobilize railroad workers in defense of their jobs and working conditions.

On March 12, I interviewed Robert Groah, UTU general chairman of the Chicago Belt Railroad. Groah has worked in the railroad industry for many years and is one of the UTU officials most responsive to the needs of the union membership.

In 1968, he led a strike against the Belt Railroad to restore three-man train crews. It won, with about 80 percent of all lost jobs returned. Groah has also supported the UTU Right to Vote Committee, which seeks to change the union constitution to make membership ratification of all contracts mandatory.

Groah stated that the primary issue

in the present negotiations is wages. "The work-rules changes that have been proposed by the railroad are a means of covering the so-called expense of the wage increase."

Giving a wage increase while at the same time increasing the work load and decreasing the work force ends up with less cost to the carriers, not more.

Groah emphasized the unique situation and consequently unique difficulties of railroad workers. "We are under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, which produces a long and encumbered manner of settling any kind of dispute whatsoever."

"In this instance, we have been going from September 1969 in the pursuit of increasing the wages, and the one killing factor we face is time. In the railroad industry, time means nothing, and from the start of a dispute to its finality, or until the time that workers can actually realize something having been done, it is fantastically long. I mean periods ranging anywhere from 16 to 24 to 36 months."

When Congress passed the most recent strike ban last December, it ordered the railroads to pay retroactive wages. But most of the railroads have not complied. The Belt Railway is an exception.

"While the railroads recognized that portion of the law that required us to stop picketing, to cease and desist immediately, they did not see their part of the law."

"But the mass meeting held here at the Midland Hotel Feb. 13 finally shamed a few railroads into paying the workers. However, if the news media had not carried our howl, our cry for justice, I'm sure that the railroads would still be sitting and not have paid a penny to anyone."

Groah discussed the generation gap. "Naturally, the older workers are more entrenched with the security of seniority and the various privileges that come with tenure of duty. The young man is not impressed with any of this foolishness and will say: 'Show me what you've got for me today. I don't want to know what you're going to have in twenty years.'"

"The younger generation is not going to sit down and wait as their forefathers have done. Many times I don't agree with the young people. However I must give them their just due: Through their efforts, many things have been accomplished."

"I could not be an advocate that the ends justify the means, because I consider this principle very improper. But I do know that in order for anything to ever be accomplished, somebody must first have the guts to sit down and recognize that there is in fact a problem. And if no one will recognize that there is a problem, how

in the world can you come to a solution?"

Groah stressed that the young railroad workers were far from immune to the militancy of the students, women, Black and Brown groups leading present struggles. "The railroad workers are like any other group of individuals in their learning process: 'monkey see, monkey do.'"

"The railroad man who is steeped in tradition is probably going to be the least likely to be the 'monkey see, monkey do.' But the young railroad worker can't see his way clear to stand and wait. And if he observes another group of people, whether Black or white, if he sees results coming from someone's militancy, then you would be stupid to say that this wouldn't happen with the railroad workers."

"As the trend towards militancy becomes the only thing that is producing results, the answer should be quite obvious to anyone who has eyes to see or who has ears to hear!"

Groah feels that the Right to Vote Committee will be successful. "Many times it's hard to see what the leadership is doing, because you're never in a position to see all sides of the story. But there is not one person, including the international president, who would say that he is opposed to the right to vote."

"In this democracy, anyone would be hard put to deny anyone the right to vote. It is a basic concept of unionism that the person who is working under a contract has the right to vote on that contract. It only makes sense."

Groah was questioned about the bill introduced into the U.S. Senate by Senator Williams (D-N.J.), chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, that would allow selective strikes by the union. This seems to be supported by UTU President Luna and other high union officials.

"The opinion I would have to give is different from that of President Luna. I would never enter a door with this kind of concession, stating that I was willing to selectively do something. The bill could impose the most severe restrictions on the very people it is intended to help."

Groah illustrated the way such a law could be used against railroad workers by supposing that a selective strike had been called against the Illinois Central. "The secretary of labor has the right to require even the struck railroad to operate a certain amount of trains. He could say, 'Well now it's understood that you must operate the suburban trains. It's also understood that you must operate all of the export trains to New Orleans.' Theoretically, 75 percent of the people on one of the railroads that would be struck would be performing services which would have the effect of miti-

gating the strike itself.

"Now if we're going to be forced to do this by law, I can see problems involved. Number one is selective strikes. Number two, and far more important, is the issue of the secretary of labor being able to require the Illinois Central to operate at 75 percent of capacity even though this road was legitimately and legally struck."

"Problems would evolve from this thing that nobody would have the answer to and everyone would then start running for an exit door trying to look for a way out!"

Groah commented on talk about nationalizing the railroads: "This is another one of these methods for escape. It would only shift the burden from the people who now operate the railroads for private enterprise to the public. But I'm not against it. . . ."

The question of political action for railroad workers was also discussed. "The railroads can whip us hands down," said Groah, "in the monetary backing of one or another candidate. The one thing they cannot do is vote."

"But the railroad worker has not performed as a leader of his community. If someone is your adversary, you should not let him continue unchallenged. It's time the railroad worker learns where his strength lies."

"Not in the dollar bill, supporting candidates, but in the door-to-door committees which would explain the issues that we are concerned about. Without this you have lost the ball game entirely."

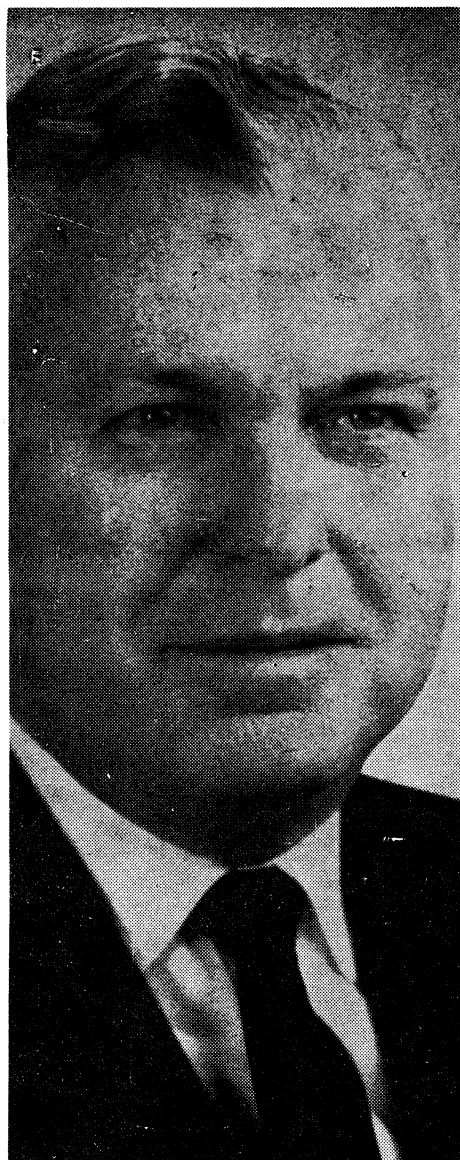
Was Groah talking about the railroad workers ringing door bells for the Democratic Party?

"You cannot tell a Democrat from a Republican on any stand or issue that is given. The workers are numerous enough to have people who are qualified, who will run for these offices, and answer for them in a manner that is equitable to all of the American people, not one segment, that being business."

Did he see any movement towards the formation of a labor party?

"If Congress continues on the road they are following, a labor party would have to evolve," Groah stated. "Unless the Democrats and Republicans can see what the problems are as they relate to the people who do the work—all through Europe you have governments who are composed of the workers."

"England has a huge labor party. Canada has evolved a labor party through their distrust and disrespect of the people who were ruling. This would be inevitable in this country if the people begin to and truthfully distrust the people who are running on either the Democrat or Republican ticket. It is mandatory that something would evolve from this."



United Transportation Union President Charles Luna.

Campus groups to aid Cairo Blacks

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, March 15—The defense of the United Front of Cairo, Illinois, is rapidly expanding.

According to Rev. Manker Harris, public relations director of the Front, Friends of Cairo groups have been set up at the following Illinois campuses: Illinois State University at Normal, University of Illinois at Urbana, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Northern Illinois University at DeKalb, Quincy College in Quincy, Millikin U in Decatur, Malcolm X Community College in Chicago, and University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago.

Through speaking tours of Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of

the Front, and other Front members, Friends of Cairo groups have sprung up in other areas of the country. Koen was recently on the West Coast and is now in New York City.

The Front is calling for a national student conference in defense of the Cairo Black community on April 17 at SIU. This was changed from an original date of April 10. As a gesture of solidarity, the National Committee of Black Churchmen is holding its annual conference in Cairo on April 20, 21 and 22.

As part of the Black economic boycott that began in March of 1969, the Front is backing two of its members for public office. They are Al

Farmer, treasurer of the Front and candidate for mayor, and Preston Ewing Jr., board member of the Front and candidate for city commissioner. Farmer will be opposing the white vigilante mayor of Cairo, Pete Thomas. The campaign is not expected to really get underway until April 1. The election takes place in April.

The Cairo police have an arrest warrant out for Levi Garrett, a member of the Front. When he is arrested, bond will be set at \$15,000. The warrant stems from a March 5 altercation in a tavern in which James Avery fired a shot at Garrett. The bullet went between Garrett's legs. Later that night, Avery, while walking home, was shot in the shoulder. Garrett

denies shooting Avery.

Before Avery shot at Garrett, a Front press release reports him to have said that "he was tired of these 'damn' militants trying to run the town and he was there to show them it was going to stop."

Although Avery is Black, he was involved in a despicable plan to assassinate Rev. Koen. At the urgings of white vigilantes, Avery attended the regular Saturday mass rallies of the Front in January in an effort to challenge the Front leadership. He was thoroughly repudiated. The Front suggests white vigilantes may have fired at Avery, since they have no more use for him.

In Review

Theater

Slag by David Hare. Directed by Roger Hendricks Simon. Presented by the New York Shakespeare Festival, Joseph Papp, producer. At the Public Theater, New York.

Slag shows contempt for women's liberation by presenting it in such a distorted form that it becomes a parody. The play intimates that feminists are feminists because of "personal problems" and that any feeling of sisterhood is false.

Joanne, played by Roberta Maxwell, is a self-proclaimed feminist who sees in Brackenhurst, a school for girls in England, "an embryo of communal living without men." Through a vow of sexual abstinence which opens the play, she claims that she and her two co-teachers, Ann (Kathryn Walker) and Elise (Margo Ann Berdeshevsky), can create a feminist community.

But Brackenhurst becomes a psychological prison from which escape is impossible, although Joanne tries to by digging a tunnel. Joanne's community of sisters is doomed to failure, as well it should be with the concept of feminism as put forth by the author (male) of this play.

Joanne is depicted as being completely without any sympathetic feeling for Ann and Elise. She sends Ann, who is willing to do anything to "keep everybody happy," on ridiculous errands in search of imaginary roof leaks, "because Ann's spent her whole life acting like a man and she has to pay." This is exactly the type of cliché that is used to belittle women who have been successful in any endeavor, and it almost seems unnecessary to add that no feminist would use it.

The play is obsessed with the theme that men consider first and foremost



Photo by Zodiac Photographers

Margo Ann Berdeshevsky, Roberta Maxwell and Kathryn Walker in *Slag*.

when they speak of feminism: sex. Joanne is portrayed as a feminist because of her personal problems of sexual maladjustment. That is, she is a virgin in a society where a woman's main objective is to be sexually attractive to men, and of course the implication is that she couldn't lose her virginity even if she wanted to because, as is said, "no man would have her."

Counterposed to Joanne are Elise and Ann, who have totally accepted the role women are expected to play in our society. In the first scene, Elise knits booties, daydreams of her past sexual exploits, and attacks Joanne by saying, "If you come to Brackenhurst unused, you will remain unused for life." Speaking of the commune of sisters that Joanne wants to create, she muses that no man is going to be much deprived because they are no longer available. Ann offers to Joanne, the masculine truism, "My experience with men is what makes me a woman."

Through the leitmotiv of sex, the theme is presented that sisterhood and feminism are wrong because they cannot duplicate the relationship that occurs between men and women in our society. A lesbian scene between Elise and Ann is an attempt to imitate the masculine and feminine roles of aggressivity and passivity, with Ann consciously trying to act like the man. Elise becomes "pregnant" as a result of this brief encounter. In the final scene, she mysteriously loses the "baby" offstage, explaining, "There was a brief mist, and it had gone." A cryptic explanation which implies that this whole business of women relating to women in any way is a bit weird. After all, the play implies, all feminists are lesbians, and all lesbians are really just frustrated heterosexuals, aren't they?

We will probably see more plays like *Slag* as the women's liberation movement continues to grow and certain men feel threatened by our independence and rejection of society's oppressive system of values. But these last-ditch efforts at preserving the myth that women's only meaningful existence is through men are doomed to failure.

— SARAH GATES

Books

The Awakening by Kate O'Flaherty Chopin. Capricorn Books. New York, 1964. 303 pp. \$1.65 (paperback).

The Awakening was labeled "poison" by the St. Louis *Republic* when it was first published in 1899. The *Nation* wrote, "We cannot see that literature or the criticism of life is helped by the detailed history of the manifold and contemporary love affairs of a wife and mother." Deliberately suppressed, this feminist novel outlines the oppression of women, particularly within the institution of the family.

Kate O'Flaherty Chopin's novel recounts the growing determination of a young, well-married woman to become a human being. The problem is that she does not accept her role as a "mother-woman," unlike all the other married women. "Delicious in the role," these women are the embodiment of the idealized woman: "They were women who idolized their children, worshipped their husbands, and esteemed it a holy privilege to efface themselves as individuals and grow wings as ministering angels."

Not only does the hero, Edna Pontellier, come to reject this dependent, subservient role, but she does so in an "unwomanly" fashion. She is bold and outspoken; deception would be possible only for a woman who believed herself to be a piece of property. When Robert, the man she loves, returns from Mexico, she does not wait for him to confess his love. Her kiss shocks him—precisely because he regards her as someone else's property. To this she angrily replies: "I am no longer one of Mr. Pontellier's possessions to dispose of or not. I give myself where I choose. If he were to say, 'Here, Robert, take her and be happy; she is yours,' I should laugh at you both."

Edna Pontellier does not feel guilty for sending her children off to their grandmother, or packing her husband off on a long business trip. She refuses to attend her younger sister's wedding, finding such an affair "one of the most lamentable spectacles on earth." Her father accuses her of "lack of filial kindness and respect" and speaks of her "want of sisterly affection and womanly consideration." She remains unmoved. Perhaps most infuriating of all for her father and her husband, she does not even offer a polite excuse.

By the end of the nineteenth century, other writers besides Kate O'Flaherty Chopin had dared to write of the boredom and the coy affairs a properly married woman might have. But Edna Pontellier does not simply transfer her servility from husband to lover. In fact, she understands that freedom in one's sexual life is just a part of the whole fight to become an individual.

The novel also recounts her burning desire for a place of her own, for financial independence, for the right to choose every aspect of her life. By the end of the novel, it can be said about Edna that: "There was no one thing in the world that she desired. There was no human being whom she wanted near her except Robert, and she even realized that the day would come when he, too, and the thought of him would melt out of her existence, leaving her alone. The children appeared before her like antagonists who had overcome her; who had overpowered and sought to drag her into the soul's slavery for the rest of her days. . . . They were a part of her life. But they need not have thought that they could possess her, body and soul." But for a woman of the late nineteenth century, there were few alternatives.

The Awakening is a beautifully written, unsentimental account of a woman's fight for life. Nonetheless, Edna Pontellier, once awakened to the disparity between what she needs to live and what false promises the society offers, is unable to fashion her daring and defiance as a weapon to change the status of women. She chooses suicide.

Kate O'Flaherty Chopin—and Edna Pontellier herself—sees a woman's coming to consciousness as only the beginning. The real test will come with those who defy the traditional role, and band together to break the "indescribable oppression" which Edna Pontellier struggled against over 70 years ago.

Reading *The Awakening* will provide women with another landmark in discovering how desperately women throughout history have fought against their secondary status.

— DIANNE FEELEY

Nixon's health insurance plan

By MARVEL SCHOLL

The critical health-care problem facing the American people, which has been growing steadily worse, has finally come to the attention of President Nixon. On Feb. 18, he sent to Congress his special message on national health insurance and the reorganization of the distribution of medical services. At first glance, it looks like something worthwhile. But close study shows that something very basic has been left out—the patient.

Nixon proposes that *everyone* be covered by hospital, doctor and major medical insurance, to be paid for by payroll taxes and employer contributions.

Persons on relief, the blind, the aged (to replace Medicare), the disabled, and the unemployed would be covered by insurance purchased for them with federal tax funds.

True to Nixon's private-enterprise, profit-before-people philosophy, all of this insurance would be purchased from Blue Cross and Blue Shield or from other health insurance companies. And the insurance purchased would provide the same coverage presently provided by these insurance policies *as well as allow the same high deductible clauses*. Consequently, many low-income families might end up spending more on medical care than they do now without any insurance, because the initial portion of their medical bill, which they must pay, may well be higher with insurance coverage than the entire bill is now.

The whole insurance plan would keep medical care strictly within the private fee-for-service field. And there are as yet no fee limitations on doctors or hospitals.

In addition, Nixon proposes the establishment of Health Maintenance Organizations, out-patient clinics which insured workers could join with monies raised through their payroll taxes and employers' contributions. Theoretically, these group practices would find it profitable to keep their members healthy rather than just treat them when they were ill. As an incentive, the president proposes the sharing of all funds left over at the end of the year by the doctors involved—they would work on regular salaries during the rest of the year.

He bases his contentions on the Kaiser Permanente Plan on the West Coast and the New York City Health Insurance Plan—both of which can statistically show that fewer of their members are hospitalized annually than people under the care of private physicians.

To stop the erosion in the number of doctors relative to the population, the Nixon plan would offer needy students scholarships or long-term loans. These loans, up to \$20,000, would be forgiven if the graduating student settled in a medically deprived area for four years.

Grants would go to medical colleges to enlarge their classes—\$1,250 for each student accepted, \$6,000 for each one graduated.

There is a shortage of 50,000 doctors in the country. The annual graduation of medical students averages 7,000. This does not alleviate the shortage because at least 7,000 practicing doctors either die or retire every year.

One hundred and thirty counties and almost every inner-city ghetto are medically deprived. Vast areas are without a single doctor or hospital.

To improve this situation, the president proposes offering practicing doctors, nurses and paramed-

ical personnel large bonuses to move to needy places.

He also offers existing hospitals long-term loans for rehabilitation of existing plants, for building new ones, and for tooling up their medical machinery and laboratories. These loans would be forgiven in part if the hospitals proved they had begun to function more economically—i.e. not give better care, just less of it at a higher rate of profit.

Nationally, according to the president, the average daily bed-and-board charge in hospitals is \$50 per day. In New York City, in a two-to-four-bed room the daily charge is \$97.50.

Waste, duplication, and the capitalist profit system are primary to this astronomical cost for a hospital bed. For example, in most large cities, private and voluntary hospitals offer such expensive treatment as cobalt radiation. But most of this equipment stands idle for long periods of time because there are not enough patients who both need and can afford the treatment.

In one Midwest city, on four corners of an intersection, there are four hospitals each of which has a cobalt machine.

In some hospitals, pediatrics and obstetrical wards are only half full while other hospitals (generally city-operated) have to stack their patients in the hallways.

During the 10-year period between 1960 and 1970, medical costs soared 170 percent. During 1970, the rise was 11 percent.

These are but a few of the crimes medicine-for-profit has committed against the whole American population, and these crimes will not be stopped by Nixon's plan or any other plan based on medicine for profit. They will continue until medicine is taken out of the hands of the private

sector. The U.S. is the only industrialized country in the world which does not offer its people some degree of nonprofit health care. But the net effect of Nixon's plan is to roll back even the minimal social responsibility established by Medicare, and return it to private companies.

Infant mortality and longevity are the basis on which a nation's health is judged. The U.S. stands way down on these indices in comparison to other industrialized countries. Nationally, infant mortality is about 22 for every 1,000 infants born alive who live to be one year old, which puts the U.S. 23rd on the list. In the Deep South and in most inner-city ghettos, the rate ranges between 34 and 44.

On the longevity scale, the U.S. shows 67 years for all males, 74 for all females, with life expectancy at birth for "nonwhites" lagging behind that of whites by nearly seven years.

Neither the Nixon plan, nor any of the others which have been thrown into the congressional hopper, offer any real solution to the critical health problem. But they do provide financial "health" to the fee-for-service doctors, the gouging hospitals and all the ancillary industries dependent on the first two.

So long as "health care" remains in the hands of private purveyors with profit the overriding motive, so long will the United States remain an unhealthy nation. And this in spite of the fact that in this country we have the most sophisticated medical equipment and the know-how (19 American doctors have won the Nobel Prize for medicine) to make its people the healthiest in the world.

Only under a socialized medical system, where the patient is the prime consideration, can there be any real "health" or "care."

INFANT MORTALITY—SELECTED COUNTRIES 1968			
Rank	Country		Rate per 1000 Live Births
1	Norway	<div></div>	12.8
2	Sweden	<div></div>	12.9
3	Netherlands	<div></div>	13.6
4	Finland	<div></div>	14.0
5	Japan (1967)	<div></div>	14.9
6	Denmark	<div></div>	15.8
7	Switzerland	<div></div>	16.1
8	Australia	<div></div>	18.3
9	United Kingdom	<div></div>	18.3
10	New Zealand	<div></div>	18.7
11	East Germany	<div></div>	20.4
12	France	<div></div>	20.4
13	United States	<div></div>	21.7

Source: Population and Vital Statistics Report. Series A, Volume XXII, No. 1, January 1, 1970. United Nations.

UE News

...political origins of 'People's Coalition'

Continued from page 8

in the nation's history—yet Nixon boasted that he had spent the afternoon watching television and six months later invaded Cambodia."

Therefore, PCPJ declares, "the movement as a whole then realized the need to find ways of using the tactics developed by Martin Luther King . . . the tactic of massive nonviolent civil disobedience."

The present announced plan of the PCPJ to initiate a program of civil disobedience in Washington following April 24, with the hope of sustaining it through the first week in May, suggests it does indeed place major confidence in the tactic of civil disobedience.

To comment briefly on the arguments advanced by PCPJ: They may not have, as they state, seen the relation between the war and domestic social evils. But the builders of NPAC certainly did. The record demonstrates this.

While the PCPJ offers a great deal of rhetoric about relating the war and domestic social issues,

all of the programs it has projected so far have been absolute failures. NPAC, in the meantime, has proceeded from the recognition that the war is a central issue for virtually every layer of Americans and that, if correctly approached, these layers can be involved in the movement against the war and in the process advance their own particular concerns.

Thus NPAC has had unprecedented success in winning trade-union support for April 24 and has made significant progress in gaining active participation by Third World and women's liberation forces. While PCPJ talks a great deal about relating to these constituencies, NPAC is involving them in the struggle.

For example, in building the April 2-4 actions commemorating the anniversary of the death of Rev. King, NPAC has in several cities succeeded in drawing in such previously uninvolved forces as the Urban League and NAACP. In several cities, Black antiwar moratoriums are being organized.

In Washington, D.C., the Third World Task Force includes significant representation from the Black community. It will relate the issue of war and repression meaningfully with its culminating April 4 rally, which will demand withdrawal from Vietnam and freedom for Angela Davis.

A final point: In addition to its continuing resistance to mass action against the war, the PCPJ forces have also retreated from the demand for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. This retreat is embodied in the PCPJ demand that the U.S. government "set the date" for immediate withdrawal. Even a capitalist politician like Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana recognized the obvious inconsistency of such a stand when he decided that if you favor immediate withdrawal it's pointless to talk about "setting a date" for such withdrawal. It is to be hoped the PCPJ will arrive at the same conclusion.

In the meantime, their participation in building the massive April 24 actions is a welcome development.

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 **WMUA-FM, 91.1**, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

ATLANTA

MILLETT'S 'SEXUAL POLITICS': A CRITIQUE. Speaker **Alice Conner**, Emory Women's Liberation and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (14th St.). Contribution: \$1. A Militant Bookstore Forum.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

ELECTION CAMPAIGN WINDUP RALLY. Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and City Council and supporters will speak. Movie and live band. Tues., March 30, 7:30 p.m. **U of Texas Student Union Patio**. Aup. Socialist Campaign Committee.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

GRAND FINAL CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Sat., April 3, 5 p.m. at the Socialist Workers Party East Bay headquarters. 3536 Telegraph Ave. Tons of fine food, entertainment, etc. Donation: \$5. For tickets, call 654-9728.

BOSTON

SHOULD THE MASSACHUSETTS ABORTION LAWS BE REPEALED? YES! Speakers: Dr. William O'Connell, Value of Life Committee; Jani Reid, Nurses for Abortion Repeal; Dr. Robert Graham, spokesman for repeal of abortion laws. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. Boston University College of Liberal Arts, 725 Comm. Ave., Room 522. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

VOICES OF DISSENT: Thursdays, 6-7 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1**. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on **WRBB-FM, 91.7**. Tues., March 30 and Sun., April 4: **Why Feminism is Revolutionary.** Guest: Linda Jenness, 1970 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Tues., April 6 and Sun., April 11: **Boston High School Strike.**

CLASSES ON MARXIST THEORY: Tufts University on Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m. at Eaton 201. Harvard University on Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. at Harvard 102. Classes will run through the end of April and will feature Marxist economics, the Cuban revolution, Black nationalism, feminism, etc. For further information, call 536-6981.

CHICAGO

LABOR AND THE WAR. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation \$1, students 75c. Inexpensive dinner at 6 p.m. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

U.S. OIL POLITICS IN THE MIDEAST. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., April 2, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CONFRONT THE POLLUTION MAKERS. March to start at 12 noon Sat., April 3, from Fifth Ave. and 59th St. to Coliseum at Columbus Circle where Auto Show opens. Sponsor: Environmental, 13 E. 16th St., Eighth Floor.

PHILADELPHIA

COME RAP AND LISTEN. Tapes and discussion every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 1004 Filbert St. (Open to Third World People only). Thurs., April 1: **Black Politics and Self-Determination**—a tape by Paul Boutelle. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance Tape Library. For further information, call Pam Newman at 236-6998.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

CHRIST: A MARXIST ANALYSIS: Discussion leaders: Irv Hall and Mark Kibbey. Tues., April 6, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons Area), U of California at Riverside. Aup. Revolutionary Socialist Forums. For further information, call 678-1129.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE HOLY OUTLAWS: A film on the *Berrigan brothers*. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1 Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

IN DEFENSE OF THE ENVIRONMENT. Speakers: John Broeker, chairman of the Minnesota Sierra Club; Jan Garrett, Socialist Workers Party; and a representative from a student ecology group. Fri., April 2, 8 p.m. Carl Skoglund Hall, 1 University Ave., N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, students 50c. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum. For further information, call 332-7781.

...Laos

Continued from page 3

March 22, "Instead of returning the fire, according to [U.S.] pilots, the South Vietnamese cower in their fox-holes until the helicopter is near the ground and then scramble for a place on the rapidly overloaded craft.

"We just have to kick some of them off," a pilot said here today as he prepared to return to Laos in a new helicopter. His previous one was shot yesterday. "We have to think about ourselves, too," he added. "You just cannot lift this bird with 15 guys on it."

United Press International reported from Saigon March 23 that "South Vietnamese headquarters disclosed Monday close to one-fourth of the South Vietnamese forces in Laos had become casualties of the campaign. A report said 1,031 South Vietnamese had been killed, 3,985 wounded and 219 missing."

But in a nationally televised interview with ABC correspondent Howard

K. Smith, President Nixon declared: "We now have concluded—this is General Abrams' assessment—that the South Vietnamese have now passed a milestone in their development. . . .

"General Abrams—who tells it like it is—says that some of their units did not do so well, but 18 out of 22 battalions conducted themselves with high morale, with great confidence, and they are able to defend themselves, man for man, against the North Vietnamese."

The obvious question was put by the *New York Post* in an editorial March 23: "Why had the censorship been so rigid if there were so many splendid tales to tell?" From the first day of the invasion to the present, the "embargo on the embargo" of news coverage has been in effect. *There has not been one single article in the major news media with eyewitness details about the battles inside Laos.*

In the interview with Howard K. Smith, Nixon also stated that the purpose of the invasion "was not to conquer or occupy a part of Laos. Its purpose was to defend South Vietnam. . . . For six weeks the South Vietnamese have disrupted the enemy supply lines.

"For six weeks they've tied down some of the enemy's best divisions, and, for six weeks, we have seen, too, that the South Vietnamese have been able to handle themselves quite well under very, very difficult circumstances."

But six weeks ago, when the invasion was first launched, the administration conveyed quite a different impression of its objectives and expected duration. The *New York Times* reported Feb. 14, "While officials said the campaign is limited in time and space, many here [in Saigon] expected the South Vietnamese to remain in Laos at least until the end of the current dry season in May. This was the public forecast, for example, of Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky. . . ."

As the invasion became more and more bogged down, the administration continued to portray it as a success. Senate Republican minority leader Hugh Scott stated on Feb. 23: "There is no evidence that the operation is stalled at all. The evidence is that objectives are being achieved and

the enemy is resisting with strong flanking movements and these flanking movements are being countered."

But the real counterattack had not started. When it did, March 18, here's what Associated Press correspondent George Esper wired from Saigon:

"Only the biggest U. S. air shield of the war has saved the South Vietnamese Army from disaster in Laos. Even that protection failed at times.

"Saigon's troops have been forced out of half a dozen bases and suffered heavy losses at three of them. They have been incapable of opening Route 9, the main east-west artery across the Ho Chi Minh trail and have had to depend on U. S. helicopters for virtually all movement.

"They are being driven back to their own border with soaring losses. . . . 'Every time the South Vietnamese pull out of somewhere, the North Vietnamese move back in,' said one U. S. field officer. . . .

"Already, U. S. intelligence officers say, the North Vietnamese are rebuilding parts of the Ho Chi Minh trail that South Vietnamese ground troops and U. S. bombers smashed, including Tchepone."

...P. Rico

Continued from page 24

All of this motion is a sign of the growing strength of the independence movement. And the commemoration of the Ponce Massacre links the struggle of today with that of yesterday.

It was on March 21, 1937, that 21 people were killed and 200 wounded in Ponce when the colonial police, at the command of the island's Washington-appointed governor, the white racist Blanton Winship, opened fire from rooftops on a legal demonstration organized by the Nationalist Party. The demonstrators were demanding the release of the Party's leader, Don Pedro Albizu Campos. Despite this savage attack, the independence movement continued to deepen and expand.

At the New York rally, the Young Lords Party announced the opening of a branch of their organization in Ponce.

Socialist Directory

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Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953. Address all mail to P.O. Box 33395, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033.

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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, c/o John Constant, 5219 Wayne St., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

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

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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 (nr. 4th St.), New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (SWP) 982-6051, (YSA) 982-8214, (Merit Books) 982-5940.

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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 Val Moller, 2014 N.W. Glisan, Room 511, Portland, Ore. 97209. Tel: (503) 223-4830.

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

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

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

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

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THE MILITANT

Judge quits in Davis-Magee trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, March 23—Ruchell Magee, codefendant in the Angela Davis murder-kidnap conspiracy trial, succeeded March 17 in disqualifying Judge John McMurray from hearing his case, on grounds that the judge was prejudiced against him. After a two-hour conference with Magee's court-appointed lawyers, Judge McMurray acceded to the defendant's demand and retired from the case. McMurray reportedly admitted to the lawyers, "I am prejudiced. I would have a great deal of difficulty with Magee in court."

It will probably be about three or four weeks before a new judge is appointed and the pretrial hearings for Davis and Magee can resume. However, Magee is petitioning federal court to assume jurisdiction in the case, because he maintains the state courts are biased against him. Magee and Davis are being framed on charges of murdering state court Judge Harold Haley during an escape attempt with several prisoners at the Marin County courthouse last Aug. 7. The present hearings are taking place at the same courthouse.

Magee contends that the state court lacks jurisdiction over the case until his federal appeal has been acted upon. Judge McMurray told the court-appointed defense counsel that Magee "has a good point." The defendant was, he added, "a very cunning man." Previously, the judge had denied Magee his right to defend himself with or without counsel of his own choosing. Magee has spent eight years in prison, devoting much of that time to the study of law.

Members of the San Francisco United Committee to Free Angela Davis denied there is any split between the two defendants as has been reported in the daily press. At the defense committee headquarters, people told *The Militant* they were enraged that the press will often slander Magee with a quote about his supposed IQ, and then suddenly put away their note pads and turn their cameras when important issues are raised.

Defense counsel for Davis was turned down in trying to obtain a larger courtroom. When the hearing on this request took place in early March, spectators were delayed from entering so the judge could point to the empty

seats as indicative that the present room was sufficient. Magee walked out when Marin County Judge Joseph G. Wilson began to lecture about "courtroom traditions."

Judge McMurray is from Inyo County. All Marin County judges have disqualified themselves on the basis of being "prejudiced." But yet Wilson deemed himself sufficiently objective to hear an application for a larger courtroom.

The present courtroom holds only about 100 people. The suggested courtroom has a capacity of 400.

Judge McMurray's convenient departure from the case enables him to avoid ruling on the request of Davis' defense counsel that she be released on bail. Chief defense lawyer Howard Moore Jr. of Atlanta said he plans to file immediately for bail in state or federal appellate court. According to Moore, Davis is being kept in "punitive conditions" although she has been convicted of no crime.

She is subject to constant harassment. For example, when Davis is let out of her cell for daily exercise, she must sign papers waiving liability of the state for any "accident" she

might have. Davis is corresponding with Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party, who is on trial with Bobby Seale in New Haven, Connecticut. She has been trying to answer the thousands of letters pouring in from supporters. Jail authorities state that sometimes the mail is delayed because they do not have enough censors to review each letter.

The jail authorities also deny that they have the money or facilities to give Davis the dental care that she presently needs. Considering the elaborate procedure for capturing and extraditing Davis, which included a nationwide search and a special Air National Guard flight across the country, it is ludicrous to believe that the authorities do not have the money to pay for a dentist. However, despite attempts to wear her down, supporters who have visited her say, "Angela is strong and getting stronger."

Trade unions that have recently endorsed the defense of Angela Davis include the American Federation of Teachers Local 771 in Oakland, and Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco.

N.Y. rally supports Puerto Rican struggle

By MIGUEL PADILLA

NEW YORK, March 21—Over 5,000 Puertorriqueños turned out in force to commemorate the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Ponce Massacre and to show solidarity with the independence movement in Puerto Rico, presently under attack by the right-wing assimilationist government of Luis Ferré.

The demonstration took place in the predominantly Puerto Rican ghetto of the South Bronx, commencing with a march from St. Mary's Park and winding up with a rally at La Plaza Borinqueña on E. 138 St. and Willis Ave.

It was organized by the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI—Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico), El Comité, Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP), Justicia Boricua, El Partido de los Young Lords (Young Lords Party), Justicia Latina, and the Union Estudiantil Boricua (Puerto Rican Student Union, Boricua is the Indian name of Puerto Rico).

Keynote speaker at the rally was Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of MPI, who flew in from Puerto Rico to bring the latest news of the situation on the island. He reported that over 160 people have been arrested as a result of a campaign of repression and terror the colonial government, along with other right-wing forces, has unleashed on the growing independence movement.

This is in the wake of the March 11 police attack on the students at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras. As a pretext for their invasion that day, the police used a confrontation provoked by ROTC cadets with pro-independence students. The incident began when a gang of ROTC cadets stormed into the student center, tossing a chair at the leader of the Juventud Independentista Universitaria (JIU, youth group of the PIP). In the ensuing struggle, the cadets



Juan Mari Bras of MPI addressing Puerto Rican rally in New York City March 21.

Photo by B. R. Washington

retreated and joined others on top of the military building armed with shields, sticks, shotguns, and other weapons. There, the university guards lined up in front of the building and began firing tear gas at the massing students. The cadets fired shotguns and other weapons at the students, wounding several.

The police riot squad was called onto the campus that afternoon. They came armed with imperialism's latest, the M-16, and proceeded to savagely and indiscriminately beat students and professors. The police and guards roamed all over the university town, breaking into homes and attacking the students. After it was all over, two cops and a student lay dead, with hundreds wounded.

This attack is not the first of its kind. The government has been trying to crush the independence and antiwar movements, which are strongest among the students.

On March 4 of last year, ROTC

cadets attacked an anti-ROTC demonstration organized by the women members of the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI, University Federation for Independence, youth group of MPI). The police were called onto the campus. As they went about busting heads, they shot and killed a 19-year-old student, Antonia Martinez.

After this event, a student referendum was taken the same month on whether to abolish ROTC. The majority of the 12,000 students voted for abolition. But the administration, in blatant disregard of student sentiment, decided to continue ROTC. This decision was clearly in line with the needs of U. S. imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world.

Another event adding fuel to the fire of independence was the arrest of 14 independentistas for demonstrating in the target zone on Culebra earlier this year. The 14, along with Ruben Berrios Martinez, president of

the PIP, were sentenced to prison terms of three months on Feb. 18.

Culebra is an island 11 miles off Puerto Rico, one-third of which has been used for target practice by U. S. Navy planes and ships since 1936. When the Navy tried to grab more land for target practice in 1969, it kicked off a protest movement among the inhabitants, who had until then quietly accepted the terror of the bombs, rockets and missiles fired onto the island. They not only opposed the expansion but demanded the complete abolition of the Navy presence. The movement became part and parcel of the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

In January 1971, the Navy made a verbal promise to stop expansion. But this did not satisfy the 700 Culebrans and the Puerto Rican independence movement, which decided to continue the movement for total expulsion.

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