

THE MILITANT

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

Int'l protests demand:

'British troops out of Ulster'

—pages 4,5



Part of a march in Dungiven, Northern Ireland, Feb. 1, mourning the murder of 13 Catholic civilians in Derry on Jan. 30

Special feature:

Why red-baiting hurts the women's movement

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SYMPATHY FOR PRISONERS: The Louis Harris poll reported on Feb. 7: "The spontaneous comments of the public demonstrate far more sympathy than antipathy toward prisoners who have tried to take over prisons. Many Americans appear to be saying that the prisoners are frustrated men who need attention paid to their human problems during the period of their incarceration."

One thousand ninety-one households were asked: "In the recent takeovers of prisons by inmates, do you think the main reason for the outbreaks is more the result of prison authorities being too easy on inmates or more the result of prison authorities not understanding the needs of inmates?" The results: "authorities too easy on inmates—23 percent; authorities don't understand inmate needs—58 percent; not sure—19 percent."

PRISONERS UNION FORMED: Half of the 1,800 prisoners at Green Haven Prison in Stormville, N.Y., have signed up to join the Prisoners Labor Union. They have informed State Correction Commissioner Russell G. Oswald that their union should be recognized as bargaining agent for the inmates. Prisoners now earn an average of 35 cents a day making clothes and U.S. flags, and doing agricultural and other work. Leaders of the union have asked to affiliate with District 65, Distributive Workers of America. David Livingston, president of District 65, told a news conference Feb. 7 that Earl Smoake Jr., a former member of District 65 who is now at Green Haven, came up with the idea for organizing his fellow prisoners.

The Feb. 8 *New York Times* reports that the constitution of the union "states that they will seek 'through peaceful and lawful means' to equalize to the fullest extent possible 'the rights, privileges and protections of prison labor with those of free labor everywhere.' Also to 'advance the economic, political, social and cultural interests' of the prisoners at Green Haven."

The legal work involved in setting up the union was done by the Prisoners Rights Project of the Legal Aid Society. Funds were provided, according to the *Times*, "by a federal grant to Mayor Lindsay's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act and . . . by the Legal Aid Society."

LATEST ON THE CCSF FOUR: The Review Board on Student Affairs at the City College of San Francisco has refused to reverse the administration's illegal expulsion of four Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on Jan. 20. The board ruled that three of the four—Lloyd Kenney, Steve Gabosch, and Jeff Berchenko—should be suspended for one school term, and that the fourth—Joe Ward—should be censured. The CCSF Four Defense Committee has announced its intention to continue the campaign for the reinstatement of the students.

ROBERT WILLIAMS STILL IN DANGER: Virgil Lee Griffin, a grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in Monroe, N.C., says the Klan wants "to bring that nigger Robert Williams back so we can hang him." The Klan and the National White People's Party were parading in Monroe, where more than 10 years ago NAACP leader Robert Williams was framed up on a charge of kidnapping a white couple. Williams was especially hated by white racists like Griffin because he organized the Black community to defend itself with arms from marauding Klansmen. Williams and his family were forced to flee to Cuba and later lived in China and Tanzania. Now in Michigan, Williams is fighting extradition to North Carolina.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) reports: "Hundreds of Black and white citizens are asking Gov. Bob Scott not to bring Williams back from Michigan for trial" because "they say it 'might cause more trouble.' Thousands of people in Japan have signed similar petitions." Among those opposed to seeing Williams brought to trial in North Carolina is G. Bruce Stegall, one of the people supposedly kidnapped by Williams.

While the white racists were parading, Black youth stood by jeering and chanting "Free Robert Williams!"

'FREE CORKY' RALLY: More than 400 people, mostly Chicanos, attended a rally at the capitol building in Denver to protest the recent Los Angeles jailing of Corky Gonzales, chairman of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party. Gonzales was jailed on trumped-up gun-possession charges.

The speakers at the rally included John Haro of the Crusade, Waldo Benavidez, Nita Aleman (daughter of Gonzales), and leaders of the GI Forum and the United Mexican-American Students.

Ernesto Vigil, who was jailed last year for handing out antiwar leaflets at his induction, and who was with Gonzales when Gonzales was arrested during the August 1970 Chicano Moratorium, also spoke. He said acts such as the jailing of Gonzales were not going to stop Chicanos from protesting the war and the oppression of La Raza. "Until we change the entire system—the educational system, the political system—we'll never get any justice." He said that having Chicanos on city police forces would

not solve anything. "We need control, control over the police, over our schools, over our lives."

Seventy copies of *The Militant* were sold at the rally.

YWLL UNDER ATTACK: The Subversive Activities Control Board is conducting hearings in New York designed to prove that the Young Workers Liberation League and the Center for Marxist Education are "Communist fronts." YWLL picketed the hearings on Feb. 8 and planned "to submit evidence that the SACB and the entire administration was subversive," according to the *Daily World* of Feb. 9. But the hearings were recessed when a member of the audience protested that the hearings were not public. An earlier recess had halted the proceedings when YWLL members protested the arrest of Matty Berkelhammer, YWLL national organizational secretary, who had been attacked while entering the hearing room. Berkelhammer was charged with assaulting a federal officer.

YSA DEFENDS YWLL: The following are excerpts from a Feb. 9 statement by the Young Socialist Alliance national executive committee: "The Young Socialist Alliance denounces the witch-hunt attack on the Young Workers Liberation League by the Subversive Activities Control Board. The sole purpose of the 'investigation' of the YWLL—in fact, the purpose of all of SACB's activities—is to harass and intimidate today's radicalizing youth. . . .

"Yesterday federal marshals at the SACB hearings physically attacked Matty Berkelhammer . . . in order to further victimize and stigmatize the YWLL—which is a completely legal political organization of young people—as 'dangerous' and 'subversive.' We strongly protest the beating and subsequent arrest of Matty Berkelhammer and demand that charges against him be dropped immediately. . . .

"The YSA demands: End the witch-hunt against the Young Workers Liberation League! Abolish the Subversive Activities Control Board!"

SOCIALIST SEAMAN WINS: On Jan. 31 Seaman Pat Hayes was honorably discharged from the U.S. Navy, culminating a successful effort to defend his civil liberties from attacks by Navy officers. As reported in the Jan. 14 *Militant*, Hayes, who is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was being harassed by the Navy for his antiwar and socialist election-campaign activities. The Navy had informed Hayes that charges of "fraudulent enlistment" were being placed against him.

According to *Militant* reporter Mike Kelly of Seattle, the decision by the brass to discharge Hayes rather than go through with the court-martial came as a broad defense effort was being launched. The Student Mobilization Committee and the Seattle Peace Action Coalition were beginning a petition drive at the University of Washington, and "Section 38" charges were being filed by Hayes' legal team citing the officers with violating Hayes' constitutional rights.



Jan. 22 demonstration at Dominican Consulate in New York. More than 100 young Dominicans and Latinos protested the Jan. 12 killings of four leftist political leaders by the Joaquín Balaguer regime. The action, which was sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic, demanded an end to U.S. support to the Balaguer regime.

WEST SIDE FORUM ON LATIN AMERICA: Frank Grinnon of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and sociology professor James D. Cockcroft were part of a panel discussion at New York's West Side Militant Forum on Friday, Feb. 4. Nearly 60 people heard Grinnon describe the international campaign being launched by the USLA Justice Committee to force the Argentine government to grant elementary civil liberties to political dissidents. Representatives of the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA) and the Dominican Committee for Human Rights also spoke. For many in the audience, including a dozen Latino political activists, this panel discussion was their first Militant Forum.

—JOEL BRITTON

Renewal drive makes progress

By MIKE LUX

FEB. 8—After five weeks of *The Militant* renewal campaign, 350 readers have renewed their subscriptions. This week alone, 115 came in. The *International Socialist Review* has received a total of 101 renewals.

Areas that have mapped out a long-range plan for organizing the campaign have been reporting excellent results from the people they have visited. But so far only a very small percentage of subscribers have been visited. This means that the next phase of the renewal campaign will have to be highly organized.

The renewal drive directors from Oakland and Berkeley, Chris Rayson and Meg Bursaw, write: "Already, in the first two weeks, we've seen 113 subscribers for 22 renewals and a renewal rate of 19 percent. As much as possible we've tried to coordinate the renewal drive with other important activities, such as the Jenness and Pulley campaign. On every renewal team a major emphasis is placed on getting endorsers for Jenness and Pulley. We have also experimented combining renewal work with the building of election campaign tours in the region." They attribute the success of renewal activity in their area to the formation of a *Militant* Renewal Committee, which oversees the work of coordinating the many different aspects of the campaign.

Similar enthusiasm was reported by Sharyn King from Atlanta. "All who have participated so far are very excited with the nature of the work, i.e. being able to have extensive political discussions. Also, we can now see that

the possibilities for endorsement and participation in the Jenness-Pulley campaign are fantastic. We set up campaign tables and the response is great—got 15 endorsers for the campaign and four introductory subs on a relatively quiet night at the University of South Carolina campus."

A sampling of the mail that accompanies renewals to *The Militant* shows that the enthusiasm for the paper among its readership is quite high. A subscriber from South Bound Brook, N.J., writes: "I bought an introductory subscription to *The Militant* at the New York antiwar rally on Nov. 6. I had never heard of your publication before then and didn't expect much, but I was greatly surprised. *The Militant* has shown me all kinds of things I never knew about what's happening in this country. I'm getting a year's subscription, and I'm sending along a few extra dollars so you can send *The Militant* to somebody who doesn't have the money to pay for it."

From Austin, Texas: "I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your fine paper. It's a real pleasure to read *The Militant* after reading the humdrum capitalistic paper I receive every day. Keep up the good work."

The Reverend Earl Edward Fischer, an inmate at the State Correctional Institution in Huntingdon, Pa., writes: "To all the brothers and sisters of all walks of life, the one and only human race, to all that gets and reads this paper (at this time I'm not a militant leader, but I am a *Militant* reader), I suggest to all that when

the time comes, renew your *Militant*. I know, be God willing if I live, I am renewing mine, for it's a great newspaper."

A subscriber from Boulder, Colo., writes: "Having just read the article by Boutelle and Morrison, 'Pan-Africanists and the '72 elections,' the depth of analysis and objective reportage, which have impressed me for the short duration of my acquaintance with *The Militant*, have once again been ratified. . . . With this in mind, it is abundantly clear to me why this sense of urgency spurs me to renew my subscription to *The Militant*. . . . Although I can't afford it (the paper), I feel the greater mistake would be in not affording it."

Sales of single copies of *The Militant* are also picking up around the country. One letter from Bristol, Tenn., requested: "Due to the vast increase in the demand for *Militants*, we would like to order, on a regular basis, a bundle of 20 *Militants*. My friends feel that this number would be a good beginning in our efforts to establish a YSA local in this area." And from Potsdam, N.Y.: "*Militants* are selling well here in once-apathetic Potsdam. . . . People dig *The Militant* and I think we could easily sell 100 a week. So, as soon as possible, could you start sending me 100 papers every week? Thanks a lot."

If you would like to receive a regular bundle of *The Militant* for sales in your area, drop a letter to the business office and we will begin sending them to you. The price is 17¢ each for bulk orders.

Nixon, the 'doves,' and 'treason'

By CAROLINE LUND

In his Jan. 25 speech on Vietnam policy President Nixon charged that during the past year the North Vietnamese had "induced many Americans in the press, in the Congress, into echoing their propaganda," and being "falsely used by the enemy to stir up divisiveness in this country."

So Nixon decided he would give the American people the full story about his secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese. Then—he hoped—we would all see the light and unite behind him. He closed with the proclamation, "The proposal I have made tonight is one on which we all can agree."

But when everybody didn't agree, Nixon and his supporters decided to get tougher. In a television interview filmed three days after Nixon's speech and shown Feb. 7, White House staff chief H.R. Haldeman charged that Democratic presidential contenders who had criticized Nixon's eight-point plan were "consciously aiding and abetting the enemy of the United States."

When, on Feb. 2, Democratic presidential hopeful Edmund Muskie called for setting a date for the withdrawal of U.S. troops on condition that the Vietnamese release American prisoners of war, Secretary of State William P. Rogers said his statements were "harmful to our national interest" because his "rejection" of Nixon's proposals came "before the enemy has rejected our proposals." (*New York Times*, Feb. 4.)

So with the pretext of defending the "national interest," the Nixon administration has implied that critics of his Vietnam policy are guilty of treason.

While the congressional doves—some of them Democratic Party presidential hopefuls—are asserting their right to criticize Nixon's war policy, none of them have a fundamental difference with the Nixon administration. Like Nixon, they do not support the right of the Vietnamese to decide for themselves whether or not they want a Communist government. Otherwise they would support the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. They too want a negotiated settlement in which the U.S. plays a decisive role.

While the Congressional critics are irritated at the questioning of their "patriotism" (Muskie stated, "I resent it"), they have all ignored the possibility that the U.S. would better serve the cause of justice if it *did* support the "enemy."


Who is this horrible "enemy" that Nixon and his White House cohorts say we must not aid or abet?

It's poor Vietnamese farmers and workers struggling for land reform, independence from foreign domination, and a better life.

If supporting these people in their struggle against oppression is treason, then we should declare to Nixon, in the words of the American independence fighter Patrick Henry, "make the most of it."

The Militant fights for women's liberation

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- ☐ 6. THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth; La Raza Unida Party in Texas; and La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?
- ☐ 7. THEIR MORALS AND OURS by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey, and George Novack.

By DAVE FRANKEL

Since 1967, a mass movement demanding full equality for the oppressed Catholic minority, almost 40 percent of the 1,500,000 people in Northern Ireland, has arisen.

The conflict in Northern Ireland today stems from and is part of the overall resistance of the Irish people to English domination of their country and the injustices—such as the massacre in Derry on Jan. 30—that have accompanied that domination. It is not essentially a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants, but rather the struggle of an oppressed nationality for full equality and the right of self-determination.

Origin of Ulster Protestants

Historically, the people of Ireland spoke the Gaelic language and lived under a tribal (clan) system in which most of the land was held in com-

owning and ruling class, but the north, unlike the rest of the country, developed a layer of Protestant farmers, small artisans, and later an industrial working class. This strata had a relationship to the Catholic masses similar to that of poor whites to the Black population in the southern United States.

The domination of England and those loyal to it was marked by the denial of any civil liberties to the Catholic masses and the enforced payment of tithes to support the Protestant Church of Ireland (until it was separated from the state in 1869). The main form of exploitation, the rent-gouging of the peasantry, was most severe in the south. Improvements on the land were followed by ruinous increases in rent, with the result that improvements were not made and the land was rapidly depleted. The country was so poverty stricken that when the potato blight appeared in 1845,

English, politics from 1885, when the first home rule bill was introduced to Parliament by Gladstone, until the struggle for Irish independence in 1916-1922. The Unionist Party, which has ruled Northern Ireland since 1921, took its name from its opposition to home rule and its support to the union of England and Ireland.

To the Protestant minority in Ireland, home rule meant the domination of the Catholic majority. Fear of losing their privileges—both real and imagined—was translated into fear of being "pulled down" to the economic level of the impoverished Catholic masses. The oppression and discrimination directed against the Catholic majority was seen by the Protestant minority as the only way to prevent this same treatment from now being meted out to them.

England's Liberal government finally passed a home-rule bill in the

with the struggle for full independence and war with England.

In the course of the war for independence the "legal" basis for the creation of Northern Ireland was established. The British parliament passed "The Government of Ireland Act" in 1920, setting up a separate parliament for six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster. The boundaries were drawn so as to include the greatest area while maintaining a "safe" unionist majority.

When the English troops withdrew from the southern part of Ireland in 1922, the partition remained. It was enforced in the north by a civil war carried out against the Catholic minority to terrorize it into submission. In the south the war against the British tended to develop in the direction of a social revolution. The British withdrawal was followed by a civil war between the right and left wings of the nationalist movement, which lasted from mid-1922 to mid-1923.

Civil rights struggle

Thus, the Protestants in Northern Ireland are a largely assimilated but still socially distinct settler-community, similar in its origins to the Jews in Palestine, the Boers in South Africa, or the Pied Noirs in Algeria when it was a French colony.

Average unemployment stands at 7.5 percent, compared to about 2.3 percent for the rest of the United Kingdom. However, in July of 1969, just before British troops entered Northern Ireland, unemployment in the predominantly Catholic towns of Kilkeel, Enniskillen, Strabane, and Derry was 20 percent, 18 percent, 18 percent, and 13 percent respectively. This compares to 3.5 percent in Belfast, a city that is 75 percent Protestant.

The unionist government has encouraged Catholic emigration, which has had the added effect of keeping the Protestant majority stable in the face of a higher Catholic birth rate. Catholics are discriminated against by both private employers and the government. One example is that of Coun-

IRISH NATIONALISM AND THE STRUGGLE IN ULSTER

mon, rather than under a feudal system. The conquest of Ireland was initiated by the Anglo-Norman invasion in the twelfth century. But the country was finally subdued only in the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From the time of the earliest conquests, the land was held by settlers loyal to the English monarchy. Land was confiscated from the Irish who lived on it and was given to the soldiers of the conquering armies.

This policy received new impetus under the reign of James I, who was also king of Scotland. He organized massive immigration from Scotland

the population declined from about 8,500,000 to just over 6,500,000 in 1851.

Resistance to these conditions, after a few abortive rebellions in the 1700s, was expressed mainly by secret peasant associations that directed terrorist campaigns against the almost wholly Protestant landlord class. Although there was some common action between Protestant and Catholic tenant farmers against the landlords in Ulster, this seldom occurred in the south because there the religious divisions basically coincided with class divisions. In the north, the impoverished Catholics were seen by Protestant

House of Commons in 1913. It did not become law until 1914, however, because the House of Lords refused to approve it.

Meanwhile, the unionist forces were organizing. More than 470,000 people signed a covenant vowing to use "all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland." In the beginning of 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed. It was a centralized, Unionist military organization. In April of 1914, the UVF was successful in smuggling into Ireland 25,000 rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition in one ship alone.

As the extra-parliamentary struggle progressed, the strength of the nationalist forces favoring an independent Ireland grew. In 1913, the Irish Volunteers was formed in Dublin by people from the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Gaelic league, led by Patrick Pearse and Eoin MacNeill. In this period also, the Irish Citizen Army was organized from striking workers in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, led by James Connolly and Jim Larkin. However, the Unionist forces, much better armed and financed, had the support and collaboration of large sections of the British army's conservative officer corps.

Thus, a situation of incipient civil war existed in Ireland when World War I began. Implementation of home rule was put off for the duration of the war. Patrick Pearse, Eoin MacNeill, and James Connolly, who was a revolutionary socialist, led the left-wing of the nationalist movement in refusing support to England in the war. It was Connolly and Pearse who organized and led the 1916 Easter rebellion, in which the insurrectionists held the center of Dublin for about a week. Both were executed by the British army after their surrender.

The heroic Easter uprising failed to spark a mass upsurge, but it had a deep impact on the Irish nation. The attempt to impose conscription of Irish men into the British army in 1918 gave the Sinn Fein, a nationalist organization formed in the decade prior to the war, the opportunity to take political leadership in Ireland. In the elections that came with the end of the war in November 1918, there was a landslide for Sinn Fein, which proceeded to declare the first Dáil (parliament) of Ireland. The issue of home rule was then replaced



Nationalist struggle prompted resistance to British attempts to conscript Irish men in 1918.

to the nearby northeastern section of Ireland by killing the native Irish or driving them from the land and granting special concessions in the leasing of land to settlers.

The largest colonies were established in Ulster because of its proximity to Scotland and the fact that the resistance of the chiefs had been strongest there. This is how the Protestant majority in Ulster originated. Although a whole series of laws were enacted to prevent the settlers from adopting native Irish customs, language, and culture, the separation of the colonists from the native population was soon assured by more powerful economic and social factors. Today, this is seen in the existence of the Catholic ghettos in the north, segregation in education and social activities, and, of course, the religious division.

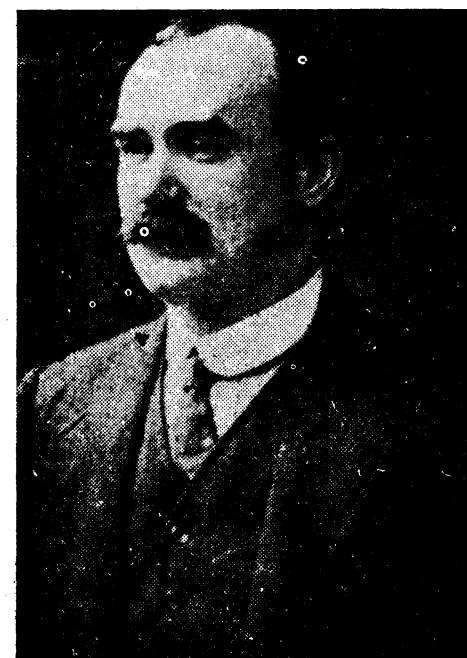
All of Ireland had a Protestant land-

workers and farmers as competitors who were willing to work in industry at starvation wages or to lease land on much harsher terms than Protestant farmers, who were accustomed to a higher standard of living.

Struggle for home rule

A small Catholic middle class did exist, and it was from this layer that agitation for reforms within the system of English domination and landlordism originated. The most important phase of parliamentary struggle for Irish rights was around the demand for the restoration of the Dublin parliament. The Dublin parliament had been abolished in 1801 when Ireland was annexed to the United Kingdom and the direct rule of the Westminster parliament established.

The question of home rule for Ireland polarized Irish, and much of



James Connolly, Irish nationalist and revolutionary socialist, executed in 1916.

ty Fermanagh, whose population is more than 50 percent Catholic. Outside of its school system, however, it employed only 32 Catholics (compared to 338 Protestants) as of March 1969.

Another glaring example of the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland is the fact that Derry, the second largest city in Northern Ireland, is represented in the Stormont parliament by a Protestant Unionist, even though 37,000 of the city's 50,000 inhabitants are Catholic. The city was simply gerrymandered, with the inhabitants of the Catholic Bogside taken into a different constituency and a second district extended eight miles into the countryside to ensure a Protestant majority. Similarly, the 20,102 anti-unionist voters in Derry returned eight representatives to the city council

in 1966, while the 10,274 Unionist voters returned 16.

It was these conditions that sparked the civil rights movement in 1967. Government repression and the attacks of Protestant vigilante groups on the civil rights marches led to greater resistance from the Catholic minority. Unionist thugs began to assault the Catholic ghettos, in conjunction with the police. This led to full-scale fighting and the introduction of British troops, ostensibly to "keep order," in August of 1969. However, it rapidly became clear that the British were collaborating with the Unionist government in disarming and attempting to subdue the Catholic ghettos.

The renewed resistance of the Catholic population led to the use of internment (imprisonment without charge or trial) in August 1971. Later all marches were banned. The population has responded to these attacks by continuing its struggle for equal rights and the repeal of all repressive legislation. The massacre in Derry was only the latest attempt by the British and Northern Ireland governments to break the nationalist movement.

In addition to those rights being fought for by the civil rights movement, the Irish people have been denied their right to self-determination. Their country was partitioned without their consent by British imperialism and its supporters in Ulster. The capitalist government in the 26 counties to the south and west (the Republic of Ireland) has not only failed to lead the struggle for the unification of Ireland, it has actively collaborated with the British and Northern Ireland governments in attempting to stabilize the status quo. A few days prior to the events of "Bloody Sunday" in Derry, it arrested seven Irish Republican Army members in what was widely seen as a response to British demands for help in sealing the border and curbing the nationalist movement.

Although the Republic of Ireland won political independence in 1921, it is still economically dominated by British imperialism. Democratic rights for the Catholic population in Ulster and the reunification of Ireland can only be achieved by breaking with British imperialism and mobilizing the masses of the Irish people against it. But the capitalist class in the Republic cannot do this for fear of upsetting its own precarious rule, as almost happened in 1919-1923. For this reason, an uncompromising and militant nationalist struggle in Ireland will tend to go over to a struggle against capitalism.

As James Connolly wrote in 1896: "The struggle for Irish freedom has two aspects: it is national and it is social. Its national ideal can never be realized until Ireland stands forth before the world a nation free and independent. It is social and economic, because no matter what the form of government may be, as long as one class owns as private property the land and instruments of labour from which all mankind derive their substance, that class will always have power to plunder and enslave the remainder of their fellow-creatures."

IRELAND IN REBELLION by Gerry Foley 60c

Including interviews with Cathal Goulding, chief of staff, IRA; and Tomas MacGiolla, president, Sinn Fein.

Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Massive nationalist upsurge sweeps across Ireland

By MELVIN RUSSELL

FEB. 9—The murder in Derry on Sunday, Jan. 30, of 13 unarmed Catholics by British paratroopers has ignited the most massive demonstration of Irish nationalist sentiment in more than 50 years. The *Irish Times* reports that 12,000 demonstrated in Dublin on Jan. 31, followed by a march of 50,000 on Feb. 2 (equivalent to 800,000 in New York City) and the burning of the British embassy by an outraged crowd.

Other demonstrations in the Republic of Ireland on Feb. 2 included 20,000 at Waterford, 6,000 in Kilkenny, 5,000 in Mayo, and 2,000 to 3,000 in Arklow, Ennis, Clones, Carrickmacross, Cavan, Mullingar, Dundalk, Donegal, and Limerick. Cork had a demonstration of 10,000 on Jan. 31, and 5,000 also marched that day in Dundalk.

An inkling of the ferment going on in Ireland is provided by a statement of Conor Cruise O'Brien, a Labor Party member of the Irish Dáil (parliament). O'Brien, who prior to the massacre on "Bloody Sunday" supported the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland, now advocates that a date for their withdrawal be set. He is quoted in the Feb. 3 *Irish Times* as having told British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling that "there has been no event since 1916 [the Easter rebellion] to move the whole people of Ireland like the 13 'executions' last Sunday. The reaction to Derry had moved a whole people to involvement."

The moderate biweekly periodical *Hibernia* assessed the situation in the Republic in its Feb. 4 issue. "After two and a half years of apathetic detachment," it said, "the emotions of the South have at last spilt over, and perhaps the most significant characteristic of the first Southern reaction was its total spontaneity. The walkouts,



A demonstrator lies dead, one of 13 victims of the British massacre in Derry on Jan. 30.

the marches, the protests, the whole nationwide reaction . . . erupted in revulsion, completely independent of any political leadership. Since then, the country and the streets have dictated the pace and, reminiscent of the North, the politicians are trying to keep up with it."

In Northern Ireland, where all marches have been banned by the pro-imperialist Unionist government, 1,500 students from Queens University in Belfast demonstrated on Feb. 2. Demonstrations of 400 and 1,200 were also reported in Roslea and Derrygonnelly respectively. However, the main protest that day was in Derry, where 20,000 people massed for the funerals of 12 of the 13 victims of the British massacre.

Meanwhile, civil rights leaders stood fast in their determination to have a march in the Ulster town of Newry on Feb. 6 in answer to the attempts to force their movement off the streets. Using thinly veiled threats of another massacre and a massive show of force, British and Unionist officials did their best to intimidate potential demonstrators and to continue the im-

plementation of their goal—the reestablishment of "law and order" by forcing the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland to end its protests and submit to Protestant domination.

Bernard Weinraub, reporting in the Feb. 6 *New York Times*, describes the atmosphere: "Nearly 5,000 British soldiers surrounded Newry. Helicopters moved overhead. At nearly 20 roadblocks, soldiers with automatic weapons checked virtually every vehicle and passenger for guns." Also, the troops stationed inside of Newry were provided with plenty of armored personnel carriers and armored cars to protect themselves from the unarmed demonstrators.

Despite the massive campaign of intimidation, 15,000 to 20,000 demonstrated in Newry Nov. 6, according to the *New York Times* the following day. Pete Hamill, writing from Newry, estimates 50,000 in the Feb. 7 *New York Post*. A Feb. 7 UPI dispatch reports 30,000. Further demonstrations are planned throughout Northern Ireland on Feb. 9 and in Enniskillen, a town about 10 miles from

Continued on page 22

Int'l actions hit massacre in Derry

By HUGH MORGAN

FEB. 8—Anger at the Jan. 30 Derry massacre among Irish-Americans and others in the U. S. sparked demonstrations in a number of cities during the week following the murderous action of the British troops.

A picket line in front of the British Consulate in New York City was maintained during the day between Feb. 1 and 4. On Saturday, Feb. 5, an all-day action sponsored by the Irish Republican Clubs (IRC) and the National Association for Irish Freedom swelled to around 700 at its peak. Considering the turnover, probably more than 1,000 participated during the day. The action began with picketing at the consulate but moved in the afternoon to the *New York Times* building to protest the *Times'* anti-Republican editorial slant in its coverage of the Irish events.

A delegation met with a vice-president of the *New York Times*, who agreed to set up a future meeting between representatives of the pro-Republican groups and *Times* editorial-page editor John B. Oakes.

Several hundred persons joined a Feb. 4 demonstration at the British Consulate in Los Angeles called by the IRC.

Actions took place in San Francisco Feb. 3, 4, and 6. Thirty-five persons demonstrated at noon on Feb. 3 outside the British Consulate as six members of the IRC attempted to meet with the consul, who refused to see them.

On Feb. 4, a candlelight march of 250 led by Irish Northern Aid went to the consul's home, carrying 13 symbolic coffins for those who died in Derry on "Bloody Sunday."

Another action at the consul's home Feb. 6, called by the IRC, drew 150. IRC representatives promised further actions "until all British troops are out of Ireland."

In Philadelphia Feb. 6, 1,000 persons joined a march from Independence Mall to the British Consulate.

Three hundred persons picketed outside the Chicago Civic Center Feb. 1 and 3 in actions sponsored by Irish Northern Aid. The Northern Aid group also led a symbolic funeral procession of 500 Feb. 5 from the Civic Center to a church where a mass was held.

There was a small picket in Boston Feb. 2 jointly sponsored by the Irish Republican Aid Committee and the Friends of Irish Freedom. More than 2,000 attended a special church service in Boston Feb. 6.

On Feb. 7, John Powers, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Massachusetts' Eighth C.D., issued a statement hailing the Feb. 7 Newry demonstration and calling for the withdrawal of all British troops.

A Feb. 2 picket at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C., called by the IRC, brought out 85 people. Among them were representatives of the SWP.

The SWP has slated a meeting on the Irish events in the capital for Feb. 18. The meeting will be addressed by SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley and a representative of the Irish Republican Army.

In Minneapolis on Feb. 3, Mary Hillery, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Minnesota, spoke to a demonstration of about 30 persons in front of the British Government Trade Office. The action was called by the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Young Socialist Alliance.

There were also actions in Detroit and other U. S. cities.

FEB. 8—Internationally, marches against the use of British troops in Ireland have been reported in England, Scotland, Australia, and Paris. In Sydney, Australia, 5,000 people marched on Feb. 6. A demonstration was also held in Melbourne. Members of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, organized an action in Paris. In London, some 3,500 demonstrators, organized by the Anti-Internment League, marched on Feb. 5. A clash with police outside of the prime minister's house at 10 Downing Street resulted in about 90 injuries and 100 arrests, according to the *Washington Post*.

Demonstrations were also reported in Glasgow, Manchester, Edinburgh, York, Coventry, and Warwick.

In Our Opinion

Agents provocateurs

Webster's Third International Dictionary defines agent provocateur as follows: "one employed to associate himself with members of a group or with suspected persons and by pretended sympathy with their aims or attitudes to incite them to some illegal or harmful action that will make them liable to apprehension and punishment."

During the last few months several government agents provocateurs have surfaced. Eustacio (Frank) Martinez, Louis Tackwood, and Robert Wall have publicly disclosed the nature of their undercover activities designed to weaken and destroy Black, Chicano, antiwar, and radical organizations (see stories on Martinez in this issue of *The Militant*, page 19, and on Tackwood and Wall in the Nov. 12, 1971, and Feb. 11, 1972, issues respectively).

It is important to note that these illegal and unconstitutional activities have been sponsored by both federal and local authorities, and by both Republican and Democratic administrations. Agencies involved include the FBI; the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Enforcement Division of the Internal Revenue Service; and the Houston and Los Angeles Police Departments. The seriousness of this problem is underlined by the jail terms and loss of lives suffered by young militants as the direct or indirect result of the work of these agents and their superiors.

Everyone active in movements for social change must protest these cynical practices and demand that they be halted.

At the same time, much can be learned from these experiences.

There are some common methods used by agents provocateurs. First, they try to promote divisions within and among groups through sending anonymous or forged letters, providing weapons for one group to use against another, or spouting ultraleft rhetoric to try to discredit movement leaders.

Secondly, they attempt to provoke violent confrontations with the police by advocating that a group use illegal weapons or carry out violent actions, and by creating situations that give police an easy opening to attack the movement. In attempts by agents to get groups or individuals to use illegal weapons or explosives, the weapons themselves often come directly from the federal or local police agencies.

From the disclosures of these three agents it is clear that provocateurs will thrive in an organization based on personal cliques and feuds, and in those based on ultraleft politics—that is, on the idea that "pick up the gun" rhetoric, and violent action by a few, can substitute for building a mass movement.

The effect of agents provocateurs can be minimized when organizations conduct open political discussions, employ democratic methods of reaching decisions, have an orientation toward mobilizing mass support, and formulate their ideas so as to put the onus for violence on the government, where it belongs.

Racist hysteria

The New York City Police Department has seized on the killing of two cops on Jan. 27 to whip up a campaign to intimidate and victimize Black militants. This is particularly evident in the racist approach of the hunt for the killers as expressed by Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley. He declared, "Nobody doubts that those killings were committed by Black militants." A highly organized police dragnet is sweeping through the Black communities, questioning anyone who looks suspicious to cops—or anyone who looks like a "Black militant."

Daley charged that the killers are members of an organization called the Black Liberation Army. He told the news media that this group is "nationwide in scope," that its members travel from city to city, and that the group "finances its movement with stickups."

After days of this racist scare campaign in the entire mass media, Daley conceded on Feb. 7 that the cops did not actually think the killers were "members in any sense" of a group called the Black Liberation Army. "The Black Liberation Army means hardened cop killers," he stated. "Anybody who espouses that philosophy we speak of as Black Liberation Army."

The day after the killings, New York Mayor and presidential aspirant John V. Lindsay hypocritically denounced the "violence." "The ones who are suffering the most are the police," he said.

This campaign of lies and vilification is designed to turn reality on its head. There is no war on police by Black militants; the truth is the opposite. Police frame-ups of Black militants, brutal suppressions of ghetto rebellions, and murderous raids on Black Panther headquarters and other Black liberation groups across the country are the reality.

Letters

Not children

I am a prisoner, a prisoner of the nuclear family unit. I am writing this letter on behalf of the most oppressed sector of society—the humans (yes, humans, not children) under 18, but especially under 16.

The "democratic" elective processes are closed to us. Because we cannot vote, bourgeois politicians ignore us and finally notice that we are alive when we turn 18. We do not have an important economic function to play (since many of us don't work). All our lives we are being trained for our functions. Being extensions of our parents, we supposedly learn to become extensions of our bosses. Parents can do anything short of killing us in the name of discipline. We accept the fact that we are something less than the authoritarian brutes at the top.

The repressive situation within the family unit stifles our particular talents if they are not congruent to what capitalist society needs from us. If our minds are not completely suppressed, our ability and confidence to use them are. So after so many years of conditioning, we are ready to become good workers.

Perhaps you could go into more detail on this subject in future issues.

If you should decide to print this letter, kindly use my initials rather than my name, in case my parents should go through my "subversive" mail.

L. L.

Toronto, Canada

For amnesty

Allow me, an ex-GI, to discuss my feelings on amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters. At one time I was for full prosecution of anyone who attempted to get out of doing his duty in the armed forces. But I have completely changed my mind on this matter.

No! The men that desert or dodge the armed forces should not be punished. They have a right to decide whether this war is right or wrong. The 98,000 deserters or dodgers should be given full amnesty for any action they have taken against this war in Vietnam.

While I was in Vietnam I killed an old woman. What punishment did I get? I received congratulations from the C. O., X. O., and the first sergeant. Job well done.

As Garner Ted Armstrong (a rightist) said on his program "World Tomorrow," a soldier is a professional killer. He trains to kill and his orders from his superiors are to kill. Now, this man is supposed to be a minister, and he upholds this type of action.

If it's possible for you to print this letter I would appreciate it, because it might help the public to make up its mind about amnesty for the men in exile.

C. L. W.

Raleigh, N. C.

New organization

This is a short, spur-of-the-moment response to two items in the Jan. 14 issue of *The Militant*. I heartily concur with your position on the Jewish Defense League, but it seems ironic, if not a contradiction, to your superficial analysis of Bob Dylan's new revolutionary diversion. [This refers to a record review entitled "Dylan on George Jackson" by Neil Dobro—ed.] That this superstar was touched by Jackson's as-

sassination, I can't dispute. But has Bob Dylan uttered a peep lately about anyone else held in bondage as a political prisoner?

How do we rationalize this left turn in light of Dylan's rediscovering his "Jewishness" by paying glowing tribute to the JDL, the shock troops of Zionist expansionism?

I belong to a recently-formed group called the Radical Arab-Jewish Alliance (RAJA). The purpose of RAJA is to allow Jews and Arabs to come together, to educate people, and to aid the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. This group attempts to offer alternatives to the myths of "progressive, socialist Israel" or blind allegiance to reactionary Arab regimes. RAJA fully supports the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people and the creation of a secular, binational, socialist Palestine.

We have just reprinted some topical information on the Middle East: a pamphlet *Zionism and South Africa* and *A Letter to Jews on the Left: What Israel Does to the Palestinians*. Both can be received for 25 cents from: RAJA, P. O. Box 1571, Wedgwood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115.

S. B.

Seattle, Wash.

A Clockwork Orange

I have a few criticisms that I would like to make of Lee Smith's interesting review of *A Clockwork Orange* in the Jan. 28 *Militant*. Smith states that the movie is merely a better grade of "escapist nonsense" than the James Bond movies. He bases this on his estimate that the movie's content is a "simple-minded message" about the value of free will. To be sure, that line of thought is contained in the movie, but Smith fails to examine the movie's much more prominent theme—its examination of the sources of violence.

The movie's thesis is that institutional violence has its source in the individual's perverse will to violence. In reality, however, violence in the individual is largely a pale imitation of institutionalized violence—such as the Indochina war, the starvation of millions of American citizens, the laws against abortion, and the American prison system.

Nevertheless, *A Clockwork Orange* deals directly with ideas and cannot be dismissed as "escapist nonsense" since, however wrong-headed its point of view, it does attempt to stimulate the thought processes rather than simply divert them. In my opinion, the result is a very powerful movie which almost completely undermines its own main point in the process of making it by its frank depiction of the all-pervasiveness of institutional violence.

Arthur Maglin

New York, N. Y.

Teamsters buy Militant

Two *Militant* sales people were threatened by union goons at a local Teamsters election here in Washington, D. C., on Jan. 23. This year's election in Teamsters Local 639 was a hotly contested battle between old-line appointed bureaucrats and an insurgent rank-and-file caucus.

The Committee to Reform Local 639, predominantly Black, chal-

The Great Society

lenged the bureaucrats' record of misappropriation of funds, sweetheart contracts, and lack of union democracy. The old guard, led by incumbent president Frank De-brouse, campaigned on the basis of being the "experienced slate."

Both sides had mobilized their forces for the elections, creating a large turnout at the local headquarters. By the time the first *Militant* sales people arrived, there were over 150 people waiting to vote. All the *Militants* were sold in about two minutes.

A second team of *Militant* sellers, arriving later in the day, was approached by union goons and told to leave. The goons, wearing "Vote the experienced slate" emblems, told them that they had no right to interfere with union business. The *Militant* people explained that they weren't interfering with the elections and defended their right to sell the paper. Amid the goons' threats of physical violence and attempts to seize the paper, the supporters of the reform committee began to buy the papers. The goons backed off, and the rest of the papers were sold in a short time.

One of the rank and filers made the statement that the union was 90 percent Black and had an all-white leadership. He said that the incumbent president, Frank De-brouse, had been appointed by his brother-in-law, who was head of the district council.

When asked if he had heard of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' strike, he replied: "Well! It's good to see that you're up on your history. But you're too young to remember it; you must have read about it in books."

C. Kidd
Washington, D. C.

Correction

Re: "How two L. A. Panther supporters beat frame-up charges" in the Jan. 21 *Militant*.

Harry Ring should have checked his facts before writing the article. T. C. Douglas, father of Shirley Sutherland, is no longer national leader of the New Democratic Party. The 67-year-old Mr. Douglas retired last year after heading the NDP since its founding in 1961 as an alliance between organized labor and the farmer-oriented Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

A fighter for democratic socialism for 40 years, most importantly as CCF premier of the province of Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1961, Tommy Douglas remains as member of Parliament for Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands and will contest the next federal election to be held sometime this year.

J. B.
Kitchener, Ontario, Canada

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.

Reagansville, USA—In keeping with the California tradition of a warm, enlightened approach to the penal problem, a bill was introduced in the state legislature which, if it wins passage, will require that county jail inmates receive 50 cents' credit for each eight hours worked.

Spiritual devaluation—One sobering effect of the devaluation of the dollar is the squeeze it puts on missionary work abroad. The Southern Baptists called devaluation "the worst dollar pinch since the depression," estimating that it would bring an immediate \$1.5-million cut in their spending power. Maybe when the figures are in on what this is doing to Billy Graham's collections abroad, Nixon may reconsider the whole deal.

Problems, problems—A mansion of your own may not be the best answer to the rent gougers. For example, Tony Curtis is trying to unload his \$1-million Hollywood estate and other celebrities are doing likewise. Their reasons are varied, reports *Newsweek*, including "the perilous financial state of show biz, Hollywood divorces, grown-up kids, the servant problem and a trend toward throw-

ing parties at restaurants rather than at home."

High noon—Exasperated by being saddled with an attorney general convicted of perjury and a financial scandal, Louisiana Governor John McKeithen said he didn't know what to do with him, but shoot him. Attorney General Jack Gremillion responded that he'd be on the capitol steps at noon ready to be shot. The governor failed to show, explaining he "didn't mean anything uncomplimentary." Gremillion was unmollified. "I can't take that lightly," he said. "I have a wife and a family."

Corn flake power—That morning cereal may not do much more for you than a good grade of sawdust, but the big four that grind the stuff out have been doing OK. The Federal Trade Commission charged that Kellogg, General Mills, General Foods, and Quaker Oats have "illegally monopolized" 91 percent of the \$589-million annual sales take. The FTC also characterized as tendentious the advertising claim that purchase of the proper cereal will make children big and strong, and adults slim and handsome.

Housing note—What with the lifting of federal controls on 40 percent of all rented residential properties, readers may be interested to know that the Duke of Windsor, formerly King of England, has put his French pad on the market. Interested buyers should get together about \$700,000 if they want to do business.

Now hear this—Asked if she could imagine any circumstances under which she might try to persuade her husband not to run again, Patricia Nixon, with a straight face, replied: "He has done such a magnificent job for this country, I can't think of any."

Utopia—A number of communes are prospering after adopting a hard-nosed, businesslike approach, reports the *Wall Street Journal*. Twin Oaks, a Virginia group established on the basis of B.F. Skinner's concept of non-competition, is now a corporation with a board of planners. "Group consensus becomes a silly forum for people fond of their own voices," explains spokeswoman Kat Griebel. "My solution: Let them talk—then have experienced, responsible people make decisions."

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

THE 15-YEAR-OLD WOMAN WHO WAS DENIED AN ABORTION last week by the Illinois Supreme Court has been released from the Audy Home, a detention center, and placed back in her mother's custody. The young woman's lawyer, Patrick T. Murphy, says she may now try to obtain an abortion in New York. The Juvenile Court's decision to release her is a victory against the attempt by State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan to prevent her abortion despite testimony from psychiatrists that she would kill herself if forced to have a child. Murphy says he will continue to fight in the courts for her right to obtain an abortion in Illinois.

ATTACKS BY ANTI-ABORTION FORCES HAVE SPREAD TO CANADA. On Jan. 26 the Ontario Supreme Court issued an injunction preventing a therapeutic abortion for a Quebec woman. The decision was based on a suit brought by the woman's husband and the unborn "infant plaintiff." By Canadian law, a woman may obtain an abortion if a hospital abortion committee determines that pregnancy will endanger her life or health.

David Dehler, the husband's lawyer, is active with Canadian anti-abortion groups and has told the press he would like to be named legal guardian of all unborn children in

Ontario. He has been following closely the actions taken by Robert Byrn in New York.

The Canadian abortion law repeal movement responded quickly to the Ontario decision. Both the Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal and Le Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement (United Front for the Repeal of Abortion Laws) issued statements condemning the injunction. They said it set a dangerous precedent by denying the right of women to control their own bodies.

A VICTORY AGAINST SEX DISCRIMINATION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY was won on Jan. 26 when the New York State Supreme Court issued a temporary stay against the firing of 30 "maids" by the university. The court ruling was based on the fact that the action was clearly discriminatory, since only women were being dismissed. Custodial duties are performed by both men and women at Columbia, but the male "janitors" get \$18 more per week than the women, who are called "maids."

The case is part of a continuing fight to end the university's discrimination against women employees. The struggle is led by the Women's Affirmative Action Coalition (WAAC), which is composed of Columbia women students, staff, and faculty. WAAC was formed in response to charges by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) that Columbia is guilty of sex discrimination in employment. HEW has already held up some federal contracts for the university, although the Department of Defense recently renewed a \$2-billion contract with Columbia.

THE SEXIST COVERAGE OF WOMEN BY THE MASS MEDIA comes under sharp attack by Pamela Howard in the February 1972 issue of *[MORE]*, a journalism review. Unlike men, Howard says, women who make news are portrayed by the press as deviants from their traditional role. Male reporters typically describe women not in terms of what they have done but in terms of their measurements, hairstyle, and dress. As one example, Howard quotes from Martin Waldron's article in the Jan. 2 *New York Times* on Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Waldron opens the article with the chauvinist comment that Jenness "looked more like a suburban housewife having lunch in town than the candidate for the Socialist Workers Party campaigning for president." He goes on to describe her freckles, the pantsuit she was wearing, and what she ordered to drink. As Howard aptly points out: "When a man runs for office, no one writes about the 'househusband' who has taken up politics. Yet this happens repeatedly with women who often have more impressive qualifications for the job than any man."

— CINDY JAQUITH



Sharon Roswell, the first linewoman ever hired by the General Telephone Co. of the Southwest, is a member of Communications Workers Local 6179, Stuttgart, Ark.

Photo by AFL-CIO News

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's trip to Peking "is the key to his bid for reelection as 'a man of peace,'" wrote James Reston, the influential Washington editor of the *New York Times*, Jan. 12. Even before Richard Nixon ran for president in 1968, he made moves to set the stage for the February spectacle.

For example, Nixon wrote in an article in the prestigious ruling-class magazine *Foreign Affairs* in October 1967, "We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family

turn in postwar history. Washington made the long-overdue admission that its policy of blockading and isolating China was counterproductive. China gained needed access to world trade and an influential position in the UN enhancing its weight in world diplomacy.

Nevertheless, the implications of Washington's rapprochement with Peking are far from peaceful, whatever mileage Nixon hopes to gain from them in the 1972 elections. Washington's central objective is to use Pe-

Khan who helped arrange the Chou-Kissinger meetings. In the UN debate on the Indo-Pakistan war in December, representatives from Washington, Peking, and Rawalpindi worked hand in hand in their last-ditch efforts to crush the Bangladesh liberation forces.

But Peking's policies of peaceful coexistence are not new; nor is Washington's utilization of these policies. Peking's role in the 1954 Geneva Accord division of Indochina is a pertinent case in point. The meaning of

Nixon's standpoint, the release of the Pentagon Papers on the eve of his announcement of his trip to Peking was a bit of an embarrassment.

In fact, however, the *New York Times* cooperated with Nixon on this score, because the *Times* also speaks for sectors of the ruling class that favor using Peking as an intermediary to settle the war. In its 677-page version of the Pentagon Papers, the *Times* omits all such references to Moscow or Peking as the one cited above. They are only available in the 7000-page edition of the papers issued by the House Armed Services Committee.

Why Nixon is going to China



Photo from China Pictorial

Pakistani butcher Yahya in Peking with Mao and Chou En-lai, November 1970. Peking's aid to Pakistan's attempt to crush the Bangladesh independence struggle demonstrated its seriousness toward making an accommodation with imperialism.

of nations."

On Nov. 28, 1968, shortly after Nixon's election victory, Peking reciprocated. A statement issued by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" between Peking and Washington. The release also invited Nixon to resume diplomatic talks in Warsaw Feb. 20, 1969, that is, exactly one month after Nixon's inauguration as president.

Thus, preparations for the detente between Nixon and Mao have been underway at least since Nixon took office. Here are some of the high points:

- In July 1969 it was proposed that Nixon go to Rumania. Washington dopesters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote, "the principal and secret purpose of President Nixon's visit to Rumania is to signal Communist China that the U.S. has no present intention of joining Russia in anti-China alliance." Evans and Novak stated that the maneuver was the idea of Henry Kissinger, head of the National Security Council staff.

- On April 26, 1971, a special presidential commission headed by the influential diplomat Henry Cabot Lodge (who served as U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam under Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon), advised that the United States itself should recommend Chinese membership in the UN.

- On June 10, Nixon announced the end of the 21-year U.S. embargo on trade with China.

- On July 15, Nixon revealed that secret talks had been held in Peking, July 9-11, between Kissinger and Chinese premier Chou En-lai, preparing a visit to Peking by the president himself.

- And on Oct. 25, the United Nations voted to admit China, place it on the Security Council, and kick Taiwan out. Kissinger was in Peking during the UN debate on Chinese entry.

These events constitute a significant

king's policies of peaceful coexistence to strengthen imperialism's drive to contain the colonial revolution, particularly in Southeast Asia. Nixon wants Chairman Mao to bring pressure on Hanoi to reach a settlement of the war that will redivide Indochina and leave the imperialists their foothold in Saigon.

These hopes were spelled out in a burst of enthusiasm last April 24 by the *Christian Science Monitor*, whose editor was on the Lodge commission that recommended the China turn.

"If Peking really wanted to get closer to Washington and do something very nice for President Nixon (of course expecting a suitable quid pro quo)," the editorial columns of the *Monitor* stated, "it would have only to whisper a few words of wisdom into the collective ear of Hanoi, and the war, by one means or another, would quickly come to an end. . . . Hanoi depends on China for most of its arms and ammunition." (Even much of the military aid to Hanoi from Moscow is transported through China.)

"Nothing we can think of could so completely overturn the present political pattern in Washington," the *Monitor* continued. "Overnight, youth protests against Nixon war policies would evaporate. Democratic hopefuls who have built their political platforms on opposition to the war would be dangling in midair with embarrassing emptiness under them."

Chou at Geneva

Peking's support, including military aid, to the reactionary military regime in West Pakistan during its attempt to liquidate the Bangladesh freedom struggle underlined what Peking's peaceful coexistence policy means. It means subordination of the revolutionary struggles of workers and peasants to the narrow diplomatic needs of China's ruling bureaucracy.

It was Pakistan strong-man Yahya

this accord to Southeast Asian revolutionists was discussed more fully in last week's issue of *The Militant*. Basically, it enabled the United States to secure a military base in South Vietnam, something the French had been unable to gain militarily in the long war against the Viet Minh.

Here is how the Pentagon analyst in the formerly top-secret "Pentagon Papers" study of the Indochinese war summarizes the parts played by Moscow and Peking at Geneva:

"While it is fair to state that the immediate implications of the accords did not reflect (even according to CIA reports) Viet Minh strength and control in Vietnam at the time of the conference, it is equally important to understand why.

"Viet Minh ambitions were thwarted, not so much by Western resistance or treachery, as by Sino-Soviet pressures on them to cooperate. . . . Together and separately, Moscow and Peking pressured concessions on the Viet Minh.

"Invariably, the two principal communist delegates, Chou En-lai and Molotov, played major roles in breaking deadlocks with conciliatory initiatives. . . . 'Peaceful coexistence' was the hallmark of their diplomacy.

"The Chinese, in particular, were interested in border security, buffers, preventing the formation of a U.S. alliance system with bases in the region, and reconstruction at home. The two big communist powers did not hesitate in asserting the paramountcy of their interests over those of the Viet Minh." [United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), Book 1, Part III. C., pp. C-1, C-2.]

It is little wonder that Nixon acted with such fury at the release of the Pentagon Papers. They spotlight the role Moscow and Peking have played in allowing the United States to establish a base in Indochina. From

What Washington wants

While Nixon does not make public pronouncements about his real hopes from Mao and Chou, they have been spelled out by other high-ranking politicians in Washington. Noteworthy is a speech made by Democratic Party majority leader in the Senate, Mike Mansfield. The speech was published in *War/Peace Report* in May 1968, that is, after Nixon had begun making initiatives toward Peking.

"In recent years," stated Mansfield, "the present Chinese government has not shown any great eagerness to use force to spread its ideology elsewhere in Asia. . . . To be sure, China has given enthusiastic encouragement and has promised to support wars of national liberation. However, China has not participated directly in these wars, and support, when it is forthcoming, has been limited and circumspect. . . .

"At every stage of the war, the assistance we have provided to South Vietnam has far exceeded the aid from China and all outside sources to the Viet Cong and North Vietnam—both in terms of men and material. . . .

"In short, to speak of China today as aggressively expansionist is to respond to Chinese words rather than Chinese actions."

Then Mansfield got to the important point: "China is a signatory to the settlement which emerged from the Geneva conferences of 1954 and 1962 and which contain at least a hope for a middle way to peace in Indochina. So far as I am aware, the Chinese have not been found in direct unilateral violation of these agreements. It is not impossible that a similar settlement, with Chinese participation, might be reached in Vietnam."

Thus this Democratic critic of Nixon's policies reveals that on one point the "doves" and the administration stand on common ground: they favor a big-power redivision of Indochina and believe that Peking can play a role in forcing this "settlement" down Hanoi's throat.

In July 1971, while Kissinger was in Peking, Chou told an Australian diplomat, Gough Whitlam, leader of the opposition Labor party, that the Mao government was willing to participate in a new Geneva conference.

The secrecy with which the Washington-Peking talks were arranged, and in which they will undoubtedly be carried out, underlines the real aims of Nixon and Mao. After all, if a "just peace" is really the aim of the talks, why not hold them in public?

Whether Nixon can pull it off, however, is a different question. The Vietnamese learned in the bloody aftermath of 1954 what happens when the imperialists gain a military base in their country. From the first announcement of Nixon's trip to Peking, Hanoi has criticized any big-power imposition of terms on Indochina. (And the Hanoi leadership is well aware of the roles Moscow and Peking have played in the past.)

Moreover, the antiwar movement in this country can help to relieve the pressure on Vietnam for a settlement by continuing its efforts to bring about a complete and immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. This is the only guarantee that the three-decade war will come to an end.

French prisons in revolt

From Intercontinental Press

"The specter of revolt against the bankrupt 'new society' of Pompidou-Chaban, which since May 1968 has affected the most varied social layers, public bodies, and persons, has just made its appearance in a place where, by definition, it has no right to exist: the prisons. After Clairvaux, where in a gesture of despair two inmates killed a hospital attendant and a guard they had taken as hostages; after Toul, where the inmates' rebellion was crushed (through a wretched stratagem of Pleven-the-liar) under the clubs of the CRS; after Nice, where, resorting to the eternal weapon of the exploited, the prisoners rejected the robotlike pseudolabor that is imposed on them—the rebellion is spreading like wildfire: Amiens, Lille . . . the guests in Pleven's houses of detention are in revolt, asserting that offenders, whom bourgeois society produces on a mass scale, are *men* and demand to be treated as such."

Thus wrote *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, in its January 15 issue. This specter of prison rebellion, which thrust itself onto the international scene after the revolt in Attica, New York, has spread from one French prison to another, and forced itself onto the front pages of the entire French press.

Last December, the inmates of Toul prison rebelled against their miserable living conditions. They were put down by police. But the rebellion focused public opinion on the plight of the prisoners, and René Pleven, minister of justice, empowered a commission to investigate the Toul insurrection.

The commission was headed by Robert Schmelck, chief prosecutor in the country's highest criminal court. This representative of French jurisprudence began his career as a magistrate in 1943, during the Nazi occupation. He attained a certain stature in his field, and in 1960 became prosecutor general in Algiers, where the rights of prisoners were not exactly strictly observed.

On January 10, the Schmelck commission issued its report. French public opinion was astounded, not because of the report's contents, which were largely an apologetic admission that prison conditions were unenviable, but by the rapidity with which the commission had reported its findings, and by the fact that, considering its source, it was at all critical of the prison administration.

"It seems," the commission wrote, "that the warden [at Toul] adopted for everyone a strict, even rigorous disciplinary regime not always fully justified in its application to the whole prison population by the need for security and order. . . . The brutal show of violence on December 9 [Schmelck means by the prisoners] can in part be explained by the explosive reaction of young people whose hopes were disappointed and whose vitality was smothered instead of being channeled into rational activities."

The commission claimed it could find no evidence of "systematic brutality," but seemed to contradict itself by recommending the removal of Georges Galiana, Toul's warden.

An excerpt from the report printed in the January 15 *Rouge* provides a sample of its general tone:

"Moreover, other more serious charges have been made regarding the utilization of 'restraining belts' (*ceintures de contention*). In some cases they are said to have been used as punishment, and not as a safety measure for disturbed prisoners. Furthermore, some inmates are said to have been kept in restraint for several days without ever being untied."

Rouge notes, for the uninitiated, that

ceinture de contention is an elegant, Plevensque expression for strait-jacket!

Within one week of the commission report, rebellions, or at least acts of collective defiance, broke out in six prisons: Lille, Amiens, Rouen, Fleury-Merogis (a "model" prison), Ecrouves, and Nancy. Both Amiens and Lille were scenes of workshop occupations by prisoners. It was as if the prisoners were telling the public on the outside that Toul was a typical case, not an aberration that could be dealt with by changing the warden.

President Georges Pompidou reacted to the commission report and the revolts by saying that "it is a narrow path between inhuman indifference and dangerous sentimentalism." He recom-



Photo from Rouge

In the French cities of Toul and Nancy, prisoners climbed to the roof of the prisons and presented their demands before the people who gathered below.

mended a series of minor reforms in the penal system and a new increase in disciplinary measures to contain any further struggle on the part of the prisoners.

Pleven, at a January 19 news conference, said that reforms would be undertaken at "an opportune moment" but that "this is also the time to re-establish discipline."

Many leftist and labor organizations, including the Communist party-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), endorsed the findings of the commission. A notable exception was the Ligue Communiste. The January 15 *Rouge* wrote:

"Vassal to Pleven, Mr. Schmelck does not seek the *real* motives for the revolt of the French prisoners; he does not seek the *truly* guilty ones; he was mandated to find a scapegoat, to present a victim to assuage public opinion, which becomes more and more incensed as it keeps learning more and more about the reality of prison conditions in France. That this victim is named Galiana, a filthy beast, causes us to rejoice; but it will not be sufficient. The Schmelcks, the Plevens, and the other jailers deserve no better fate."

The most serious of the rebellions occurred at Nancy prison, where an estimated several hundred thousand dollars damage was done to the buildings. The regime was clearly worried by the depth of the struggle and by the fact that a crowd of youths gathered outside the prison gates to express their support for the inmates.

The warden took his cue from Pleven and blamed "outside agitators" for the revolt, without bothering to explain just when the prison adopted a policy of allowing radicals to visit the institution for the purpose of instigating insurrection.

In the January 22 *Rouge*, Félix Lejarret commented on the regime's reaction to Nancy and the wave of rebellions:

"That the old Marcellinesque [Marcellin is minister of interior] fable

about outside subversive elements could make its appearance in such a ridiculous fashion at this time well testifies to the panic and stupor gripping all the chief jailers in France—the wave of revolts in the prisons, far from dying down, keeps on rising. After Toul, Nîmes, Amiens, Loos . . . the inmates of Fleury-Merogis (a sort of Club Méditerranée for inmates, according to Jean Ferniot), those of Ecrouves and of Nancy have in their turn, and effectively, gone on the offensive.

"At Fleury-Merogis, after the exercise period, the inmates refused to return to their cells; they demanded two extra hours. At Ecrouves (Meurthe-et-Moselle) they demanded a rise in wages and the opportunity to engage

in real physical exercise. At Nancy, pushed to their limit by cold, hunger, and brutality, the inmates enacted the same scenario as at Toul: they climbed to the roof, drew up a leaflet summarizing their demands, which they tried to pass to the assembled population, and for hours resisted the assault of the cops, who finally managed to dislodge them by using a helicopter. Just like Vietnam!

"Definitely, this prison revolt, far from being a simple flash in the pan, is developing into a general conflagration. There is nothing astonishing in that. When the inmates of Ecrouves rebel, they are transferred to Nancy. When these, in their turn, enter into struggle, the 'leaders' are transferred to another prison, where from then onwards, the ferment of subversion can only rise. . . .

"But there's more: through the movement, the rejected inmate caste becomes self-educated, conscious of the possibilities of struggling against the system that oppresses them. They cease to feel isolated and ashamed, are encouraged by the idea that their revolt will not meet solely with hostility outside the high walls of the jails."

The French bourgeoisie is at a loss as to how to respond to the prison ferment. The cabinet is reportedly considering various reforms, and an investigation is under way to determine whether criminal charges should be filed against officials at Toul. At the same time, an investigation into the "outside forces" that supposedly triggered the Nancy revolt is being conducted.

But whatever combination of repression and concession the Pompidou regime may resort to, a new force has entered the French revolutionary movement. As Lejarret wrote in *Rouge*:

"The wall of indifference that surrounded the prisons is breached. Now it is Pleven, France's No. 1 jailer, who is in solitary, an outcast, a repeat offender, the incorrigible executor of the bourgeoisie's dirty work."

SMC fights for right to exist in Portland schools

PORTLAND—Members of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) picketed the Jan. 24 meeting of the Portland School Board. Inside, SMCers spoke before the board, demanding that it allow all political groups to organize in the city's public schools. This action was the latest development in a year-long struggle waged by the Portland SMC.

In February 1971, the SMC requested a club charter from the board in order to hold in-school meetings and use school facilities. The board rejected the request and soon after adopted a policy that "No clubs may be organized around activities with which the school may not be properly associated, such as advocacy and promotion of particular causes. . . ." The policy stated, however, that "Political clubs related to political parties having met requirements to place candidates on Oregon election ballots are authorized."

In response to this unconstitutional regulation, the SMC initiated a civil liberties campaign, gaining the support of many high school students, the Portland Federation of Teachers, and numerous other trade-unions, and student and community organizations. Despite this public support, the board continued to deny the SMC a charter until January 1972, when the SMC was chartered at Adams High School. Almost immediately, the superintendent of schools announced his intention to veto the charter and the principal of Adams subsequently revoked it.

Forty SMCers joined the Jan. 24 picket line, carrying signs that read "SMC Charter—Killed in Action," "On to April 22," and "U. S. Out—SMC In." Allen Julian, a leader of the Adams SMC, spoke before the School Board. He explained that "The only people who have the right to choose what groups will be educationally valuable to the students of Portland are the students of Portland themselves. The board has unconstitutionally decided to limit this choice to the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans. The students of Portland will reject this decision."

John Linder, 16-year-old Socialist Workers Party candidate for School Board Position No. 1, explained that the majority of Portland students are opposed to the war in Southeast Asia. He told board members they were supporting the interests of the two parties that have created the war, despite the fact that the board is officially "nonpartisan." One of the board members sits on the boards of directors of four of Oregon's largest war-related concerns—ESCO, Cascade Corp., Evans Products, and the Oregon Metallurgical Corp.

The school board promised to reconsider its policy at the next board meeting, which is scheduled for Feb. 7. High school students will be mobilized to attend, the SMC reports.

'Daily World' attacks Black youth caucus



Photo by B. R. Washington

The Communist Party criticizes Black caucuses because the thrust of Black nationalism goes beyond the limits of two-party politics.

By JOHN HAWKINS
and ANDREW PULLEY

A Black caucus attempted to participate in, but finally walked out of, the Emergency Conference of New Voters held in Chicago Dec. 3-5. This action was sharply criticized in the Jan. 1 issue of the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party.

In an article entitled "Hard Lessons from Hard Times," Hosea Hudson lashes out at Black nationalism, Black caucuses, and the walkout. Hudson is Black and is said to be a "prominent labor veteran." He states: "I, for one, believe that many of these so-called Black caucuses are only breeding grounds for Black separatism, especially when they want to exclude all whites from such meetings."

Hudson goes so far as to blame the Black youth for the "very strong racist display . . . by some of the white leaders and white delegates." He says, "those Black youth—walking out with their Black nationalist approach of separation—infamed those white racist elements." Hudson turns the victim into the criminal and lends credence to the white backlash concept.

Hudson fails to mention that Black members of the Young Workers Lib-

eration League, the youth group associated with the Communist Party, participated in the Black caucus and joined the walkout.

He also fails to mention that an earlier article in the Dec. 9 *Daily World* by Donna Ristorucci blamed the "insensitivity" of white conference organizers and delegates for the walkout, not the Black youth. She decried the lack of anti-racist unity and concluded, "To unite and win in 1972, sincere white students must increase their vigilance in the struggle against racism."

Apparently Hudson's position, which he admits "some call . . . 'old timey,'" differs with that of some CP and YWLL members and is designed to scold the errant YWLL members. It is significant that Hudson gives no account of what actually took place at the conference, no facts to back up his hard line. Instead he relates experiences in the labor movement of the 1930s and 1940s that ostensibly prove that "walking out" of meetings never pays.

Although the Dec. 3-5 affair was billed as an Emergency Conference of New Voters, it became apparent to many during its course that it was essentially a Democratic Party talk-

athon. While the 3,000 participants were subjected to numerous speeches by Democratic Party candidates and leaders, they were not allowed to present resolutions or to discuss at any length those presented by the hand-picked steering committee. The agenda was strictly controlled by this committee.

Because no time was scheduled for general discussion of the needs of Black youth and because no Blacks were on the steering committee, the Black delegates decided to form a caucus to discuss how they would participate in the conference. Among the nearly 100 people who formed the caucus were representatives from several Black student groups, including a large delegation from Howard University in Washington, D. C.; almost a dozen members of the Young Workers Liberation League; a few members of the Student Organization for Black Unity; and Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

On the second day of the conference, leaders of the Black caucus drew up demands calling for representation on the steering committee and endorsement of a platform based on the 60-point program the Congressional Black Caucus has submitted to President Nixon. It was agreed to walk out if these two demands were not accepted.

At this meeting YWLL members supported the demands for Black representation and endorsement of the platform. They agreed to walk out if the demands were rejected by the conference. However, they did not expect the conference to reject either demand since both coincided with their aims and those of the conference organizers—mobilizing broad youth support for liberal Democrats.

The only opposition to these demands in the Black caucus came from Pulley, who opposed the adoption of the platform, and from members of the Student Organization for Black Unity. SOBU proposed that Blacks leave the conference because it was a "white, Democratic Party thing." They supported the formation of a Black party as an alternative to electing Democrats.

Pulley also spoke in favor of a Black party that could mobilize the masses of Black people to struggle for Black control of the Black community, independent of, and in opposition to, the Democratic and Republican parties. Pointing out that the conference leaders professed nonpartisanship, Pulley proposed that the caucus demand speaking time for can-

didates and representatives of parties other than the two capitalist parties, such as the Socialist Workers, Communist, and La Raza Unida parties.

The Black caucus rejected both proposals.

When the caucus leaders presented their demands and criticisms to the conference that night, they were told to leave if they didn't like the way it was being run. Branding the Black caucus disruptive, liberal Democrat Al-lard Lowenstein, one of the conference organizers, compared it to Nixon. The Black delegates, including YWLL members, walked out in response to this abuse, with Lowenstein shouting abuse after them.

When the Black caucus reconvened Sunday morning, Dec. 5, the delegates were faced with the question of whether or not to return. To cover its crude abuse of the caucus, conference leaders pushed through a proposal that morning endorsing the Black caucus program. Some Black caucus members, including members of the YWLL, favored returning to the conference in light of this concession. A majority of the caucus, bitter at the experience of the previous day, opposed returning and voted to remain outside the conference to discuss the alternatives before the Black community in 1972.

These are the facts about the walkout of Black youth that Hudson chose to ignore.

Throughout the conference, YWLL expressed political agreement with the platform adopted by the Black caucus. This platform was based on the program of another Black caucus, the caucus of Black Democratic congressmen and congresswomen, which the CP and YWLL have lauded. Hudson notwithstanding, even the CP supports Black caucuses—even if they are politically subordinated to supporting "progressive" Democrats. In the context of the 1972 elections this strategy of supporting "progressive" Democrats includes building a national crusade to "Evict Nixon."

By walking out, the Black delegates damaged the ability of the Democratic-controlled National Youth Caucus (the group formed by the conference) to claim or attract the allegiance of Black youth. At the same time, the question was posed to the Black delegates of how to actually go about winning Black liberation, and what sort of political organizations are needed to pursue that objective.

Hudson and the *Daily World* attack the Black delegates because the thrust of Black nationalism propelled them beyond the limits conference organizers had prescribed.

By Any Means Necessary

FORT MCCLELLAN BLACK GI ACQUITTED. PFC Leroy Jenkins was one of 139 Black WACs and GIs arrested at Fort McClellan, Ala., last Nov. 15. According to the *Great Speckled Bird*, he has been acquitted of charges of failure to report for duty, breach of the peace, resisting arrest, and threatening an MP. Jenkins, 23, is from Knoxville, Tenn.

Steve Wise, in the Jan. 24 *Great Speckled Bird*, writes, "Throughout the court-martial, testimony among witnesses frequently conflicted. In their summations, both the prosecution and defense intimated that the jury panel had to decide, in effect, whether or not Captain Charles J. Braymiller, Jenkins' commander, and MP SP/4 Arthur S. Purser were lying. The verdict does not promise to improve lifer morale at McClellan."

The arrest of the 139 grew out of an early morning gathering on the base football field. Because of protests on the base against military racism, the base commander, Colonel William A. McKean, had given the Blacks the day off to prepare a set of demands to be presented the following day.

But when confronted by this early morning mass meeting initiated by the WACs, the brass panicked and ordered the arrest of every Black on the streets of the base. Since McClellan has no detention facilities, the 68 WACs arrested were jammed into jails in Anniston, the nearest town, and the Cal-

houn County jail. The 71 GIs were shipped to stockades at Fort Bragg, N. C., and Fort Benning, Ga.

During pretrial hearings for Jenkins Dec. 20-22, the brass advanced very crude racist and sexist arguments for the arbitrary arrests. McKean, according to Wise in the Jan. 10 *Bird*, asserted in a report submitted to the hearing that the WACs were "violent and filthy-mouthed." Outlining the causes of the disturbance, he stated it was "clearly evident . . . that the male ego has been forced to respond to the dictates of the emotional, radical, and militant Black female."

At another point in the hearing, the post information officer explained why no charges were brought against any of the women. He said that the "arrest and detention in military and civilian facilities of such a large number of women" was of "potential news value," and that "Fort McClellan and the U. S. Army were extremely fortunate in not having more extensive national news media coverage."

What the McClellan brass did not crudely admit, they tried crudely to suppress. One MP officer said he knew of no orders given to arrest all Blacks in civilian dress at the time. In reply, the trial judge read from the log of the Army's Criminal Investigation Division, where it stated,

"Col. McKean directed that all Blacks on the street be picked up by the MPs."

McKean, who rode around in a car directing the arrest operation, used some very earthy language. According to the defense, he exhorted MPs to "Get them! Get them!" and at one point shouted, "Get that nigger!"

During the proceedings the trial judge gave his own estimate of the Nov. 15 meeting: "It appeared to a reasonable man that Fort McClellan was about to go up in smoke. These individual freedoms became subjected to the paramount right of the community to have peace and tranquility." This is a very grave accusation to make, and it would seem to imply that somebody was going to have to pay for this disruption of "peace and tranquility."

But the shallowness of the Army's case is evident in the fact that not only have no charges been brought against the WACs, but hardly any of the GIs have been scheduled for a court-martial. Most of the GIs and WACs have been discharged, transferred to other posts, or sent back to McClellan.

The acquittal of Jenkins by a jury of two Black and two white officers makes a further mockery of the Army's case. Future prosecutions seem unlikely.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Why red-baiting hurts the women's movement



Photo by Howard Petrick

Aug. 26, 1970. The SWP, NOW, and many other groups cooperated to make this demonstration a powerful expression of women's demands

By CAROL LIPMAN

The role of socialists, particularly the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, in building and participating in the women's liberation movement, has been a topic of much discussion.

Unfortunately, some of this discussion has taken the form of a red-baiting campaign to exclude the SWP and YSA from the women's liberation movement or organizations.

The most recent—and perhaps most blatant—example is a 16-page, single-spaced "report" on the SWP and YSA. It was written by Lucy Komisar, a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW), at the request of Muriel Fox, "Chairone of the Board" of NOW. It is entitled: "Confidential Report to the NOW Governing Board on the Activities of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance."

This "report" is not very confidential. It has been printed and circulated nationally, along with a sheaf of other red-baiting attacks, by a group of women who walked out of the founding conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) last July because they disagreed with the type of abortion law repeal campaign launched by the majority of participants at that conference.

The author of the "report," Lucy Komisar, is the same person who attempted at the NOW convention last September to get a motion passed condemning the SWP and YSA for "dividing and exploiting" the women's movement for its "own goals and purposes." After considerable discussion, the NOW delegates voted by a two-to-one majority to reject this motion, although a substitute motion was passed 146 to 97 to condemn in general any organization that "divides and exploits" the women's movement.

Lucy Komisar's attempt to reraise a "red scare" within NOW by publishing this report represents

a danger not only to NOW and to all socialists within the movement, but to the women's movement as a whole. If the type of slander, unsubstantiated charges, witch-hunting and exclusionary politics in Komisar's "report" were to become the norm within the feminist movement, it would destroy the movement as a force fighting for the needs of women.

For this reason, it is worth taking a close look at just what this "report" represents.

The pamphlet contains the following: quotes from a statement of a group of five women called Cell-16 concerning a split in the women's movement in Boston more than a year ago; quotes from unidentified women from Chicago, Denver, Houston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Seattle, Berkeley, New York, and other cities; quotes from minutes of a general assembly of the New York Women's Center in October of 1970; and quotes from several YSA and SWP publications.

The basic theme of Komisar's pamphlet is the following: "The problem that arises now is one of a group *outside* the feminist movement that seeks to use us for their own ends, that seeks to mold us to their 'higher' consciousness, which is not a feminist consciousness but that of a particular political philosophy, and that attempts to gain leadership positions in the movement in order to use it to promote their own political program."

In her conclusion Komisar recommends that NOW adopt a policy "not to have any dealings with SWP/YSA members and groups."

What proof does she have to substantiate her charge that the SWP and YSA are antifeminist organizations?

Here are some of the charges that emerge from this pamphlet: SWP and YSA members recruit to their organizations from the women's movement. We sell *The Militant* and socialist literature at women's events. We raise our socialist politics openly. We want to be part of the leadership of

the women's movement. We discuss and coordinate our participation in the feminist movement within our own organization.

Other charges are that we support "meaningless activities with the purpose of involving more people," that we "want mass marches and coalitions" instead of lobbying and legislative activities, and that we supported repeal, rather than reform, of abortion laws in Texas.

In addition, there are charges that the YSA and SWP steal money and mailing lists from women's groups; that we are undemocratic and manipulative; that we pack meetings; and that we don't allow feminist literature other than our own to be sold by groups we are active in.

She charges that the YSA and SWP are "male-dominated"; that "the primary purpose of any member of YSA is to come into the women's movement not as a feminist but in order to indoctrinate"; and that SWP and YSA women are interested primarily in "their own personal pushes toward power."

Some charges true

First, there are a number of charges in this list that we in the SWP—and I'm sure those in the YSA also—proudly plead guilty to.

We do everything we can to encourage feminists who agree with our socialist program to join the YSA and SWP. We are convinced that this system is rotten from top to bottom and that a new, socialist system is needed in order to make this society a fit place for human beings to live.

We sell our literature—about socialism, about women's liberation and about many other issues—at women's events and at other events. In this we are no different from most other political and women's organizations.

We do raise our socialist politics within the women's movement. However, we don't try to turn

Continued on next page

the women's movement into the socialist movement. Nor have we ever advocated that WONAAC, or any other women's group we participate in, do anything other than the goals set democratically by the members.

We hold meetings of our own members to discuss our ideas for how best to build the women's movement and how best to fight the oppression of women. It is because *we care about this movement* that we have such discussions. We also try to learn as much as we can from other women in the movement, and from our own experiences in building it.

We win new members, we have meetings, we sell literature, we raise our political ideas. Almost all organizations do these things. But Lucy Komisar presents them as devious when the SWP and YSA do them.

Other charges are complete lies or distortions. For example, Komisar quotes "Ms. E" from Houston, who wrote: "At the NOW International Women's Day celebration . . . the SWP had a table. We found that they were selling material ordered and paid for by NOW!"

Then she quotes from "Ms. D" of Detroit, who says that we "distribute SWP literature and refuse to allow women's liberation literature published by anyone else."

But which is it? Do we or don't we sell literature of other feminist organizations? Apparently we supposedly sell literature of other women's groups to steal the money, and when we can't steal money, we don't sell the literature. These are outright lies.

Such a charge—that a group is out to steal money from the movement—is a very serious matter. And to make such charges you must have proof. Why are these charges anonymous? Why don't these women take responsibility for their charges?

The YSA and SWP have a scrupulous record in financial matters in all the movements they participate in. False attacks like these hurt the entire women's movement.

Male-dominated?

Another false charge is that the SWP and YSA are undemocratic and "male-dominated." Komisar speaks of the "specter (sic) of a male-dominated organization giving instructions to women who then seek to carry out these orders within the feminist movement."

The fact is that there is not an organization in this country more democratic than the SWP or YSA. One thing is certain—the elected leaderships of the SWP and YSA carry out what is democratically decided by the membership. Is this always the case in NOW?

The NOW membership rejected a red-baiting attack on the SWP and YSA at their convention. NOW members who had worked with SWP and YSA women spoke from the floor in opposition to the charges against us. Betty Friedan likened Komisar's red-baiting motion to McCarthyite witch-hunting.

But Lucy Komisar, apparently along with Muriel Fox, has now launched this campaign of lies and distortions about the SWP against the whole spirit of the NOW convention decision.

And the charge of "male-domination"—what does this mean? Should all women belonging to organizations more than 50 percent male be excluded from the feminist movement? Should all women in the Democratic and Republican parties be excluded? Should women who belong to trade unions be excluded? Should all women who live with men be excluded?

The most important question here is clearly not what percentage of the group is male, but rather what does the group stand for. Does it support the feminist movement?

The SWP and YSA have a program that totally supports the aims of the women's liberation movement and supports independent, all-women organizations that fight for these goals.

However, the YSA and SWP are opposed to excluding any woman from the movement who supports its goals. This even includes women from organizations like the Democratic Party, whose program and policy is to uphold this male-dominated, capitalist, racist society. The fact is that the entire lives of women are circumscribed by men—we work for male employers, we read male-controlled newspapers, we go to male doctors. If we want to end that domination we must unite with all women ready to struggle. We cannot exclude women for being "tainted" by contact with males.

Komisar also charges that the SWP and YSA pack meetings. First of all, we are not a very large movement—certainly not as large as NOW. But our members are activists in the women's movement as well as in other movements. We participate energetically in the feminist movement because we strongly support its goals.

Some of these charges of "packing" are related to our participation in the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. It is true that at the present time the SWP and YSA are among the main political groups supporting WONAAC. But this doesn't mean we want it that way. We wholeheartedly support the attempts of WONAAC to become as broadly based a coalition as possible. And WONAAC receives support from many activists across the country.

If organizations like NOW participated in WONAAC, the fight for abortion law repeal would

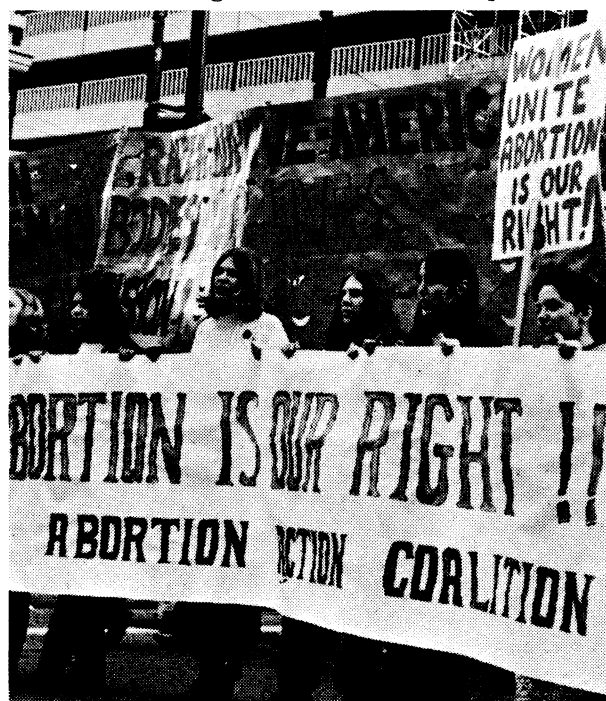


Photo by Pennie Warren

Despite differences within the movement, united action is possible.

be much stronger. This is what the SWP and YSA are for. But if NOW and other organizations aren't interested in joining this fight, the SWP and YSA won't, because of this, give up the struggle for abortion law repeal.

In attempting to prove that the SWP and YSA are out to "take over" and manipulate the movement, the example Lucy Komisar quotes from most extensively is an account of charges by a group of five women in Boston called Cell-16. These women charge that the YSA "took over" the organization Female Liberation. All these charges by Cell-16 were publicly answered by Female Liberation more than a year ago, but Komisar does not bother to quote the other side.

If she had, the real issues would have been clear. What happened was that a disagreement over perspectives arose in Female Liberation. The overwhelming majority of the organization's 35 active members (only six of whom were also in the YSA or SWP) supported the perspective that Female Liberation should have open meetings and carry on outreach activities, such as demonstrations and other types of activities that the Cell-16 women considered "meaningless." The Cell-16 women supported the perspective of a small, closed group that would limit its activities to writing and discussions.

Instead of seriously discussing the differences involved and trying to win others to their point of view, the Cell-16 group attempted to get around the fact that they were in a minority by slanders and red-scare-type charges that socialists were trying to "infiltrate" and "take over" the group.

Just as in the Cell-16 dispute, there are political differences underlying the attempt by Lucy Komisar and some other NOW members to red-bait and exclude SWP women.

To understand this we must look back to 1970, to the Aug. 26 Women's Strike for Equality called by NOW. At that time both NOW and the SWP came under attack for building Aug. 26—the first massive, visible action that demonstrated the breadth of support for the basic demands of women's liberation. The SWP and YSA worked together with NOW and many other organizations on Aug. 26. We worked, despite our differences, to build a united action for goals we could all agree on.

But a section of the women's movement rejected what Aug. 26 and other similar actions represented. And some of them used red-baiting of the SWP to cover up their real position. What Komisar has done in many cases is to take the red-baiting statements against the SWP that were used by a segment of the movement to rationalize their opposition to Aug. 26. She rips them out of context and presents them without any real discussion of the issues that were involved. Why is this?

Since 1970, NOW has changed its general orientation. At their last convention they made a turn toward putting their major emphasis on electing people to office through the Democratic and Republican parties. A section of the NOW leadership, including Lucy Komisar, are now more interested

in working in the Democratic and Republican parties than they are in street demonstrations.

This is why the red-baiting motion against the SWP and YSA was placed on the floor of the NOW convention. These red-baiters within NOW did not want NOW to throw its energies into building the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal demonstrations called by WONAAC. But they couldn't simply say, "NOW should not support the abortion law repeal campaign because it will detract from our work in the Democratic Party." That would be very hard to defend. Rather, they tried to say, "We can't work in WONAAC because it is controlled by the male-dominated SWP and YSA."

What is red-baiting?

This method is called red-baiting. That is, raising slanders, distortions, unsubstantiated organizational charges, and the specter of red "domination" and "takeovers" in order to cloud the real political differences these women have with the SWP.

Lucy Komisar, however, has a different definition of red-baiting. She says, "Red-baiting is a term that means calling people communists, etc., because they support civil rights, civil liberties, are against the war, etc. . . . Groups like the SWP/YSA have turned the word around to mean any attack against them. Thus, anyone who criticizes Trotskyists for what they do as Trotskyists is a 'red-baiter.'"

Essentially, she says that if you attack a non-communist or non-socialist for being a communist or socialist in order to avoid dealing with their ideas, that is red-baiting. But if you do the same thing to communists or socialists, that is not red-baiting. Thus, she basically implies that the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s just went too far. When McCarthy went after the communists and socialists, that was one thing. But when he went after the liberals, well, he was going a bit too far.

"Manipulating," "controlling," "using the movement for their own ends," "indoctrinating," and denouncing "people that come in from outside the movement"—this is all the language of red-baiting.

It is *not* true that red-baiting was directed just against civil rights activists, peace activists, or civil libertarians. Red-baiting has also been directed against communists and socialists participating in these movements. During the 1950s, under the red-baiting pressure from the government, socialists and communists were kicked out of these movements by conservative sections of them. The purpose of the McCarthyite witch-hunt was not simply to kick out socialists and communists. It was aimed at stifling all radical movements, stamping out any dissent and any struggle against oppression. It was aimed at terrorizing everyone in radical organizations, making them afraid of being associated with revolutionaries, afraid of considering revolutionary ideas.

The attack by Lucy Komisar isn't much different. It is aimed at purging NOW of socialists, and also at intimidating any non-socialists in NOW who might agree with SWP positions in support of building a mass-action women's movement.

Some women who have participated in the red-baiting campaign against the SWP have claimed that they are also socialists. They ask how socialists can be charged with red-baiting other socialists. Nevertheless, history is full of people who call themselves socialists but who were the worst red-baiters of them all.

Lucy Komisar's "report" is aimed at excluding SWP and YSA members from NOW. Red-baiters from other sections of the movement have demanded that the SWP and YSA be completely "kicked out" of the women's movement. This cuts across one of the most important principles for all movements fighting for social change: democracy and nonexclusion within the movement. Excluding any groups that support the aims of the movement and want to build it can only help the oppressors of women.

Furthermore, red-baiting is geared to divide and sow distrust within the women's movement. By raising the specter of domination by some outside force, it attempts to keep the many women who agree with the aims of an organization like WONAAC from participating in it.

Here is a concrete example. On the eve of the Nov. 20 demonstration for abortion law repeal, someone sent out an anonymous press release allegedly "unmasking" a "massive public deception" about WONAAC's abortion campaign. Sent to journalists covering the Nov. 20 demonstrations, it asserted that "WONAAC is completely controlled both politically and financially—and always has been—by the Socialist Workers and its Young Socialist Alliance."

The WONAAC abortion campaign, despite some red-baiting, had been doing a tremendous job reaching out and convincing women who had

not before been involved in the women's movement to support the abortion campaign. For example, Billie Jean King, an internationally famous tennis star, had agreed to speak at the Nov. 20 rally.

But after the anonymous press release went out, Billie Jean King decided not to speak and backed away from supporting the abortion law repeal movement.

This anonymous press release used exactly the same methods the FBI uses in its efforts to destroy any struggles for liberation. The Jan. 27 *New York Review of Books* carried an article by Robert Wall, a special FBI agent for five years. In the article Wall exposes the tactics used by the FBI to sow dissension in radical organizations. He tells how FBI agents send leaders of organizations anonymous letters designed to "play one faction off against another."

He also wrote, "A frequent tactic was to leak stories to the press and television shortly before any mass march or rally." He explains that agents would write "press releases warning that violence was expected on the day of the rally, or that the organizers of the march were in contact with Hanoi, or that some known Communists were active



Photo by John Gray

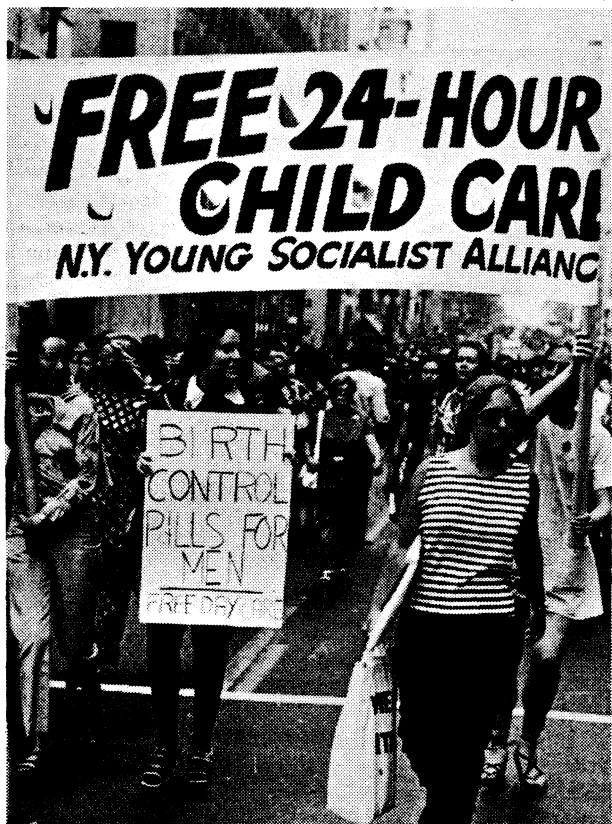


Photo by Howard Petrick

Red-baiting and lesbian-baiting have both been used to attempt to divide the women's movement.

in organizing the march. . . . The purpose of such stories was not only to influence the general public but to scare away those whose commitment was weak and thereby reduce the number of persons who might otherwise attend. Another purpose of the program was to create dissent among the various groups involved in the new left to prevent them from working together."

I am not saying that whoever wrote the anonymous press release for Nov. 20 or the anonymous charges in Lucy Komisar's article are FBI agents. But the effect is the same. Women in the feminist movement must reject these red-baiting tactics of our common enemy—the government and the institutions that oppress us. No one will gain from such tactics except our oppressors.

We must not give an inch to the concept that association with socialists or communists will discredit a movement. This idea comes from our enemy.

There is a parallel to the idea that if socialists are prominent participants in the women's movement, they will discredit the movement and "turn off women." That parallel is the question of the right of lesbians to participate fully in the movement. In the earlier years of the feminist move-

ment, some women, including some women in NOW, felt that lesbians should not be visible (if they were to be allowed in the movement at all) because they would give credence to the government's claim that the women's liberation movement was all lesbians.

In the same way, the government tries to pressure all movements to exclude socialists and communists by saying that these movements are run by communists. The only correct response to this is for the women's movement to say, "Yes, our movement includes lesbians; yes, our movement includes communists and socialists. Call us what you like. We will work with any women who agree with our goals. We will not be divided."

It is this policy of nonexclusion that has helped overcome the effects of lesbian-baiting. The same refusal to compromise with red-baiting is necessary to defeat any attempts to destroy the movement through the use of "red scare" tactics.

It is also important for the movement to have open discussions about the political questions that have led to red-baiting. For example, Komisar claims that the goals of the SWP and YSA are antifeminist. What do the SWP and YSA stand for?

What socialists are for

The goal of the SWP and YSA is to help rid the world of a system that is based on enriching the few and exploiting the many. We want to end all the inequalities maintained by the system of private property and class domination that now takes the form of capitalism. Socialism is a system in which production is based on human need rather than profit.

Because we are socialists we are among the most dedicated fighters for feminism and for freedom for women—contrary to the view presented in Lucy Komisar's pamphlet. We have no stake in this system, which oppresses women, or in the political parties that uphold the system.

Here is what we *don't* think the women's liberation movement is: We don't think this struggle is for the equal right to carry out the Vietnam war, the equal right to oppress Black and Chicano people, the equal right to freeze wages, the equal right to be able to push the button that can destroy all of humanity in a nuclear holocaust, the equal right to let people die because medical care is limited to those who can pay for it, the equal right to be responsible for Attica massacres or for the prison system as a whole. That is not our kind of liberation.

In struggling for the liberation of women we are going to come up against a system that oppresses not only women but also both male and female workers, Black people, Chicanos, and peoples of other countries all over the world.

We believe women cannot be fully liberated until all of humanity is liberated. On the other hand, we don't think women should wait until "after the revolution" to be "given" their rights, as one quote in Komisar's document charges. We believe that women can unite and fight right now to make gains on many issues. That is why we support and participate in WONAAC, as well as in many other feminist struggles, along with women who are not socialists.

The implication in red-baiting is always that socialist women don't really care about such goals as abortion law repeal; they supposedly want to "use" the movement for some other purpose. But it is precisely because such concrete evils as forced motherhood, women's oppression, war, and racism exist that socialists oppose the entire system that perpetuates these evils. And we feel every struggle against these injustices—however limited—is part of the struggle for socialism.

In her conclusion, Lucy Komisar charges: "In effect, their class-oriented philosophy makes them ideologically opposed to organizing women as women across the class lines. That is why Linda Jenness [SWP presidential candidate] urges women to reject the goals of the Women's Political Caucus and instead support the parties of poor Blacks, Chicanos and workers. The notion of the solidarity of all women is alien to the Trotskyist view; we should submerge ourselves in groups whose chief aims are *not* feminist ones."

This totally distorts our position, which has been published in many places. We believe all women are oppressed as women. We are for a women's movement controlled only by women and open to women from all class backgrounds.

Here is what we wrote in the resolution on women's liberation passed at the August 1971 SWP national convention and published in the November 1971 issue of *International Socialist Review*: "There are some women who say that the class and racial divisions among women are unimportant. . . . At the other extreme are some women who say that the divisions among women are insurmountable and that there is no basis for

uniting women in struggle except around solely working-class demands. . . .

"The truth is that women are at the same time both united by sexist oppression and divided by class society. There is an objective basis for a unified struggle of women of different nationalities and classes because all women are oppressed as women by capitalism. Sisterhood is powerful because of this universal female oppression, and this is the basis for the existence of an independent, nonexclusive, mass feminist movement, with an anticapitalist logic.

"Women of different social classes suffer to very different degrees from lack of child care and abortion facilities, unequal pay, job discrimination, warped education, and social conditioning. . . . The broadest unity in struggle, closed to no woman, is possible and progressive if this unity is based on clearly defined demands which mobilize women in struggle and which combat the oppression of women perpetuated by capitalism. . . .

"Any attempt to disregard either those factors which divide women or those which unite them will lead to misunderstandings and roadblocks in the attempt to mobilize the full power of women."

So why do we think women should reject the present strategy of the Women's Political Caucus? Not because we are opposed to their demands for child care, equal pay, abortion law repeal, etc. We are opposed to their strategy of supporting and working in the Democratic Party as a means to achieving these goals. We think this is not effective.

Komisar says that Linda Jenness urges women to submerge themselves in parties "whose chief aims are not feminist ones," such as parties of "poor Blacks, Chicanos and workers." What about the Democratic Party? Are its chief aims feminist? Far from it. The Democratic Party, along with the Republican Party, *has run this country* for decades and has during that time upheld the abortion laws, unequal pay, the right of employers to discriminate, the sexist education system, and the whole patriarchal family system.

The Democratic Party is the party in which Lucy Komisar and the Women's Political Caucus think women should "submerge" themselves. We think this is a dead end.

We think women should support parties independent of this system, parties based on allies of women struggling against this system. Also, we think women should organize themselves in a massive, independent movement, uniting to fight all year round—not only during elections—for basic demands we all agree on.

Lucy Komisar counterposes lobbying to mass demonstrations like Nov. 20. She writes: "Lobbying may be the most effective way of getting a law passed—if you are really interested in getting the law passed [as if the SWP and YSA weren't interested—C. L.]. However, they [SWP and YSA] push for mass rallies and demonstrations so that they can make speeches and distribute literature about the cause to large numbers of people."

It's true we don't believe lobbying is the most effective way to get a law passed. We think the history of the abortion struggle proves this. For years people tried to get abortion laws changed by talking to legislators and pleading with them on a one-to-one basis. The reason we have made some progress in recent years is that the women's liberation movement has shown how masses of women feel about this issue. We have made our movement visible. We have shown that we are a power.

As Lucy Komisar's "report" indicates, there are many political differences in the women's movement. We feel that open discussion of differences, such as working in the Democratic Party, the value of lobbying, and other questions, can be very beneficial to the movement and help it develop. But it harms the movement to try to wipe out one point of view through red-baiting. And even though we have differences, let us unite to fight for things we agree on. Where we disagree, we will each go our own way. History will prove who is correct.

Toward a Mass Feminist Movement

Program of the Socialist Workers Party for women's liberation

Send 50 cents for the November 1971 issue of: *International Socialist Review*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Chicanas & abortion



Chicanas marching in Jan. 31, 1971, Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles

Photo by John Gray

The following article originally appeared in the Dec. 6, 1971, issue of the Daily Lobo, student newspaper at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. The author, Beverly Padilla, participated in the Nov. 20, 1971, demonstration in San Francisco for repeal of all anti-abortion laws. She was instrumental in forming a group called "Las Chicanas" on the UNM campus. Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez, referred to in the article, is the editor of *El Grito del Norte*, published in Albuquerque and read widely throughout the Southwest.

Chicana Liberation: "Cultural Disruptment? No! Cultural Evolvement."

The above quotation is taken from the text of a speech that was made by a Chicana, Chulita Devis, at a rally [for repeal of anti-abortion laws] in San Francisco recently.

Her speech aroused much sentiment among the Chicanas who were present, including myself. Chulita addressed not only the issue of abortion, but also aspects of our Chicano movement (of which she is an active part) and our Chicano cultural heritage (of which she is an obvious part).

Chicanas along with Chicanos suffer from lack of education, poor health care . . . job discrimination, along with all the other intrinsic results of oppression that capitalism exerts on its working class members and members of ethnic and racial minorities. But Chicanas also suffer as women within their culture. Octavio Paz, in his book *Labyrinth of Solitude* states: "Mexican women are inferior beings because, in submitting, they open themselves up. Their inferiority is constitutional and resides in their sex, their submissiveness is a wound that never heals."

Although today very few Chicanos would openly state this, the submissiveness of the Chicana to "her man" is very real. Chicanas have been vic-

tims of this submissiveness so long that many pride themselves as being less than "her man." As Chulita says, "Many Chicanos feel that Chicanas are needed right there behind her macho. But like the Chicano answers to the gringo, we also answer, no more *behind*, but *beside* and at times leading and guiding the revolutionary struggle."

The Chicano movement has organized around and glorified the stoicism and quiet strength "*que nuestras madres tenían* [that our mothers had]." There is no doubt of this strength, but a Chicana has had no choice but to bear the burdens of a life role that was selected for her. To be a good mother and a good wife has been her *only* acceptable role. All other outside activities she might have chosen have had to remain within the domestic "domain." All Chicanas are asking for is a choice whether or not to be a wife or mother, to be given a chance to choose their life roles. Just as our Chicano men are no longer being silent about their subservient position in society, so too the Chicana can no longer be silent about her subservient role in her culture as well as in society.

Many feel that the issue of "right to abortion" and "control of one's own body" is a white women's-liberation hang-up. Like hell; it is not a white women's hang-up exclusively! For years Chicanas, just as all women, have been bearing children that they didn't want. For years they have suffered and died from self-induced and illegal abortions. For years they have been ridiculed and scorned for becoming pregnant out of marriage. As I speak with *viejitas* [old women] they confess of tales long ago spoken by their mothers and *tias* [aunts]. Tales of rapping sessions, quiet and secret discussions with other *señoras* on how to have a miscarriage (spontaneous abortion by sitting in hot tubs of water, sitting on smoke,

drinking and eating many types of potions).

Ms. Enriqueta Longeaux y Vasquez states in her discussion entitled "*Soy Chicana Primero* [I Am a Chicana First]," "Many of our *viejitas* know of moon-cycle birth control and have practiced it. (This has been scientifically affirmed in Czechoslovakia, by the way.) This birth control predated the pill and its dangers to women. And as for abortion, this was and can be done by herbs, that's right, no knife, and we as a poor people have had abortions among us for many decades. Each woman can deal with her own problems and conscience in this area of womanhood. The knowledge of womanhood is ancient and highly cultural among Raza. We are working in the movement to value it highly in order to retain and seek out this knowledge. It is a strong part of our cultural roots."

What I must respond to is that *hermana* [sister] Enriqueta's romanticizing has blinded her vision of reality. Control of one's own body and mind is NOT up to each individual woman at this stage of reality—it is a collective problem; we live socially, it is our problem. Sex and abortion, contraception and pregnancy, are things Enriqueta feels are personal; that is because our Raza has never spoken of it. Our experiences have remained isolated (and to our detriment).

The moon-cycle birth control method that our *viejitas* knew about may be well and good, but . . . how many Chicanas have known or know about this method? . . . how good is it as a sure contraceptive method? Can we depend on it? What I am saying is that we are living today's realities—like women dying in BCMC emergency rooms with post-self-abortive infections. We cannot find all our answers to problems in this difficult life by saying "it's a strong part of our culture."

To further quote Chulita, "When the Chicano man denies the Chicana her basic right to organize against her special forms of oppression like the abortion laws, he is denying her control of her own life, he is helping maintain the same status quo which keeps HIM down. He is acting in the best interest of his oppressor. That is the real Anglo thing. It is our oppressor that benefits most when Chicanas are down. What would happen if our women would realize their full potential? The flowering of the women means the rising of the race. When men realize the need and appreciate the power of Chicanas in action, our Raza will be in a position to win our struggle for freedom."

"Still there are those Chicanos who feel that when we as Chicanas seek to make our power felt, we disrupt our movement. They claim we are talking disunity in our cultural heritage. Like one of my *hermanas* puts it, 'cultural hell,' that's what we are trying to disrupt. This is not cultural disruptment, it's cultural evolvement. Disunity is the result of the fear of [those] whose status is being threatened, whose age-old privileges are being denied. . . .

"No more can we allow Chicanas to be restricted only to the cleaning, the cooking, the office, the bedroom. No longer can we allow freedom to be the privilege of one class or one race, like the white man has done in America . . . and no longer can we allow freedom to be the privilege of one sex. Freedom, we say, is for everyone. *Que viva mi Raza!* [Long live my people!]" . . .

Partial victory won against 'subversive list'

By LEE SMITH

The Socialist Workers Party recently won a partial court victory in its fight to have the U. S. Attorney General's List of so-called "subversive" organizations declared unconstitutional.

The partial victory is represented by rulings in a Washington, D. C., U. S. District Court related to the case of an SWP member who lost his job as a letter carrier, allegedly because he "lied" on his job application.

Duncan Gordon, a member of the SWP in San Francisco, was dismissed from his job with the Post Office in December 1970, after exhausting all administrative appeals. Gordon had stated in seeking his position that he was not and never had been "a member of any organization that favors the overthrow of the constitutional form of the government of the United States or which seeks by force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States." The Post Office and Civil Service Commission claimed that the SWP was such an organization, using as

confirmation its listing by the attorney general.

Gordon and the SWP contended that this characterization of the SWP was without justification and that the "Attorney General's List" was unconstitutional.

Gordon and the SWP are represented in this case by Dorian Bowman from the New York law firm of Rabinowitz, Boudin and Standard.

On June 14 of last year, Gordon was restored to duty with full rights and back pay. This reversal of the government's position was made in an attempt to prevent a federal court decision in the case. Subsequently, the government tried to argue that Gordon's reinstatement settled everything.

The government's attorneys maintained that Gordon's dismissal had been a "mistake," but they argued it could not be presumed that the dismissal was part of any pattern that threatened the SWP with existing or potential harm. The government further contended that the SWP had no

grounds for requesting a ruling on the constitutionality of the Attorney General's List itself, since it had not challenged the most recent listing at the time it was made in 1953.

The SWP disputed the government's claim that Gordon's reinstatement made the issue moot. In their motion for a summary judgement, the SWP and Gordon attached an affidavit from Kenneth W. Evenhuis, an SWP member in Los Angeles. Evenhuis had been dismissed from his Post Office job six months after Gordon's dismissal for the same reasons as Gordon.

On Nov. 3, 1971, Federal District Judge Martin Gasch filed a memorandum opinion on the case. In that decision, Gasch found that the government's position that the issue had become moot was without merit. He ruled that "when an applicant for a civil service job states that he is not a member of an organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the government, such a statement does not constitute a lie simply because the

applicant is a member of the SWP."

Gasch held that the firing of both Evenhuis and Gordon had been a mistake. He disagreed with the government's argument that the SWP had no right to seek a ruling on the constitutionality of the Attorney General's List itself. However, he decided that the list had "ample statutory authority," and he upheld the government's claim that the SWP had no right to challenge its being on the list because of the time that had elapsed since the list was made.

On Jan. 24 the judge issued an order permanently enjoining the Post Office, Civil Service Commission, attorney general, "and all persons in active concert and participation with them," from using the Attorney General's List as it had been used in the cases of Gordon and Evenhuis.

While this partial victory is important, the SWP and Gordon are appealing it because of the unsatisfactory ruling on the constitutionality of the Attorney General's List itself.

Conditions placed on rail pay increases

By JOHN SPAULDING

CHICAGO—On Jan. 25 the government Pay Board conditionally approved a new contract affecting more than 140,000 railroad conductors, switchmen, and brakemen who are members of the United Transportation Union. The original pact was negotiated last August following a two-week "selective strike" against 10 rail lines. It called for a 42 percent wage increase over a three and one-half year period, with pay increases retroactive to April 1, 1971.

The Pay Board ruled favorably on the wage increases up to the present, and said it intended to approve two other wage hikes, totaling 10 percent, that fall due this year. Two additional raises of 5 percent each, scheduled for next year, were not dealt with. Their fate is still uncertain. UTU officials had said that the pact would not be signed unless the entire wage package, including next year's wage boosts, was approved. Al Chessier, UTU president, refused to comment on the ruling until he receives official notification of it.

More significantly, the action of the Pay Board opened the way for the implementation of work-rule changes recommended in 1970 by a Presidential Emergency Board. If adopted, these changes will open the doors for large-scale job cuts in the rail industry and create a bonanza for the carriers.

One change proposed by the Emergency Board would permit interdivisional runs. With the establishment of such runs a train crew would be required to handle one train for 300 miles rather than the present limit of 100 miles. Workers would not receive additional compensation for the extra mileage.

The board also recommended a rule change that would require road crews to do the work that normally falls within the jurisdiction of the yard crews, thus eliminating many jobs.

Specific details of the work-rule

changes are to be worked out on a railroad-by-railroad basis. If the issues cannot be settled within a 90-day period, a three-man task force made up of one representative each from labor, management, and "neutral" parties will arbitrate. The task force's decision will be binding, thus allowing top union dogs to sit back for the 90-day period and allow the panel to do the dirty work.

It is clear that the Pay Board, which blocked passage of an aerospace contract just a week earlier, was not motivated by any pangs of generosity in approving the UTU contract. Its main interest was the implementation of the work rules. According to a Jan. 26 Associated Press dispatch, "Tuesday's motion approving the bulk of the UTU contract was sponsored by business member Benjamin F. Biaggini, a railroad executive who sources say strongly wants to see the new work rules put into effect, whatever the price in wages. Biaggini, president of the Southern Pacific Co., had voted earlier to reject the 12 percent aerospace raise."

Appearing before the board to argue for the approval of the pact was Charles Luna, former president of the UTU. He said that the changes in work rules provided for in the agreement would save the railroads \$782-million a year.

Luna, who retired as UTU president after negotiating the contract, was named "Rail Industry's Man of the Year" by *Modern Railroads*, a management periodical. The Jan. 12 *Chicago Daily News* quoted Thomas Shedd, editor of the publication, as saying that a prime factor in naming Luna for the award was his "promising glimpse of cooperative concepts in labor-management relations."

Although the rail carriers were in favor of approving the contract, they denied that they would gain financially from the new work rules. In fact, William Dempsey, chief nego-

tiator for the railroads, said the carriers would probably have to seek a freight-rate increase to cover wage gains won by the UTU and other unions.

Initial reaction among railroad workers to the Pay Board approval

released the results to show how each chairman voted.

A movement to gain the right to vote has been growing within the UTU ranks and a motion to grant this right was only narrowly defeated at the last national convention.



Photo by AFL-CIO News

Charles Luna, right, president emeritus of United Transportation Union, defends contract to Pay Board.

was basically one of confusion. This was brought about mainly by the unwillingness on the part of the union officialdom to discuss the nature and effect of the work-rule changes.

Unfortunately, contracts of the UTU are not subject to ratification by majority vote of the rank and file. Approval of the contract is left instead to a vote of the local chairmen of each UTU local. The UTU bureaucracy claimed that a majority of local chairmen have approved the agreement. However, they have not

Ed Heisler, secretary of the Right to Vote Committee (the group that led the fight for the right of membership ratification at the August UTU national convention, declared, "UTU members will not sit on their hands and watch a contract be rammed down their throats by the railroads, the government, and the UTU bureaucrats. This contract was not approved by the membership, and I'm sure most UTU members will not cooperate with the Pay Board's ruling. The UTU membership will resist it."

The National Picket Line

WHEN INDUSTRIAL PLANTS lay off thousands of workers it does not always mean that business is failing and profits are shrinking. Idle mills and mass unemployment in all major steel centers give the look of depression days, and for laid-off steelworkers times have never been worse. But profits in the steel industry are soaring. The Feb. 4 *Wall Street Journal* reported that fourth-quarter profits in 1971 were up 43.6 percent from a year earlier. Total take for the last three months of 1970 was nearly \$48.6-million, but in the same period in 1971 it jumped to \$121.5-million. Bethlehem Steel stock paid off at a rate of \$1.16 a share, an increase of 141 percent compared with the 48 cent dividend a year earlier. Stock analysts attributed Bethlehem profit gains to end-of-the-year tax rebates granted by the government and to "cost cutting," which is another name for layoffs.

DURING THE FIRST FIVE MONTHS under the new federal Occupational Safety and Health Law, the Department of Labor conducted 5,633 inspections. As a result, 2,519 citations were issued, charging employers with 12,904 violations of job-safety and health standards.

The union movement in all sections of the country is demanding stricter enforcement of safety laws. In California, officials of the building-trades unions met in Fresno Jan. 28 to draft recommendations for the reorganization of the State Division of Industrial Safety. (Startling disclosures of laxity in enforcement had prompted the director's resignation.) One union official stated that "If Governor Reagan won't come up with enough money for the industrial safety enforcement which is needed, then union business representatives should be deputized as safety inspectors."

Some sectors of business show concern about

the rising rate of industrial casualties. In Boston, a Labor Department official told a meeting of 300 businessmen that in 1970 there were a total of 14,200 work-connected deaths and 2.2 million injuries, at a known cost of \$9.1-million. The last figure is what interests these gentlemen most.

The rise in industrial accidents is directly connected to speedup and the drive for greater productivity. This is especially evident in the steel, railroad, and coal mining industries.

THE U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS (BLS) reports for January that more workers will be covered by cost-of-living escalator clauses in 1972 than in any prior year. The total is up from three million in 1971 to 4.3 million this year. The negotiated wage increases for these workers averaged 4.5 percent this year. The actual raise will be higher, however, depending on the escalator formula in different industries. The BLS says, "Arbitrarily assuming a 3 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index for 1972, the resulting increase for this group would average 6.3 percent." If the price index goes higher, which is most likely, wages for these workers will rise accordingly. The projected 6.3 percent raise for 1972 is above the Pay Board guidelines. This explains why employers and government wage-control experts are opposed to escalator clauses in union contracts.

DISTRICT 65 OF THE DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS UNION represents some of the lowest-paid organized workers in New York City. These workers are often listed among the "working poor," which means they are paid around \$2 per hour. The union called a strike Feb. 4 against five companies, demanding a 9 percent wage increase. The goal is to bring hourly wages above \$3. But since such an increase is a violation of the

government's wage guidelines, the strike is directed against the Nixon administration and the Cost of Living Council. David Livingston, District 65 president, said there could be no settlement unless the employers agreed to disregard the Cost of Living Council's recent order to hold down the wages of low-paid workers. The union points out that this order is in violation of the 1971 congressional amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act. Title II of the act, as amended, reads: "Wage increases to an individual whose earnings are substandard or who is amongst the working poor shall not be limited. . . ."

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS (AFL-CIO) filed suit Feb. 3 against the Cost of Living Council. The union charges that the council has unlawfully restricted wage-control exemptions to workers earning \$1.90 an hour or less. This action seeks in a more roundabout way to accomplish what District 65 is doing by selective strikes. The IUE may succeed in testing the courts, if not the Cost of Living Council.

THE NINE-YEAR FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILROAD STRIKE, the longest rail strike in U.S. history, is reported to be nearing an end. The proposed settlement offers workers a 5 percent wage increase, retroactive to Jan. 16, 1971.

As the railroad continued to operate during the strike, the proposed contract also specifies that the 1,200 workers who walked out in 1963 can be rehired at the rate of 25 every three months. No provisions are made for payment of lost time. This is an example of the "selective-strike strategy" that United Transportation Union officials have been trying to palm off as a surefire way to beat the carriers.

—FRANK LOVELL

'72 Socialist Campaign

Democratic presidential hopeful Senator Vance Hartke told more than 200 people at a Portsmouth High School assembly in Manchester, N. H. Feb. 3 that he would be willing to debate Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness. He was responding to a question by a Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley activist.

As of Feb. 3, 3,484 people have signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket. The following is a breakdown by categories, with figures for the week of Jan. 28-Feb. 3 in parentheses: Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, 1,504 (85); Women for Jenness and Pulley, 817 (60); Afro-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, 278 (13); Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley, 76 (3); and 809 (57) in the general category.

The top states for the week were: California, 76 new endorsers; Pennsylvania, 27; Georgia, 25; Massachusetts, 16; and Minnesota, 15.

If you would like to participate in the endorser drive, send a request for an organizing kit, including a free packet of endorser cards, to the national campaign office.

Candidates other than Democrats and Republicans must meet stiff requirements to appear on the Georgia ballot. The Georgia election law (Paragraph 34-1010b of the Georgia Election Code) requires signatures equal to 5 percent of those registered to vote at the time of the last election. This amounts to more than 98,000 signatures.

Few states have ballot requirements as difficult as Georgia's. For example, neighboring Tennessee requires only 225 signatures to qualify a slate of independent presidential electors.

The Georgia Socialist Workers campaign writes, "Even using volunteer petitioners and organizers, a conservative estimate of the cost to organize such a petition drive would be \$15,000.

"The burden of such an expense serves to prevent non-wealthy candidates or parties from appearing on the ballot, just as filing fees do."

When Laura Miller recently debated two McGovern supporters in Gainesville, Fla., she pointed out that she had never formally debated before. "Maybe not, but she's got that in her favor," one of the McGovern supporters said nervously, pointing to the YSJP truth kit pamphlet by Miller, "Everything you always wanted to know about George McGovern. . . ."

The 16-page pamphlet is available for 25 cents.

SWP campaign T-shirts are now available. Gray shirts with a factory smokestack and the slogan "Capitalism fouls things up, Vote Socialist Workers," and shirts in a variety of colors with the slogan "Vote Socialist Workers," are available for \$3 plus 50 cents for postage and handling. Be sure to specify size—small, medium, large, or extra-large.

At a public hearing Jan. 26 at the Massachusetts State House in Boston, supporters of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and

the Socialist Workers Party spoke against the reactionary Massachusetts election laws.

Massachusetts statutes presently require a new party to obtain more than 60,000 signatures to secure a place on the ballot. A bill has been

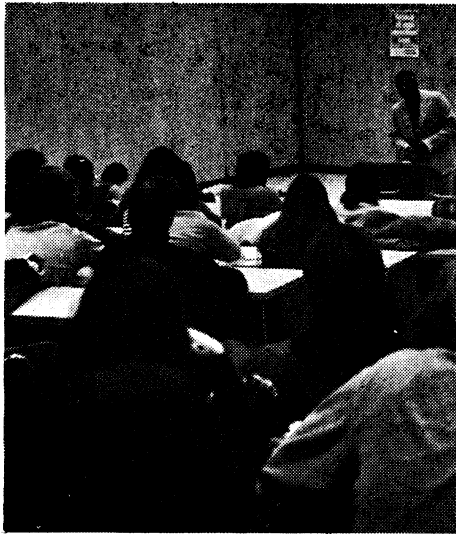


Photo by Anthony Buba

Andrew Pulley addresses students in Edinboro, Pa.

introduced that would reduce the number to 10,000. One representative challenged the bill, asking if it wouldn't undermine the two-party system.

Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, replied, "We don't believe that it is the duty of the government to preserve the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican Parties." When another representative asked Gurewitz if he thought that the antiwar movement was already sufficiently represented by candidates like Muskie and McGovern, Gurewitz replied, "Our party is the only one that has exposed Nixon's deceit in continuing the war, and the only party that calls for the repeal of the abortion laws. If the present (election) laws are allowed to stand, the voters will not be able to hear that point of view."

Gurewitz' opponent, Republican incumbent Edward W. Brooke, on Jan. 24 spoke to about 500 people at a meeting sponsored by the Greater Boston Young Republican Club.

During the question period, Gurewitz challenged Brooke to debate. Brooke was also challenged on the abortion issue.

During his speech, Brooke, the only Black U.S. Senator, pledged his support to the reelection of Nixon and Agnew.

Boston Globe columnist David B. Wilson, writing in the Jan. 29 Globe, called Brooke's speech "appropriate to a Republican function, a partisan speech, its GOP cosiness interrupted by two members of the Socialist Workers Party and two grim-lipped abortion advocates."

A black-and-white sticker with the slogan "Capitalism fouls things up, Vote Socialist Workers," is available from the national campaign office for \$1 per 100 stickers.

Address all letters, inquiries, and requests for campaign materials to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003; telephone (212) 260-4150.

— STEVE BEREN

Jenness L.A. tour has broad impact

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign made an impact on tens of thousands of Southern Californians by the time Linda Jenness completed her 11-day swing through the area. The tour was marked by extensive media coverage, large audiences on college and high school campuses, and a successful campaign banquet. Twenty thousand leaflets announcing different events were distributed before the tour began.

The opening news conference was the most successful ever held by the SWP in Southern California. Eighteen different media representatives attended, including reporters from the *L.A. Times*, college newspapers, the underground press, and Reuters News Service.

Jenness appeared on TV channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11 in Los Angeles, as well as KNX and KPFF radio. Additional coverage was given by two popular programs, Tempo and Community Feedback. She appeared on a closed circuit TV show at UCLA, which was also broadcast on campuses in San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and Riverside. At least 13 newspapers ran stories on the campaign, including some campus papers that had two or three articles. ABC called the Los Angeles campaign office and asked for Jenness' itinerary during her next tour of Southern California.

The largest campus meetings for the SWP presidential candidate were held at UCLA, California State Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo, and the University of California at Santa Barbara. At the first two schools 400 and 500 students, respectively, heard Jenness speak. At Santa Barbara, where 200 students attended the meeting, nearly 50 endorsed the campaign.

Jenness also spoke at Los Angeles City College and Cal State L.A. At

Cal State she appeared before a class on Chicanas, that is part of the Chicano studies program there. A group of campaign supporters accompanied Jenness to the various campuses, signing up endorsers, collecting money for the campaign, and distributing campaign literature.

Meetings were held in San Diego at the University of California, and Palomar College, as well as in La Jolla High School.

In Duarte, 500 high school students attended a panel debate that included Jenness and representatives from the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. The meeting took place despite a red-baiting attack on the SWP candidates by Duarte City Councilman Kurt Hahn. In a statement to the press, Hahn asserted that inviting Jenness to speak to the students was like "Inviting the local El Monte [Calif.] head of the American Nazi Party to speak at a local school." He also stated that "I question the opening of the campus to communist speakers."

The students, however, didn't agree with the city councilman. The meeting was held, with Jenness participating, and the discussion lasted five hours. Although they were discouraged by the school officials from doing so, 30 students asked to receive more information about the SWP campaign.

The campaign banquet, which wrapped up the week of meetings, was attended by more than 150 Jenness-Pulley supporters. A fund appeal given by Harry Ring, head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, raised \$1,500. In addition to Jenness, other speakers included Lucy Arguillas from Comision Feminil at Cal State L.A., and Fred Halstead, the 1968 presidential candidate.

Austin socialist to run for Congress

By MIKE ALEWITZ

AUSTIN, Texas—Melissa Singler, a long-time activist in the antiwar, feminist and revolutionary-socialist movements, announced here Feb. 1 that she will be running for U.S. Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Running in the state's 10th con-

gressional district, Singler will be seeking the seat presently occupied by LBJ crony J. J. "Jake" Pickle.

She scored Pickle for his refusal to demand the total, immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia, for his failure to support the struggle by the Mexican-American Youth Organization to win Chicano studies at the University of Texas, and for his silence on the frame-up and imprisonment of Angela Davis.

She pledged that as a candidate, and, if elected, as a socialist congresswoman, she would build these fights. She also pledged support to the fight for campus recognition by Gay Liberation at UT and to the campaign of La Raza Unida Party as a positive break from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Singler criticized Pickle for refusing to support the demands of the women's liberation movement and called on women from Central Texas to attend the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition Conference in Boston Feb. 11-13. She said the current congressman's references to his wife "as his 'sweet pickle' are enough to make any woman want to get him out of office."

Singler issued a challenge to Pickle "and any other candidate for the 10th district—to a debate on these and any other issues they wish."



Melissa Singler

Photo by Howard Petrick

Pulley tour a success in high schools

By GWYN VORHAUS

DETROIT, Feb. 5—Six people applied for membership in the Young Socialist Alliance tonight after hearing Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, speak to a crowd of 90 campaign supporters at a banquet and rally here at Debs Hall. The meeting capped the first half of Pulley's two-week tour of Michigan.

Pulley's tour here received its most enthusiastic response from the high schools. At Highland Park, a predominantly Black school, Pulley spoke to 80 students about the double exploitation of Blacks in this country. "We are oppressed as workers because we have no control over production, and we are also oppressed because we are Black," he said. Pulley stressed the importance of winning the right to organize in the schools against oppression and against the war.

During one of the classes Pulley addressed at Northern High School, one student asked to join the YSA, half of the class endorsed the campaign, and all 31 students signed up to be on the mailing list.

When Pulley spoke on Mother Wadde's radio show, a popular program in the Black community, four out of five people calling in supported the campaign and asked how they could help out.

Pulley was also very well received at campus meetings throughout the area. He spoke to 1,000 students and young people at a rally in Flint called to demand free medical care. Shirley Milton, a Black student government leader in Flint, has endorsed the campaign.

Nearly 200 people came to hear Pulley speak at Kalamazoo. Out of a meeting of 85 at Mount Pleasant, 12 students endorsed the campaign and two Chicanos asked to join the YSA.

Wherever Pulley spoke on campuses students' questions centered not on whether we should have socialism but on how to get it. Familiar questions were: "With the way they put Angela in jail, will they let you take office?" "When will the revolution be made?" "Will it be violent?" And, "What's the first thing you would do if elected?"

At a meeting at Oakland Community College, two people asked to join the YSA after hearing Pulley speak about the campaign and the program of the SWP and YSA. One student asked him why he didn't run in the Democratic Party. "If you pretend to be a Democrat, you could get elected, and then come out with your real program," he suggested.

Pulley answered by explaining that one of the main objectives of his campaign is to popularize socialist ideas, to help build the mass movements of the oppressed independently of the Democratic and Republican parties, and to confront and expose the bankruptcy of the two major parties.

Other speakers at tonight's campaign rally, in addition to Pulley, were Linda Nordquist, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan; and Maeco Dixon, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the First Congressional District. Larry Seigle, national campaign director for the SWP, made an appeal for funds. A total of \$1,134 was collected to help finance the socialist campaign.

BU News: Jenness won debate

The following excerpts are from an article entitled "Jenness discredits McCloskey's campaign rhetoric," which appeared in the Jan. 20 *B. U. News*, the student newspaper at Boston University. Rick Cohen, the author, attended the Jan. 15 debate between Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and Representative Paul McCloskey, candidate for the Republican Party presidential nomination. The debate took place at Colby Junior College in New London, N. H.

"As the liberal Massachusetts Citizen's Caucus at Worcester [Mass.] endorsed George McGovern for President, a truly significant event of the 1972 Presidential election occurred further north in the hinterlands of New Hampshire. Paul N. McCloskey, a Republican candidate for President, agreed to debate the nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, 30-year-old Linda Jenness.

"Observers virtually credited Jenness with a technical knockout as she definitely exposed the bankruptcy of the liberal approach to American politics. . . .

"It appears that McCloskey's advisors expected their boy to be slaughtered by Jenness' stunning eloquence.

As a site for the debate, Jenness wanted any large Boston college. . . . McCloskey designated Colby Junior College, a small woman's school in New London, New Hampshire.

"His intent was to avoid major media coverage and to prevent a large audience of Jenness supporters from attending by locating the debate at a remote place. He would then be able to proclaim his support for open political discussion without anyone knowing how poorly he actually fared in the debate.

"McCloskey showed political astuteness in limiting media coverage, because he definitely did fare poorly. The day belonged to Linda Jenness. Even though she was suffering from a touch of laryngitis, her rousing, inspiring style of oration still showed through. Moreover, her knowledge of history and the interplay of social forces as opposed to McCloskey's myopic perception of American benevolence gone awry was the telling factor. Using McCloskey's factual, historical, and analytical misstatements as take-off points, Jenness provided an instructive lesson in the failure of the two-party capitalist system. . . .

"McCloskey tried to fearmonger Jenness' call for social revolution with

premonitions of violence and death, but Jenness incisively countered McCloskey's paranoid visions with the identification of the capitalist class as the source of almost all the large scale societal violence. . . .

"Perhaps Jenness' sharpest moment was her indictment of the President's wage-price freeze. [Jenness said] 'Everybody who's studied about the labor movement or the economy knows that wage-price controls are not wage-price controls . . . they're just wage freezes. Wages are frozen, but nobody's going to freeze prices. . . .'

"McCloskey, in turn, blamed the nation's inflationary cycle on the working class' struggle to increase its wages, but Jenness correctly branded that line of thinking a myth and proposed a rationally planned economy based on real human needs as a replacement for Nixon's wage controls. . . .

"While Rennie Davis opts to vote for the Democratic Presidential candidate even though he admits that it turns his stomach, perhaps serious consideration should be given to supporting Linda Jenness, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President, as a constructive educational strategy for election year radical activism."

Viet vet to run in Washington

SEATTLE, Wash.—A slate of six Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office was announced at a well-attended news conference here Feb. 1. The slate is headed by Doug Swanson, a 25-year-old unemployed Vietnam veteran, who is seeking the post of governor.

Swanson called for a reduction in the workweek with no loss in pay as a means of combating unemployment, and for an end to the war in

Indochina as a step to halting inflation.

Pointing out that Washington's 12 percent unemployment rate is twice the national average, and that "136,000 workers like myself are without jobs" in the state, Swanson attacked as inadequate the program put forward by Governor Dan Evans. Evans's plan, Swanson said, "will reduce unemployment by less than one percent while providing welfare benefits to private industry."

As an alternative, Swanson called for a 32-hour, 4-day workweek at no loss in pay, a solution that "puts the interests of the majority who work for a living first."

Swanson served in Vietnam as part of Naval support and advisory units at Danang and in the Mekong Delta from July 1969 to June 1970. On his return, he became active in Vietnam Veterans Against the War. He was regional coordinator for the Washington State VVAW and participated in the encampment on the Capitol Mall leading up to the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration.

The unemployed veteran said the SWP campaign would actively support the April 22 New York and Los Angeles mass antiwar demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition.

Running on the SWP slate with Swanson are Gary Johnson, 19, who is running for the office of superintendent of public instruction; Ann Montague, 24, who is running for secretary of state; Joann Cormier, 19, who is running for attorney general; Judy Moschetto, 24, who is running for U.S. Congress from the Seventh District; and Craig Honts, 20, who is running for Congress from the First District.

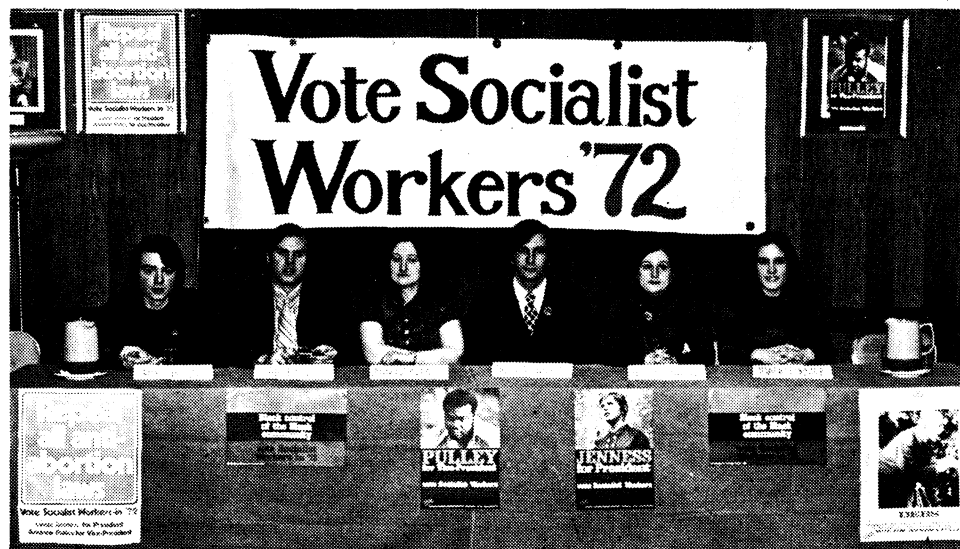


Photo by Shelby Harris

SWP candidates hold Seattle news conference, Feb. 1

Denver young voters hear SWP

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—A conference of the Colorado Student Lobby (CSL), held at Denver University over the Jan. 14-16 weekend, drew 100 people. Organized primarily by supporters of the National Youth Caucus, the CSL's stated aim is to "provide leverage for students within the Colorado political machine."

The opening session of the gathering featured speeches by Colorado Democratic and Republican state senators and Colorado Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, Joan Fulks.

A *Denver Post* article on the conference gave Fulks prominent coverage she was quoted as telling the audience: "We are very fortunate to have Exhibits A and B—the Republicans and Democrats—who are going to speak. Listen to what they

say. Do they support OUT NOW from Vietnam, as do the majority of American people? If so, what have they done about it? What about Chicano control of the Chicano community, Black control of the Black community, the right of women to control their own bodies? What is their record?"

In the conference workshops, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, along with other participants, argued in favor of resolutions for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia; for support to the April 22 "Out Now" demonstrations in New York City and Los Angeles; and for repeal of all anti-abortion laws, no forced sterilization, and an end to restrictive contraception laws. These motions were passed by the workshops and adopted overwhelmingly by the plenary session.

Throughout the weekend, conference

organizers attempted bureaucratically to keep the discussion within the framework of support to the two capitalist parties. The leaders of one of the workshops, for example, tried arbitrarily to prevent some participants from voting by claiming that they were not legitimate delegates. The workshop as a whole rejected this maneuver and decided that all participants should have voting rights.

At the plenary session, 40 percent of the participants voted to break with work in Democratic and Republican party caucuses and with precinct work for these two parties. Several speakers called for students to register as independents.

Eleven people at the conference, including the student body president of the University of Colorado, endorsed the presidential campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

A Florida student's free speech fight



By MALIK MIAH

Do university students have the right to freely discuss ideas with individuals of all political persuasions on the university campus without administrative review and restrictions? The Committee for Free Speech at Florida State University and the overwhelming majority of students at FSU say yes. The president of Florida State University says no.

Jack Lieberman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was dismissed from FSU on Nov. 7, 1971, by President Stanley Marshall. He was charged with violating two school regulations: "intentional disruption or interference with the lawful administration or functions of the Florida State University" and "failure to comply with the official and proper order of a duly designated University Officer acting within the scope of his authority."

Both charges stem from a class that Lieberman taught on Sept. 23, 1971, as part of his course, "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S." His course was part of the Center for Participant Education (CPE), a noncredit, "free university" program sponsored by the student government. It is open to students, faculty, and citizens of Tallahassee. The program began in the spring of 1970, and Lieberman has been teaching his course since early 1971.

In a recent interview, Lieberman told me that his course "goes into the movements for democratic social change. It includes women's liberation, gay liberation, students, the antiwar movement, and the labor movement."

When Lieberman began teaching his course a witch-hunting campaign against it was launched by the state legislature. This led to Lieberman's suspension in September.

This crude attack was led by members of the Florida State Senate Universities and Community Colleges Committee. They accused the university of allowing "public" property and "public" funds to be spent on a program that allowed a "communist" to teach a course on "revolution."

Senate President Jerry Thomas said, "I don't think the legislature should dictate how the university system should be run, but neither do I think taxpayers' money should be used to support someone who is advocating the overthrow of the government."

These attacks were not limited to the CPE course itself. Several senators called for the expulsion of Lieberman from FSU. Senator William Barrow said, "The S.O.B. [Lieberman] is a card-carrying Communist and I want him off campus. . . ."

An indication of their determination to kick Lieberman and his course off campus can be seen from an incident that occurred last May. The Committee on Universities and Community Colleges passed a motion to abolish the board of regents

that runs the state university system. According to a UPI dispatch, "Members of the Senate Committee on Universities and Community Colleges made it clear that their action was triggered by the failure of the lay board to take a position on repeated demands to end a student government lecture on 'How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.A.'"

One week before the fall quarter began at FSU, President Marshall informed the board of regents that the CPE program would be delayed indefinitely until all courses in the program were reviewed by the dean of student affairs. The board of regents at this meeting passed a unanimous recommendation that FSU ban Lieberman's course and the CPE course on "The Homosexual in America." The board of directors of CPE agreed to delay the program for one week.

Lieberman held the first class of his CPE course on Sept. 23, and was given an interim suspension the following day.

The CPE board of directors responded to Lieberman's suspension and the new administrative guidelines on the program by filing a suit in federal court for the reinstatement of Lieberman, his right to teach his CPE course, and the lifting of restrictions on the CPE program.

Lieberman appealed his suspension to the Student Honor Court. After hearing the case, the court acquitted him of all charges. The administration appealed to the Student Supreme Court, which on Nov. 2 also found Lieberman innocent.

Despite acquittal by unanimous votes in both student courts, President Marshall held a special administrative hearing Nov. 6, in which he presided as both judge and jury. Arbitrarily declaring the decisions by the student judicial bodies void, President Marshall dismissed Lieberman Nov. 7.

Marshall's action was clearly aimed at halting Lieberman's presentation of his socialist views as part of the CPE program. The dismissal letter states, "You are hereby barred from participating in any manner in the Center for Participant Education program." The CPE program is supposed to be open to all students, faculty members, university employees, and private citizens. Yet by proclamation of the university administration Lieberman is the only person denied this right!

This astounding decision by Marshall was coldly received by both students and faculty. In editorial after editorial, *The Flambeau*, the FSU student newspaper, denounced Marshall's decision as an attack on free speech.

Campus groups ranging from the Young Americans for Freedom to the Students for McGovern were outraged at the university's decision.

On Nov. 17, the federal court in Tallahassee granted Lieberman the right to be a guest lecturer at FSU.

The board of regents was taken by surprise.

Fearing that Lieberman would now teach his CPE course as a guest lecturer, they banned the entire winter-quarter CPE program until a full review of the program could be made.

On Jan. 12, 1972, Lieberman's case was heard in Federal District Court in Northern Florida by Judge David Middlebrooks. Lieberman's dismissal was upheld. This ruling is now being appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

Civil liberties in Florida

Incidents like the dismissal of Jack Lieberman from FSU are not a new phenomenon in Florida.

In 1969, the board of regents banned the Students for a Democratic Society and the Southern Students Organizing Committee from all Florida college and university campuses. No student or administrative hearing was held on this decision. The regents stated that SDS called for the violent overthrow of the government and therefore could not be a recognized campus organization.

One year later, the board of regents banned the Young Socialist Alliance, also without a hearing, from all Florida college and university campuses. The board of regents said it was unimpressed by the YSA's argument that it does not call for the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. The regents stated that any organization that calls for "revolution" could not be a recognized organization on Florida campuses. (The YSA has filed a suit in the Federal District Court of Northern Florida that, if upheld, would allow the YSA to become a recognized student organization on all Florida campuses.)

Soon afterward, the Gay Liberation Front was also banned from all university and college campuses.

The political repression in Florida was not limited to refusing recognition to particular radical organizations. Many other means were used by university administrations across the state.

In March 1969, an SDS-sponsored indoor meeting of more than 300 students at FSU was surrounded by local police with M-1s and fixed bayonets.

The "Night of the Bayonets," as it came to be called, occurred soon after SDS was banned from campus. Several leading radicals, including Lieberman, were arrested, as well as 50 other students. It was rumored at the time that the attack was instigated by state legislators hostile to student radicals.

Also in the summer of 1969, two leading campus activists from Australia were deported for their political ideas and activities.

On Jan. 31, Lieberman announced his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for U.S. Congress in Florida's Second District. Lieberman stated that his campaign will bring to the people of Florida all the issues the state legislature and the university administration have tried to suppress by banning his CPE course. His campaign will particularly emphasize support to democratic rights for all Florida students.

Committee for Free Speech

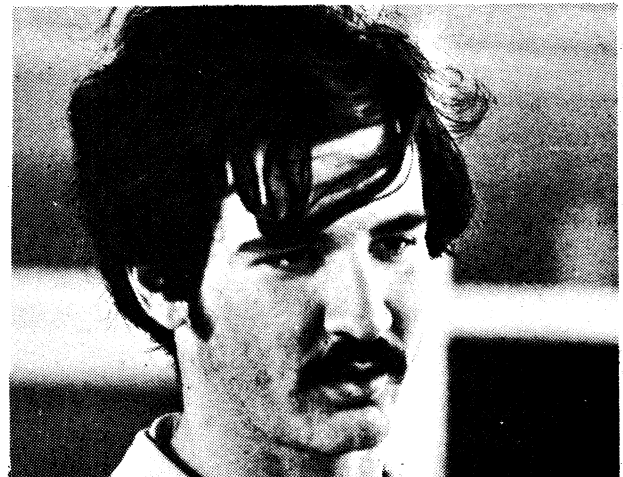
The campaign to defend Lieberman's civil liberties has already received broad support. The defense is being organized by The Committee for Free Speech at Florida State University.

The committee is coordinating a legal and public campaign in defense of Lieberman's civil liberties. It has two demands:

- 1) Reinstate Jack Lieberman as a student at FSU;
- 2) Enable him to teach his course at the University.

As indicated in its statement of purpose, "None of the members of the Committee necessarily endorse the political views of Jack Lieberman or of the Young Socialist Alliance, but support his right to express those views without harassment or penalty."

For more information contact: Committee for Free Speech at FSU, Box 1206, FSU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.



Jack Lieberman

Photo by Meriwether Shepherd

Chicano Moratorium leader says he was federal agent

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Eustacio (Frank) Martinez, an activist in the Chicano movement, disclosed here recently that he has been an agent provocateur and informer for the federal government during the entire period of his political activity.

He said he was employed by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Enforcement Division of the Treasury Department (ATF). An agency of the Internal Revenue Service, it is supposedly responsible for dealing with such matters as illegal traffic in guns and explosives and the sale of narcotics. On instructions from the ATF, Martinez said, he infiltrated the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) and the Brown Berets in Houston and Kingsville, Texas.

Later, also on instructions from ATF, he moved to Los Angeles. There he became a national leader of the Brown Berets and, at one point, chairman of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, which organized Chicano opposition to the Vietnam war.

He was also assigned to infiltrate La Casa de Carnalismo, an East Los Angeles organization whose principal activity is combatting the spread of drugs in the barrio.

Los Tres del Barrio

Shortly after Martinez contacted Carnalismo, three of its members were entrapped by the ATF in a shooting incident in which a federal undercover agent was permanently paralyzed. Los Tres del Barrio, as they are now known in the community, were convicted of the shooting. Last month they were sentenced to a total of 75 years in prison.

Detailing his history in the movement, Martinez described how, on orders from his superiors, he had deliberately created provocations, confrontations, and acts of violence that provided the pretext for police attacks on the movement.

He said he also provided the ATF with information about the activities and membership of the organizations he was involved in, including information based on letters and documents he stole from the office of the Chicano Moratorium.

Just prior to his arrival here, the Chicano Moratorium had organized the Aug. 29, 1970, demonstration against the Vietnam war, in which 30,000 Chicanos participated. The demonstration was the target of a bloody police attack and one of those killed was Chicano journalist Rubén Salazar.

Martinez told his story at a Jan. 31 press conference jointly organized by La Casa de Carnalismo and the Citizens Research and Investigating Committee (CRIC). It was CRIC that recently surfaced the Black Los Angeles Police Department provocateur and informer, Louis Tackwood.

Describing how he became involved with the ATF, Martinez said he was arrested in a Houston gang bust in July 1969 on charges of illegal possession of a weapon. Following his arrest Martinez was contacted by one "Tito Garcia," who identified himself as an ATF agent. He told Martinez he could escape the federal firearms violation if he would become an undercover agent for ATF.

Martinez agreed, was released from prison, and served as a provocateur and informer from September 1969 until this past October. At that time he decided to make a break. He divulged his true identity to the mother of several members of La Casa de Carnalismo and subsequently to several movement leaders. He offered to give evidence in the case of Los Tres del Barrio, but the presiding judge excluded him and some 20 other witnesses who were ready to testify to the antidrug activities of the three Carnalismo members.

Martinez, 23, said he is an Army veteran and has been treated at Veterans Administration hospitals several times for a nervous disorder.

He said the ATF paid him the munificent sum of \$10 a week. (He received the money in cash, signing receipts with fake names, occasionally using "Emiliano Zapata.") While in Houston he worked as a waiter. He said that for a good part of the time he was in Los Angeles he survived by eating and sleeping at the Chicano Moratorium headquarters.

While functioning in Houston and Kingsville, Martinez provided intelligence information on MAYO and the Brown Berets. He also sought

to create dissension within these organizations and engaged in a series of provocative acts.

With "Tito Garcia," he tried to entrap MAYO members at Texas A & M University in a gun sale.

In September 1969, during demonstrations protesting school conditions in Alice, Texas, he carried on disruptive activities, such as jumping on a car and trying to cave in the roof, and attempting to lead a march off its planned course.

He said he had burned a cross in front of the home of Katie Brooks, a Vista worker in Houston, and later burned down the house.

Suspicion about his activities began to grow among Texas activists and, he said, in October 1970 the ATF told him to move to Los Angeles to infiltrate the national office of the Brown Berets and the Chicano Moratorium Committee.

In Los Angeles he was placed under the supervision of two ATF agents whose names, he said, were "Jim Riggs" and "Fernando Ramos."

He said he successfully created dissension and discord in both groups, with the purpose of destroying them. He said the Berets have now gone underground. The Chicano Moratorium Committee is presently dormant.

Martinez became chairman of the Chicano Moratorium by getting Rosalio Muñoz ousted from that post.

He achieved this, he said, by accusing Muñoz of being "too soft," "not militant enough," and not being ready "to go all the way."

One of his assignments was to persistently advocate acts of violence and the illegal use of weapons.

He described some of the provocations he carried through during this period.

In October of 1970, acting on instructions from "Tito Garcia," his Houston ATF superior, Martinez said he initiated a disruption of an East Los Angeles campaign rally where John Tunney, candidate for U.S. Senate, spoke. The disruption, intended to enhance his image as a "militant," included cutting off the microphone while Tunney was speaking. He then led a physical attack on Tunney and his campaign supporters. Under his leadership, a group followed Tunney to his car, kicked him, and beat up one of his aides.

Provokes police raid

On Nov. 4, 1970, Martinez paraded in front of the Chicano Moratorium headquarters with a shotgun in his hand in, order to provoke a police raid. The raid came that day. During the raid, one of the people in the Moratorium headquarters, Roberto Flores, was savagely beaten by the police and suffered a fractured skull.

On Aug. 29, 1971, Martinez participated in a demonstration marking the anniversary of the 1970 police attack on the Chicano Moratorium. He helped create a fracas and was arrested and charged with inciting to riot and interfering with a police officer.

Although he had been promised protection from prosecution, he said that his superior, "Jim Riggs," tried to persuade him to plead guilty, indicating he would be able to go back to Texas.

It was at this point, Martinez says, that he realized how he was being used and began to comprehend the oppression and injustice the government was bringing down on his people. It was shortly afterward that he disclosed his role to individuals in the community.

At the news conference Martinez was asked if the ATF's efforts to destroy La Casa de Carnalismo did not indicate that the government was actually interested in permitting the spread of drugs within the Chicano community as a means of dampening militancy and creating demoralization.

He replied he was convinced from his experience that this was the case. The government is willing to tolerate the spread of drugs among Chicanos, Blacks, and other oppressed people, he said, because "they don't want the people to unite together as a working force. They perpetrate the drugs to keep the people down."

He pointed to the fact that the government hires known drug addicts, pays to support their habits, and uses them against such antidrug groups as Casa Carnalismo. The government isn't actually pushing drugs, he said, "but they are supporting the drug pushers."

Two groups seek probe

LOS ANGELES—On the basis of information provided by Eustacio Martinez, coupled with previously accumulated evidence, the Citizens Research and Investigating Committee has joined with La Casa de Carnalismo in demanding a congressional investigation of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the Internal Revenue Service.

The two groups are seeking a probe of the illegal use of informants and provocateurs by the ATF to entrap members of militant movements in the Black and Chicano communities and to destroy such movements.

They charge that the ATF, in collusion with other federal, state, and local police agencies, is engaged not in curbing crimes but in intimidation, harassment, entrapment, and frame-up of Black and Brown militants. They charge that the ATF has, in fact, developed as a major police agency in this country.

There is solid evidence to buttress their charges.

In addition to the case of Los Tres del Barrio, the ATF has been involved in other entrapment cases of political activists.

It was the ATF that illegally secured the grenades a provocateur used in an unsuccessful effort to entrap Donald Freed and Shirley Sutherland, then active in the Friends of the Panthers (see the Jan. 21 *Militant*).

It was an ATF agent who made the arrest of Chicano movement attorney Oscar Z. Acosta on a trumped-up charge of illegal possession of amphetamines. Acosta is about to be tried on this charge.

It was also the ATF that was told by a police informant of the planned attempt to assassinate farm union leader Cesar Chavez. The ATF originally paid money to this informant. One of the two men he named as hired to kill Chavez was arrested afterward on an unrelated murder charge. The second man named was then arrested by the ATF after being entrapped into selling drugs to one of its undercover agents. A few weeks later, the ATF abruptly announced that its investigation of the Chavez assassination attempt was closed.

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has demanded either a reopening of the investigation or a congressional probe of the entire matter.

— H. R.

Board okays beating policy

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—After heated debate, the Los Angeles School Board voted Jan. 28 to continue to permit teachers and administrators to administer "corporal punishment" to students considered "unruly."

The vote concluded one stage in a fight begun in the schools last fall to eliminate the practice. Opposition to "corporal punishment" has come from many sources in the community. The Los Angeles County Grand Jury publicly called for its abolition. In addition such advisory groups as the Mexican-American, Asian-American, and Black Education Commissions strongly urged ending the practice.

Black and Chicano community activists and parents and students assailed the racist attitudes of white teachers in their communities and opposed such teachers having the right to beat their children.

Before the vote, members of the Mexican-American Commission presented a graphic display of the weapons used against the students. These included ping-pong paddles, radio antennas, split baseball bats, etc.

Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, visiting Los Angeles at the time of the school board meeting, expressed her reaction to the school board's decision: "A school system that must beat its students into submission is socially bankrupt. Such practices would quickly be eliminated if the school system were responsive to the needs of the communities it supposedly serves. Only community control of the schools in the Black, Chicano, and Asian communities can guarantee quality education and an end to the barbaric practice of corporal punishment."

In Review

Books Unbought and unbossed?

Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Published by Avon Books. New York. 191 pages. 95 cents (paper).

Last month Shirley Chisholm, the country's first Black congresswoman, announced her intention to seek the Democratic Party nomination for president. The *New York Times* commented editorially that her campaign is not "practical politics" but a "venture in the politics of hope."

By "practical politics," the *Times* meant that because she's a Black woman, Chisholm has virtually no chance of winning her party's nomination.

It is undeniable that the racist and sexist forces that control the Democratic Party will not even consider running a Black woman for president in 1972. In fact, Senator Edmund Muskie, the front runner for the party's nomination, feels that it is impractical even to run a Black man for vice-president.

This refusal to consider seriously the idea of a Black woman holding the country's highest office is only one example of the many forms of discrimination Chisholm has had to face during her entire life, particularly in her political career. As she states in her autobiography, *Unbought and Unbossed*, first published by Houghton Mifflin Co. during her 1970 congressional campaign, "Discrimination against women in politics is particularly unjust, because no political organization I have seen could function without women. They do the work that the men won't do. I know, because I have done it all. For years I stayed in the wings and worked to put men in office, even writing their speeches and cuing them on how to answer questions. They would still be exploiting my abilities if I had not rebelled."

It is her fight for a place in a profession traditionally reserved for white males that has helped establish her image as a champion for the most oppressed, particularly Blacks, Spanish-speaking Americans, women, and youth. It is this image that is being projected onto the national scene and has led some, like the *Times*, to say that she represents "a venture in the politics of hope." What are these "politics of hope?"

Unbought and Unbossed helps answer this question by offering a glimpse into Chisholm's personal and political background. It also indicates what she expects to accomplish by working in the Democratic Party.

Born nearly 48 years ago in Brooklyn to a Barbadian immigrant family, she spent much of her early childhood in Barbados with relatives. When she was 10, she returned to Brooklyn, where she lived first in Brownsville and then in Bedford-Stuyvesant.

She describes some of the factors in her family environment that played a role in her development. One was that her father was a follower of the militant Black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey. "When any organization had a Marcus Garvey tribute," she writes, "he would dress up and go. Sometimes he took me, and there I heard my first Black nationalist oratory—talk of race pride and the need for unity, despite any differences, because, the speakers stressed, 'we have a common enemy.'" Her father was a "proud Black man," she writes, who "instilled pride in his children, a pride in ourselves and our race that was not as fashionable at that time as it is today."

When she graduated from high school in 1942, she wanted to go to Vassar or Oberlin. But even though she was offered scholarships, her family could not afford to send her. Instead she went to Brooklyn College, a tuition-free, city-run school.

She joined the school's only all-Black student group, the Harriet Tubman Society, which held discussions on Black pride and African heritage.

She also joined the Brooklyn chapter of the NAACP. Campus social clubs refused to admit Black students, so Chisholm and some of her friends formed a "sorority-like black women's student society."

When she graduated from college in 1946, she became a school teacher and joined the Seventeenth Assembly District Democratic Club in Brooklyn.

Much of her political activity in the following years centered on her participation in Black-caucus-type formations to oust the white machine leadership of the Seventeenth District Democratic Club. The first was the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League, which grew out of the successful campaign to elect a Black municipal judge in 1953, the first in Brooklyn's history.

The second was the Unity Democratic Club, which was formed in 1960. Two years later it defeated the machine leadership and replaced it as the official Democratic Party in the 17th A.D.

In 1964 Chisholm was elected to the state assembly from the 17th A.D., where she served until 1968, when she was elected to the U.S. Congress.

As an elected official, Chisholm has spoken out against the Vietnam war and for repeal of abortion laws. *Unbought and Unbossed* includes one chapter on the war and two on women. In a chapter entitled "Facing the Abortion Question," she describes how, as a state assemblywoman, she opposed repeal of abortion laws although she fought for reforms to make it easier to obtain therapeutic abortions. She indicates that more recently she has come to support repeal of anti-abortion laws.

On the oppression of Blacks, she writes, "I used to be moderate. . . . Today I am a militant. Basically I agree with what many of the extremist groups are saying—except that their tactics are wrong and too often they have no program. But people had better start to understand that if this country's basic racism is not quickly and completely abolished—or at least controlled—there will be real, full-scale revolution in the streets. I do not want to see that day come. But I think often of what Malcolm once said about freedom: 'You get your freedom by letting your enemy know that you'll do anything to get your freedom. Then you'll get it. It's the only way you'll get it.'"

In this autobiography and in her public speeches, Chisholm has attempted to create an image of a crusader against social injustice—an honest, uncorrupted and independent politician.

But what has she actually been able to accomplish, and what are her perspectives?

She admits, "There isn't much that I can do inside Congress in a legislative way."

Instead, she states, "There is a great deal I can do for the people of my district by using my office and the resources it opens up to me in helping individuals and groups. I can investigate the unfair treatment of a black sergeant in the air force, and I can help a black businessman in Brooklyn apply for a Small Business Administration loan, and do so successfully in a satisfying number of cases. This kind of work is important, and it occupies a lot of my time and most of the time of my staff."

Thus, she sees her role as sort of a congressional social worker. She, as an individual, attempts to use her elected position to solve a few problems that come to her attention.

The only solution she offers for the serious problems of unemployment, drugs, police brutality, inadequate housing, and poor schools in Bedford-Stuyvesant is a few errands she can personally accomplish. The obvious corollary to this is that political activity among Blacks and Puerto Ricans in Bedford-Stuyvesant should be centered on keeping her in office. This orientation of doing a few favors in exchange for support and votes is the heart of the machine politics Chisholm claims to reject.

Nowhere does she raise the idea that community organizations should unite to organize direct actions around specific demands. Nor does she offer a strategy that would organize the collective power of Blacks in Bedford-Stuyvesant and Black communities throughout the country in a struggle against their oppression.

She does not propose this, even though it is the only way Blacks have ever won anything, be-

cause such actions would necessarily be directed at the Democratic and Republican parties—the two parties that run the federal government and virtually every local and state government in the country.

Chisholm is not a political innocent. She has been active in Democratic Party politics for more than 20 years and has not "yet given up hope of redeeming the Democratic Party. If I had, I wouldn't still be in it."

Chisholm, and others, fought for many years to oust the white Democratic Party machine in Bedford-Stuyvesant, one of the country's largest Black communities. But what basic changes have taken place? There now exists a Black Democratic apparatus, but the crisis facing the community is worse than ever.

Now Chisholm and other Black elected officials are taking the struggle for Black representation in the Democratic Party to the national arena. By electing enough Black delegates they hope to bargain for concessions at the Democratic Party convention. Chisholm has stated that her candidacy is "only the instrument" in this attempt. She told a meeting of Jesse Jackson's new organization, Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), in Chicago on Jan. 23 that Black delegates should only consent to a presidential candidate who agrees to a Black vice-presidential candidate, a Black woman to head the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and an Indian to head the Department of the Interior. "Say 'delegates' in your sleep, say it over and over again—that's what power is," she urged the audience.

Putting a few Blacks, women, or Indians in swivel chairs where white males used to sit will not alter the fact that the Democratic Party supports this capitalist profit system—the system responsible for racism, sexism and imperialist wars.

If Chisholm were really "unbought and unbossed" as she claims, she would disavow her allegiance to the parties and the system that oppress all working people—Black, Brown and white, male and female.

—DOUG JENNESS



(Above) Shirley Chisholm. (Below) Chisholm with other members of the Congressional Black Caucus, to which she belongs.

Lordstown UAW local to strike against speedup

By HERMAN KIRSCH

LORDSTOWN, Ohio, Feb. 8—On Feb. 2, workers in Local 1112 of the United Auto Workers union voted to authorize a strike against General Motors for its speedup policies in the GM plant here. Ninety-seven percent voted "yes" on the ballot.

The vote culminated four months of speedup conditions instituted by the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), GM's top management team. As a result of the speedup, 700 workers have been laid off and the workload for those still on the job has been increased.

The high vote for the strike was not unexpected. "This vote proves what we have been saying all along," J.D. Smith, secretary-treasurer of the local, told this reporter. "The guys are together and are determined to get a fair settlement."

Asked why the workers were so determined, Smith answered, "They want an end to the chicken-shit stuff going on. One man was given a week's disciplinary layoff for whistling on the job."

Smith added that while the assembly lines in the Lordstown plant are the fastest in the country, GM has instituted speedup in other plants as well. In fact, the plant manager brought into Lordstown came from a California GM plant where "he was more successful... in pushing the men and splitting up the local union."

It is estimated that 70 percent of

the workers have been unjustifiably disciplined, resulting in thousands of unsettled grievances. Many workers commute up to 50 miles every day from Cleveland, Youngstown, and Akron. Only too often they are sent home after working only four hours because they fail to keep up with the increased workload.

The General Motors contract provides for an 80 percent compensation for a short workday, but the company has refused to pay.

When interviewed at one of the bars near the plant, David Hunter Jr., who is 27 years old and has five years' seniority, said, "The main thing the 'older' workers have in their heads is 'I'm not going to work the same way I did in 1966 and 1967.' It was terrible then." For example, he continued, "I didn't have time to blow my nose or get a drink of water."

"There is not a man out there who won't fight to the last penny to keep from going back to the conditions of those years," he declared. "They can burn that place before I work that way again."

Hunter views himself as one of the "older" workers in the plant. He claims that the workload was even harder in 1966, when the assembly line produced one car every minute. General Motors is now attempting to produce two cars every minute. At present the line runs at 101 cars an hour.

Commenting on the speedup and layoffs under the GMAD administration, Hunter said, "There's no generation gap between the older and younger workers. We went through it, and we can tell them."

J.D. Smith commented on the Jan. 26 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* interview with Gary Bryner, president of Local 1112, in which Bryner allegedly red-baited the National Peace Action Coalition. He said, "It was an outrageous lie which was planned in advance of the interview. We made no allegations regarding NPAC, and everything we said was twisted by the *Plain Dealer* reporter."

Harrisburg jury panel has insular outlook

By LEE SMITH

FEB. 7—The frame-up trial of Father Philip Berrigan and six other anti-war activists, in its third week in Harrisburg, Pa., is still occupied with jury selection. The seven are charged with "conspiracy" to kidnap President Nixon's adviser, Henry Kissinger, to bomb heating units for some federal buildings in Washington, D.C., and to destroy draft files—all acts that never took place.

With 44 of the 45 panelists chosen for the group from which the final 12 jurors will be selected, it is expected that the prosecution will open its case before the week is out.

According to *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Trudy Rubin, the defense is displeased with Judge R. Dixon Herman's tendency to dismiss any panelist who has any knowledge of, or opinions about, events outside the southern central portion of Pennsylvania. "Defense supporters argue," Rubin writes, "that the subtleties of a conspiracy case will require jurors who are familiar with political issues and can make fine legal distinctions." (*Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 29)

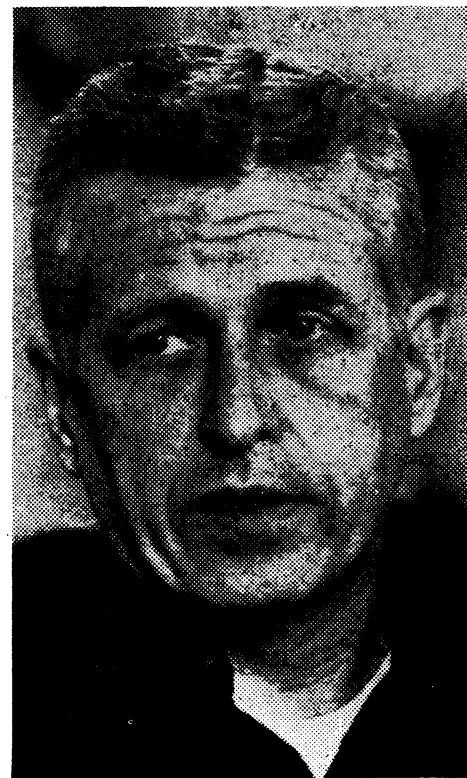
While panelists who expressed open prejudice against the defendants have naturally been disqualified by Judge Herman—including two who were overheard by another panelist saying the defendants "looked guilty"—others have been dismissed simply because of strong antiwar views. The Jan. 31 *New York Post* reported that Judge Herman had dismissed 38 potential

jurors within 20 minutes that day. Twenty-seven of these were dismissed for saying "they already had formed opinions as to the guilt or innocence of the defendants." When the defense tried to find out what their opinions were, Judge Herman answered, "This is of no consequence."

While it is usually claimed that the U.S. trial system operates on the basis that one is innocent until proved guilty—and, therefore, a presumption of innocence would be correct for a juror—Judge Herman seems to feel that only persons with no ideas about a case are qualified jurors. In order to find persons without opinions on the case, he has impaneled a great many who seem to have no opinions on anything. One of the 44 panelists chosen to date said she had never heard of the Mylai massacre.

As the jury selection proceeds in the courtroom, a group called Crossroads has initiated a two-month-long series of programs billed as a "counter-trial" in Harrisburg. Crossroads is independent of the Harrisburg Defense Committee, but many of the same individuals participate in both groups.

Among the sponsors of Crossroads are Professors Noam Chomsky, George Wald, Howard Zinn, and Sidney Peck, and Dr. Benjamin Spock. The counter-trial programs are a series of forums and other events dealing with imperialism, racism, and the war complicity of major social institutions, such as corporations, universities, churches, and trade unions. Participants in the programs represent a broad range of organizations and views.



Father Philip Berrigan (above) and Sister Elizabeth McAlister, two of the seven defendants in Harrisburg frame-up trial.

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Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Tape of the proceedings of the Feb. 11-13 Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) conference, where the repeal of all anti-abortion laws was discussed. Wed., Feb. 16, 8 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1.

BROOKLYN

EYEWITNESS REPORT AND SLIDE SHOW OF THE STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE. Speaker: Robert Van Lierop, just returned from five months in Mozambique. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

CHICAGO

MALCOLM X: HIS MESSAGE FOR TODAY. Speakers: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*, and Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

THE LEGACY OF MALCOLM X. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Sat., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. The Militant Forum.

HOUSTON

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL FORUM. Speakers: Representatives from the Black community. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 6409 Lyons Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

MALCOLM X MEMORIAL MEETING. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party, and guest speakers. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum. Gourmet dinner at 6:00 p.m., \$1.25.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

IN TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X. Showing of the film "The Struggle for Freedom." Memorial speech by B.R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106 St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

VIETNAM AND THE 1972 ELECTIONS: What the Pentagon Papers Prove. Speaker: Linda Jenness. Thurs., Feb. 17, 12 noon. Pauley Ballroom, Student Union Bldg., U.C. at Berkeley. Sponsored by SUPERB. For more information, call (415) 642-4536.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AS A FORCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. Speaker: Linda Jenness. Thurs., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. Haas Pavilion, Mills College, MacArthur Blvd. and Seminary Ave., Oakland. For more information, call (415) 632-2700.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Golden Gate College, 536 Mission St., San Francisco. Fri., Feb. 18, 9:30 a.m. For more information, call (415) 864-5056.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Gallery Lounge, San Francisco State College, San Francisco. Fri., Feb. 18, 12 noon. For more information, call (415) 864-5056.

LINDA JENNESS speaks at Diablo Valley College, Room H-109, 321 Golf Club Road, Pleasant Hill. Fri., Feb. 18, 1 p.m. For more information, call Student Activities Coalition, (415) 685-1230.

CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Sat. Feb. 19 at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, 5 p.m.: refreshments. 6 p.m.: classical buffet dinner by Chefs for Jenness and Pulley. 8 p.m.: rally featuring Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Rally followed by revolutionary entertainment. Donation: \$5.

PHILADELPHIA

MALCOLM X: EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY. Memorial meeting. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of 10th and Market Sts.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information, call WA5-4316. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

SEATTLE

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers presidential candidate. Followed by revolutionary entertainment. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. Condon Room, University Towers Hotel, 45 St. and Brooklyn Ave. N.E. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SISTERS IN STRUGGLE: Seminars on Women's Liberation. Classes include: Feb. 16: Women in the Russian Revolution. Feb. 23: The First Wave of Feminism. March 1: Current Trends in the Feminist Movement—a study of the *Dialectic of Sex* by Shulamith Firestone. Classes start at 8 p.m. and are free. All women invited. Militant Bookstore, 746 9th St. N.W.

IRELAND IN REVOLT. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, who visited Ireland in 1971 and interviewed leaders of the Irish Republican Army; and Mary Baggarly, representative of the Official IRA and born in Bogside, Derry. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp. Militant Forum.

ANDREW PULLEY will be on tour in the Washington, D.C., Virginia, and Maryland area Feb. 16-25. For information about his meetings, call (202) 783-2363.

...Ireland

Continued from page 5

the border with the Irish Republic, this weekend.

Behind the tenacity of the civil rights demonstrators is a new bitterness. Writing in the Feb. 6 *New York Times*, Bernard Weinraub describes the sentiment of Catholics in Derry as "sullen, total fury at the political establishment. After 'Bloody Sunday' the situation, in effect, is one of war against the British Army and the Northern Ireland Government."

After explaining that virtually all Catholics have withdrawn from the Northern Ireland government and that tens of thousands of families have stopped paying rent and electricity bills to the government, Weinraub says that "Catholics have been radicalized, and even moderates now see their future only in the context of a united Ireland." He quotes a civil rights leader as saying: "It's all over with what we have now. . . . People feel helpless. Their faith in the system is shattered. And it's the system that now has to be replaced. It will be."

The appointment of Chief Justice Lord Widgery to conduct a one-man investigation into the slaughter at Derry will do little to restore faith in the system. Lord Widgery is a former

lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Artillery and a former brigadier-general in the British Territorial Army.

Acutely conscious of their inability to offer any real concessions to the Catholic masses in the north and of the process of radicalization that is occurring, the more conservative section of England's capitalist class is beginning to bare its fangs. Thus, the Feb. 5 issue of *The Economist* opines: "It has to go on. . . . there will be many more deaths in Northern Ireland in 1972, and nothing will stop them, not debates in the Commons, not new constitutions, not the army's guns, not a blazing British embassy, until Ireland is wasted and exhausted by its civil war; for it could be the whole of Ireland, not just the north, that will end up in contention."

On Feb. 8, according to Bernard Weinraub in the Feb. 9 *New York Times*, Brian Faulkner, Northern Ireland's prime minister, followed the lead of *The Economist*, threatening "a long and bloody struggle" if there was any attempt to unite Ireland.

However, if anything is clear from the recent events, it is that the attempts of the British government and its supporters to maintain the ancient system of exploitation and oppression in Ulster are doomed. As one man from Derry, quoted in the Feb. 2 *Washington Post* by Bernard Nositer, insisted, "Stormont will never govern this area again. That day is finished."

Beginning next week

In our next issue The Militant will publish the first of six articles on Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party. In order to make sure that you receive the entire series, buy a subscription or renew your subscription right away.

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THE MILITANT

Labor conference called to fight attack on longshore strike

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 8—Longshoremen's Local 10 and supporting unions are pushing vigorously to convene a conference of labor that would include all unions in the Bay Area. The purpose of the meeting is to formulate a plan to combat the federal government's attacks on the labor movement—that is, the wage controls and the threat of compulsory arbitration.

The conference had been tentatively scheduled for Saturday, Feb. 6. But the AFL-CIO bureaucrats entrusted with convening the conference (unanimously endorsed by all leading labor bodies in the Bay Area) did not do anything about it. For one thing, it is known that Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), opposes the conference.

Last night, Feb. 7, a meeting of rank-and-file unionists, about one-third of whom were ILWU or AFL-CIO union officials, was held in the AFL-CIO Retail Clerks' hall. It was chaired by John Sullivan, business agent of Carpenters union Local 22. The object of the meeting was to organize enough pressure from the ranks to force the bureaucrats to move quickly. Glen Ackerman, secretary-treasurer of ILWU Local 10, reported to the meeting that resolutions of support for the ILWU strike and favoring the conference have come in from Riverside, Calif.; Los Angeles; and King County, Washington (which includes Seattle).

A subcommittee, chaired by Sullivan, was elected. Another meeting was set for Feb. 15. By that time, according to Sullivan, a hall should be obtained and a date set for the conference.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., under the prodding of President Nixon and the shipowners, Congress is preparing an assault on labor's right to strike and to bargain collectively.

The constant interference by the government on the side of the employers has postponed a settlement and made it difficult from the beginning for the union negotiators to know whether their real opponent is the government or the shipowners.

Here in San Francisco it was reported today that negotiations between the ILWU and the shipowners' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) had settled all economic issues and would arbitrate the rest.

Even before this announcement, rank-and-file longshoremen had mounted a campaign for a "no" vote. A leaflet signed by 15 ILWU members was issued this morning, stating, in part: "JOB SECURITY NOT YET WON. Our job security—that's the question. It is estimated that job opportunities will decrease by 50 percent in two to four years, yet the so-called 'guaranteed annual wage' amounts to about 80 hours per year per man based on a 26-week period

with 80 percent availability.

"2. The pension plan merely lowers retirement age one year. The necessary '25 years and out' was dropped. The cost-of-living increase for pensioners was bypassed.

"3. The shorter workday proposals from the Northwest locals were dumped. And what about 'local issues'?"

"Finally, 9.43 still is in the contract. VOTE NO! Back to the bargaining table!" (The reference to 9.43 concerns union control of hiring, largely eliminated by section 9.43 of the present contract.)

The appearance of such a leaflet before the final terms are reported out from the secret ILWU-PMA negotiations reflects a distrust of the Coast Negotiating Committee headed by Bridges.

Bridges' antics in Washington at the congressional hearings have deepened this distrust. "Bridges is nothing but a militant rabbit," said one member of the San Francisco strike committee, "who squeals belligerently while running away. He talks about a worldwide shutdown of shipping—but he wouldn't stop diverted cargo from moving through Canada and Mexico. He says we won't go back to work under compulsory arbitration—and then he turns around and offers to give unsettled issues to binding arbitration! He's willing to continue the strike on the issue of retroactivity—so he can buy votes with the promise of retroactive checks—but refuses to fight to keep union control of hiring. That he negotiates in a minute!

"With Harry as our friend in Washington, we don't need enemies."

However, there are obstacles to the quick settlement that the PMA and the Bridges leadership want. Before the strike began July 1, 1971, a Coast Caucus (longshore convention) decided that a majority "no" vote in any one of the four major locals—San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles, or Portland—could veto the contract. This would continue the strike and negotiations. The second time around only a coast majority vote would be needed. It was also decided that before the return to work, another Coast Caucus should be called.

Bridges' local supporters are saying that this democratic procedure must be bypassed. They propose instead a simple show of hands at local union meetings on the question of return to work immediately. This would get the men back on the job before the Coast Caucus and ballot vote. The strike would be effectively ended—exactly what the PMA wants.

Things look bad, longshoremen are saying. A certain apathy has begun to show itself on the picket lines. But the militant spirit is not yet extinguished. It is likely that the proposed contract will be voted down at least once, despite the offer of 70 cents per hour wage increase the first year and 40 cents the next.

Support grows for antiwar conference

By DAVE FRANKEL

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 6—Progress in the Student Mobilization Committee's (SMC) campaign to build the national student antiwar conference, to take place at Washington Irving High School in New York City Feb. 25-27, has speeded up significantly. This was the theme of the reports here at a national working committee meeting of the SMC yesterday.

The meeting was attended by about 50 people representing SMC chapters in New York; Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Boston; Chicago; Cleveland; Philadelphia; Detroit; Berkeley; and New Jersey. Representatives of such national organizations as Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP), the National Student Lobby, the International Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN), and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) also attended.

Typical of the new breakthroughs in organizing the New York antiwar convention, hosted by the SMC, was the endorsement of the convention last week by Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.). This was rapidly followed by the endorsement of the national Students for McGovern, and the Northern California and the Illinois Youth for McGovern organizations.

Amanda Smith, the national women's rights director of the McGovern campaign, represented Students for McGovern at a Feb. 3 news conference in Washington, D.C., designed to help build the antiwar convention. A statement by Mark Bruzonsky, international representative of ISMUN, was also released at the news conference.

Fred Lovgren of the SMC national staff has indicated that the Chicago SMC is planning a joint press conference with the Illinois Youth for McGovern. He expects that other areas will follow this example.

The Association of Student Governments will be helping to publicize the student antiwar conference and has agreed to have a representative on the conference organizing committee. Groups in addition to the SMC that have already agreed to participate on this organizing committee include: the National Student Lobby, the national Students for McGovern, YSA, the New York University Student Senate and the NYU Students for McGovern, and the YSJP. The vice-president of the Horace Mann High School student government has also agreed to serve on the committee. Other groups, both in New York and nationally, are being asked to participate in the conference organizing committee.

A new 16-page issue of *The Student Mobilizer*, initiating a preconference discussion that will continue in the next issue of the paper, was distributed at the working committee meeting. Conference organizers believe that discussion will center around the 1972 elections and the relationship of electoral politics to the antiwar movement. One article in the current issue of *The Mobilizer* advocates SMC participation in the elections. The coming issue will carry an article opposing this perspective and countering to it the strategy of building mass actions in the streets.

The student antiwar conference will open with a national teach-in on Indochina on Friday, Feb. 25. Among those who have agreed to speak are Professor Noam Chomsky of the Mas-

sachusetts Institute of Technology; Fred Bramford, director of Project Air War; Professor Arthur Galston of Yale University, an internationally known expert on the ecological effects of the war; and Jerry Gordon, a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Conference-building in local areas seems to be going well. One representative from New England pointed out that since many high school students in that area were having difficulty in getting parental permission to take the trip to New York, the regional SMC office will be calling parents to explain to them the importance of the conference.

A person from Detroit stressed the importance of not just calling local trade unions for support, but of visiting them personally. The executive committee of one local of the American Federation of Teachers in High-



Photo by Lora Eckert

SMC on New York Nov. 6 march

land Park endorsed the conference and donated \$200 to the SMC as a result of such a visit.

For a copy of the *Student Mobilizer* and information on housing and registration for the conference, contact: SMC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 11, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-1960.

WASHINGTON, D.C. Feb. 6—The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held a meeting of its national steering committee here today. It was attended by 70 people from 11 regional areas.

Discussion centered on NPAC's answer to Nixon's eight-point "peace plan," NPAC's educational program, and preparations for the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York City and Los Angeles. The NPAC national staff reported that it plans to have 480,000 pieces of literature advertising the April 22 action ready for the national student antiwar convention in New York City. These will include posters, leaflets, stickers, pamphlets, and buttons. It was also announced that NPAC would have a delegation at the World Conference on Peace, Feb. 11-15 in Versailles, France. The next steering committee meeting was set for March 11 in New York City.